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Gandhi, Development, Management and Leadership

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Editorial Note



Satya, Ahimsa, Prem i.e. Truth, Non-violence and Love, constituted three pillars of Gandhi's life and thoughts. Based on these core values, Gandhi developed the ideas of Satyagrah, Swaraj (Self rule) and Swadeshi and used these ideas for liberation of India from British colonialism and India's freedom from British rule. India's liberation inspired many other nations to seek freedom from colonial rules. These ideas are still relevant for the betterment of humanity. 2019 represents 150 years of Gandhi's birth. On this occasion we are happy to bring a special volume of IBA Journal under the title, Gandhi, Development, Management and Leadership. Articles presented on this volume deal with thoughts of Gandhi and its contemporary relevance for Development, Management and Leadership.

In the first article, The Chasm Between The Gandhian Vision of An Ethical Social Order & The Present State of Corruption in India, by Anand Y.P., author argues that Mahatma Gandhi is universally accepted as an exemplary model of ethical and moral life, with a rare blending between the personal and the public, the individual and the social, the principles and the practice, the eternal and the immediate. He considered life to be an integrated whole, to be lived as a series of 'experiments with truth'. Author observes a chasm between Gandhian vision of ethical social order and the prevalence of corruption contemporary Indian society and suggests the ways based on Gandhian thought to eliminate corruption from public life and Indian society.

In the second article, Economics and Ethics: A. Gandhian Perspective, B. Sambasiva Prasad takes Gandhian view of Economics and Ethics. Author argues, Gandhi was not an economist in the technical sense of the term. However, he had developed his economic ideas out of his encounters with surroundings and situations of his life. He had experimented upon his life's experiences and developed his economic ideals and practiced them in his life. His phrase, there is enough for every one's need but not for every one's greed, provided a foundation basis for his ethics based economics.

In the third article, Spirituality and Ethics in Business: Gandhi's thought Perspective, Sudarshan Iyengar, explores the ideas of spirituality and ethics in Business and Business Management context. Modern management is now realizing the importance of spiritual and ethical approach to business and organization management. Such an approach is needed to create synergy within organization and in business ecosystem. It is suggested that B Schools should introduce a course on Gandhian thought and its application to Management and Leadership.

In fourth article, New Horizons of Rural Development and Gandhain Perspective, Dilip Shah provides an overview of the history of Rural Development and its new challenges in the era of Globalization. Author has depicted a Gandhi's model of rural development by jotting the basic

content from Gandhi's thought He argues for revival of Khadi and Village Industries and application of decentralization approach to Development. He also suggests the need for Trusteeship approach as well as Swadeshi model for economic self reliance. Panchayati Raj and Cooperatives should also be essential part of the new strategy for rural development.

In fifth article, Gandhi, an Organizational Guru In Pursuit of Peace, K. Ramakrishna Rao attempts to understand the psychological lessons that we may learn from Gandhi's life, especially in the fields of leadership and organizational behaviour. He discusses the organizational psychology as implied in Gandhian leadership and several distinctive features of karma-yoga as practised by the Mahatma. The most important quality of a nonviolent CEO, which we can glean from Gandhian philosophy, is the ability to transform people through love and goodwill. The need of the day is the necessary will and determination to actualize and realize the spirit of Gandhi inspired by his concepts of truth, love and nonviolence.

In the sixth article, Gandhi and Press in South Africa, Sangita Girish Naik suggests that Gandhi looked upon journalism as a means to serve the people and not as a commercial enterprise. He expressed in his autobiography: the sole aim of journalism should be service. His publication, Indian Opinion, unquestionably became a flashpoint in Gandhi's struggle against the British in South Africa. Even when he relinquished his ownership of Phoenix Settlement and Indian opinion, a new title deed in 1912 gave control of the settlement and the newspaper to a board of trustees. Author provides some new insights on the relationship of Gandhi with Press in South Africa.

In the seventh article, Rights and Obligations Under the Indian Constitution with Emphasis on Fundamental Duties and Gandhain Philosophy, Prashant Sharma argues that the need for performance of fundamental duties by the citizens in contemporary Indian scenario is of great relevance if the nation has to become 'Harmonic' and progressive. Mahatma Gandhi remarked that "a well performed duty creates a corresponding right". In fact "Gandhi's programme of social reform was based on duties rather than on rights". Author suggests that there should be proper balancing between rights and duties.

In the eighth article, Critique of Gandhi's Legal Activism in the Framework of Hegel's Historical Dialectic, Daniel Albuquerque makes a critique of Gandhi's legal activism based on Hegel's historical dialectics. The paper demonstrates Gandhi's legal activism as relating to social practice of the theory of jurisprudence. The theoretical structure is sought within the logical categories advocated by Hegel, the German philosopher, in his two works on Phenomenology of the Spirit (1809) and Philosophy of Right. (1821). These two aspects, Gandhi's legal activism and Hegel's theoretical framework are assessed with the aim of making it relevant in the current Indian and global context.

In the last article, Gandhi, Aurobindo and a New Social Vision, Subhash Sharma links Gandhi's Economics and Aurobindo's Spirituality for a new social vision of sacro-civic society wherein both soil and soul find a new connection with four forces of harmonic globalization viz. market, State, people and self.

We hope readers will find this volume useful.

Dilip Shah

Guest editor

Subhash Sharma

Co-editor

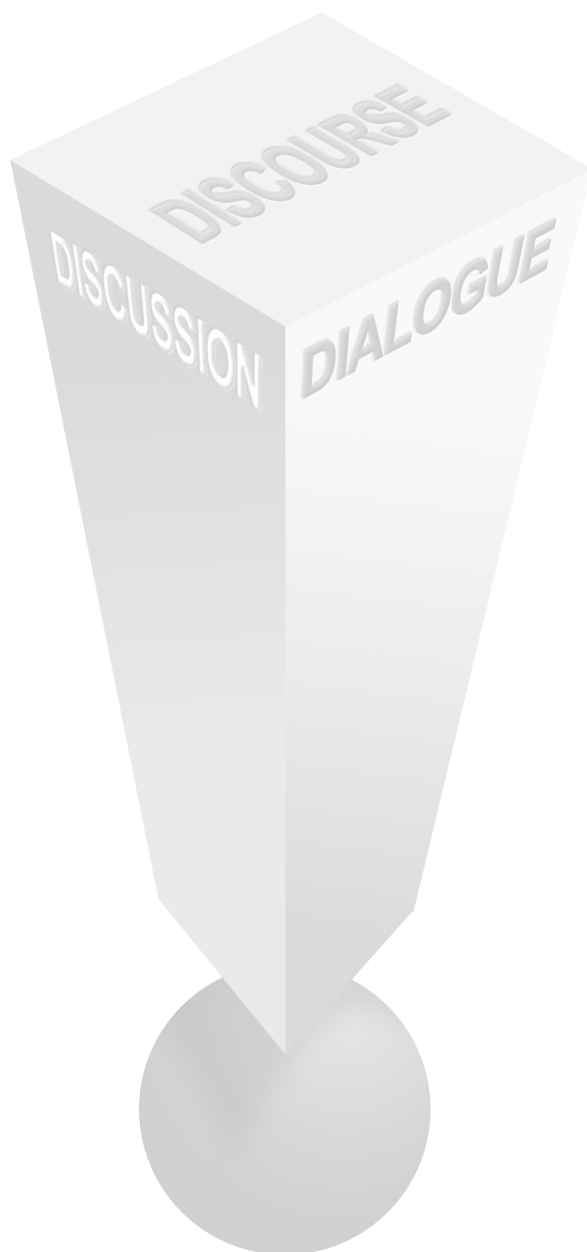
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The Chasm *between* The Gandhian Vision of an Ethical Social Order & The Present State of Corruption in India

Anand Y.P.

Former Director, National Gandhi Museum and Library, New Delhi

[Paper presented by Dr. Y.P. Anand at the Seminar on “**Mahatma Gandhi & The Current Scene of Corruption in the Country**”, held in the Centre for Gandhian Studies, GITAM University, Visakhapatnam, 28-30 August, 2012]

Abstract

The Paper attempts to delineate the growing chasm between the ethical/moral social order that Mahatma Gandhi had envisioned for independent India and for which the long freedom struggle was fought under his leadership, and the actual state of India as it has been developing during the 65 years after independence. Today, corruption is seen as an all-pervasive phenomenon in Indian public life, particularly in its political democratic structures and processes, which is then reflected in the growing corruption in the executive---judicial, civil and defence---sectors as well as in the fast growing business sector. The Paper sketches out Gandhiji's vision and concept of the ethical social order for India, including a brief review of the selected sources from his writings, an outline of Gandhian ethics proceeding from eternal values of truth and non-violence towards the more applied principles of individual and social behaviour, his views on ethics in legal, economic, and ecological spheres, his specific views on political funding, and a large list of instances when he showed his pain and anguish regarding

cases and prevalence of corruption in business, in the Congress Party, and in government services. The Paper then reviews the growing incidence of corruption in India, particularly in the political, judicial and other services sectors, and in business sector. It reviews growing occurrence of black money and of scams and how the current wave of globalization too has spurred the corrupt processes across borders.

It tries to give a broad approach for working towards eliminating the menace of growing corruption in various sectors in India and closes with a brief conclusion in the hope that necessary action will follow along the Gandhian lines.

1. Introduction

Ethics is the set of values, behavioral norms and motivations considered desirable for the individual and the community. Ethics is a person's or a group's set of substantive beliefs about what is good/right or bad/wrong in humankind and in relations among people. It deals with the old Socratic question: How should one live? It means a faith in the dictum: what you do to others, you do to yourself, a faith in "the essential unity of man and for that matter all that lives." [Not Even Half-mast, YI (24.12.1924), CW 25:390¹].

The word 'ethics' is derived from the Greek *ethos* and the word 'moral' from the Latin *mores*, both meaning custom or habit. *Dharma* as the concept of moral – ethical duty, originated in the Vedic times in the form of *rta*, the eternal moral order. The *shastras* say that '*dharma sustains the social order*' and '*those bereft of dharma are akin to animals*.' Ethics, morality, virtue, values, *dharma* are used commonly as overlapping, even interchangeable, terms.

While an individual must needs be ethical, a community too needs a 'shared ethics'; a state needs a 'state ethics'. Today the world needs a 'global ethics'. Values such as 'compassion', 'humility', 'non-violence or love', 'truth', 'justice' and 'integrity' are universal. These allow cross-cultural adaptability and reduce the dichotomy between 'egoism' and 'altruism', or the individual gain and the social good.

Mahatma Gandhi is universally accepted as an exemplary model of ethical and moral life, with a rare blending between the personal and the public, the individual and the social, the principles and the practice, the eternal and the immediate. He considered life to be an integrated whole, to be lived as a series of 'experiments with truth', thus growing in moral status each day. He took the existing religious and social precepts, fought to remove the 'excrescence', and worked incessantly, and died, through selfless service as the way to self-realization and to God. Towards the end he could truly say, 'My life is my message.'

As he said, "It is the moral nature of man by which he rises to good and noble thoughts. The different sciences show us the world as it is. Ethics tells us what it ought to be. It enables man to know how he should act." [Ethical Religion-I, IO (5.1.1907), CW 6:275-76] And, "Morality consists in doing what we ought to do." [Ethical Religion-II, IO (12.1.1907), CW 6:281] Further, "morals, ethics and religion are convertible terms." [Heading Towards Promiscuity, H (3.10.1936), CW 63:341] He believed that *dharma* was learned through tradition modified by reason and conscience.

Corruption is the anti-thesis of ethics, values, morals, *dharma*. It indicates lack of integrity, particularly financial integrity. It may be defined as a process of personal benefit at public cost, or more narrowly---abuse of

¹. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vols.1 to 100, New Delhi: Publications Division, 1958 – 94; referred in the Paper as CW Vol. no.:page no., e.g. CW 25:390. Further, in this Paper, abbreviations IO, YI, NJ, and H, represent respectively *Indian Opinion*, *Young India*, *Navajivan*, and *Harijan*; these are the weekly newspapers which Gandhiji used to edit and write for during different periods.

public power for private gain, or dishonest conduct especially by those in authority. Corruption is a process that unjustly benefits some at the expense of many, a process accomplished through shady means, largely illegal—often partly legal—but invariably unethical, a process which violates justice, equity, and dignity of others, particularly of those at the lower rungs of society. This is the silent evil of our times.

Corruption is now pervasive, almost endemic, in modern India. It may even be called a new form of governance, business, and social order. It has got built into the structure of Indian democracy and economy and has become almost accepted in Indian society. Charges or reputation of corruption has ceased to disqualify a person from a respected position in public and social life and no longer acts as a blot on the image of a leader or personality. Corruption has travelled so deep into the system that something much more radical is needed than a mere addition to existing laws and vigilance structures. The privileged and the powerful use whatever means become necessary, including democracy and its institutions, to perpetuate their privileges and corrupt practices.

Pervasive corruption in today's India can only be dealt with and eradicated by sincerely following and persisting with the Gandhian precepts and practices, which are based on high moral, ethical and social values and considerations. An attempt, therefore, has been made in this Paper to present 'The Gandhian Vision of an Ethical Social Order in India' (Para 2.), 'The Present State of Corruption in India' (Para 3.), and 'How to Make Indian Social Order more Ethical' (Para 4.). The Paper ends with a brief 'Conclusion'.

2. The Gandhian Vision of an Ethical Social Order in India

Gandhian ethics have 'deontological' as well as 'consequential' aspects. There are universal and eternal principles of right conduct and there are ethical practices relevant to the age and society, time and space. As in all human

activity, a set of ethics with which an individual, a group, a society or a state identifies itself, too involves an element of perceptions, choices, risks and dilemmas. "There is no such thing as absolute morality for all times. But there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for imperfect mortals that we are." [Faith v. Reason, 18.12.1939, H (23.12.1939), CW 71:46] Thus, while, "Human life is a series of compromises, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory."---"There are eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them." [Discussion with Teachers, <2.9.1936, H (5.9.1936), CW 63:255-56].

To Mahatma Gandhi, one's moral or ethical code must not flow from a self-righteous or self-centred attitude but from a concern to be humble, right, just and true towards others. His over 78 years of life included over 54 years of public life lived as an open book. The Gandhian literature includes 'The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi' (100 volume set) plus the growing corpus of other literature about him. These together constitute a vast source material for studying his ethics and values. However, within the context of this Paper, it is proposed to present the subject under following sub-headings:

- Gandhian Ethics and Values: Selected Sources from Gandhiji's 'Works'.
- An Outline of Gandhian Ethics.
- The Gandhian Perspective on 'Political Funding'.
- The Gandhian Perspective on 'Corruption'.

2.1. Gandhian Ethics and Values: Selected Sources from Gandhiji's 'Works'

Mahatma Gandhi wrote only a few 'books' but his 'works' consist of thousands of articles, letters, speeches, and discussions. Even his most mundane 'works' have an ethical content. However, here six of his books, written over a span of nearly 30 years, have been picked out to give a representative picture of what may be considered as Gandhian ethics and values.

[a] Unto This Last: A Paraphrase

As early as 1904, Gandhiji had studied John Ruskin's '*Unto This Last: Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy*' (1860). It advocated that the lowest person in a society too had equal basic rights that must be provided for by the political-economic order. As Gandhiji wrote in his *Autobiography*:

"I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life. - - - The teachings of *Unto This Last* I understood to be:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.
3. That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living. - - - I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:239]

He put these principles into immediate practice by setting up the Phoenix Settlement, his first 'ashram', near Durban. In 1906, he took vows of voluntary poverty and *brahmacharya* (celibacy) in order to devote himself entirely to service of the people, and on 11 September, 1906, was born his philosophy and technique of *satyagraha*, or non-violent resistance to racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa. He paraphrased the book *Unto This Last* in to Gujarati as *Sarvodaya* (welfare of all), which was published in the *Indian Opinion* in 1908.

[b] Ethical Religion

In 1907, Gandhiji wrote this booklet as a summary (in Gujarati) of eight out of fifteen chapters of the book on *Ethical Religion* by William MacIntyre Salter, founder of the Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago. This booklet gives a peep into the philosophical premises of Gandhian ethics. Some selected excerpts from it are quoted below:

- In our crazy pursuit of wealth, we seldom think of the harm we cause - - to others. - - Mr. Rockefeller, said to be the richest man in the world, violated many rules of morality in amassing his fortune. [Ethical Religion-I, IO (5.1.1907), CW 6:274]
- - - no such thing as reward for moral behaviour. If a man does some good deed, he does - - it because he must. - - And if someone should give him an opportunity to do a good deed, he would feel grateful. [Ethical Religion-I, IO (5.1.1907), CW 6:275-76]
- We ought to follow the path we know to be true - - true morality, true civilization and true progress are always to be found together. [Ethical Religion-II, IO (12.1.1907), CW 6:280]
- - - when we all care only for what our conscience says, then alone can we be regarded to have stepped on to the moral road. We shall not reach this stage, as long as we do not believe - - that God within us, the God of all, is the ever present witness to all our acts. [Ethical Religion-III, IO (19.1.1907), CW 6:288]
- To a moral man, public opinion or custom is binding only so long as it is in harmony with the moral law. [Ethical Religion-IV, IO (26.1.1907), CW 6:300]
- This mysterious moral law brings prosperity to the man who observes it: it sustains the family that obeys it, and the community which lives by it ever flourishes. Freedom, peace and happiness are the lot of the nation that lets itself be ruled by this highest law. [Ethical Religion-IV, IO (26.1.1907), CW 6:300]
- - - all morality involves social relations. - - no aspect of morality the benefit of which accrues to the practitioner alone. [Ethical Religion-VII, IO (16.2.1907), CW 6:330]
- - - all men are equal. - - the king is the servant - - of his people - - officers are not there to enjoy power but to make the people happy. If people in a democratic state are

selfish, that state comes to no good. [Ethical Religion-VII, IO (16.2.1907), CW 6:331]

- The man following this high moral standard will never amass wealth. [Ethical Religion-VII, IO (16.2.1907), CW 6:331]
- Man's highest duty in life is to serve mankind - -. That is true worship – true prayer. - - Contribution to an ideal order of human life is something everyone can aim at. [Ethical Religion-VIII, IO (23.2.1907), CW 6:341]
- - - he alone is religious, he alone is happy and - - wealthy, who is sincere in himself, bears no malice, exploits no one and always acts with a pure mind. Such men alone can serve mankind. [Ethical Religion-VIII, IO (23.2.1907), CW 6:341]

[c] **Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule**

["*Hind Swaraj*", 22.11.1909, CW 10:6-68]

In 1909, while returning from London to South Africa by ship, Gandhiji wrote (in Gujarati) this small book in the form of a dialogue between himself ('editor') and an Indian advocate of violence for attaining freedom ('reader'). The British Indian Government immediately banned it. It is today an important text in political philosophy in universities in India and abroad and commentaries on it continue to be written. Apart from dealing with the then vital political issues of India, it contains profound ethical observations about *swaraj*, democracy, civilization, means and ends, duties and rights, and patriotism, and provides, for the first time, a coherent rationale of nonviolent resistance to injustice and evil.

The following are some of the excerpts, which would indicate the deeply ethical content of the booklet:

- We who seek justice will have to do justice to others.
- Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe

morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. - - Our ancestors, therefore, set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition. - - - The tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilization is to propagate immorality.

- It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. - - we have to consider only one thing: how can the millions obtain self-rule? - - By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people - -.
- Two kinds of force can back petitions. "- - we shall hurt you if you do not give this," is one kind of force; - - of arms - -. The second kind - - love-force, soul-force or - - passive resistance. - - - The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. - - The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. - - When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. - - sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. - - If man will only realize that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him.
- Those who have money are not expected to throw it away, but they *are* expected to be indifferent about it.

[d] **An Autobiography, or, The Story of My Experiments with Truth**

This is the most widely read of Gandhiji's books. It first appeared in Gujarati in the *Navajivan* serially from 29 November, 1925, to 3 February, 1929. It covers Gandhiji's life up to 1920. Its 157 chapters are like a workbook on the role of ethics and morals in personal, social, political and economic fields as illustrated in Gandhiji's own life. It covers a wide range of examples as ideals for all of us.

An idea of the ethical thread that runs through the book can be had from the following excerpts from Gandhiji's 'Introduction'

[29.11.1925, CW 39:1-5] and 'Farewell' [3.2.1929, CW 39:400-2] in the book:

- What I want to achieve - - is self-realization; to see God face to face, to attain *moksha*.
- What is possible for one is possible for all, my experiments have been conducted - - in the open - - they are spiritual, or rather moral; for the essence of religion is morality.
- But for me, truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles.
- - - innumerable definitions of God, - - . But I worship God as Truth only.
- - - - I can say with assurance, as a result of my experiments, that a perfect vision of Truth can only follow a complete realization of Ahimsa.
- To see the universal - - Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. - - those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.
- Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification, the observance of the law of Ahimsa must remain an empty dream; - - And - - purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings.
- I must reduce myself to zero. - - Ahimsa is the farthest limit of humility.

[e] *Anasaktiyoga: The Gospel of Selfless Action or The Gita according to Gandhi*

Mahatma Gandhi called the *Bhagavad Gita* the 'Book of Life', his 'Mother' and his 'spiritual dictionary', which he would refer whenever in doubt or dilemma and it never failed him. He dealt with the *Gita* in the form of its dictionary prepared by him in jail, discourses on it, its translation titled *Anasakti-yoga* (issued on March 12, 1930, the day he started on the Salt March), his eighteen letters, one for each chapter, written from jail, and his references to its teaching in hundreds of his letters, speeches

and articles. His understanding of the *Gita* is the key to his ethical and moral views that informed his life in all spheres.

A outline of his interpretation of the *Gita* is given in his 'introduction' [*"Anasaktiyoga"*, 27.6.1929, CW 41:90-101] to the *Anasaktiyoga*. The following excerpts from it may be relevant:

- The *Gita* has become for us a spiritual reference book.
- Even in 1888-89, when I first became acquainted with the *Gita*, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that, under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind - - .
- Its second chapter, instead of teaching the rules of physical warfare, tells us how a perfected man is to be known.
- This belief in incarnation is a testimony of man's lofty spiritual ambition. - - [to] become like unto God. - - And this is self-realization.
- Every action is tainted - - . How can the body be made the temple of God? - - .The *Gita* has answered - - -: 'By desireless action; by renouncing fruits of action; by dedicating all activities to God.'
- - - all living beings have to do some work - - . - - Then how is one to be free from the bondage of action - - . The *Gita* says: 'Do your allotted work but renounce its fruit - be detached and work - - .' - - . But renunciation of fruit in no way means indifference to the result. - - Renunciation means absence of hankering after result.
- - - the religion [*dharma*] must rule even our worldly pursuits. - - all acts that are incapable of being performed without attachment are taboo.
- - - in trying to enforce in one's life the central teaching of the *Gita*, one is bound to follow Truth and *ahimsa*.

[f] From *Yervada Mandir: Ashram Observances*

During his incarceration, after the Salt

Satyagraha, in Yervada Central Prison in 1930, Mahatma Gandhi wrote weekly letters (in Gujarati) to the Ashram inmates, containing his observations on the principal 'Ashram Observances'. His 'ashrams' were not places of withdrawal from the world but were training camps where inmates learnt how to devote themselves to active service of society and nation. This booklet contains chapters on the eleven 'ashram vows': Truth, *Ahimsa* or Love, *Brahmacharya*, Control of the Palate, Non-stealing, Non-possession, Fearlessness, Removal of Untouchability, Bread Labour, Tolerance i.e. Equality of Religions, and *Swadeshi*. In addition it has chapters on Humility, *Yajna* or Sacrifice, and Importance of Vows. It is a gold mine of Gandhiji's views on ethics of life.

2.2. An Outline of Gandhian Ethics

Under the Gandhian philosophy and practice, ethical (moral, spiritual, religious) preamble must underlie all human thought, word and deed, choices and relationships, goals and endeavour. He had endorsed enumeration of 'politics without principles, wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, and worship without sacrifice', as 'Seven Social Sins'. [NOTES, YI (22.10.1925), CW 28:365]

Below an attempt has been made to present an outline of the basic principles of Gandhian ethics, proceeding from the eternal towards the more applied principles of individual and social behaviour:

[a] Truth

For Gandhiji, "truth is the sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not truthfulness in word, but - - in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God." Human mind works through innumerable ways and what may seem truth to one may be untruth to another. Hence, he said, "But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must

I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it." [An Autobiography, CW 39:4] As a corollary, "- - one has to - - be guided by truth as one sees it. But no one has a right to coerce others to act according to his own view of truth." [Speech at Deoli, 11.11.1933, H (24.11.1933), CW 56:216]

In Indian thought, '*satya*' (truth) denotes all reality and existence, and Gandhiji's message is to concentrate all our effort in pursuit of this Truth. This requires a lifelong effort for self-purification in order to develop the 'inner voice'---the conscience: "I claim nearly half a century of ceaseless effort to purify my mind completely so that I may be able to hear the voice within." [Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 13.9.1932, CW 51:53] He further elaborated: "For me the voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth, or the Inner Voice or 'the still small voice' mean one and the same thing." [All About the Fast, H (8.7.1933), CW 55:255] His pursuit of truth is inseparable from that of nonviolence, love and justice.

[b] Nonviolence

Individuals, societies and nations have traditionally taken recourse to violence for settling differences, disputes and conflicts. Gandhiji presented a fundamental challenge to this system of thinking. Martin Luther King, Jr., another martyr to the pursuit of nonviolent resistance to evil, had said: "Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethics of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale." Following are some of the basic precepts of the Gandhian ethic of 'nonviolence' in his own words:

- - - - non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. - - - Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. - - - Nonviolence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. [The Doctrine of the Sword, YI (11.8.1920), CW 18:155-58]

- I object to violence because, when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent. [On the Verge of It, YI (21.5.1925), CW 27:133-34]
- Non-violence is not a cover for cowardice, but it is the supreme virtue of the brave. [Has Non-violence Limits? YI (12.8.1926), CW 31:292]
- If mankind was not habitually non-violent, it would have been self-destroyed ages ago. [The Cult of the Bomb, YI (2.1.1930), CW 42:363]
- Nevertheless, ahimsa is the means and Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa becomes our supreme duty and Truth becomes God for us. [Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 28/31.7.1930, CW 44:58]
- A Government cannot succeed in becoming entirely non-violent, because it represents all the people. I do not today conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society. [Disc. with Pacifists, on or <19.2.1940, H (9.3.1940), CW 71:226]
- Violence can only be effectively met by nonviolence. [Q. BOX, 25.5.1947, H (1.6.1947), CW 88:1]

[c] Right Means for Right Ends

In Gandhian philosophy of life, means are even more important than the ends: "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. - - - the Creator has given us control (and that too, very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means." [An Appeal to the Nation, YI (17.7.1924), CW 24:396]

Raghvan Iyer's comment in his book, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* [New Delhi: O.U.P., 2000, p.361], is relevant here: "Gandhi seems to stand almost alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent

that they, rather than the ends, provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptance of *satya* and *ahimsa*, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship."

In his presidential address at the Belgaum Congress, he said that the Congress must recognize the value of social reforms for attaining India's freedom: "The spinning-wheel, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability are only means to an end. The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. Means and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life." [Presidential Address at Belgaum Congress, 26.12.1924, CW 25:480] In his statement to the press [September, 1934], amongst the reasons given by him for severing his membership of Indian National Congress was that, "many Congressmen - - believe that end justifies means whatever they may be." [Statement to the Press, 17.9.1934, CW 59:9-10]

[d] Primacy of Duties over Rights

He said that in his nonviolent *Swaraj*, "There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. - - - And people who obtain rights as a result of performance of duty, exercise them only for the service of society, never for themselves." [Appeal to People of Rajkot, 13.3.1939, H (18.3.1939), CW 69:52] And, "In fact, the right to perform one's duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all legitimate rights." [Talk with Workers of Rajkot Praja Parishad, 12.3.1939, H (29.5.1939), CW 69:50] He went so far as to say that "we are born debtors in the world to which we owe a debt and we are dependent on others right from birth." [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 28.6.1947, CW 88:231]

[e] The Deed, not the Doer

Gandhiji believed that human beings are never beyond redemption, because: "Man and his deed are two distinct things. Whereas a good deed calls forth approbation and a wicked

deed disapprobation, the doer of the deed, whether good or wicked, always deserves respect or pity as the case may be. 'Hate the sin and not the sinner' is a precept which, though easy to understand, is rarely practised, and that is why the poison of hatred spreads in the world. -- To slight a single human being is to slight those divine powers, and thus to harm not only that Being but with him the whole world." [An Autobiography, CW 39:220]

As he explained, "Those who seek to destroy men rather than manners adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with the men. They do not know the root of evil." [No and Yes, YI (17.3.1927), CW 33:164] Further, none is without blemish, "I am too conscious of the imperfections of the species to which I belong to be irritated by any single member thereof." [What It Is Not, YI (12.3.1930), CW 43:57] Hence, he said, "My non-cooperation is with methods and systems, never with men." [My Limitations, YI (12.9.1929), CW 41:379]

[f] True Religion (Universality and Brotherhood)

Gandhiji was a person of religion, but never of sectarianism. His views echoed the *Rg-Veda*: 'truth is one, sages call it by many names'. He used the terms religion, ethics and morality interchangeably. Religion meant to him "a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. -- transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity etc. -- It harmonizes them and gives them reality." [Q. BOX, 4.2.1940, H (10.2.1940), CW 71:177-78] This religion was the basis of all activity to him: "My politics and all other activities are derived from my religion." [Sp. at Panampet, 22.2.1934, H (2.3.1934), CW 57:199]

He was an apostle of religious harmony: "I believe that all the great religions of the world are true -- -- 'more or less' because I believe that everything that the human hand touches, -- -- becomes imperfect. Perfection is the exclusive attribute of God -- --. It is necessary for all of us to aspire after perfection,

but when that blessed state is attained, it becomes indescribable, indefinable." [Sp. at Findlay College, Mannargudi, 15.9.1927, YI (22.9.1927), CW 34:550] Looking at it another way, "In theory, since there is one God, there can be only one religion. But in practice, no two persons I have known have had the same identical conception of God." [Some Questions Answered, H (2.2.1934), CW 57:89-90] Regarding scriptures too his views were similar: "I believe the Bible, the Koran and the Zend Avesta, to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word -- as divinely inspired. -- -- I decline to be bound by an interpretation, however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense." [Hinduism, YI (6.10.1921), CW 21:246]

Gandhiji had also waged a life-long battle against various evils being practised in the name of religion. Same spirit permeates all creation, which means right human conduct can only be based on universal love and selfless service.

[g] Aparigraha or Non-possession (Voluntary Poverty)

The concept of *aparigraha*, a social ethic recurrent in Indian philosophy, is inherent in Gandhiji's ideas of nonviolence, true religion and unity of life. Thus service of God becomes service of His creation, sacrifice and sharing and simple living ('eating to live, not living to eat'). It is the antithesis of selfishness and acquisitiveness. As he said in an address in London: "-- if I had to serve the people -- -- I must discard all wealth, all possessions. -- -- if I kept any thing as my own, I had to defend it against the whole world -- -- because theirs was a greater need than mine." He explained, "Non-possession is allied to non-stealing. A thing not originally stolen must nevertheless be classified as stolen property if we possess it without needing it. -- -- If each retained possession of only what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment." [Sp. at Guildhouse Church, 23.9.1931, CW 48:51] He went so far as to assert, "Civilization, in the real sense of the

term, consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increases the capacity for service." [Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 24/26.8.1930, CW 44:103]

He castigated greed and selfish consumerism as the causes of economic disparities: "The golden rule--is resolutely to refuse to have what the millions cannot." [Sacrifice, YI (24.6.1926), CW 31:45] His saying, "Renunciation is life. Indulgence spells death," [Living up to 125, 11.2.1946, H (24.2.1946), CW 83:118], sums up his life's dictum.

[h] *Satyagraha* or Non-violent Approach to Conflict Resolution (and 'Beauty of Compromise')

In any society, there are bound to be situations of conflict and alienation or of perceived injustice or exploitation. When legal redress is not forthcoming, individuals or groups who see themselves as wronged, would usually seek remedy by violent resistance or revolt. But during his struggle for the rights of the Indians in South Africa, Gandhiji evolved a unique ideology and technique of nonviolently resisting evil, which he called *satyagraha*, i.e., through pursuit of truth. Then, for over thirty years during his leadership of the Indian freedom struggle, *satyagraha* became the national mode of protest and revolt. It has now developed into a universal theory and technique of political and social protest and activism. A wide range of means of seeking justice through truth, nonviolence and self-suffering is available to a *satyagrahi*: non-cooperation, civil disobedience, passive resistance, fasting, *hartals*, boycotts, and *dharnas* (sit-ins) have become a common vocabulary of *satyagraha*. Gandhiji also believed that a *satyagrahi* must remain ready for "a chance of compromise on honourable terms." [An Englishman's Dilemma, YI (16.4.1931), CW 46:7]

In Gandhiji's own words:

- - - one's opponent - - must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what

appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. [Statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee, 5.1.1920, CW 16:369]

- Non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good. [The Poet's Anxiety, YI (1.6.1921), CW 20:163]
- Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, - -. [Contempt of Court, YI (24.3.1920), CW 17:114]
- A *satyagrahi* bids good-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid of trusting the opponent. [*Satyagraha in South Africa*, CW 29:130]
- Since *satyagraha* is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a *satyagrahi* exhausts all other means before he resorts to *satyagraha*. [Sp. at Nagercoil, 8.10.1927, YI (20.10.1927), CW 35:100]
- The *satyagrahi* whilst he is ever ready for fight, must be equally eager for peace. [Sp. at Azad Maidan, Bombay, 17.3.1931, YI (19.3.1931), CW 45:305]
- - - it excludes every form of violence, direct or indirect, - - in thought, word or deed. - - It is the direct opposite of compulsion. [An Impatient Worker, H (15.4.1933), CW 54:416-17]

[k] Ethics and Law

The rule of law was originally conceived as a civilizing and equalizing force to replace violence as a means of resolving conflicts. But as it has developed, it retains the model of a battle or a game played to win with whatever means one could employ. Gandhiji rejected this adversarial concept of the rule of law. He saw that even a court decision brought about no reconciliation. As he said, "even truthfulness in the practice of the profession cannot cure it of the fundamental defect that vitiates it." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:291]

His basic views on ethics of law are expressed in *Hind Swaraj*: "- - the profession teaches immorality; it is exposed to temptation from which few are saved. - - The lawyers, therefore,

will, as a rule, advance quarrels instead of repressing them. --- take up profession not in order to help others out of their miseries, but to enrich themselves. -- their interest exists in multiplying disputes. -- They frame laws --. They decide what fees they will charge --. -- The parties alone know who is right. We, in our simplicity and ignorance, imagine that a stranger, by taking our money, gives us justice." [*Hind Swaraj*, CW 10:33-34]

He himself had nearly fifteen years of a very successful practice as a lawyer in South Africa. A good example of the untraditional role he visualized for the lawyers is the very first lawsuit that took him to South Africa in 1893. He was warned by his client, Abdulla Sheth, to be wary of the defendant, Tyeb Sheth. But Gandhiji told him, "I do intend cultivating the acquaintance of the other party. -- I would try, if possible, to settle the case out of court." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:92] He studied the case and being convinced that it was in the interest of both parties to end the case quickly, he persuaded Tayeb Sheth to agree to arbitration. The arbitration resulted in an award to Gandhiji's client, but the award money would have bankrupted Tyeb Sheth. Then he persuaded his client to accept a long term, no interest payment plan. As he said, "But both were happy over the result, and both rose in the public estimation. My joy was boundless. I had learnt the true practice of law. -- I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part -- of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby--- not even money, certainly not my soul." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:111]

As he records further, "I built up such a reputation that no false case used to come to me." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:289] Once he asked the court to dismiss the case that he was representing as he discovered that his client had deceived him. He records, "I have an impression that he [his client] was not angry with me for having asked the magistrate to

decide against him." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:292] Again, a rich trader friend of his, Parsi Rustomji, was caught in a case of smuggling. He told Gandhiji that he had been indulging in smuggling but had not told him. Gandhiji persuaded him to confess all of his smuggling, far beyond the present case, and offer to pay a fine equal to twice the profit from smuggling. The Attorney General accepted the arrangement, and Rustomji framed in his office the confession as a reminder.

He saw the court as a 'forum' and the lawsuit as a dialogue between opponents. His conduct of cases of *satyagraha* in South Africa and later in India followed this dictum. He and others always pleaded guilty of having broken the law and happily accepted the prescribed punishment. The 'Great Trial' in Ahmedabad in 1922 after which he was awarded six years' imprisonment, lasted just one hundred minutes, spent primarily in his statement of why he had become a non-cooperator. He gave voice to the concerns of the millions of Indians. But, while passing the sentence, the English judge said, "if the course of events should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I." [The Great Trial, 18.3.1922, YI (23.3.1922), CW 23:120]

[j] Ethics and Economics – the Gandhian Perspective

He claimed that, "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time be also good economics. An economics that inculcates mammon worship and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak, is a false and dismal science. It spells death. True economics -- stands for social justice; it promotes the good of all equally, including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life." [Primary Education in Bombay, H (9.10.1937), CW 66:168] He insisted that: "Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful." [The Great Sentinel, YI (13.10.1921), CW 21:290]

Gandhiji was not an economist in the accepted sense. But he has given enough concepts, values, and examples in his lifetime, and an underlying philosophy for an ethical socio-economic order. His concern was civilizational: what sort of a society we are building! While Adam Smith, Karl Marx and J.M. Keynes were occupied with production and possession of 'wealth', Gandhian economic thought was taken up with harmonious 'good' and 'welfare' of the individual and of the society. For example, he had remarked thus about economics of *khadi*: "You know how Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, after laying down certain principles according to which economic phenomena are governed, went on to describe certain other things which constituted the 'disturbing factor' and prevented economic laws from having free play. Chief among these was the 'human element'. Now it is this 'human element' on which the entire economics of *khadi* rests; and human selfishness, Adam Smith's pure economic motive, constitutes the disturbing factor that has got to be overcome." [Intv. to Khadi Workers, on or before 24.8.1934, H (21.9.1934), CW 58:353]

Modern economics, evades such ethical/moral issues as unemployment, disparities, alienation, ecological violence, and corruption. In the name of efficiency, productivity or profit, economic power coalesces into national and global monopolies. Issues of armaments, terrorism, illegal trade and trafficking, and unequal use of finite resources rarely inform economic growth theories. But he could not be ethically neutral nor accept the thesis of the 'economic man'. That, however, does not make Gandhian economics utopian. While he sets ideals, his 'truth' is relative and dynamic, not dogmatic.

Gandhiji had said: "That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values." [Presidential Address at Belgaum Congress, 26.12.1924, YI (26.12.1924), CW 25:475] In his address at Allahabad, on '*Does Economic Progress Clash with Real Progress*', he had said: "That you cannot serve God and Mammon

is an economic truth of the highest value. - - Let us seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added onto us. These are real economics." [Sp. at Muir College Economic Society, Allahabad, 22.12.1916, CW 13:314-16] For social good, *dharma* and *artha* (political economy) must go together: "There is no doubt that a union of *dharma* and *artha* is possible for an individual, the society and the nation." [Letter to U.R. Krishnaiyya, 2.7.1934, CW 58:141] And, "Experience shows that altruism and self-interest can be blended in trade. Genuine *artha* is that alone which includes *paramartha* [the supreme good]." [Sp. to Businessmen, Karachi, 8.7.1934, CW 58:152]

He accepted John Ruskin's view that individual action becomes socially meaningful only if based not on utilitarian principles and 'balances of expediency' but on 'balances of justice (affections)'. In modern time, Amartya Sen has gone so far as to say in his book *On Ethics and Economics*, "universal selfishness as a requirement of rationality is patently absurd." The ethical basis of the Gandhian economic thought is apparent from his primary concepts of Swaraj ('self-rule'), Gram Swaraj, Swadeshi ('economics of neighbourhood') and appropriate Mechanization, Bread Labour ('duty and right to work'), Non-possession ('need-based economy'), Trusteeship ('Gandhian thesis of social ownership'), Constructive Programme, and Sarvodaya ('welfare of all'). He advocated decentralization as he saw disempowerment of the individual and lack of transparency in the centralizing process. 'Trusteeship', is the Gandhian thesis of Corporate Social Responsibility. As independence approached, he stated: "Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees." [Ans.s to Q.s at Constructive Workers' Conf., Madras, 24.1.1946, CW 83:27]

[k] Ethics and Ecology

Gandhiji regarded human beings as trustees of all creation, animate and inanimate: "It is an arrogant assumption to say that human

beings are lords and masters of the lower creatures. On the contrary, being endowed with greater things in life, they are the trustees of the lower animal kingdom." [Sp. at Young Men's Buddhist Assn., Colombo, 25.11.1927, YI (8.12.1927), CW 35:313] His ideas of simple living, and economic equality, and his concern for hygiene and sanitation and against any wastage---even of a drop of water or a scrap of paper or a minute of time, and his whole lifestyle and life's values, made him an ideal environmentalist well before these concerns became a common issue.

The following are some of his views relevant to the issue:

- "We have no right to destroy life that we cannot create." [Ages-old Problem, YI (7.7.1927), CW 34:131]
- "We may utilize the gifts of Nature just as we choose, but in her books the debits are always equal to the credits." [*History of Satyagraha Ashram*, 1.7.1932, CW 50:215]
- "Therefore the ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be a delusion and a snare. - - Man's happiness lies in contentment." [A Disc. with Maurice Friedman, on or before 25.8.1936, H (29.8.1936), CW 63:241]
- His model village would have, "perfect sanitation - - based on local recycling of human and animal manure. - - cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. - - The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. - - wells according to its needs and accessible to all. - - houses of worship for all; also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a co-operative dairy, primary and secondary schools in which industrial education will be the central fact, and - - panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruit, and its own khadi." [A Humble Villager of Birbhum, H (9.1.1937), CW 64:217]

- "Simplicity is the essence of universality. - - Anyone who fouls the air by spitting about carelessly, throwing refuse and rubbish, or otherwise dirtying the ground, sins against man and nature." [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 24.3.1946, H (7.4.1946), CW 83:315]
- "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not for every man's greed." [MAHATMA GANDHI, by Pyarelal, *The Last Phase*, Part II, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1958, p.552]

The new environmentalism, 'Deep Ecology', propagated by Arne Naess, closely mirrors the Gandhian philosophy. According to Naess, "Gandhi's utopia is one of the few that shows ecological balance, and today his rejection of the Western world's material abundance and waste is accepted by progressives of ecological movement." ['Gandhi, Deep Ecology, Peace Research and Buddhist Economics', by Thomas Weber, *J. Peace Research*, vol.36, no.3, 1999]

2.3. The Gandhian Perspective on Political Funding

The unfailing source of light out of the present 'encircling gloom' of corruption in India comes out of what Gandhiji said about political funding, and the sanctity of accounting for every income and expenditure.

In South Africa, after he set up Natal Indian Congress in 1894, he—a raw youth---ensured total integrity in collection of funds for it: "- on the 22nd May the Natal Indian Congress came into being. - - Its constitution was simple, the subscription was heavy. - - The task of collecting subscriptions lay with me, I being the secretary. - - we always insisted on the receipts being given. Every pie was thus clearly accounted for - -. Carefully kept accounts are a *sine qua non* for any organization. - - without properly kept accounts it is impossible to maintain truth in its pristine purity." [*An Autobiography*, CW 39:123-25]

In India, while conducting the Non-cooperation movement, he stressed the need

for honest workers: "We shall certainly need money for all our tasks. But my greatest difficulty is in raising funds. - - I get dishonest workers to collect funds. - - - We shall make progress in this work of raising funds only if volunteers who are entrusted with it realize that they hold public money in trust." [Sp. at Mehmedabad, 1.11.1920, NJ (7.11.1920), CW 18:410] &, "[w]e need five lakhs of rupees. - - - Statements of expenditure will be published from time to time. - - - If we but get honest workers, we can easily collect as much as we need. I hope no one will hand over this contribution to an unknown person." [Request to People, NJ (7.11.1920), CW 18:447-48] Soon thereafter, he gave an all-time ethic while dealing with funds being collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund: "If we do not account properly for every pie we receive and do not make a judicious use of the funds, we shall deserve to be blotted out of public life." [NOTES, YI (6.7.1921), CW 20:323]

He insisted on 'Spartan simplicity' in those handling public funds: "Have they (workers/volunteers) been able to remain free from the but too common weakness of being lax with regard to the use of public funds? - - - what we need is Spartan simplicity." [Sp. at Bardoli, 12.8.1928, YI (13.9.1928), CW 37:168]

During the Salt Satyagraha, when asked about "the question of economy in national expenditure and the duty of those who would have to run the swaraj Government in future", he explained: "I do not think anyone can beat me in my passion for guarding and expending public money like a miser. The reason is obvious. Public money belongs to the poor public of India than whom there is none poorer on earth." [Sp. at Convocation of Guj. Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 11.4.1931, YI (16.4.1931), CW 45:408] Soon thereafter, he explained at a meeting in London, why elections within the Congress were 'direct' at the lowest level and then 'indirect' at higher levels, as it also allowed election expenses to be kept low: "Under this scheme I cannot conceive the possibility of a candidate having to spend Rs. 60,000 over an election, or even

one lakh. I know of some cases in which the expenses have run to one lakh of rupees in my opinion, an atrocious figure for the poorest country in the world." [Sp. at Federal Structure Committee, 17.9.1931, CW 48:33]

Since independence, political parties have been evading a check on their funds and accounts, which is the fountainhead of corruption in India. While in U.K., in a message to the Indians there, Gandhiji had pointed out in 1931 itself about "a dire need everywhere for accountants to audit the accounts of Congress and its adjunct organizations." [Message to Indians in the United Kingdom, 18.10.1931, YI (5.11.1931), CW 48:183]

How strictly he took the issue of controlling expenses at political events, should guide us today also: "Nowhere have the reception committees been so extravagant as in Travancore - -. - - As usual I have asked for detailed and audited account of expenses. - - - the purses should be handed intact. - - - The fewest number of volunteers should be employed. Motor hire for local purposes should be minimized. - - - Printing charges should be incurred only when absolutely necessary. No decoration charges can be allowed - - - the simplest food only is expected. No sweets, no elaborate dishes, no spices - - - milk and fruit may be provided once for all at the morning meal." [Is It Criminal? H (9.2.1934), CW 57:131-32]

This is how he explained the complex issue of funds whose source may be tainted: "The gift of what you assume to be ill-gotten gains cannot lessen the guilt of the exploiter. If he had kept the money for himself, that would have been an additional count against him. If instead he makes a gift of it to me from pure motives, he escapes the additional sin. It is also likely that a good use of his gift may wean the exploiter from immoral means of making money. But no blame attaches to me for having accepted the gift. - - - There is one condition, however, - - that the gift is made and accepted out of pure motives. - - - Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is

evil. Capital in some form or other will always be needed.” [Q. BOX: Donation of Tainted Money, 22.7.1940, H (28.7.1940), CW 72:306]

On the issue of using public funds for personal purpose, he said: “I have never made any such use and have always advised friends to do likewise. - - no other course open to persons who enjoy public confidence and to whom the public give donations - -. It would be a terrible thing, if the trust reposed in one were abused for personal purposes. - - - Public service must be, like Caesar’s wife, above suspicion.” [Purses for Public Men, 19.2.1946, H (24.2.1946), CW 83:154-55] Reverting to the issue of donations from doubtful sources, he clarified: “Not one pie should be taken for selfish ends and all should be received with God as witness. I do, however, hold that it would be wrong to receive money from any group or individual whom the recipient considers to be unworthy.” [The Charity of the Rich, 5.5.1946, H (12.5.1946), CW 84:104]

2.4. The Gandhian Perspective on Corruption

Gandhiji’s pursuit of truth and ethical principles in both personal and public life left no room whatsoever for corruption and bribery in any walk of life. Transparency, integrity and accountability became the hallmarks of public behaviour during freedom struggle. These further engendered the spirit of sacrifice, service and renunciation as a prerequisite of socio-economic and political conduct under his leadership.

However, there is enough evidence that during the freedom struggle, Gandhiji had started noticing and taking a serious view of even an indication of corruption, misuse of public funds, and extravagance within the Congress from early time. Apart from his guidelines on why and how to account for every penny collected and spent by public organizations with absolute honesty and economy as a ‘trust’, he repeatedly lamented the presence and rise of corrupt tendencies within the Congress and in the society at large.

While in South Africa, this is how he advised

observance of ethics in business: “You can conform to morality while engaged in business. - - You will be, moreover, rendering a service to others through your business if you can practice absolute honesty in your dealings. You should accept a fixed price from every customer, one which would permit a reasonable margin of profit. You ought not to sell articles which you would not use yourself. You should be civil to the customers, [though] you need not flatter them in order to promote sales. If you have any assistants, you should treat them as if they were your brothers. - - it is not as if you took to business in order to make dishonest gains. - - One may feel unhappy in a situation which one dislikes, but one will not be corrupted.” [Letter to Raojibhai Patel, 4.12.1912, CW 11:225]

Soon after his arrival in India, he stressed the need for honesty in business for the success of swadeshi itself: “The swadeshi wave passed through the country at one time. But I understand that the movement had collapsed largely because Indian merchants had palmed off foreign goods as swadeshi articles. By Indian merchants being honest and straightforward in their business, they could achieve a great deal for the regeneration and uplift of the country.” [Sp. in Reply to Address, Karachi, 29.2.1916, CW 13:254]

In another speech on the same day, he reiterated that businessmen must be ethical also: “It is not the right way for a business man merely to earn and lay by money - - anyhow by exploiting the poor. - - even the Pindaris used to get wealthy by robbing people. I see no difference between a man who cheats in business and one who slaps another and forces him to part with his money. Business men should follow truth in their business - -. - - They, too, should be in tune with the atmosphere around them. In fact, the very scriptures of Muslims, Hindus and Parsis enjoin them to serve the people while they carry on their business. He is no worthy business man who, in times of famine, raises the prices so high that the people simply break down. This kind of thing ruins both the people

and the business men. The failure of the swadeshi movement is also to be attributed to the business men. - - Just as the Kshatriya's duty is not killing [but protecting], so also the business man's duty is not amassing wealth." [Sp. at Karachi, 29.2.1916, CW 13:255-6]

He stressed the same again after some time: "When merchants take to politics through patriotism, swaraj is as good as obtained. - - Amongst the various keys which will unlock swaraj to us, the swadeshi vow is the golden one - - and this is an adventure which can be popularized by the merchants. - - I have to say with regret that it is the merchant class which has brought ruin to the swadeshi practice and the swadeshi movement in this country. Complaints have lately risen in Bengal about the increase of rates, and one of them is against Gujarat. It is complained there that the prices of dhotis have been abnormally increased and dhotis go from Gujarat. - - Merchants must earn money by fair means. Unfair means must never be used." [Sp. at Reception by Merchants, Broach, >19.10.1917, CW 14:6-7]

Our dharma is to be honest in all activities: "We cannot claim to have followed dharma by earning money through *adharma*, and giving it in charity for promoting pious causes. - - We are told that trade cannot be carried on without some admixture of dishonesty. - - if that is so, you had better give up trade. One's dharma lies in refusing to forsake truth even if that means starving, and, unless we live in this manner, dharma will not be the central purpose of our lives." [Sp. on Swadeshi, Bombay, 28.6.1919, CW 15:400]

He was concerned about integrity in all public life and administration. He wrote about the railways: "There is no end of complaints about thefts and corruption on railways. If all these are true, they are a matter of deep shame, especially at a time when the whole country is passing through the fire of purification [Non-cooperation satyagraha]." [NOTES, NJ (24.7.1921), CW 20:423] When told that "greedy persons have been selling foreign or mill-made cloth by passing it off as khadi"

he stated: "This does not surprise me. When the entire system of government is based on fraud, what else can we expect from people? Go where you will, to law-courts, shops or hospitals, even to legislatures, everywhere you will see cheating. Non-cooperation is intended to save us from this." [MY NOTES, NJ (7.9.1921), CW 21:52]

Soon after he had presided over the Belgaum Congress in December 1924, he became concerned about want of total probity within the Congress organization. When asked, "If any individual person or an organized body misappropriates Congress funds or refuses to make over the papers and account-books along with the funds and other properties - - - what steps should be taken", he replied, "I should have no hesitation, if my entreaty failed, in taking legal proceedings, civil or criminal, against the wrongdoer even though he may be my own father or son." [Three Questions, YI (25.6.1925), CW 27:292] And then, in an article captioned 'Congress Corruption' he wrote: "I receive letters every week complaining that corruption and indiscipline have crept into the Congress ranks, that people have got into the Congress who seek to exploit it for their own private end.-.-.- Congress Committees in several parts of India have been using monies received by them for purposes other than those for which they were earmarked." [YI (30.7.1925), CW 27:452] Soon, he had to reiterate his warning: "Corruption has gradually entered our public life. - - - With money in the Congress treasury, temptation followed and laxity came over its working. - - - Vices - - enter stealthily, without our being aware of their coming. - - - Unknown to us, corruption has entered us. It is necessary to be on our guard against it." [Purity, NJ (13.9.1925, CW 28:174]

He wrote about the wide prevalence of extortionists in Government departments thus: "A passenger who has recently returned from South Africa asked me if it was not possible to undo the evil of extortions that regularly take place in the Customs Department. Although his luggage contained

nothing taxable, he said he had to give a bribe in order to get the clearance in time. I asked him if he would give enough time and trouble to the matter and face an inquiry. He said he could not do so. This attitude is normal and explains the existence of the exactions which are not only to be found in the customs but also on railways. Whilst - - the public must be prepared to suffer temporary inconveniences, if they want redress, it is up to the authorities to prevent so far as it is humanly possible exactions which poor people have to suffer. It will not be a bad thing for some public-spirited young men to submit themselves to these exactions and then report them to the proper quarters. - - The only way to the eradication of the evil is no doubt an incorruptible public. So long as there are people who would evade customs dues, so long will there be customs officials who will want their price." [NOTES, YI (28.10.1926), CW 31:537]

He also spoke about corruption in municipal elections: "I have noticed that in many municipalities corruption is rampant during election time, whereas every municipal councillor should consider himself a trustee and custodian of public health and public morals." [Sp. at Kumbakonam, 14.9.1927, CW 34:535]

When asked what should a public worker do if falsely accused of misappropriation of public funds, he explained in detail that, "slander and misrepresentation have always been the lot of public men. - - Nor is a successful action in the law-court by any means a conclusive proof of a man's innocence, for do we not meet everyday instances of scoundrels who use the certificates of law-courts as a cloak to hide their sins and to continue with impunity their practices? Again can any penalty that a law-court may inflict stop the poison of evil tongues from spreading? - - -

"As for the public it can always take care of itself against dishonest servants. - - and the public can, as it is its right and duty, in every case of justifiable suspicion, call its servants to strict account, dismiss them, sue them in a law-

court, or appoint an arbitrator or inspector to scrutinize their conduct, as it likes. Therefore - - the best and the only right course would be for the public to prevent actual corruption from taking place by maintaining sleepless vigilance and for the servant to keep the public on the *qui vive*. - - if the people - - allow their vigilance to go to sleep, not all the law-courts in the world will be able to prevent the practice of villainy. For we see how law is unable to touch gentlemen rascals dressed in spotless white, and going about in motor-cars." [How to Meet Base Innuendoes, YI (6.12.1928), CW 38:143-4]

Discounting any relationship between high salaries and efficiency or honesty, he wrote: "I do think that the association of high salaries with efficiency and public honesty is an hypnotic effect produced by the rulers. - - The present civil service is open to influences which are far more subtle and deadly than open bribery. Nor do I consider the administration to be efficient except in so far as it guarantees at the point of the bayonet safety for the lives of the European population but certainly not of the masses. I think that we have patriotic men and women enough in the country who, when we come to our own, will gladly give their services for maintenance money that will easily bear comparison with the average income of the toiling but starving millions." [Letter to Surendra Singh, 26.4.1931, CW 46:46-7] What a fond hope it was to be!

Answering apprehensions regarding adverse consequences of having ceilings on salaries of government officials, as proposed at the Karachi Congress, he persisted: "There is very little connection between corruption and the size of salaries. When the consciousness of dharma spreads and people are inspired by a sense of public service, they do not demand or accept bribes. Giving high salaries for fear of spread of corruption - - - means that for preventing a man from taking a bribe occasionally, he should be paid a permanent bribe in the form of a big salary!" [MY NOTES, NJ (26.7.1931), CW 47:211]

After the hectic period covering *Salt*

Satyagraha, Round Table Conference, and Poona Pact, he came hard on corruption in the democratic process in both the Congress and the 'Western democracy': "Letters have been coming - - about corrupt methods that have crept into the Congress elections and the like. For me, therefore, every other thing has paled into insignificance before this prime necessity of achieving internal purity." [Interview to the Press, 16.8.1934, CW 58:316] And, "I have always said since 1908 that means and end are convertible terms - - - - It will be admitted that many Congressmen do not admit this, to me the obvious truth. They believe that end justifies means whatever they may be. - - - - Western democracy is on its trial, if it has not already proved a failure. May it not be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of this fitness? **Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy as they undoubtedly are today; nor bulk a true test of democracy.**" (emphasis added) [Statement to the Press, 17.9.1934, CW 59:9-12]

He wrote thus against bribery on the Railways and in the municipalities: "Bribery in the name of *mamul* and the like to railway officials and the others is not an unusual occurrence in Indian life. - - - even for the performance of his duty, not to speak of committing breach thereof. I have had to suffer in my time for refusing to pay a paltry anna at the third-class ticket windows for getting my ticket in my turn - - ." [Bribery, H (23.5.1936), CW 62:434]

After the Congress got its ministries (1937) in majority of the provinces under the British rule, Gandhiji repeatedly expressed concern about growing corruption within and under the Congress, even while the struggle for freedom was heightening. He wrote: "It is difficult to cope with the correspondence that I am having from several places about violence, untruth and corruption in the Congress. - - - - warrant drastic measures in order to prevent decay overtaking the great organization.

Here are extracts from two typical letters:

- (1) Perhaps you are aware how the enrolment of bogus Congress members is going on unimpeded everywhere, and how rich and unscrupulous persons are controlling the affairs of the Congress organization, keeping skillfully the genuine and devoted workers out of their way. - - - -
- (2) It is my duty to bring to your notice the open and scandalous corruption in enrolling Congress members. - - - If steps are not taken, things will go from bad to worse and the whole Congress institution will be disgraced and the hold on people will be lost. - - - - -

It is to be hoped that the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. will deal with this - - ." [Corruption in the Congress, H (24.9.1938), CW 67:371-3]

A few days later, he reiterated: "All that is wanted is the will to clean the Congress Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with." [Congress Corruption, 13.10.1938, H (22.10.1938), CW 67:431] Soon thereafter, he went to the extent of writing to Mahadev Desai, his secretary: "**If the corruption in the Congress can be got rid of, we can get swaraj today without any discussion with anybody. If it is not got rid of, swaraj is an impossibility.**" (emphasis added) [Letter to Mahadev Desai, 5.11.1938, CW 68:96]

His words of a few days later are far more true today than when written: "There is another batch of letters - - which continue to give me fresh evidence of corruption among Congressmen so called. One correspondent says bogus members are increasing on a wholesale scale. - - - - A U.P. correspondent says bribery and corruption are spoiling the good name of the Congress. He says that Congressmen do not hesitate to use their influence with Collectors and other officials to have all sorts of injustices perpetrated for the sake of themselves or their relatives. - - - the growing evil may be worse than the evil that existed when the services did wrong

under instructions from British officials. - - - If the Congress is not purged of illegalities and irregularities, it will cease to be the power it is - - ." [The Congress and Khadi, 14.11.1938, H (19.11.1938), CW 68:125] In connection with 'Jaipur Civil Disobedience', he wrote: "The Congress corruption is a sure sign of violence." [Jaipur Civil Disobedience, 27.3.1939, H (1.4.1939), CW 69:86]

During this period he had deep differences with other Congress leaders on the issue of corruption in the Congress. He wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru at the Tripuri Congress: "It will be first class blunder if resolution not taken to rid Congress of internal corruption." [Telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru, 9.3.1939, CW 69:42-43] Subhas Chandra Bose had, *inter alia*, written to Gandhiji: "You are obsessed with the idea of corruption within the Congress. - - Though I am at one with you in your determination to root out corruption within the Congress, I do not think that, taking India as a whole, there is more corruption today than before and, so far as violence is concerned I feel sure there is far less of it today than before." [Letter from Subhas Chandra Bose, 31.3.1939, App. VI, CW 69:452] Gandhiji stuck to his position and replied: "We seem to differ as to the amount of corruption in the Congress. My impression is that it is on the increase. I have been pleading for the past many months for a thorough scrutiny." [Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose, 2.4.1939, CW 69:97]

He stressed in a press interview: "The purging of corruption is the first indispensable condition to the smooth running of the Congress. Once the corruption is banished the Congress will carry on its great work." [Intv. to "The Statesman", 27.4.1939, CW 69:177] And, "The best remedy for the corruption is first for us to become pure. Let us make the atmosphere as clean as we can through our personal contact, because the Congress too wants to attain independence with truth and nonviolence." [Sp. at G.S.S. Meeting, 3.5.1939, CW 69:199] Referring to his differences with Subhas Chandra Bose, he reiterated: "He also suggests that there is corruption.

But he feels that it is not of such proportion as to cause worry. But in my view, we shall not be able to do anything so long as this corruption persists. - - - **I have become so impatient of the corruption prevailing in the Congress that I should not hesitate to bury the organization if the corruption cannot be removed.**" (emphasis added) [Ans.s to Q.s at G. S. S. Meeting-I, 5.5.1939, CW 69:210]

He spoke thus about corruption in larger organizations: "The greater the organization the less felt is the effect of corruption because it is so widely distributed. Thus in the Congress there are much corruption and jealousy, but they are confined to those few who run the machinery. But the vast body of Congressmen are untouched by these defects, though they profit by the good the Congress does." [Q. Box, 24.6.1940, H (29.6.1940), CW 72:201]

Just before he started the 'Quit India' movement, he showed his concern about the conditions leading to the scarcity of grain during World War II: "The complaint is just and universal. The Government is no doubt most answerable for this state of things. They have sent out grain and they do not know how to deal with the stock there is in the country. Prices must be regulated and there must be grain offices like post offices where people can buy grain like stamps. But people cannot starve while Government are learning wisdom. It is therefore the duty of the whole mercantile community to take the matter into their own hands and ensure a regular supply of grain to the poor at reasonable rates. - - - bread—or rather grain—riots are sure to break out all over the country if energetic benevolent measures are not taken in time." [For Middlemen, 7.7.1942, H (12.7.1942), CW 76:280-1] In fact, this very issue had led to the market-driven famine in Bengal in 1943, in which about three million people died.

After the 'Quit India' movement started in 1942, followed by his imprisonment till 1944, despite the fast changing political scene and communal riots, all culminating in the partition and Independence, Gandhiji

continued to raise his voice against growing corruption in the Congress, in the Government, and elsewhere. In a talk, he exhorted: "Let us remove the corruption prevailing everywhere. It is already there in the Government, but it has increased to a very great extent among those middlemen who live on brokerage. - - - Corruption—It is both in the Government and other quarters. If non-Governmental corruption stops, the Government corruption cannot go on." [Talk with Mridula Sarabhai, 26.10.1944, CW 78:234] In a letter to Gopinath Bardoloi who was looking after Assam, he wrote: "I repeat—do what you think is best cost what it may. Kill the corruption. - - - Keep all clean men and parties together. I know that difficulties will be many but to cut our way through them makes us." [Letter to Gopinath Bardoloi, 17.3.1945, CW 94:192]

In the context of the impending food famine, he commented: "Today, because of the corrupt administration, the masses do not get even their just dues under the rationing system. It will be a great thing if this can be rectified so that everyone can get his or her share easily and truly." [Q. Box, 16.2.1946, H (24.2.1946), CW 83:139] He did not spare even the highest in the Congress in matters even bordering on lack of integrity: "Shri Prakasam [Chief Minister of Madras, 1946-7, later of A.P. 1953-54] I have known as a worker for many years. He has somehow developed a philosophy that a public worker is entitled to receive purses from the public for his expenses. In pursuance of that philosophy he has received a considerable sum in the shape of purses. - - - Shri Prakasam says that he has changed his mind. Sudden conversions are not unknown. But they are cast in a different mould. A ministership cannot be the end of genuine repentance and conversion. My advice to Shri Prakasam is that he should retire even from the Legislative Assembly and brood over the bad example he has set." [My Advice, 15.4.1946, CW 84:7]

He bewailed to the members of his party going to Shimla: "We are up against heavy odds. There is so much corruption, falsehood

and deceit all round. How can I cut my way through it and come out of it unscathed, except by the use of the sharp axe of detachment." [A Talk, 1.5.1946, H (12.5.1946), CW 84:87] He wrote about the 'Salary of M.L.A.s' thus: "- - salary and allowances drawn by the gentlemen of the various Assemblies are out of all proportion to the services they render to the country. - - poorest in the world." [Salary of M.L.A.s, 25.5.1946, H (2.6.1946), CW 84:201]

He was unsparing in any case of Congressmen indulging in extravagance: "I have discovered honourable members of Assemblies using most expensive embossed note paper even for private use. - - office stationery cannot be used for private purposes - - - a universal objection in every part of the world. But for this poor country my objection goes deeper. - - Englishmen belonging to the most expensive country in the world and who had to flourish on the awe they could inspire in us introduced expensive and massive buildings for offices and bungalows requiring for their upkeep an army of servants and hangers-on. If we copy their style and habits we will be ruined - - - Popular Governments should signalize their advent by adopting popular measures and inexpensive habits." [Take Care of Pennies, 8.6.1946, H (16.6.1946), CW 84:308]

In the context of a State Paper produced by the Cabinet Mission, he commented: "But as an old Maxim says, the corruption of the best is the worst. A single drop of poison can convert a pot of nectar into a fatal draught." [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 23.6.1946, CW 84:360] When a businessman represented that it was just not possible for him, with eleven dependents, to be honest in business, he replied: "It is difficult but not impossible to conduct strictly honest business. The fact is that the honester a business the more successful it is. Hence the proverb coined by businessmen 'Honesty is the best policy'. What the correspondent lacks is application and an accurate knowledge of honest business methods. - - - The eleven dependents cannot all be infants or incapables. The questioner will find on introspection that there is nothing wrong with honest business

but that there is something wrong with him.” [Q. BOX, 18.7.1946, H (28.7.1946), CW 85:12]

When asked, “Should the Congress Ministers live in great State like their English predecessors? Will it be right for them to use Government cars for private work?” he asserted: “If the Congress wants to continue as a people’s organization, the Ministers cannot live as *sahib log* nor use for private work facilities provided by Government for official duties.” [Congress Ministers, Not Sahib Log, 20.9.1946, H (29.9.1946), CW 85:344]

Reverting to the issue of corruption in the Congress, Gandhiji stressed: “The other letter deals with the office-bearers of the Congress. It is a sad story. The corruption among us is responsible for the corruption that has crept into khadi. - - - Is not being strict with oneself and generous to others the way to get rid of corruption?” [Uncertified but Genuine, 7.10.1946, CW 85:426] As Independence approached, he used much harsher language, practically visualizing the state as it may develop much after Independence: “A rot has set in the Congress. It means that Congressmen are no more honest. If those who are selfish capture the Congress it cannot function well. Now there are various groups. - - - **The Congress would slip - - into the hands of unscrupulous men. And they are white-[clad] goondas who appear respectable but are goondas at heart.**” (emphasis added) [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 21.5.1947, CW 87:514]

Next day, he also lamented the greed which led to corruption by traders: “But things would be all right if everyone resolved not to buy anything in the black-market. Matters would improve if the traders decided against black-marketing. But people succumb easily to corruption. Trades are to be carried on to serve the people, not only to fill the coffers of the traders. **Money can be earned through honest means as well.**” (emphasis added) [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 22.5.1947, CW 87:521]

After Independence, in an address, he made extensive observations on corruption in politics and abuse of the power of votes: “Soon

we shall have adult suffrage. But to regard adult suffrage as a means of capturing political power would be to put it to corrupt use. - - **Today, politics has become corrupt. Anybody who gets into politics gets contaminated.** - - - **you should have the strength to remove corruption, wherever it may be.** - - - **But in general there is so much corruption today that it frightens me.** Everybody wants to carry so many votes in his pockets because the votes give power.” (emphasis added) [Disc. at Constructive Works Committee Meeting, 11/12.12.1947, CW 90:215-221]

Just four days before his martyrdom, on 26 January, he expressed deep anguish about the rise in corruption with freedom and power. His words can act as the clarion call and provide the way out even today: “The subject of corruption - - is not new. Only it has become much worse than before. Restraint from without has practically gone. **Corruption will go when the large number of persons given to the unworthy practice realize that the nation does not exist for them but that they do for the nation. It requires a high code of morals, extreme vigilance on the part of those who are free from the corrupt practice and who have influence over corrupt servants. Indifference in such matters is criminal.**” (emphasis added) [Sp. at Prayer Meeting, 26.1.1948, H (1.2.1948), CW 90:497]

Next day, he lamented how to get the Congress out of its errant ways in order to bring about economic, social and moral freedoms in free India: “The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom. The hardest has yet to come. In its difficult ascent to democracy, it has invariably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions popular and democratic only in name. How to get out of the weedy and unwieldy growth?” [Congress Position, 27.1.1948, H (1.2.1948), CW 90:497] Two days later, he directed that Congress “must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies” and that “the A.I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into Lok

Sevak Sangh". [Draft Constitution of congress, 29.1.1948, H (15.2.1948), CW 90:526-7]

Next day he was no more and the fight against corruption in high places in free India had been lost before it could be even joined! To initiate it again, we need to revert to the values and ethics that Gandhiji represented and wanted people of free India to adopt.

3. The Present State of Corruption in India

The problem of corruption is now almost endemic in India. It is seen as being pervasive in politics, in services, and in business, and a threat to the national ethics as well as security. Its extent and depth are determined basically by the conduct at higher echelons of authority. In recent annual surveys of many nations done by the Transparency International, Berlin, on a scale of ten [least corruption] to zero [highly corrupt], latest score of India's Corruption Perception Index (CPI-2011) was 3.1 and it is ranked 95th among 183 countries. Its score has fallen from 3.5 in 2007, to 3.4 in 2008 & 2009, and 3.3 in 2010 (rank 87/178 countries) [Corruption Perception Index – 2011: India continues to be Corrupt, Report by TI]. The UNDP's Human Development Report in 1999 itself had stated, if the corruption level in India went down to that of Scandinavian countries, its GDP would rise by 1.5% and FDI by 12%, because there is a close inverse link between economic growth and corruption. [*The Statesman*, 19.12.2003: Celebrating Coinage]

The Supreme Court had said in a judgment in 2002: "Corruption in a civilized society is a disease like cancer; if not detected in time, it is sure to turn the polity malignant leading to disastrous consequences." Corruption was also compared with "plague", a "dreadful communicable disease."

Under Indian conditions, major sources of corruption arise in all sectors which exercise power and authority in government and market structures. These would include, mainly, a) Political sector, including political parties and groups, electoral process, and exercise of political authority and power in its legislative and executive functions as

a part of governance; b) Services sector as a part of governance, including the judicial process, and civil and defence services; c) Business sector, including its financial, trade, and commerce functions, and particularly the effects of market economy and globalizing forces. These three main sectors exercise vast administrative, legal, and money powers and any major corruption in Indian society would be related with the abuse of authority and power in these main sectors.

3.1. Historical Perspective since Independence

After Independence, the political class refused to follow the Gandhian dictum of accounting for every rupee in the party income and expenditure. After the first generation of leaders who had fought for Independence, had passed away, irregularities and the bending of rules in high places increased rapidly. The continuing decline in politics went hand in hand with the decline in quality of governance. As Gandhiji had predicted, higher salaries and perks have accompanied growing corruption, lack of ethics and social exploitation and disparity. Civil, revenue, police, courts, defence and other services have shown growing lack of accountability, rectitude or social responsibility. This process has been helped by weakened leadership and growing costs of political processes. Corruption in India has grown from lower levels and secretive isolated incidents, to a tidal wave engulfing the entire state and market apparatus. As more and more laws and rules were made, those in power structures kept manipulating these to suit political, individual, and business interests. Even institutions such as the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) cannot cope with the wave of rising corruption as administration of the criminal law, including the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988, grinds too slow.

Alarmed by the falling standards of integrity, a Conference of Chief Ministers was held in Delhi on 24 May, 1997. It issued a 'Statement' resolving that the Central and

State governments would implement a time-bound 'Action Plan', covering the themes of an 'Accountable and Citizen Friendly Government', 'Transparency and Right to Information', 'Improving Performance and Integrity of Public Services', and 'A Code of Ethics'. Except for the passing of the RTI Act (2005), however, nothing concrete has resulted. The resolution itself had warned: "Necessary political will to implement these will be essential." [Action Plan for Effective and Responsive Govt., The Conference of Chief Ministers, 24 May 1997, Dept. of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, New Delhi, Govt. of India]

The three basic demands made by civil society activists, such as Gandhi Satyagraha Brigade and India Against Corruption, which also formed part of the recommendations of the second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC)'s Fourth Report (2007) on 'Ethics in Governance' and were accepted by the Government, are:

- 1) Passing the Lok Pal Bill "with the least possible delay" for having an effective Lokpal (National Ombudsman) [similarly ensure appointment of Lok Ayuktas in all States] to adjudicate speedily bonafide and serious complaints against MPs, and ministers relating to abuse of authority, corruption, and misuse of government privileges;
- 2) Amendment of Section 89 of the Representation of the Peoples Act 1951, to debar those candidates, who have been charged by Law Courts and criminal cases against whom are pending, from contesting elections to parliament and state legislatures; and,
- 3) Confiscation/forfeiture of illegally acquired property by corrupt means. The ARC had recommended enacting of 'The Corrupt Public Servants (Forfeiture of Property) Bill, as urged by the Law Commission in 1999 itself, "to fight corruption which is sapping the fundamentals of our society and is posing a serious threat to our economy and

to the security and integrity of our state"; and also to ensure implementation of the 'Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act, 1988.

None of these measures has been implemented so far, except that the states of Bihar, Odhisa, Uttarkhand, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have passed state level Acts for Special Courts to deal with cases of confiscation of illegally acquired property. The institution of a Lok Pal (Ombudsman) had been recommended by the first Administrative Reforms Commission in 1966 itself, and the Lok Pal Bill was introduced in the fourth Lok Sabha, but has been hanging fire for over 40 years!

Level of corruption depends not so much on the extent of controls as on the ability to influence decisions. As long as the demand for illegal funding persists---whether for running political organizations and contesting elections, or for the real estate market, or elsewhere---the consequent scope for corruption persists. Corruption and poorly regulated liberalization too tend to go together. The *hawala* system has flourished irrespective of full convertibility of the Rupee, and so has gold smuggling in spite of its open import. One's social status is being more and more determined by one's level of ostentation, and the Gandhian ethos of simple living has gone out of vogue.

The rising Indian 'middle class', and the market, media and society dominated by it, tend to be tolerant of corruption at large and of rising transgressions of norms of integrity by the governance and market structures and cover it by a mutual conspiracy of silence, notwithstanding its self-righteous public postures about Gandhism, democracy, simple living and concern for the weak, women, and environment.

In following Paras, major issues concerning corruption in Political, Judicial, Other Services, and Business sectors, as also concerning the rising presence of Black Money and Scams, and concerning the role of Globalization, are

presented in order to give a broad picture of the incidence of corruption in today's India.

3.2. Issues concerning Political Process and Practice

Indian politics has become increasingly linked with the corrupt and the lawless, even criminals. No party has even tried to observe the laws and rules of full accounting of receipts and expenditure of its funds and all have, as if by common consent, debased the very character of governance. This downslide will continue until the necessary ethics and the laws are made effectively applicable to all without exception.

Political activity does require funds. In India, the largest democracy, political democratic process has been becoming increasingly expensive. In absence of transparency in its funding and spending, the political system is being now perceived as the fountainhead of debilitating corruption. The political structure has also imparted its own character of illegality in collection and use of funds on an increasing scale to associated power structures in bureaucracies and in business. Sacrifices and idealism of the freedom movement belonged to an era long lost. Gradually, the role of political publicity and media courting has also increased the costs of the democratic process.

Elections to the central and state legislatures, and now even to the panchayats and nagarpalikas, are becoming more and more competitive and extravagant, and hence expensive. It is a no-win situation unless those in politics, who too are victims of the system, dare to change it. As funding from the traditional business class became inadequate and risky, two ominous developments have occurred in political funding through black money. On the one hand, came funding from foreign sources against government and other international transactions, and on the other, came tainted funds from industry, business, smugglers, criminals and the like. The quid pro quo contribution of such funding towards corruption, and even proliferation of illegal arms and instances of terrorism and extortion, needs a detailed study.

The Election Commission does lay down the limits of expenditure by any contesting candidate in elections at various levels. But, apart from the growing involvement of black money in elections, the law itself comes to naught in this case: under an explanation of Section 77 of Representation of People's Act, given in 1975, expenses incurred by the party are not included in the candidate's expenses. Nor is the money spent by friends, relatives, or financiers on the candidate's behalf.

Till 1960, contribution to political parties by corporate sector was allowed under the Companies Act, 1956. Then came Section 293A, limiting it to Rs. 25,000 or 5% of a company's annual net profits; and in 1969, it was just banned. In 1985, the Act was again amended to allow very limited contributions with full records. The final position that emerges is that the companies may donate within the prescribed limits but such amounts, as also any amounts given for advertisements in a party souvenir etc. are not liable for tax deduction. In 1978, Income Tax Act and The Wealth Tax Act were amended to make political funding more accountable, but it had little effect.

The issue of political funding represents the most blatant hypocrisy in today's India. In 1998, becoming seriously concerned about the mounting role of money power, particularly black money, the Committee of State Funding of Elections (the Indrajit Committee) recommended state funding subject to "an immediate overhauling of the electoral process - - - from the evil influence of all vitiating factors - - - money power and muscle power go together to vitiate the electoral process - - ." In 1999, the Law Commission, in its report on electoral reforms, recommended that 'State Funding', even if partial, may not be resorted to unless the other listed provisions, i.e. "ensuring internal democracy, internal structures, and maintenance of accounts, their auditing and submission to the Election Commission" were implemented, "lest the very idea may prove counter-productive". The National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution too in its report

(2002) reiterated these views. Thus, state funding must go only with necessary electoral and political reforms. [How to Keep Our Votes Safe, Jagdeep Chhoker, *Hindustan Times*, 28.3.2011]

Hence, the political system can be cleansed only if genuine needs of political funding for running parties and contesting elections get recognized legally. Between 1952 and 1991 elections to the Lok Sabha, number of contestants per seat had risen from 3.8 to 17, and number of total polling stations from 196,084 to 594,797. This shows the growing competition in elections as well as the rising size of electorates with population growth. Both of these raise the costs and risks of contesting elections.

Best current estimates put average cost for a candidate to mount a successful campaign for Lok Sabha elections at around Rs. 10 crores. Taking similar estimates for the costs to state elections, and comparing the audited balance sheets of major political parties, a major role of black money in political funding becomes obvious. Such funds largely come from off-balance sheet cash donations by business units for quid pro quo favours through a corrupt political-business nexus, wealthy individual donors for post-election undue favours, and through 'scams' related to, say, illegal commissions from infrastructure projects, mining leases, and favoured land acquisitions, leakages from large social sector schemes of the Government, irregular allocation of natural resources (including telecom spectra), and heavy open corruption in civic projects, such as, in the recent Commonwealth Games.

As of 2011, MPs get monthly wages as well as office expenses and expenses for their constituencies, besides an array of free-ships and perks, but have no obligation even to attend the parliament sessions. Further, 76 MPs in current Lok Sabha (i.e 14%) have serious criminal charges framed against them, including those of murder, rape, kidnapping, extortion, forgery, bribery, dacoity, and causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons. Electoral reforms are urgently needed,

including a law to debar candidates having serious criminal charges already framed against them from contesting any political election.

The ruling classes in a society play the leadership roles. Hence, too, higher the positions of power, higher the standards of personal and public probity expected of the position-holders. The issue is: how to pull the nation out of the morass of illegal structures linked to the issue of political funding.

India is the largest democracy with about 122 crore population. The USA comes next with about a quarter of India's population. All other democracies have only a fraction of India's population, e.g. UK has about 6 crore and Canada less than 4 crore. Certain requirements are inherent due to India's population size, such as, the need for multi-tiered democratic structures due to reduction in their participatory character as these move upwards, and need of enormous financial resources by political groups for maintaining nationwide organizations and for fighting elections. These issues need to be studied consciously and corrective measures need to be adopted particularly in respect of the financial resources required by the political democratic process itself. Because of the high and rising cost of participation in political democracy, only those with money power, muscle power, and media power can hope to capture the structures of democratic power and weaker sections go essentially unrepresented, and the Gandhian directive of political democracy co-opting. social, economic and ethical democracies too remains unfulfilled.

3.3. Issues concerning Judicial Process

Indian judicial process has, since independence, become increasingly intractable, dilatory and, at times protective of the law breakers having influence or money clout. Ordinary people dread the expense and effort required for approaching the courts for any relief. Lack of confidence in the efficacy of judicial functioning has contributed towards increasing crime, disregard of law,

as well as corruption. Growing materialistic consumerism is a primary source of corruption but it also flourishes for want of an effective punishment mechanism---the conviction rate in India is only about 6%.

Legal reforms are needed for making judiciary, legislatures and executive function much more effectively, by becoming more accountable and transparent. Bribe giver should be held as much responsible as the bribe taker. The Law Minister had proposed a Code of Conduct in 1992 in the wake of the alleged misdemeanor of a Judge. It was not welcomed. A Chief Justice again took it up and as a step forward, a system of transfer of High Court Judges has been enforced. The Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill is pending in the Parliament. As cautioned by the present Chief Justice, a right balance is needed between 'autonomy in decision making and independence from external forces' and 'accountability'.

The delay in Indian courts is proverbial. The well-known LN Mishra murder trial has been dragging since 1975; the accused, arrested and charge-sheeted when 27 years old, has had a heart attack and is now 64; of 39 defence witnesses cited by him 31 have died and 22 judges have already handled this case. In 2010 there was a backlog of 277 lakh cases in Subordinate Courts and 43 lakh cases in High Courts. And yet in 2011, Subordinate courts had 21% of the sanctioned posts and High Courts 33% of the posts vacant. According to an observation made in 2009, at current rate Delhi High Court will take 466 years to clear its backlog. India reportedly spends just 0.2% of GNP on judiciary as against 1.4% in USA, 4.3% in UK and 1.2% in Singapore.

3.4. Issues concerning Other Government Services

There is a vast network of numerous departments, including that of police, which constitute the Government structure at central, state and local levels in India, and which interact with the public, and handle law and order, financial sector, public

services, infrastructure and social services, and hence also provide an enormous scope for corruption. It is widely perceived that nothing moves without graft or influence. For example, the Supreme Court had remarked in a case in 2010: "There is rampant corruption particularly in the departments of income tax, sales tax, and excise." In fact, similar is the state in all services and departments, which interact with public or business sector.

In a democracy, both political structures and numerous services/ bureaucracies, civil and defence, are an integral part of the structure of governance. Howsoever much it may be wished, services cannot be totally depoliticized. For example, under extant rules Government's prior approval is necessary before an enquiry is taken up involving any charge of lack of integrity against an officer of Joint Secretary level or above. This provision has been used to delay inordinately any such action. Fortunately, due to persistent criticism, orders have been passed now that such cases must be decided by Minister-in-charge within three months.

3.5. Issues concerning Market Economy and Business Practices

During independence struggle, a number of businessmen, such as Ramakrishna Bajaj and G.D. Birla contributed to the national struggle. Post-independence, initially, any favours made to businessmen were under close watch and within limits. In 1970s, under the next generation was initiated the politician-business nexus; it gathered momentum in 1980s, in the areas of getting permissions, industrial and import licenses, land and mining leases, and so on. Thereafter, with the growth of market economy and globalization and fragmentation of politics and spurt in political/ electoral expenses, fed by enlightened self-interest of business sector, it has been an ever rising flood of corrupt practices.

The ownership or control of each business unit, small or large, national or trans-national, is vested usually with a small group and

'profit' alone is normally taken as the measure of corporate success. The corporate objectives thus do not tend to converge with the social objectives. While certain business houses in India have normally co-opted social objectives, by and large the business sector tends to take a short-term view in favour of its immediate 'profits'. Hence, there is a common perception that the business sector tends to indulge in dishonest dealings, tax evasion, unscrupulous practices including use of scarce resources, socially harmful production, even illegal drugs and arms, conspicuous consumption in a poor society, and to achieve all this also through corruption of the political and other structures of governance.

Human nature being what it is, the State and Business leaders together need to realize and spread consciousness about business activity being essentially a social function. This may be effected through education and propaganda, and regulatory measures and structures, legal frameworks and insisting on socially relevant business practices. The concept of 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR) is based on the fact that business activity is a vital sector of the society itself, similar to sectors such as civil government, defence forces, political democracy, or judicial system. All these sectors have a common goal—to promote social good. The difficulty arises in the case of business sector as it is primarily a privately managed sector and its main motivation gets restricted to earning profits and accumulation of capital. In the process, following tendencies, which may not promote or may even damage social good, tend to arise:

- a) Adoption of unethical or unfair means, such as production and sale of substandard or superfluous goods and services, violation of legal and tax obligations, exploitation of weaker sections, and use of other corrupt practices.
- b) Abuse of socially created wealth for extravagant lifestyles, and for generation of illegal, i.e., 'black money' including its transfer outside India.

- c) Use of ecologically unsustainable practices, such as overuse of scarce natural resources, and generation of avoidable pollution and wastes.

Business ethics merges social responsibility with imperatives of corporate efficiency. These do not privilege 'profit' at all cost but set up transparent norms for attaining it, consistent with responsibility towards customers, employees and share-holders and the society at large.. For example, Institution of Engineers (India) has prescribed a 'Code of Ethics' for its Corporate Members, requiring corporate activity to observe ethical standards, and have concern for social justice, social order and human rights, sustainable development and environmental protection, and public safety and tranquility. However, being ethical in business does come under great strain in an unethical social environment.

Business must also check its tendency to interfere in the political process using its economic clout, and even more its propensity to move in the wake of political competition and instability to opportunism, and manipulation. Business leaders must on their own break this vicious circle. Business must be seen by people as being socially considerate and relevant than merely accumulating profits and wealth. It must be seen as having a self-observed code of ethics to ensure its own sustained growth.

Gandhiji's concept of 'Trusteeship' is the only philosophy which can guide us on the right path, which goes along with political democracy, and global trade and networking. It takes care of the due needs of those running business activities and enhances the quality and content of their motivation by linking business activity with social good. Once a corporate unit accepts CSR as a business objective, and the concept of 'Trusteeship' as its guiding basis, various opportunities of enhancing its business in the social context will start presenting themselves.

3.6. Issues concerning Black Money and Scams

The Santhanam Committee dealing with

prevention of corruption had warned in 1964 itself that presence of large amounts of unaccounted black money was a major source of corruption. The scale of tax evasion, creation of black money, flight of capital via *hawala* routes to tax havens, and its return as foreign investment (FI), has grown enormously, particularly after liberalization and globalization processes have risen as part of the market economy 'reforms' over last two decades. Opacity of public and business sectors and lack of accountability in power structures, and collusion of national elites and international commercial and criminal interests have encouraged the abuse of national rules, laws and processes. Even at the G-20 nations level any political will to tackle the problem of tax havens, most of which are located in the ex-British colonies, has been lacking. The crisis of secrecy jurisdictions continues as these serve the interests of the powerful and unaccountable people.

The Swiss Banking Association reports show Indians having had \$1,456 billion in Swiss banks in 2006 and \$1,891 billion in 2008 (next highest is Russia having \$610 b.). The World Bank's Stolen Assets Recovery initiative estimates the cross-border illicit money flows of \$1 to 1.6 trillion per year in the world. The secretive instruments used by trans-national companies and rich individuals to dodge taxes are used for illegal and criminal activities also, including political funding and bribery. Governments and multi-lateral agencies downplay the issues of 'dirty' money except in cases of terrorism, and sometime drug trafficking. The whole issue of black money flourishes due to the close nexus between politicians, services, businessmen, and the under-world. Indian Finance Minister has been saying that legalities prevent the Government from recovering details of black money held abroad by Indians but admitted having the names of account holders in Liechtenstein's LGT Bank plus in German banks but could not reveal these "as it violates international law". He has also admitted having detected undisclosed income of about Rs.15,000 cr.

within an 18 months period. Today, real estate deals alone are estimated as generating about Rs.10,000 cr. daily of black money. Media estimates of black money circulating in India gave Rs.3,034 cr. in 1967-68 and Rs.46,867 cr. in 1979 (49% of GDP) [*Hindustan Times*, 24.1.2011; *Pioneer*, 30.1.2011, 7.2.2011, & 11.2.2011]

India imports nearly 70% of its weapons systems and during 2007-11, India accounted for 10% of the global arms market---another major source of corruption and black money. [*The Week*, 15.7.2012, p.33-34]

A summary of all major scams caught and brought to public notice in India since 1947 till 2010, lists 40 such scams, involving a total amount of over Rs.910 lakh crores.!

The Indian ruling class faced its severest crisis of credibility in 2010 when scams came tumbling out of the cupboard. Scams have a symbiotic relationship with black money. While 1980s saw eight major scams, there were 26 during 1991-96 and 150 during 2005-08. Bofors was the biggest scam of 1980s, estimated at Rs.64 cr., Harshad Mehta scam in 1992 involved a loss of about Rs.3,000 cr., and between 1991 and 1996, about 2,500 new companies floated in the stock market disappeared with public money without any prosecution of the promoters. The Unit Trust of India crashed in late 1990s due to manipulation. The Satyam scam in 2009 is estimated to involve over Rs.7,500 cr. The losses due to mining operations in Bellary and elsewhere were reported to run into thousands of crores. The mother of all scams, the allotment of 2G spectrum in 2008 is estimated by the CAG of India to involve a loss of Rs.1,76,000 cr. Thousands of crores of loss is estimated due to irregularities in land allotments and diversion of food from Public Distribution System. The other major recent scams pertain to the Adarsh Society, the Commonwealth Games, and Madhu Konda. There are reports of Citibank-related fraud, and even charges against certain Chief Justices of India and High Court judges.

Today, both policy and governance failures are writ large. Underlying this vast illegality is the triad of corrupt political class, business class, and the executive. Since mid 1980s, the criminal has also entered this group: many legislators and businessmen have criminal cases against them. The lack of integrity in some in the media sector, legal delays and costs, and money and muscle power have come into play. Dishonesty is systemic and systematic. Honesty has to be indivisible. ['Honesty is Indivisible', article by Arun Kumar, Chairperson, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, 29.1.2011]

Pritish Nandy sums it up tellingly in a piece titled 'A Ship About to Sink' [received by Internet on 18.7.2012]: "All these scams are but the tip of the iceberg. - - - From Rs.64 cr. in Bofors, - - to Rs.1,70,000 cr. in 2G - - not including hundreds of aircraft Air India bought while sinking into bankruptcy and preposterous sums spent on arms deals that have made India the world's second largest arms buyer when we cannot provide food and health-care to 60% Indians. Our leaders are making deals on the sly with greedy builders, land sharks, illegal mining companies, corporate fixers, shady arms dealers - - - - It is a scary scenario that could convert the land of the Mahatma into one gigantic Gotham City with a flyover to hell."

3.7. Issues Concerning Globalization Processes

Globalization started as colonization in the 18th century. Its earlier forms were based on pillage, oppression and imperialism. Modern globalization sweeping across the world now rid of its cold war tensions, and meaning mostly international trade, investments by multinational companies, and unregulated flow of goods and services, capital, information, pollution, greed and consumerism across the national borders, has facilitated circulation of unlimited amounts of licit and illicit funds through trade, investments and other ways, with no questions asked. Tax havens have made regulation of global money flows an impossible task. Neo-liberal capitalist

structures have worked as cultural agents of global capital flows and profiteering without an effective regulatory mechanism. This has given fillip to corruption and lowering of national controls and financial accountability in developing countries such as India. Issues such as those of unequal competition while elites and money power coalesce, and of property rights particularly in the commons such as land, forests, minerals and water in the tribal areas in India, have engendered major areas of unrest, exploitation, and lack of equity, sustainability, and national accountability.

India has about 3.3 million NGOs, registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, and some of these obtain heavy foreign funding (total such funding estimated at Rs. 9,700 cr. in 2007-08, but actually could be many times higher), which also may be used for subversive and corrupt activities. [*Pioneer*, 2.4.2010]

The rising evil of corruption in the governance and business sectors has now started attracting attention of the world bodies such as United Nations, WB, IMF, WTO, and the OECD also. The UN General Assembly's first anti-corruption treaty (2003) required nations to return the stolen assets to the owner countries. UN Secretary General had told the GA: "Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately. Corruption is the key element in economic under-performance and a major blockade to poverty alleviation and development." The 'Convention Against Corruption' enabled illegally acquired assets to be seized, and acts in support of corruption, bribery, embezzlement of public funds, and money-laundering, and obstructing justice in investigations against corruption to be taken as crime. The US supported the treaty to handle money-laundering by terrorist groups but opposed a mandatory ban on private sector bribery. [*The Times of India*, 2.11.2003] However, all such efforts have had little effect so far.

4. How to Make the Indian Social Order more Ethical

Reforms to curb corruption are needed

in all sectors of governance: political, administrative, and judicial. Existing political parties cannot bring about the change unless they can redefine their ethical behaviour, which is unlikely. The only way out seems to be the rise of a political group owing strict allegiance to the Gandhian ethical norms in political and public life and being committed to truly represent and empower the Indian masses instead of being obliged to collude with those who finance their rise to power.

Let the Indian polity, the sector which also determines the conduct of other sectors, taking cue from what Gandhiji had said, dare to reformulate the ways of financing the political activity and process. Its key elements could include: 1) Each Party will ensure accounting of all receipts and expenditures and will publish the annual audited accounts for its head-office, all branches and associated bodies. 2) No candidate for an election will have any criminal or other serious charges against him/her. 3) Each candidate standing for an election will submit, before the election, a declaration of his/her own and family's assets and sources of income and their last income tax returns. 4) Each candidate standing for an election will submit a statement of all election expenses within 60 days after the election date. His/her Party will issue a statement of its own election expenses. 5) All elected candidates and other public appointees (such as President, Vice-President, and Governors) shall file annually a statement of their own and family's assets and sources of income. 6) A code of conduct/ ethics shall be prescribed for all those in elected posts and all others in high official posts. 7) All free-ships and discretionary quotas for land allotments, gas or phone connections or other such items, shall be withdrawn. 8) A separate judicial tribunal to ensure transparency of political funding and expenses should be set up. 9) In general, transparency, integrity and accountability should become the basic norms for anyone serving in a public post.

In 2010, the CVC had drafted a National Anti-Corruption Strategy, mandating public

disclosure of funding sources and annual financial statements of political parties till the modalities of state funding of elections are decided, preventing black money by tracking transactions and investments, and having a Citizens' Charter to contain administrative corruption; a National Judicial Commission to investigate corruption in judiciary; offering of bribe also to be recognized as a legal offence; and use of technology and simplification of procedures to minimize direct interface between public and officials. However, no visible action has followed.

We need to study how some of the older western democracies have approached the issues of political funding and of state funding of elections in order to mitigate political corruption. For example, the American, British, and Australian parliaments had long back set up a Public Register of Pecuniary Interests of Members and their families. In India too, after the report of the Committee of Privileges of the eleventh Lok Sabha in 1997, followed by that of the Ethics Committee of Rajya Sabha, some movement started but it has remained ineffective. State funding of elections to varied extents is in practice in France, Italy, Germany, and the USA. However, state funding should be, as far as possible, in kind, such as in France where it covers expenditure, equally for all candidates, on pamphlets, posters, manifestos, and vehicles, apart from help for public meetings, and Radio and TV time; besides political parties and supporters are prohibited from ploughing in cash on the election, and if the candidate gets less than 8% of the polled votes, he/she has to refund the state expenditure. We need to look into all such attempts to bring about transparency and integrity in politics. [*Pioneer*, 19.3.1996]

Even a partial State funding of election expenses will help freeing serious candidates from dependence on shady fund-raisers, and more honest candidates would be drawn into politics. Electoral and governance reforms must include passing of the necessary laws for setting up the institution of 'Ombudsman', i.e. an effective Lok Pal at the centre and Lok

Ayuktas in the states, law debarring from elections candidates with criminal charges framed against them, forfeiture of any property or wealth not accountable by valid sources of income, the Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill, and the Right to Justice Bill. Sweden had set up the office of 'Ombudsman' in 1809, UK in 1967, and even Indonesia in 2008.

While the Right to Information (RTI) Act (2005) has raised the level of transparency in public dealings, it has also raised the issue of the safety of the 'whistle-blowers'. Some of them have already paid with their life for their concern against corruption. Vaclav Havel, ex-President of the Czech Republic had rightly said: "Many of those who fight corruption not only risk a comfortable life, but risk life itself." Reforms must include protection of 'whistle-blowers', making public servants liable to pay damages to the citizens or the state for their corrupt practices, and redefining corruption to include the concept of 'collusive bribery'.

The political group in power has already taken up Lokpal and Lokayuktas Bill, 2011, The Whistle-Blowers Protection Bill, 2011, Public Procurement Bill, 2012, Judicial Standards & Accountability Bill, 2012. These should be passed with minimum delay. The Cabinet has approved a 'National e-Governance Plan'. Its implementation should be expedited. The Government has also launched 'The National Mission for Justice Delivery and Legal Reforms'. Countries with low corruption (TI's Corruption Perception Index at 7.0 to 9.7) have a system of judicial ombudsman. India, with its CPI at 3.3 should study the judicial systems of countries with high CPI and try to adopt their relevant features.

While the judiciary must clean up its own functioning, it is also limited by many other constraints. Changes are needed in legal and judicial procedures and rules of advocacy and in the judicial set-up so that no case is unduly delayed for decision. Norms should be laid down of reasonable periods within which the parties will have a right to get their cases

finalized. A network of 'Fast Track' courts can help in reducing the huge backlog of cases. There should be no bail for cognizable offences; instead speedy disposal of such cases must be ensured. Cases in 'sessions' courts should be dealt with on continuous basis and adjournments should be given only on exceptional grounds. Working of courts should be upgraded and modernized for an easy and even on-line access to information and documents by the parties. India should follow the US and Australia, which have introduced videography of court proceedings. Advocates, being 'officers' of the courts should be made accountable for integrity in their work. Any case of corruption by judiciary, the associated staff, middle-men, or advocates, should be dealt with fast and with exemplary punishments.

The Indian power structure must question itself: why has corruption become so pervasive, and feel accountable for its remedial action. We have a classic example of Singapore, though a very small country, as so well described by Lee Kuan Yew in his 'From Third World to First – The Singapore Story: 1965-2000' ['From Third World to First – The Singapore Story: 1965-2000', Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew, Times Media Pvt. Ltd. & Singapore Press Holdings, *Times* edns., 2000] Before 1959 general elections, his party decided to highlight the "temptations everywhere" and their "deep sense of mission to establish a clean and effective government." In 1960, they changed the outdated 1937 anti-corruption law and "widened the definition of gratuity to include anything of value". The most vital step taken was to treat proof of living beyond known means and having property not explained by the income as corroborative evidence of having been corrupt or accepted a bribe. Even a Minister of State in Ministry of Environment was charged and sentenced to a jail term for having accepted obligations from a housing developer. But "it is difficult to live up to these good intentions unless the leaders are strong and determined enough to deal with all transgressions and without

exceptions.” Another “precondition for an honest government is that candidates must not need large sums of money to get elected, or it must trigger off the cycle of corruption. The bane of most countries in Asia has been the high cost of elections.” Corruption can be checked “only if honest, able men are willing to fight elections and assume office”. Singapore could weather the financial crisis in 1997 when corruption and crony capitalism had caused other East Asian countries billions in losses. In Singapore none was above the law and even Yew’s own wife and son were duly investigated for property purchases in 1995. Singapore is now counted among the least corrupt countries of the world—a lesson for India.

Corruption encourages anti-social consumerism, luxury, waste and indulgences. It negates the Gandhian concept of Swaraj, the goal of the freedom struggle. We need to check corruption in India with about 30% of its population below an abysmal poverty line and with growing disparities. Only then can governance address the task of meeting basic needs and development of all for a sustainable and happy social and economic order, with the virtue of ethics woven into it.

While corruption thrives in rigid political and economic systems due to monopoly power, democracy and market economy bring their own problems of greed and lack of ethical and social concerns. Gandhiji had insisted that freedom means strict self-discipline: “A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. - - Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy.” [Sp. at Praja Parishad Workers’ Meeting, Rajkot, 12.5.1939, H (27.5.1939), CW 69:258] A free polity and economy must be duly regulated to observe principles of accountability, transparency, integrity, and social concern in different fields, particularly those of politics, administration, and business.

India needs essentially a clean and good governance, which particularly includes i) elimination of corruption and criminality from politics, ii) political reforms & electoral reforms, judicial reforms, and other administrative reforms, iii) citizens’ charters for delivery of administrative services, with penalty clauses for failure in its implementation, and iv) a network of effective help-lines.

India needs to imbibe lessons from Mahatma Gandhi’s life into its standards of management and leadership in public and corporate administrations. He believed in a single ethical standard of conduct in public and private life and in thought, word and deed, and based on integrity and humanism flowing from eternal values of truth and nonviolence. On 5 September 1947, when asked for a message, Gandhiji had said: “My life is my message.” This message means: Leadership by example, principles, ideals, and vision; action as duty, service and sacrifice, and accountability, transparency and integrity. Governance, business and life should be driven by ethical and social imperatives, and ‘Ethical preference’ (individual preferences regulated by ethical principles), integrity of character (against corruption or deception), assuming power, privilege and possession only in the spirit of ‘trusteeship’ as a means to social good, development of conscience (‘still small voice’ or ‘inner voice’), and receptivity to criticism and truth, and moral courage (fearlessness). All material resources belong to the society and are in limited supply. Avoidable or wasteful use by one deprives another of their rightful use. Gandhian ethos means simple living in order to ensure basic needs of all are duly met. It means being concerned against resource depletion, pollution, insanitation, and waste, as well as a sense of ‘deep ecology’--respect for all life and belief in the unity of nature. Extravagance, indulgence, and unlimited wants mean exploitation of others and of nature.

5. Conclusion

Volumes have been written, and will be written, on the values, ethics and morals on

which Mahatma Gandhi's life was based. The above is but only an outline of the same. He claimed to be 'a practical idealist' and was variously called a political saint or a saint in politics. He was a visionary but not an academician. His theory merged imperceptibly into his practice. What we all need to absorb is his lifelong emphasis that life is an integrated whole. There must be one standard in all spheres of a human being's life. And that standard has to be based on the concept of unity of human beings, of all life and of all existence. Only then will we try to lead our life more and more based on ethical principles and moral values, to be ever more truthful, understanding, fearless and loving. Only then can human beings keep moving towards an ever more nonviolent, egalitarian, sustainable and happy social order.

None will contest that there is an urgent need to tackle the spreading cancer of corruption and erosion of moral values in public life in India. Corruption has become rampant in the political democratic process itself, various services of governance, the business sector and its nexus with the political-administrative structures, and in sectors wherever people have to come in contact with administration. Growing inability of those at top levels of various sectors to check corruption is an issue of grave concern.

The effects of corruption on governance,

judicial and other public services, and business and economy include waste and misallocation of scarce resources, hazards to public life, perpetuation of poverty along with growing opulence and extravagance, and denial of justice and fair-play except through access to money and influence. All this can be checked only by conscious public action to bring about regeneration of ethical behaviour, institution of necessary laws, institutions and regulations, and punitive action wherever necessary, in other words, 'zero tolerance' against corruption as the national mission.

Let us first of all accept that corruption in India is a social disease that we must fight against: "For, confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before - - - Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path." [The Crime of Chauri Chaura, YI (16.2.1922), CW 22:417] And, "Therefore the golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost. But there should be no camouflage, no secrecy, no make-believe." [A.I.S.A. and Kindred Organizations, 6.7.1942, H (12.7.1942), CW 76:278] Let us be frank in accepting our wrongs and start making amends without delay or reservations. Finally, let us always remember the Gandhian dictum: "Nations are sustained neither by wealth nor by armies, but by righteousness alone." [Ethical Religion-VI, IO (9.2.1907), CW 6:318]



Economics and Ethics: A Gandhian Perspective

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Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi was not an economist in the technical sense of the term. He had neither studied economics as a subject in the curriculum nor had he the opportunity of reading standard books on modern economics. However, he had developed his economic ideas out of his encounters with surroundings and situations of his life. His life is his book. He had experimented upon his life's experiences and developed his economic ideals and practiced them in his life.

Gandhi had the occasion to read Ruskin's *Unto This Last* in South Africa. This book exercised a profound influence on his life and his economic ideas. Kenneth Rivett considered Ruskin as Gandhi's "main economic teacher" (Rivett, 1959: p.8). The *Bible* also shaped Gandhi's thoughts on social and economic matters. Gandhi considered the Christ as the first economist of his times. During "Quit India" movement, while in detention, Gandhi had found some time to read Karl Marx's *Das Capital*. Gandhi's

acquaintance with economic literature is not full. However, he wrote extensively on diverse economic problems facing India, specially about unemployment and underemployment and the need to organize *khadi* and village industries to provide work for idle hands. Although Gandhi was not acquainted with modern economic terminology, his ideas revealed a pragmatic and rational approach to different economic problems confronting developing countries.

The two fundamental principles of Gandhian philosophy - social, religious, educational, political etc., - are truth and nonviolence (*satya* and *ahimsa*). So also his economics. The economic ideas and practices of Gandhi are woven round these two fundamental principles. For him what is untruth and violent cannot be considered as an economic activity.

J.C. Kumarappa, a devoted follower of Gandhi and a distinguished economist, writes: "There is no such thing as the principles of Economics of Gandhiji. With Gandhiji economics is a part of a *way of life*. There are no governing

principles as are applied in the case of ordinary laws that have been enunciated in text books on Economics. Only two life principles govern all Gandhian economic, social, political and other considerations viz. Truth and Non-violence. Anything that cannot be satisfactorily tested on these touchstones, as it were, cannot be regarded as Gandhian. If a scheme of things leads to violence or necessitates untruth, then we may regard that as non-Gandhian" (Kumarappa, 1951: p.9).

1. Influences that shaped

Gandhian Economic Philosophy

There are different situations, persons and texts that influenced Gandhian economic philosophy.

(i) Indian Influences

The family in which Gandhi was born had made a mark on his economic thought. He was born in Vaishnava Hindu family. His mother was a deeply religious woman. The religious atmosphere, where Gandhi was born and brought made a profound influence upon him.

Next, the philosophy of Buddha and Mahavira made a tremendous impact on Gandhi. Like Buddha, Gandhi also believed that multiplication of wants is the root cause of all evils. Gandhi advocated the philosophy of "wantlessness". He felt that civilization consists not in the multiplication of wants, but in their reduction. The whole of Gandhian philosophy in general and economics in particular is woven round the principle of *ahimsa*, which is central to the teachings of Buddhism and Jainims. Thus both Buddhism and Jainism played a dominant role in shaping Gandhian economic ideas.

The *Bhagavadgita*, the seminal work of Hinduism, also played a pivotal role in shaping Gandhian economic ideas. Gandhi learnt the principle of *aparigraha* (non-possession) from this text. Also Gandhi's doctrine of Bread labour, is derived from his reading of *The Gita* which teaches that one should not eat food without 'sacrifice'. Here, Gandhi equates 'sacrifice' with bread-labour.

(ii) Western influences

Gandhi was equally influenced by the *Bible*. He considered that Jesus was "the economist of his time". When Jesus was preaching to his disciples, some person came and kneels down and prayed Jesus what should he do to inherit eternal life. Jesus advised him to follow the commandments of God - Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, etc. When the person answered that he had observed all these from his youth, then Jesus advised him to sell whatever he had and give to the poor, thereby he would have treasure in heaven. After hearing this, the person who kneeled down before Jesus went away grieved, because he had great possessions and do not like to leave them. Then Jesus taught to his disciples that it is easier for a camel to go though the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God, because the rich usually do not like to be detached from their wealth. Like Jesus, Gandhi also taught that the rich should be transformed into trustees for their surplus wealth and distribute it for common good.

Further Gandhi was deeply influenced by Ruskin's work *Unto This Last*. This was Ruskin's first work that Gandhi read. This work so captivated Gandhi that he read it non-stop during his 24 hours journey in a train in South Africa. Being impressed by its ideas, he subsequently paraphrased it into Gujarati as "Sarvodaya". Gandhi remarked that Great Britain gave him Ruskin, whose *Unto This Last* transformed him overnight from a lawyer and city dweller into rustic living away from Durban (Tendulkar, 1953, Vol.6, p.177). This work had inspired Gandhi in founding the Phoenix Settlement in South Africa in 1904, on the principles of bread-labour and community organization.

Ruskin's teachings of *Unto This Last* falls into three heads:

- That the good of individual is contained in the good of all.
- That a lawyer's work has the same value as

the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

- That a life of a labourer, ie., the life of tiller of the soil and handicrafts-man, is the life worth living.

After reading Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, Gandhi remarked, "The first of these I know, the second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto This last* made it as clear as day light for me that the second and third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn ready to reduce these principles to practice" (CWMG,39: 239).

Another great mind that exerted deepest spiritual influence on Gandhi's life was Leo Tolstoy, a great Russian writer and philosopher (*Young India*, 20.9.1928, p.319). Gandhi was overwhelmed by Tolstoy's work *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. It gave him the doctrine of bread labour. Gandhi not only preached but also practiced first the concept of bread-labour in Phonix Farm, South Africa.

Along with the theory of Bread-labour, as his main contribution, Gandhi was also influenced by the following teachings of Tolstoy.

- Men should not accumulate wealth.
- Agriculture is man's true occupation.
- It is wrong to establish large cities, to employ hundreds of thousands in factories so that a few can exploit the poverty of the many.

2. Gandhi's Concept of Man

Gandhian economics is man centered. It aims at the welfare of human being. What is the nature of man? Who is an ideal man? How man has to transform himself? What should be his objectives? What is his *dharma*? – these are some of questions, raised by Gandhi and answered. In fact he practiced a life according to his teachings. Let us discuss them briefly.

Aristotle said that man is a rational animal, ie., there are both animal and rational qualities in him. In the same way Gandhi said that human being is a complex of devil and divine. There are both beastly and divine qualities in

him. While his devilish or beastly qualities pulls him down leading to selfishness, egoism and violence, his divine qualities pulls him up leading to altruism and *ahimsa*. Thus there is a conflict between the beastly and divine qualities in man. This is the conflict between the opposites – a dialectic. It is a process of conflict in between actual and ideal. "The actual is the brutish urge that tends to prompt one to engage biologically driven need, gratification. The synthesis is what one realizes in practice, a situation in which the ideal and actual merge. Thus Gandhi's philosophy may be seen as a kind of pragmatic idealism (Rao, 2018: p.154).

As Hobbes said, basically human is brutish. But he has also inner quality of divinity. Every person has to raise and progress to the ideal state of divinity. This requires the elimination of the ego and developing the quality of altruism - seeing oneself in others and others in himself. Man should seek his happiness in the happiness of others. To raise to the level of altruism from egoism, man has to surpass the stage of consciousness, where there exists subject-object distinction, and raise to the stage of "pure consciousness" where such divisions disappear. The person that realizes pure consciousness, perceives everything equal, he no more perceives the divisions and distinctions; he perceives the unity among the differences. To reach to the stage of pure consciousness is reaching the state of "Truth" (*satya*) and this is possible through the practice of "nonviolence" (*ahimsa*). A person who reaches this stage of pure-consciousness, is able to grasp the holistic truth. Therefore a raise to the level of pure consciousness or consciousness-as-such should be the objective of human life. According to Gandhi this is possible through controlling the "ego" and developing "spiritual" in us. In the Indian philosophical tradition, such a controlling of the ego is advocated in the systems of yoga and Advaita Vedanta. True economics which is the economics of justice (CWMG, 8: 339), emerges only when one controls his/her ego. This is possible when man controls his beastly

qualities and develops divine qualities. Such a human being alone can practice the principles of *aprigraha*, trusteeship, *sarvodaya* etc., that constitute the basis of ideal economics.

3. Ethics: The Basis of Gandhian Economic Order

In Gandhian thought economics and ethics go together. He said, "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standards just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time to be good economics" (*Harijan*, 9.10.1937, CWMG, 66: 168).

Gandhian economics is not traditional economics which aims at huge profits and cares for material goods, ignoring moral and spiritual values. The modern economics avoids even such vital moral issues like gross inequalities, poverty and employment. The central principle of modern economic theory is "maximizing behavior" that promotes self-interest. Economics, driven by such principle is better described as "egonomics" (Diwan & Lutz, 1985, p.14). On the contrary, Gandhian economics cares for the poorest and weakest man in society, it aims at employment to all, development of rural economy and emphasizes upon production for the masses, rather than mass production. Gandhian economics cannot be considered as pure economics because it is related to several social, political and ethical issues. To put it in the language of B.N. Ghosh, Gandhi was more a political economist than an economist in the true sense of the term. His economics does not stand up to rigorous economic analysis (Ghosh, 2012: p.1). His ideas on economics "are part and parcel of his broad political, sociological and philosophical ideals which are directed to the moral development of human beings ..." (ibid., p.2). This is the reason why Gandhian economics is also called Holistic Economics (Sharma, 1992), Inclusive Economics (Pani, 2001), Alternative Economics (Sharma, 2003) or Political Economics (Ghosh, 2007). The point is that Gandhian economics cannot be put into the rigid framework of traditional economics.

According to Gandhi, means should be as pure as the ends in all economic transactions, because from unfair means fair ends cannot be derived. To him "means" and "ends" are convertible terms. So is the means, so is the end. Gandhi repeatedly said that there are enough goods in the world to satisfy one's needs but not to meet one's greed. Therefore human being should limit one's wants.

According to Gandhi, human being, using his rationality should control his egoism (selfishness), and develop altruism (a disinterested and selfless concern for the well-being of others). He should be able to see himself in others and others in himself. He should reduce himself to zero. Reducing oneself to zero means transcending ego. It is to raise to the level of altruism from egoism. When such transcendence takes place, man sheds his egoism and works for the welfare of all. This is needed, according to Gandhi to become a *trustee* for his surplus wealth.

Altruism is superior to Bentham's and Mill's doctrine of utilitarianism. While the latter (utilitarianism) aims at maximum happiness of the maximum number, the former (altruism) aims at the welfare of all, including the poorest man in society.

Gandhi gives importance to Truth and nonviolence in all economic matters. According to him, 'Truth' should be one's goal. It has to be reached through nonviolence. He considered exploitation is a kind of violence. He narrated a variety of exploitation in British India. These include the exploitation of the state, exploitation of the rich by the poor, exploitation of the labour by the capitalists, caste-based exploitation and exploitation due to foreign rule. "Exploitation generates inequalities, as inequalities give rise to exploitation" (Ghosh, 2007: p.26). These inequalities include social, political and economic inequalities.

Gandhi considered exploitation of the rural people, by the urban is a kind of violence. He was critical about the rural-urban inequalities in India. The urban sector in many ways

exploits the rural sector and this causes rural poverty. Inequalities and exploitation leads to conflicts. Marxian theory of conflicts between the labour and the capital is the exploitation of labour by capital class, leading to the inequalities between these two classes.

3.1 Simple Living and High Thinking

Gandhi addresses simple living and high thinking. In terms of food, dress and house to live in, Gandhi wanted people to lead a simple life, and make others to live happily. The idea of Gandhi on simplicity “may appear to be ascetic and philosophical to those who are intoxicated with the ‘abundance’ of modern civilization. But the truth of the matter is that Gandhiji has gone to the very roots of the present economic chaos and political conflict and laid his finger on the basic cause of all ills” (Narayan, 1960: p.15).

4. Values in Gandhi's Economics Order

Gandhian economics focuses upon the values like *swaraj*, *swadeshi*, bread labour, *aparigraha*, trusteeship and *sarvodaya*. We will study them briefly.

4.1 *Swaraj*:

“Swaraj” is a key word in pre-independent India. Gandhi followed the path founded by political leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji (one of the founders of the Indian National Congress), Gopala Krishna Gokhale (Gandhi's political guru) and many others, and fought for independence for India from the British yoke. He fought for self-rule or *swaraj* (freedom) from the British.

Gandhi means by *swaraj*, not mere political freedom, but freedom from all fronts-economic, social, political, moral, educational etc. He remarked: “Let there be no mistake about my conception of *swaraj*. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence, at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, i.e., religion, in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam,

Christianity, etc., but is superior to them all” (*Harijan*, 27-5-1939). Gandhi calls this the “square of Swaraj”. He opined that it would be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue (ibid).

Gandhi wanted Swaraj for the starving millions of India that lack the basic needs of life – food, clothing and shelter. Therefore he desired the rich to come forward voluntarily and help the poor and the needy by transforming themselves as the “trustees” for their surplus wealth. Gandhi did not believe in wiping out the rich from society or grab forcibly their wealth. On the contrary, he wanted to transform their hearts through nonviolent technique. In this context, Vinoba Bhave, the staunch follower of Gandhi was highly successful through his Bhoodan and Gramdan movements.

Gandhi pleaded for *Gram Swaraj*- republic of every village. Gandhi believed that the economy of a country should be built from its grass-root level. As India lives in its villages, the village economy should be improved in order to improve the country's economy as a whole. Gandhi opined that the villagers were exploited by the British govt. (of his time) and also by the city dwellers. The villagers produce food, but they are starving without food, they produce milk from their cattle, but their children were deprived of milk. This grave condition of the villages, Gandhi wanted to change. He wanted every villager to have a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, proper education and medical facilities for their children. He wanted every village to become a village republic.

4.2 *Swadeshi* (Economic Neighbourhood)

During the British rule in India, the Indian economy was in doldrums. The cotton and other raw material from the Indian soil was exported to England, and in turn, the finished cloth manufactured in Manchester Mills was imported back to India and was sold at high prices. This put the Indian economy in low web. Spinning, weaving and other related village industries were sapped and the village

people were displaced from their work. Under these circumstances, Gandhi introduced the notion of *swadeshi* (home made goods), and inspired the Indian masses to boycott foreign cloth. On the call of Mahatma, large number of people participated in “boycott movement” and put foreign cloth to bonfire. “Svadeshi is Gandhi’s mantra to counter the *Videshi* (colonial) mindset that distorted and dwarfed for centuries India’s progress, both economic and social” (Rao, 2018: p.5).

Swadeshi, a native movement, primarily aims at encouraging *Khadi* and other village industries. By practicing *Swadeshi*, Gandhi wanted every village should be self-sufficient. It should become independent of its own. In other words, every village should attain *swaraj*. Gandhi observed that *swadeshi* is economic neighbour-hood. It respects and safeguards the interests of one’s neighbors, rather than distant people. For instance, If I wear an imported shirt that would help a foreign merchant but make my neighbor (village weaver) without any customer, thus leaving him in poverty and hunger. This is what Gandhi exactly opposed. He wanted to develop the spirit of economic neighbor-hood through his doctrine of *swadeshi*. He desired every Indian to practice it and apply to his life.

Gandhi’s concept of *swadeshi* has political, moral and economic implications. Gandhi worked out more fully its economic implications by his emphasis on *Khadi*. Through *swadeshi* movement, Gandhi desired to provide employment to millions of people in India, and also to educate the masses for self-government. Gandhi’s insistence on village republics is an extension of his *swadeshi* principle.

Swadeshi has a wider context. It is not restricted to boycott of foreign cloth only, but also opposed English language and culture at the cost of native language and culture. Gandhi wanted to pursue education in one’s mother tongue. He opposed English as the medium of education at primary level. In fact he did not send his children to British schools and offer them English-type education, as he felt it fruitless. Gandhi’s eldest son Harilal opposed his father on the ground that Gandhi deprived

him and his brothers the opportunity of studying in English schools. In spite of all this opposition, Gandhi was stubborn in opposing foreign education. In his experiments on education, Gandhi introduced indigenous style of education. He had first introduced *Nai Talim* (basic education) in his Tolstoy Farm, South Africa. This includes study of mother languages, crafts, arithmetic, religion etc. He wanted that education should help for overall development of the child- physical, mental and spiritual. The Western education, he believes, will take care of child’s physical and mental training only. From this, one should not mistake that Gandhi was totally opposed to Western language and culture. What he wanted is that foreign language and culture should not dominate and displace indigenous culture, tradition and languages. In one of the moving passages Gandhi remarked, “I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any” (*Young India*, 1-6-1921 22: p.170). In short, Gandhi wanted to safeguard the spirit of “swadeshi” against “videshi”.

4.3. Bread Labour (*Sariraka Shrama*)

Bread Labour (Duty and Right to Work) is another significant concept, found in Gandhi’s economic order. Expounding this concept Gandhi said that ‘man must earn his bread by laboring with his own hands’. No doubt, Gandhi appreciated intellectual labour, but he remarked that, nature has intended man to earn his bread by manual labour-‘by the sweat of his brow’-and intended him to dedicate his intellect not to multiply material wants but to uplift his moral being. It means giving dignity to labour and identification with those who must do manual labour.

Initially Gandhi means by bread labour the agricultural (the labour of the tiller of the soil). However, as farming is not possible for all persons, he advised everybody to do some manual labour say in the form of spinning, weaving, cleaning of toilets etc. Explaining his point to Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore,

Gandhi remarked: 'Why should I, when I have no need to work for food, spin?' may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen. Trace the source of every coin that finds its way into your pocket, and you will realize the truth what I write!' (*Young India*, 13.10.1921).

Gandhi remarked that he learnt the notion of bread labour by reading Tolstoy. He said that laboring with one's own hand, was first stressed by a Russian writer T.M. Bondaref. Tolstoy advertised it and gave it a wider publicity. Gandhi felt that the principle of bread-labour is also focused in the *Gita*, where it is told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. "Sacrifice" here can only mean bread labour.

To Gandhi, everybody has to labour for his food. He felt that the present economic disorder is due to the unjust exploitation of the labour of other, with the result that there is, on the one hand, an 'idle rich' class with no physical work at all, and, on the other hand, an overworked labour-class crying for more leisure. But if we have almost self-sufficient village communities in which everyone works for his or her living on a co-operative basis, there would be no room for exploitation and the middle-men will be eliminated. Bread-labour, therefore, was to Gandhi an article of faith. He insisted that in an ideal society of his conception, everyone must have scope for eight hours work a day, eight hours sleep, and another eight hours leisure for social and cultural pursuits. This is an ideal distribution of time, according to Gandhi. He considered 'right' to work is an extension of 'duty' to work.

According to Gandhi, the doctrine of bread labour would remove the misconception that the work of cobbler is inferior to the work of a lawyer. One will realize that all professions are equally important for the holistic development of a society. By this it does not mean that Gandhi was belittling the intellectual labour, but he means by it that

physical labour is as much important as that of intellectual labour.

"If everybody lived by the sweat of his brow", says Gandhi, "the earth would become a paradise. The question of the use of special talents hardly needed separate consideration. If everyone labored physically for his bread, it followed that poets, doctors, lawyers and others would consider it their duty to use those talents gratis for the service of humanity. Their output will be all the better and richer for their selfless devotion to duty (*Harijan*, 2-3-1947; Speech at Prayer meeting, 7-2-1947, CWMG 86: 443-44).

When asked why not save the body labour of millions and give them more leisure for intellectual pursuits, Gandhi replied that leisure is good to some extent only. God had created man to eat his food by the sweat of his brow (CWMG 62: 368). Gandhi said that suppose a philanthropist from America was to offer to send food to all of us and we need not work at all, he would flatly reject such an offer because "it strikes at the root of the fundamental law of our being, viz., that we must work for our bread, that we eat our bread by the sweat of our brow (*Harijan*, 7-12-1935; Discussion with a village worker, before 7-12-1935, CWMG 62: 166-67). Gandhi believed that if all will practice bread-labour there will be enough food and enough leisure for all. There would no cry for over population (*Harijan*, 29-5-1936; Duty of Bread Labour, CWMG 61: 211-12). If all people practice bread labour, Gandhi opined, there would be none high and none low, no rich and no poor, no touchable and no untouchable- all are treated equal. He said that this may be an ideal, but one has to strain to attain it.

The implication of Gandhi's doctrine of bread labour is that the needs of the body must be provided by the body only. He said that the phrase "Render unto Cesar that which is Caesar's" equally applies here. Obedience to bread labour, he believed, "will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society" (ibid). Gandhi said that he did not

want to discount the value of intellectual labour, but he opined that no amount of it is any compensation for bodily labour. One may argue that intellectual labour is superior to bodily labour; but at any cost it cannot substitute bodily labour (*Harijan*, 16-6-1935; Struggles for a worker, CWMG 61: 126). According to Gandhi, God created man to work for his food. He considered “those who ate without work were thieves” (*Young India*, 13-10-1921; The Great Sentinel, CWMG 21: 289).

4.4. *Aparigraha* or Non-possession (Need based economy)

Another important principle of Gandhian economics is “*aparigraha*” (non-possession). In Gandhian philosophy it means need-based economy. He remarked that the secret of happiness lies in renunciation. “Renunciation is life. Indulgence spells death” (CWMG 83: 118). The point of Gandhi is that one should not possess more than one’s needs. On the contrary, people usually procure more goods out of their greed. This leads to unjustified distribution of goods, widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Therefore Gandhi said, “If each retained possession only what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment” (CWMG, 44:103).

Gandhi said, “The rich have a superfluous store of things which they do not need...; while millions starve to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession of only what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment”. He added, “Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants” (CWMG 44: 103). In Gandhian economics, consumption is determined by need.

4.4.1. Voluntary poverty

Aparigraha is voluntary poverty. It is voluntary adoption of reduction in wants, as a social duty. It is a sense of identification with the poor classes, It consists in minimizing self-indulgence and ostentation. By ‘voluntary

poverty’, Gandhi means poverty adopted voluntarily as an ideal of life. It includes certain principles like whenever we possess anything, we have to put to ourselves the question whether we really need it or not. True happiness, says Gandhi, “does not come from obtaining what one likes. It comes from cultivating a liking for what one dislikes” (CWMG, 83: 413). In his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi remarked that “mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied” (*Hind Swaraj*, Ch.XIII, CWMG 10: 37). Again he added: “Man’s happiness really lies in contentment. He who is discontented, however much he possess, becomes a slave to his desires. And there is really no slavery equal to that of the desires. ... To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands. And what is true for the individual is true for society (*Harijan*, 1-2-1942; Plain Living and High Thinking, 9-10-1940, CWMG 73: 94).

4.4.2. Needs, Wants and Greed

Gandhi distinguished between needs, wants and greed. Needs are the basic necessities that human being requires for his living-nutritious food, simple house to live in and minimum dress. But human increases his wants out of his greediness. He multiplies his wants beyond necessities. Therefore Gandhi preached the philosophy of “wantlessness”. Wants go beyond needs and when we do not fulfil them we enter into sorrow, anger and depression. Gandhi’s philosophy of wantlessness is based upon his conception that individual good consists in social good. If one reduces his wants, he will procure less and makes others happy. This is participation in social good.

Adoption of voluntary poverty, means limiting one’s needs to the minimum levels. We must think of necessities and avoid luxuries. Gandhi said, “There should be no wasteful expenditure. Money is not the only wealth for us. Every useful commodity is real wealth. We may not throw away even water. If one glass of water would do, why take two? ... We may not overeat a delicious dish. If we do,

we cannot practice truth and ahimsa" (CWMG 71: 240). Gandhi opined that greed was also the root cause of war and economic crisis. He said, 'man's avarice reaches up to the highest heavens and down to the lowest regions of the earth. Hence it should be controlled (A thought of the Day, 20-4-1945, CWMG 79: 437).

Gandhi recommends simple living and high thinking. He preferred the garlands of yarn rather than flowers, because he felt that flowers are decorative, but yarn is useful to make cloth also (CWMG 86: 471).

Gandhi observed that man procures more and more out of fear for his future. In this context he remarked that little birds will not hoard their food for future. They go every day from their nests and procure food for that day. Who will take care of their future?, questions Gandhi. As Descartes and Berkeley in the West, Gandhi is a strong believer in God. He was of the view that God will take care of these little birds and their food. In the same way, argued Gandhi, God will take care of man's future, and hence human being should desist the temptation of procuring more and more goods and money for his future.

Gandhi not only preached the principle of *aparigraha*, but also practiced it in his life. When Gandhi was about to leave South Africa and travel to India with his family, as a good gesture, a farewell party was arranged by his friends and admirers and a number of articles of gold, silver, studded with rubies and diamonds were gifted to him. However he was not tempted to keep them for his personal use, in spite of Kasturba Gandhi's insistence upon their possession for her family. On the contrary, Gandhi formed these valuable gifts into a trust, for public use. Another interesting example that we find in Gandhi's life is this. Once Gandhi took an Insurance policy of Rs.10,000/- out of the pursuance of an agent. However, he spent a sleepless night on that day. He questioned himself that when God was there to take care of his future, why should he worry at all. On realizing this truth, he immediately called the insurance agent and

cancelled his policy. This shows that Gandhi not only preached the principle of *aparigraha* but strictly put it into practice into his life. The practice of *aparigraha* leads to the ideal of Trusteeship.

4.5. Trusteeship

In Gandhian economic order, trusteeship replaces both private ownership as well as state ownership, and institutes social ownership. While the private ownership leads to disparities and discord, state ownership leads to loss of individual freedom and initiative. Therefore, trusteeship rejects both of them. It validates social ownership. The trustee though keeps his surplus wealth with him and in his possession, he does not use it for his personal use, but utilizes it for common good. Trusteeship is a social contract for harmonizing individual good with social good and capitalism with socialism.

Gandhi discovered the notion of trusteeship in the first verse of Isopanishad: "*tena tyaktena bhuñjīthā mā grdhaḥ kasyasviddhanam*" (Enjoy they wealth by renouncing it). Supporting the doctrine of trusteeship, Gandhi remarked: "Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours, it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs and use the remainder for society" (*Harijan*, 1-2-1942; A Deplorable Incident, 25-1-1942, CWMG 75: 259).

According to Gandhi, trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. Marxist solution to the dilemma of capitalist production is not accepted by Gandhi. Under his theory of trusteeship, wealth and capabilities belong socially, but are allowed to remain with the owner's to take benefit of their initiative, competence and skills. Gandhi's notion of trusteeship is an ethico-political concept.

Gandhi's theory of trusteeship had its basis in his ethical principles of non-stealing and non-possession. His idea of non-possession extended also to one's physical body, with all that went with it including talents. He once

said: "The body does not belong to us. While it lasts, we must use it as a trust handed over to our charge" (Gandhi, 1932/2016: p.11).

For all practical purposes, Gandhi's concept of trusteeship "is not very different from that of socialized ownership. In neither case can the ownership be exploited for private benefit. In neither case will its direction and management depend on the whims and the interests of the trustee or the manager (of socialized property)" (Dantwala, 1985: p.507). In trusteeship, Gandhi produced a grand alternative to the prevailing economic organizations whether in the communist or capitalist countries (Rao, 1970: p.51).

Following Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, attempted to implement the notion of trusteeship in the agricultural sector. He thus successfully led Bhoodan and gramdan movements. According to Vinoba, land, like sunlight, water and air belongs to all and not to any individual or group. The person who happens to possess excess land should act as a trustee. Therefore Vinoba travelled all over the country for about 4,500 days and covered nearly 7,500 kilometers. He was able to collect over four million acres of land.

Gandhi's concepts of *swaraj*, *swadeshi*, bread-labour, *aprgraha* and trusteeship culminate into his philosophy of *sarvodaya*.

4.6. *Sarvodaya* (Welfare of All)

Sarvodaya is Gandhi's moral economy. It is a synthesis of contrasting dimensions of self and society in one's life. The synthesis, Gandhi sought is in terms of *sarvodaya*. It is a synthesis where the individual and society become reflexive of each other and the conflict between the two would disappear. The conflict here is between 'what is good to oneself' verses 'what is good for the society'. It is the conflict between personal happiness and people's welfare (Rao, 2017: p.142).

In the *sarvodaya* economics of Gandhi, economics and ethics go together. Justice and equality are the guiding principles. According to Gandhi, economic policies of a

country should promote nonviolent society, which implies that co-operation and not competition should be the guiding factor. Decentralization, but not centralization of power is needed for promoting a just society. In Gandhian *sarvodaya* state, labour and capital are not rivals, because labour itself constitutes the capital. Gandhi opined that decentralization of production as well as distribution is necessary to avoid exploitation. Therefore, he had advocated *swadeshi* and cottage industries.

Gandhi's *sarvodaya* aims at "the greatest good of all". It does not merely aim at maximum happiness of the maximum number, as we find in Mill's and Bentham's utilitarianism. According to the doctrine of Utilitarianism, an action is good when 51% of the people in a society are satisfied with it. It does not care for the 49% of the people left over. Gandhi considers this as a "heartless doctrine" (Diwan & Lutz, 1985: p.39). Gandhi's *sarvodaya* aims at the happiness of all. According to him an action is good when all the 100% of the people are happy and satisfied. In short, Gandhi's *sarvodaya* aims at *antyyodaya* - the welfare of the last man in a society ie., welfare of the weakest and poorest man in society. It rejects the maxim of greatest good of the greatest number.

There is another important difference between *sarvodaya* and utilitarianism. While utilitarianism supports war, *sarvodaya* does not. There is no place of violence in *sarvodaya*. On the contrary, utilitarianism supports war on the ground of utility. It even justifies the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on the ground of utility. Similarly on the same lines, the anarchist justifies his cruel assassinations. But none of these acts can be justified on the *sarvodaya* principle, i.e., the principle of the greatest good of all (Young India, 9-12-1926; CWMG 32: 402). Gandhi also rejected Darwin's principle of survival of the fittest. He remarked: "I do'n't believe in the principle of 'greatest good of the greatest number' and 'survival of the fittest'. For man the rule is, the good of all, the beings, but we have not

yet risen above the nature of quadrupeds. *Dharma* lies in doing so" (CWMG 50: 157).

Gandhi's *sarvodaya* is like that of the John Rawls' approach, which equates the welfare of society to that of the worst off in it. In this context, it is apt to remember Gandhi's *talisman*, which states that an act is justified only when it takes care of the weakest and poorest man in society. To quote Gandhi:

"Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to *him*. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him ... control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubts and ... self melting away" (Pyarelal, 1958: p.65; CWMG 89: 125).

5. Decentralized Economy

Gandhi suggested that "if India is to evolve along non-violent lines it will have to decentralize many things" (*Harijan*, 30.12.1939). He wanted decentralization in politics and economics.

Opposing centralization of power in politics, Gandhi advocated the distribution of power to village *panchayats*. He wanted every village should be able to rule by itself independently, of course co-operating with the power of nation. He said that true democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the Centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village. In the true democracy of India, the unit is the village. If one village wants panchayat Raj (Republic in English), no one can stop it (*Harijan*, 18.1.1948, p.519). Thus Gandhi pleaded for decentralized politics. He extended this idea to his economic philosophy. According to him the village is able to manage its economic issues too. It should be self-sufficient on economic matters. Gandhi said

that one cannot build nonviolence on a factory civilization. It can be built only on self-contained villages. Rural economy, as Gandhi conceived it, avoids exploitation altogether. Exploitation, he argued, is the essence of violence (*Harijan*, 4.11.39, p.331).

5.1. Khadi and other Village Industries

As a part of his decentralized economy, Gandhi emphasized upon village industries. He said that the village methods like hand-grinding, hand pounding, hand chakkis, soap making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing, sandal making etc., should be improved. Gandhi argued that hand-pounding of rice or hand-chakkis for husking paddy is good because it is a well established fact that white polished rice put by mills is unhealthy. He opined that cloth manufactures in mills displaced village hands; rice mills and flour mills not only displaced thousands of poor women workers, but also damaged the health of the whole population. Therefore he argued that the dying and the dead industries of villages must be revived. Gandhi was of the view that we shall have to see that "the villagers become first of all self-contained and then cater for the needs of the city-dwellers" (*Harijan*, 7.12.1934, p.341).

Gandhi did not ask the city-dwellers to go to and live in the villages. But he asked them to render unto the villagers what is due to them. Gandhi was of the opinion that there is no single raw material that the city-dweller can obtain except from the villager. Therefore he should help the villagers.

People should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available. The revival of village industries, Gandhi said, is but an extension of the khadi effort. Their "revival means life, their destruction means death, ..." (*Harijan*, 4.1.35, p.372).

The village industries like hand-grinding, hand-pounding etc., Gandhi considered as the handmaid of *Khadi* (Handspun cloth). It is one of the items, Gandhi discussed under his constructive programme. He believed that

if once *khadi* is revived, all the other village industries will follow. He considered the spinning wheel, the foundation, on which to build a village life. The wheel is the centre round which all other activities will resolve (*Young India*, 21.5.1925, p.177).

Gandhi considered *khadi* as one of the village industries, because it connotes "the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country..." (Gandhi, 1945: p.11). He considered *khadi* as a strong and nonviolent village economy. To him it is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality. Moreover, *khadi* mentality means "decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessities of life" (ibid). Heavy industries, argued Gandhi, will need to be centralized and nationalized. But they will occupy very little part of national activity which predominately exists in villages.

By *khadi*, Gandhi does not mean simply weaving. It includes cotton growing, picking, ginning, cleaning, carding, silvering, spinning, sizing, dying, preparing the warp and woof, weaving and washing. These can be effectively handled in the villages.

6. Critique of Industrial Civilization

Gandhi's criticism on machinery and its effects are found in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*. There he wrote, "Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is a machinery there are large cities; and where there are large cities, there are from cars and railways; and there only does one see electric light. English villages do not boast of any of these things" (Gandhi, 1939/2013, p.83).

It is true that Gandhi is a critic of 'machinery'. However, what he objected was 'the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such'. He had accepted the use of heavy machinery for work of public utility which cannot be done by human labour, but he was 'uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery' (*Young India*, 17.6.1926, CWMG 31:13). Gandhi cited the invention of atom bomb as an example for destructive machinery. He opposed

industrialism, which led to exploitation of the masses.

Gandhi said that he has no design upon machinery as such. He believed that the 'spinning wheel' or the 'sewing machine' itself is a piece of valuable machinery. His objection was directed to the "craze for machinery" and its "indiscriminate multiplication". He therefore, wanted not to destroy machinery but to impose limitations on it. He would welcome the machine that lightens the burden of crores of men living in cottages. But he had set his face against all machinery which turns humans into "robots" and as a result, ousts human labour (Narayan, 1970: p.33).

Gandhi was not against scientific inventions and improvement in machinery. He said that he would prize every invention made for the benefit of all. He welcomed every improvement in a small machine which adds to the efficiency of cottage industries and which a man can handle without being its slave. But he was not in favour of the modern "craze for labour-saving devices".

Gandhi remarked: "Today, machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs on millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might" (*Young India*, 13.11.1924). Gandhi felt that in Europe and America mechanization was a necessity because those countries had abundant capital but suffered from the scarcity of labour. To exploit and develop their natural resources fully, they were forced to invoke the assistance of machinery. But the conditions in India are just the opposite of those obtaining in Western countries. There we find the paucity of capital and surplus of labour. "The problem with us, therefore is not that of inventing labour-saving devices, but of providing employment to those who are being crushed under the heavy weight of forced idleness" (Narayan, 1970: p.35). Gandhi preferred cottage industries for production and distribution. He wanted production by the masses, not mass

production by the machinery. Distribution, he said “can be equalized when production is localized, in other words, when distribution is simultaneous with production” (ibid., p.36). Gandhi held the view that “... if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation” (*Harijan*, 2.11.1934).

7. Gandhi's Economy of Permanence (Gandhi on Sustainable Development)

Gandhi's economic philosophy offers sustainable development because it aims at not only material growth, but also moral and spiritual growth. It aims at the holistic development of man.

Gandhian economic thought constitutes a complete ideology for achieving economic development through a nonviolent, egalitarian and sustainable social order. Gandhi was one of the first thinkers to formulate a normative and holistic approach which aims at material growth in conjunction with political, social and moral growths. His economic thought is founded on the precept that ‘the good of the individual is contained in the good of all’. His “is an economic order of concepts, values, perspectives and directions, which aims at long-term human good and growth” (Anand, 2015: unpublished paper).

Gandhi did not present a systematic theory on Sustainable Development (SD). However one can cull out his ideas “to weave a definite pattern for a meta-theoretic construct of SD ...” (Ghosh, 2012, p.175). “Gandhi's ideas of S.D. encompass, not only environmental development but also general socio-economic development and human development that are consistent with moral and ethical values. Gandhi seems to have suggested the idea that no development worth the name is sustainable which is not based on morality and standard ethical norms” (ibid., p.176).

One can discern three types of SD in Gandhian philosophy. The first is the development of body, mind and soul of a person, paying

particular attention to the parameters like truth, nonviolence and non-possession. The second is the ecological-environmental balance. This includes very careful use of natural resources such as paper and non-wastage of any resources. Gandhi wanted not to waste even a drop of water. He wanted waste management by reuse of recovery, sanitation, hygiene, and simple living by keeping one's needs as minimum and possible. He preferred vegetarianism. The third is the linkage between environment and proper human development (ibid., pp.175-76).

Gandhi's emphasis is upon several ethical issues implicit in the concept of SD. They are co-operation and interdependence at all levels. The fundamental requirement for SD is the elimination of selfishness, greed and deductive material.

8. Possible objections against Gandhian Economics and a Reply to them

In spite of several merits that we find in Gandhian economics, it is not left unchallenged. Let us consider the possible objections against Gandhian economics and examine their tenability.

1. “A common criticism of the Gandhian economics is that it is medieval, unscientific and summons man back from 21st century to the dismal days of our forefathers”.
 - However, it is wrong to think that Gandhian economy puts the hands of the clock back and attempts to sail against the wind. Gandhi asked us to turn the searchlight inward; his way is the way to “personal freedom and personal decency, and therefore to peace” (Narayan, 1970: p.54). In fact, Gandhian ideas are not behind but perhaps a century ahead of his times.
2. “The scientists sometimes criticize that Gandhi is not scientific in his outlook, and desires to perpetuate the ‘bullock-cart economy’ in an age of “aeroplanes”.
 - But such an objection is not tenable. Gandhi's ‘bullock-cart economy’ may

prove more conducive to human welfare than the “atom bomb economy”, after which the scientists usually hanker. In fact, science is only a means to an end; it is not an end in itself. If it does not subserve the true end, it is of no use for the present directions of development.

As explained earlier, Gandhi was not against machinery as such. He said that he would prize every scientific invention made for the benefit of the society. His objection was directed to the modern craze for labour-saving devices. He welcomed the machine if it could lighten the burden of crores of men living in cottages. Moreover Gandhi made it clear that he was not against the machination and centralization of “key” industries.

3. Another objection levelled against Gandhian economics is that he was against industrial advancement. Supporters of this view argue that “an industrially backward country will continually upset the world equilibrium and encourage the aggressive tendencies of more developed countries” (Nehru, 1985: p.407).

- This objection is based upon some misconceptions against Gandhi’s views on machine. He was not against a few large-scale and mechanized key industries, which are necessary for national development. However, as regards other industries, especially for the manufacture of consumer goods, Gandhi wanted for their decentralization throughout the country on a co-operative and cottage basis (Narayan, 1970: p.61). To put it in the language of Shriman Narayan, Gandhi did not advocate “lion-cloth” economy as a permanent feature of economic development (ibid.). In India of his dreams, Gandhi wrote:

“When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with a high degree of skill and artistic talent. There will be village poets, village artists, village architects, linguists and

research workers. In short, there will be nothing in life worth having which will not be had in the villages. Today the villages are dung heaps. Tomorrow they will be like tiny gardens of Eden where dwell highly intellectual folk whom no one can deceive or exploit” (*Harijan*, 10.11.1946).

Conclusion

What kind of economic order that Gandhi had visualized? Are we able to achieve it even after 70 years of Indian independence? These are some of the questions that agitate our mind.

Gandhi wanted to establish an economic order from its grass root level. He advocated economic decentralization. He believed that India lives in villages and therefore, unless the economic conditions of villages are improved, the country’s economy cannot be improved. Therefore he wanted *gram swaraj* (village republic). He desired that every village should become a republic. It should be independent of its own in all matters. But look at the villages today. The economic and social conditions of many of our villages are in doldrums. It is true that the government is making all efforts to improve the conditions of villages through its *pachayat raj* program and different village development schemes. In spite of it, the condition of villages is not much improved. We witness the migration of the villagers to the towns for employment. Farmer’s suicides are common. Weavers’ suicides are escalating. They are committing suicides due to poor crops and poverty. The village swaraj is not yet achieved, as desired by Gandhi.

So also Gandhi’s doctrine of “Swadeshi”. It is poorly implemented in our life. We are fond of foreign goods at the cost of *swadeshi*. The import of Chinese goods and their market in India is an example for this. We want our children go to US and settle over there in lucrative jobs and send us US dollars, which have high exchange value. We feel proud of it. We physically live in India but our minds are crazy after foreign goods and amenities. So

also our fascination towards English language at the cost of our mother tongue is another example for how poorly we implement Gandhi's spirit of *swadeshi* to our life.

Gandhi wanted a poor man's *swaraj*. He wanted a *swaraj* where the gulf between the rich and poor is minimized and there is equitable distribution of wealth. But his dreams are left over as dreams. They are not yet realized. The gulf between the rich and the poor is widening. While the rich are becoming richer, the poor are becoming poorer. Trustees are rarely seen.

Gandhi wanted to put a limit to the craze over machinery. He wanted to reconcile the gap between cottage industries and heavy industries. However the largescale industries are increasing in their number, they are devastating villages industries and causing environmental pollution as well as ecological imbalance. Adequate encouragement for *khadi* and village products is lacking. Under these circumstance, the question is how to overcome these maladies and realize Gandhi's dreams of economic order. I feel that there should be a change in man himself. There should be transformation from 'economic man' to 'Gandhian man'. Man has to reduce his egoism and develop altruism. He must be able to see himself in others and others in himself. This presupposes to reduce oneself to zero. While the economic man is egoistic, Gandhian man is altruistic. The Gandhian man labours for his bread, practices the principles of *aparigraha* and *swadeshi*. He reduces his wants and leads a simple life with high thinking. He cares for his needs only and avoids greediness. In short, he develops the divinity within himself. He will be led by his inner voice. There is no contradiction in the material and moral growth of man. They have to be developed side by side. *This requires the change from economic man to Gandhian man.* Unless such a change will take place, Gandhi's dreams of economic order will remain a pipe dream and never become a reality.

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Spirituality and Ethics in Business: Gandhi's thought Perspective

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Dean of School of Management, faculty members, invited guests and dear students, I am humbled by this invitation to deliver the first Dr. M.L. Shrikant Memorial Lecture. I have had the opportunity of meeting his father Shri Laxmidas Shreekant in late nineteen seventies at Dahod in Gujarat where he headed the Bhil Seva Mandal founded by Thakkar Bapa in early 1920s. Laxmidas Shrikant had impressed me as a remarkable individual and I, a young man of 23, had wondered then what was this impressive personality doing in a corner of Gujarat among tribal people. Little had I known that years later I will meet his son whose spiritual state of persona was of high order. I was surprised that Dr. Shrikant had approached Gujarat Vidyapith to take the initiative in organising a workshop on Gandhi and Management because he wanted to introduce a course on Gandhi and Management. Dr. Shrikant was one of the most accomplished persons to have led the initiative. And let me

admit that we could not really move ahead after the workshop and it was not because of him, but it was because of lack of drive at Vidyapith level and I need to accept that failure. Hence, to me it appears a conspiracy of the SPJIMR to ask me to deliver the first lecture in memory of Dr. M.L. Shrikant so that I do some work and present a case for bringing Gandhi in business management courses. Dr. Shrikant is physically absent today among us but I trust his spirit is with us and would reflect in the work that would be carried on by his colleagues. Dr. Shrikant wanted to pay attention to possible Gandhian approach to modern business management may be because Dr. Shrikant also came to academics after practicing. Many in the audience present here know that Dr. Shrikant worked as a CEO of Mukund Iron and Steel when he was in early thirties. American University trained engineer Dr. Shrikant went to Cornell to do his MBA at the age of 36 after he quit his job as the CEO. He had also served on the

¹ First Dr. M.L. Shrikant Memorial Lecture delivered on January 23, 2017 at the S. P. Jain Institute of Management and Research, Mumbai

Board of several large and prestigious private and public sector companies as Director. He obtained his doctorate from Harvard Business School at the age of 42. The point being made here is that like Gandhiji Dr. Shrikant too came to management education arena after doing the job. It was this background of his that led him to evoke Gandhiji and his thought for management education. There is another stronger reason for Dr. Shrikant to bring Gandhi on management education agenda. Gandhiji had believed and all along argued that India has rich heritage in envisioning life and its management that is embedded deeply in spirituality. Dr. Shrikant also had strong conviction that *Vedanta* can guide and teach. In the 2013 workshop at Vidyapith Dr. Shrikant in his opening remarks said, One of the projects that I have for last 12-15 years been talking about it is can we bring in eastern ideas of our life's philosophy into management because while West generally talks about management or managing others, I personally feel that management starts with one self. You don't know how to manage yourself before you start managing others. I have been focusing on that for last 15 years and trying to do some experiments. In that context we have to do interesting course what is called science of spirituality and then it recurred to me that Gandhiji's life would be an ideal story to illustrate some of the Western principles of management through Indian experiences, where one major change emphasis on values as to what human life is all about, the strength of life comes from values so this is the whole logic.

I thought that I should pick up the thread from what Dr. Shrikant had said in his opening remarks in that workshop. Having said that let me also admit that I had developed some allergy towards persons and groups who had ideas of linking modern management with Gandhiji, *Bhagavad Gita* and Hindu *Shastras*. I think that it was fashionable to attempt

such things and when one was perhaps tired of modern managements Gurus of Peter Drucker and C.K. Prahalad. I also think that it has become fashionable because of the revival of Hindutva elements in socio-political life. But Dr. Shrikant was made of different mettle. A deeply spiritual person, he was extremely serious in bringing spirituality on the academic agenda of the business management schools. He was personally highly oriented and qualified to undertake this effort. I now understand that my allergy stemmed from the attitude of the professional management people to use ancient Indian texts of Vedanta and Gandhiji as instrumental rationality. For Dr. Shrikant spirituality in business was necessary to introduce quest for inner richness and happiness of self and to help enhance non-material happiness in the society. Dr. Shrikant's approach resembles the Gandhi's way for rebuilding non-violence society. I will try to address the issue of spirituality and ethics in Gandhi's thought perspective and its relevance in management education. I must admit though that I am terribly ill-equipped to do so because I am not into management teaching and I just cannot claim to have even elementary knowledge in spirituality. My only qualification, if granted, is that I am trying to become a serious student of Gandhiji's life and his thought.

I must also at this point note the effort already made by Dr. Shrikant and his colleagues at SPJIMR in introducing and conducting a course =to frame business skills in the context of larger goals for businesses and for business leaders as individuals'. Late Dr. Shrikant and his colleague Jagdish Rattanani have noted in a paper contributed in a book the following about the course.

²The Course is based on the theories of ancient Indian texts Vedanta, more popularly recognised through the Bhagavad Gita, and is titled the —Science of Spirituality'. The Course used the word —Science because

² Manesh L. Shrikant and Jagdish R. Rattanani 2016. —Time for Business Schools to Teach Spirituality II, in Madhumita Chatterji and Laszlo Zsolnai (editors) *Ethical Leadership: Indian and European Spiritual Approaches*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp 275-96

its hypotheses mirror the rigour expected of a scientific treatise, namely clear causalities with explanations thereof, a comprehensive structure connecting variables, universal verifiability, clear logical perceptions and the possibilities of systematic experimentation.

The emphasis is on exposing the students to the rich heritage that India has in Vedanta literature, and to orient them towards non-material dimensions of life and its importance in managing worldly affairs including business and economics. The Course aims at integrating the external and internal persona. It is argued in the paper by Dr. Shrikant and Rattanani that business interests and affairs have become very strong and politically powerful in the world and unfortunately the underlying philosophy of doing is business is greed. The business establishment and management schools in nexus produce 'manageroids'. It is argued in the paper that religiosity and spirituality should not be confused. Using the prevalent jargons it is argued that it is important to build spiritual quotient (SQ) in each individual and one of the challenges is to work on it and then introduce in the management courses. A combination of IQ, EQ and SQ would get better results than using the first two only. The potential of knowledge in Vedanta literature is discussed and argued that integrating the knowledge that can be gained from the Vedanta into the modern management curricula will help building sustainable businesses where there would be harmony within and with nature. It is cogently argued case and Dr. Shrikant was able to design a course and run it. Then why should and where should Gandhiji and his thought appear in the scheme? The only answer I can think in the context is that Gandhiji lived and showed the way. Let me try to connect Gandhiji's life and thought and see whether management schools have any use of it. However, it will be useful to briefly review the scene in the West.

Spirituality in Economics and Business

in West The academic world in the West is indeed aware of the crisis of spirituality in worldly affairs especially economics and business. Protestant Ethics which had justified the 'this worldly affairs' especially creating material wealth for family and society to live comfortably, as divine had ample spiritual quotient in it. Briefly expressed it was an honest man working hard to gain prosperity for the family in best possible way. Such honest and hardworking individuals trying to maximise their individual and family welfare would form a harmonious and prosperous society. And free market was the best agency which would provide equal opportunity to all, thus simultaneously optimising individual and social welfare. It was presumed that the civil society that would result out of such protestant values would be virtuous. Anthony Giddens in his analysis of the present day crisis of capitalism and communism has discussed this aspect. Giddens has quoted David Green, who has listed some features thus,

³The virtue of civil society, if left to its own devices, are said to include 'Good character, honesty, duty, selfsacrifice, honour, service, self-discipline, toleration, respect, justice, civility, fortitude, courage, integrity, diligence, patriotism, consideration for others, thrift and reverence.

The virtues of the civil society would be some summation of the individual virtues. But as capitalism flourished the Protestant values gave away. The Protestant work ethics which had given profit a place of dignity led to gluttony, pride, selfishness, and greed. These are precisely the Christian sins. How paradoxical it has become that the values which were established and upheld once as ethical, practice of them have led to undesired results. The inquiry into the natural sciences led to very many inventions, discoveries and innovations. The process led to evolution of technology. Most of the technologies helped production of goods and services that added to the material prosperity of the society. Since

³. Giddens Anthony, 2005. *The Third Way: the Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press, UK and USA (Reprinted) p.12.

economics came to be considered increasingly as science, there was always a pressure to make it quantifiable and measurable. There was also a compulsion to quantify and measure the welfare of human beings. Obviously, gross domestic product and per capita income became most important welfare indicators. There have definitely been changes in these indicators and quality of life ⁴etc. has been brought in, but it is important to understand that despite all such efforts =the only values appearing in current economic models that can be quantified by assigning monetary weightings' are ultimately considered. A significant section of academia and business school teachers are aware of this reality of West. There is a sincere effort to re-establish the values of Protestant Ethics in =this worldly affairs'. An international network of individuals and organizations promoting spirituality in economic and social life has come into existence with a belief that spiritually motivated actors who define success in multidimensional and holistic terms may serve the common good of nature, future generations and society. Explaining the initiative Luk Bouckaert has noted the following.

⁵ The overall aim of the European SPES Forum is make spirituality accessible as a public good to as many people as possible. This aim is expressed in the key word of SPES being on the one hand an acronym for =**S**pirituality in **E**conomics and **S**ociety' and, on the other hand, the Latin word for Hope, the virtue that sustains our belief in a better future. The European SPES Forum has a focus on experienced-based spirituality that succeeds in making a connection between day-to-day activities and the inner pluriform quest for meaning.

⁶The SPES belief coincides with that of Dr. Shrikant in so far as emphasising the need for bringing spirituality in conducting

oneself as a business person. For believers spirituality has been a matter of interest, but that was outside the framework of economic man. The SPES effort is more in bringing spirituality in mainstream Economics by making the discipline holistic. Because there is a danger that if one treated spirituality in the reductionist framework within which economics is mainly done, it will be reduced into a cost benefit analysis or maximisation with one more constraint. In conventional economic analysis framework spirituality will be treated as a private good for consumption and hence a market commodity. Suppose a person is looking for a purpose or meaning in life it becomes a good to be obtained. Purpose and meaning would be different for different consumers. It could be search for happiness, freedom, material well-being, social success, health or a good and rich family life. Spirituality will get added to this list. And the individual will work out the opportunity cost for undertaking activities that would enhance the satisfaction of being spiritual. Bouckaert argues that treating spirituality as a private good would succumb to such ⁷reductionist analysis and the idea that spirituality should influence the economic behaviour and business management at a society level would not make any headway. He suggests and propounds a case for treating spirituality as a public good. He suggests that spirituality also has characteristics of indivisibility and external effect. He is conscious that the external effect can be negative if it gets linked with dogmatic or fundamentalist religious beliefs and practices. The =Nine-Eleven' incidence is a known example of such negative externality. Nearer home we are facing religion based and supported terrorism and fundamentalism. But one should not overlook and undermine the positive external effect generated by spirituality even if it comes with secular religiosity. Gandhiji suggested *Sarvadharmā Samabhava* –equal respect and forbearance for

⁴ Capra Fritjof, 1983. *The Turning Point*, Flamingo, London.

⁵ Bouckaert Luk, 2007. =Spirituality in Economics II, in Luk Bouckaert and Laszlo Zsolnai (editors) *Spirituality as a Public Good*. Garant, Antwerpen-Apeldoorn. p.23

⁶ *Ibid* p.12.

all religions. In fact he specifically introduced it as a value to be practiced by an individual and celebrated by the society. In this sense the value ceases to be private good alone, it also becomes a public good. Bockaert argues that as a cultural climate religion and spirituality exceed the sphere of private goods. The liberal model would continue to treat religion and spirituality as a private good but it would miss out the external benefits. It is true that a democratic state cannot define and control individual convictions and choices, but its respect for plurality and diversity does not imply that they are private goods only. The interconnectedness and the cultural dimension in believing and practicing spirituality make it a public good to be consumed by all without reducing its availability. The liberal democracy discourse created the welfare state. What welfare was being promoted by the state? It was and is mainly material well-being. This has been achieved to significant levels in Europe and America. However, one also witnesses depression, stress, suicide, violence and bitterness. Distributive justice in many advanced liberal democracies has not been able to contain the above mentioned maladies. Diwan and Lutz have pointed out in 1985 the problems in American society.

In the rich countries the quality of life is deteriorating even if the standard of living has phenomenally improved. The value of family life and other social values are breaking down. A substantial number of children have never lived with both their parents. The single parent household is in the process of becoming the majority of the households in United States. Kidnapping and various forms of child abuse are now a national phenomenon. The adult life is marred by anxiety and job stress. Work for a large majority of workers is both stressful and meaningless. There is growing scarcity of joy or pride in the work done. Old age is full of loneliness. Life has, no doubt, been prolonged, but the lifestyle in many places

has become more like a nightmare. ... Crime has become so commonplace that police often cannot even care about burglaries, even rape, being busy as they are with murders and other serious injuries.

Interestingly, Gandhiji had made this point in 1909 in his small treatise *Hind Swaraj* and questioned whether it could be called happiness and whether it was sign of civilisation. He wrote,

⁸The people of Europe today live in better-build houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilization, and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness. Formerly, they wore skins, and used spears as their weapons. Now, they wear long trousers, and, for embellishing their bodies, they wear a variety of clothing, and, instead of spears, they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers... Formerly, in Europe, people ploughed their lands mainly by manual labor. Now, one man can plough a vast tract by means of steam engines and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilization... Formerly, men travelled in wagons. Now, they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airship and reach any part, of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor-car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished up food. Everything will be done by machinery. Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization.

⁷. Diwan Romesh and Lutz Mark (Editors), 1985. *Essays in Gandhian Economics* Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi. pp. 3-4.

⁸. Gandhi M.K. as reproduced by Parel Anthony J. 1997 (Editor). *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* Foundation Books, New Delhi for Cambridge University Press, UK. p.36 .

The West has indeed come to re-recognise as Bouckaert puts it, that human happiness is of dual nature. The prevalent economic rationality helps in achieving happiness for self-defined preferences that are mostly material. Stating the second dimension of happiness he says,

⁹Human happiness is simultaneously related to our *capability to live inter-connectedly*. This interconnectedness is expressed in relations of trust, solidarity, reciprocity and friendship. By reducing all our needs to the format of preference maximisation we crowd out the *relational* nature of happiness.

The relational nature of happiness cannot be achieved by instrumental rationality. Humanity has tried in right earnest to bring happiness through economics and business under a liberal and democratic model. But the basic value accepted was maximisation. Maximisation is a game of 'no limit'. Hence, greed enters. It sacrifices rationality. Stanislav Menshikov notes, ¹⁰All economies that are based on these principles (maximisation of utility and profits) tend to create and promote unequal conditions for the people.

¹¹The other argument of the market fundamentalists, according to Menshikov, is that it is the natural order of things because it proceeds from human nature in which greed and need to maximise material benefits prevail. If God has created human beings that way, how can one change? Then there is all the more reason to establish a case for relational happiness. Further, connectedness and relational happiness are not restricted *vis a vis* human species only. It is *vis a vis* the entire creation. Relational happiness brings in the element of deriving happiness making the other happy. Hence, the concept of sacrifice for the other comes in. Values such as love, compassion, empathy and understanding come into play in determining the individual

and societal happiness. The State and the business have to recognise this dimension. This part of the human behaviour enriches the inner self which is spirituality. It may be noted that this is not necessarily religious spirituality expressed in dogmatic beliefs and ritualistic practices. The case of bringing spirituality in economics and business appears strong. **Why Business Ethics alone would not suffice?** At this juncture a point may arise that economics and business have not been blind to ethics. In fact, from 1980s onward almost all good management schools teach business ethics as a core course. But in the light of the above discussion it could be judged that considering ethical behaviour alone and getting educated in ethical practices are not the complete solutions. Further as Bouckaert argues ethics in business is used as instrumental rationality. It is used in an external sense. Generally, the objective of adopting ethical practices and behaviour is to ensure and sustain long term profitability and prosperity for the enterprise and the stakeholders. There are instances when the ethical positions taken have been given up as economic crisis deepened. The external goals that are decided using ethical norms are for better reputation, low transaction costs, less regulation and of course more profitability. Only ¹²when one looks at the intrinsic meaning of ethics and its implications for individual behaviour the relationality surfaces with accepting and practicing values such as love, trust, friendship and reciprocity. Ethics then leads to spirituality. In this context emphasis on spirituality in economics and business has been contended. The President of the European Business Ethics Network has argued that emphasis on spirituality in economics leads to excessive concentration of individual subjective feeling and too little on social and institutional conditions. He has argued for a clear focus on social integrity, built up through a shared set of institutional embedded practices of social accountability.

⁹ Bouckaert *op cit* p.17.

¹⁰ Menshikov Stanislav, 2005. – *Compassionate Economics*". Tibet House, New Delhi. 2005 p.5.

¹¹ Readers interested may read Bouckaert, 2007. *op cit*.

¹² *Ibid* p.19.

¹³ Zsolnai Laszlo, 2007. —Ethics Needs Spirituality, in Luk Bouckaert and Laszlo Zsolnai (editors) *Spirituality as a Public Good*. Garant, Antwerpen-Apeldoorn. P.25.

Bouckaert disagrees with this and argues that the state and business have had a very elaborate list of standards of social accountability and an impressive body of institutional regulations. The result that has been observed is that all such institutional arrangements push the business towards developing a strong culture of instrumental rationality. Laszlo Zsolnai has put forth another argument on why ethics alone is not sufficient even if practiced in right earnest. He says,

¹³Western ethics suggests that ethical action is a *cognitive enterprise*. Western ethical theories proved *abstract models* to be applied or followed by moral agents (deontology, consequentialism, virtue ethics). But we know from practice that the main problem to behave ethically is not knowledge but motivation.

Zsolnai notes further that the main ethical message that is conveyed by diverse spiritual experiences recorded and analysed by scholar psychologists remains the same. It is love and compassion, deep reverence for life and empathy with all sentient beings. He then quotes Stanislov Grof who has summarised the result of spiritual experiences as follows.

¹⁴We develop a new system of values that is not based on conventional norms, precepts, commandments and fear of punishment, but our knowledge and understanding of the universal order. We realise that we are integral part of creation and that by hurting others we would be hurting ourselves.

Spirituality and Ethics in Management: The Indian Context

In West management science has its roots in capitalism. And as we saw capitalism was ushered in by establishment of Protestant Ethics. Ancient India and India before British was not a capitalist economy. However, manufacturing, mercantile and trade flourished well throughout. Religion, morals, ethics and management had strong base. The colonial India largely witnessed building up of some capital through commerce and

very little through industrialisation. After Independence the mixed economy model created confusion and private sector with a few exceptions could survive and thrive largely on corruption and deceit. India continued with education system that was brought in by the British and known as Macaulay system that is now infamous. As West introduced management education it found its way to India too. Neither the business nor the state examined the relevance of imported management education in the context of Indian way of doing business. Slowly the modern managers started replacing the native managers and their systems and today India is practically in the same predicament as the West is. Native intelligence and indigenous system of business management did obtain in India, but it was simply by passed. There is a legend that is worth sharing here. Vikram Sarabhai, the space scientist of India was a scion of known business house in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. He was a brilliant scientist and he at a very young age took initiative to found the first management institute in the country. It was the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad that came to be known as IIMA. The story is that after a few years of its existence, Vikram Sarabhai found that there was very insignificant number of native Gujarati students who could make it to IIMA. Vikram Sarabhai lamented about it to the senior business leaders who were also known as *nagarsheths*. They seem to have responded by saying that let Bengalis and South Indians become your IIMA trained managers, but ultimately we are going to hire them and our children will be their bosses! The message was the indigenous management still held the hold on business in India. However, it is now a past story. In India the ancient country that it is has grappled with the problem of conducting 'this worldly affairs'. *Vedanta* contains the wisdom from ancient Indian texts *vedas*, *upanishadas* and *Bhagavad Gita*. Based on *Vedanta* several *Shastras* have been developed. They also deal in politics and society. There have been distinct school of thoughts, one that believes in the existence of *atma* soul as different

¹⁴ *Ibid* p.26.

from the body and which remains even when the death destroys the body. Another school believes only in the existence of body and after death nothing remains. Kautilya the scholar administrator of the Maurya dynasty who wrote the ¹⁵*arthashastra* which in today's terminology means economics, had discussed in some details the issues raised in *Shastras*. The schools of thought that believe in existence of soul are known as *atmavadi* and the school of thought that believes only in the existence of body are known as *anatmavadi*. The *atmavadi* schools place economic affairs in the category of *artha*. These schools believe that there are four aspects of human life functions, *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*. *Artha* and *Kama* represent 'this worldly affair' and duties relating to them have to be performed by all individuals. The ultimate purpose of life is to attain *moksha* which is salvation. The *Anatmavadi* School that does not believe in *atma* or soul too have a *shastra* in which this worldly affair is to be performed under some norms. Kautilya's *arthashastra* contains elements of normative economics. It recognises the tension between *dharma* which refers to a person's duty towards self and others and the *arthavyavahara* economic affairs that is mostly for bodily survival and material gains. In case of conflict between the two, *dharma* has to prevail since the superior and ultimate objective is *moksha* through *dharma*.¹⁶ Thus it may be said that in the Indian School of thought economics and business is treated as an integral part of the whole that is the individual being a rational person in conducting economic affairs, but under the holistic life vision of following *dharama* and strive for *moksha*. Hence, spirituality in individual behaviour is at the core. One may point out that if spirituality was the core value of economic and business affairs in Indian ethos why the business community in modern times appear corrupt and unethical? I have tried to answer this question as follows. The

practice of *dharma* as philosophised in *Vedanta* was reduced into rituals called *karmakanda* by institutional religions and sects. An artificial barrier was raised between *dharma* and *artha*. The later was practiced with instrumental rationality and therefore business came to in realm of *rutanurat* meaning that economic affairs were a mix of truth and untruth. This thesis came to be taken as given. So untruth and unethical behaviour passed in economic affairs, but one had to cleanse oneself of the sins! Hence, the rituals of appeasing Gods and Goddesses became a practice. Charity for good and noble causes was to wash away the sins. Similarly, taking a holy dip in sacred rivers with *Ganga* ranking first helped in washing away the sins. *Artha* and *dharma* were compartmentalised. If the present crisis of consumerism is to be described in ancient Indian ¹⁷discourse then it resembles the philosophy that was propounded by *anatamavadi* school of thought. Sage *Charvak* celebrated the *bhogvad* that is consumption and indulgence in satisfying bodily needs and had said *runam krutva ghrutam pibet Yavat jivet sukham jivet*. It means incur debt and drink butter oil (ghee) live merrily until alive. It is this instrumental rationality that has provided lucrative business to present day *dharamgurus* and it's a flourishing industry today. And Baba Ramdev seems to be the epitome of it by becoming a virtuoso CEO producing all and sundry in FMCG segment! **Gandhiji and his thought Perspective** It has already been noted earlier that managers and management schools are attracted to Gandhiji. The first reason of course is that he was a hugely successful leader. In recent times the term manager is not in vogue, it has given place to leader leading business and economic affairs. One reason for calling a manager a leader is also that the economies have now transformed from industrial economies to knowledge economies. Conventional means and ways of producing goods and services are yielding to high technology knowledge based systems. The role of ordinary physical and mechanically

¹⁵ Interested readers may refer author's article in Hindi. Ahimsa aur Arthashastra, in Chintan aur Srajan, 2014, New Delhi.

¹⁶ Pandit Ishwar Chand Sharna (1957) Artha Dharma Mimansa (Poonjivad aur Samalvad ki Samalochana), Arya Samaj, Kuchipudo, Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

¹⁷ Axelrod Alan, 2010. *GANDHI CEO*, Sterling, New York, London. p.xii.

skilled labour is giving way knowledge workers. The human resource management challenges are now different. Gandhiji as is well-known managed a huge body of human resources and led the enterprise to success. Alan Axelrod in his interesting book *Gandhi CEO* says, But *Gandhi? A CEO?* Considers his achievements: He stimulated and enabled the rebirth of India, at the time a dysfunctional, failing enterprise on which the welfare of millions depended, and he redefined the very medium civilisation, no less – in which that enterprise operated. The means by which Gandhi achieved this included mastering the elements of personal leadership and institutional management, performing a revolutionary analysis of the environment of —business as usual and formulating a strategy for productively breaking out of all-too-limiting box of conventional thought, outworn tradition, and received wisdom.

Axelrod describes Gandhiji's leadership as falling in —servant leadership paradigm with which he created an enterprise of utmost efficiency. He had its objectives and goals sharply defined and rigorously pared down to only what matters. He rejected nothing but untruth, intolerance, and violence. He was on a —do or die basis. He knew that nothing could be achieved by coercion and hence he had to become a virtuoso in the art of persuasion through suasion. Axelrod's description indeed presents a case of successful CEO leading an enterprise! Axelrod has given 14 major principles that Gandhiji's life and action reflect and has presented them as the qualities and qualifications of a successful entrepreneur. Rajmohan Gandhi has called Gandhiji 'The Good Boatman'. He notes,

¹⁸With Gandhiji at their head, Indian people could look at the Raj, Britain and the West in the eye and challenge the assumption of East's Moral degeneracy; and their gratification was greater on finding that astuteness plus an

identification with all Indians were allied to Gandhi's character. =He was a friend and a lover of all the men and women he met, said Rajagopalachari soon after Gandhi's death. Nine years earlier he had spoken of =an old but big boat piloted by Mahatma Gandhi', adding: =We have tried Mahatma Gandhi for 20 years – to our satisfaction. What he says he means. He promises the minimum but offers the maximum.

Rajmohan Gandhi has also in his work has described Gandhiji's qualities as a leader. Should a CEO of an economic and business enterprise have many of these qualifications and qualities? Would that make him a successful CEO? There is a danger in studying Gandhiji's life with this perspective. Rajmohan Gandhi of course is not remotely interested in proving that Gandhiji ran an enterprise and he was a successful CEO. His endeavour has been to portray Gandhi asking the question to himself whether Gandhi was a saint or a politician. But people in business management arena tend to evaluate though seriously Gandhi as a successful entrepreneur. In the above specific context we have to understand that first and foremost Gandhiji quest for Truth was spiritual. The arena that he selected to do so was public and social. Referring to him being addressed with the title *Mahatma* He says in the Introduction to his Autobiography, But I should certainly like to narrate my experiments in the spiritual field which are known only to myself and from which derived sch power as I possess for working in the political field...What I want to achieve, - what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years, is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain ¹⁹*moksha*. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in political field, are directed to this same end.

¹⁸ Gandhi Rajmohan, 1997. *THE GOOD BOATMAN: A Portrait of Gandhi*, Penguin Books, India. P.446.

¹⁹ Gandhi M.K. 1927. *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1976 reprint p x.

Studying Gandhiji as a person from management education perspective therefore calls for accepting the element of spirituality in a persona. To make it abundantly clear again it is not ethical behaviour alone that is being considered. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi transformed his persona to a level that earned him the title of *Mahatma*. The process of transformation began from a very early age. His regard for service began with his becoming servant of his parents and later turned him into a servant-leader of humanity. Watching a play of *Harishchandra*, he wrote, ²⁰to follow the truth and to go through all the ordeals Harishchandra went through was the one ideal it inspired in me. Truth and honesty got engraved permanently on the young Mohandas' mind and changed his personality completely in years to come. Gandhi learned at a young age three aspects of improving self: acknowledgement, repentance, and willingness to accept punishment for wrongdoing. He also thought that if it was possible for him, it was possible for others to do the same; he expected that every individual should, indeed, do so. When he moved to England to become a barrister, he remained faithful to the oath he made his to mother on leaving not to touch wine, woman, and meat. His resolve to being truthful and honest under the most trying circumstances helped him to acquire a strong self-discipline. *Mahatma* was already in the making in the young Mohandas. This practice hardly failed him during rest of his life. Following an unsuccessful experience as a barrister in Mumbai, Gandhi, then around twentythree, took up a job offer in South Africa, where he became acutely aware of racial discrimination. His historic travel from Durban to Pretoria exposed him to this experience in a rather crude manner. Readers will remember the famous train travel and the insult heaped on him at St. Maritzburg railway station. ²¹ His further travel in a coach added to the insult. The incident of beating by a police petrol

constable who guarded President Street reflects that Gandhi did not want to punish a single person for the societal problem. Even at that young age, Gandhi had already scaled heights in self-regulation and control. By the age of twenty-five years, young Gandhi had accepted, and had become staunch practitioner of, honesty, truth, and non-violence. Gandhi firmly internalised the value of firm resistance with self-suffering in the situations of injustice and exploitation rather than inflicting injury and violence to the perpetrator. It was this Gandhi who went on to lead the South Africa Satyagraha between 1896 and 1914 and after, that became the most central figure in India's fight for Independence. Gandhi fought for his liberty and freedom and for the freedom of communities by using nonviolent protest—*Satyagraha*. Self-discipline is what is needed in order to be a *satyagrahi* for fighting for one's own liberty and freedom, and for serving the society and its causes. The self-regulated persona that he was, he also help the others to develop their persona through self-regulation. In 1930 when he was serving a term in Yarvada Jail, the Sabarmati Ashram inmates wanted to know how an individual could discipline self and live as an ideal Ashram inmate. Gandhi advised the inmates through letters that were compiled as a book titled, —From Yarvada Mandir||. The book contains eleven principles, or resolves, that each Indian was to adopt and practice. These include: i) truth – *Satya*; ii) Nonviolence – *Ahimsa*; iii) Chastity – *Brahmacharya*; iv) Control of the Palate – *Aswada*; v) Non-Stealing – *Asteya*; vi) Non-Possession – *Aparigarha* or Voluntary Poverty; vii) Fearlessness – *Abhaya*; viii) Not believing in untouchability – *Sparsh Bhavanaa*; ix) Bread labour – *Sharirshrama*; x) Respect for all religions – *Sarvadharma sambhav*; and xi) Self-reliance – *Swadeshi*. In the Gandhian thought perspective, an individual's behaviour whether she is a manager or managed has to first to manage self. Gandhi considered it extremely important that the individuals regulated selves not only to seek own Truth and salvation, but also to contribute to the formation of a healthy and harmonious

²⁰. *Ibid* p.7.

²¹. Gandhi Rajmohan. *Op cit* p.37-39.

society. In a way, Gandhi has been a votary of extreme individualism wherein a person seeks his own Truth which, in turn, leads to nonviolence and loyalty to neighbours for material requirements. In the Western world, an ²²individual, fiercely fighting for his own freedom, faces constraint imposed by the social order. In pursuing one's own freedom, one cannot come in the way of any other's freedom. One can pursue one's freedom as long as he or she does not impinge upon another's freedom. The Gandhian perspective the individual has all the freedom to be liberated and, in fact should aim at getting liberated, but mainly through disciplining oneself. If this paradigm is accepted then studying Gandhiji's life renders valuable insights and would help a person to become a good leader. Now let us consider Gandhi's thought especially for economics and business. Gandhi's economic thought was deeply influenced by what he saw of England, where he had gone to study law, and of the way economic affairs were carried out there. He was moved by what he witnessed of the impact of British policies on natives and immigrants in South Africa and later in India. He had also read R.C. Dutt's *Economic History of India*. These experiences helped him to form his critique of modern western civilization and to articulate some basic tenets of his economic thought.

Gandhi advocated the building of a truly spiritual nation and advocated seeking =the Kingdom of God' as the basis for real economics. The goal of human life was to live according to high moral values and not to become a slave to material well-being. He believed that the right attitude to material wealth was to be found in the following maxim from the *Ishavasya Upanishada*

Ishavasyam idam sarvam Yatkinchit Jagatyam Jagat;

²² He has also read other books. His critique of the Western civilisation and his understanding of economics and economic systems had been enhanced by the works of some well-known authors and thinkers such as Tolstoy, Ruskin, Carpenter, Dadabhai Naorji and others. Gandhiji gave a list of 20 books as appendix to in his book *Hind Swaraj*. For details refer Parel Anthony *op cit*.

Ten tyaktena bhunjitha maa grudha kasya swid dhanam.

Whatever there is changeful in this ephemeral world, - all that must be enveloped by the Lord. By this renunciation (of the World), support yourself. Do not covet the wealth of anyone. This, to him, was a moral value that had to constitute the foundation of economic thought. However, there is a scope for confusion at this point. Some would assume from the above that the Gandhian framework is otherworldly or purely spiritual in nature. In his comprehensive analysis of Gandhian economic thought, Dasgupta skilfully refutes this charge:

²³Gandhi insisted that the relationship between economics and ethics works both ways. While economic concepts were laden with ethical implications, ethics too must descend from the clouds and become =good economics'. Ethics, Gandhi is saying, is not simply an exercise for philosophers, a convenient handle for sharpening their wits on the logic of extremes. It must be relevant to the ordinary business of life where one's options are limited by resource constraints. Ethics by its nature is an enterprise for the worldly, a guide to the perplexed; and its answers, to be credible, need to be economically viable. =No person in the world has found it possible to maintain something which is a source of constant economic loss.

Gandhi was advocating ethics precisely for the proper conduct of worldly affairs. He called for the cultivation of a mature attitude towards material prosperity and progress and not the complete rejection of them. Yet, as mentioned earlier, the discipline of economics itself, in the name of becoming more =rational', moved away from ethics (in this case, the Protestant ethics). According to Dasgupta it was Gandhi's conviction that =one's behaviour as an economic agent could not be isolated from one's behaviour as an autonomous moral agent'. It was on this basis that he

²³ Dasgupta Ajit K. 1996. *Gandhi's Economic thought*. Routledge London. P.7.

rejected the other maxim of modern economic thought that rational human behaviour was directed towards the satiation of unlimited human wants. For Gandhi, human wants had to have their limits. He knew that beyond a point material goods would no longer satisfy wants. He advocated self-restraint— those who have enough should not be aspiring for more. Gandhi believed that *homo economicus* continues to feel poor no matter how rich he or she is. In Management education the economics and business science that is taught is claimed to be value neutral. Spirituality and ethical values are kept out. Values are private and reflect only the tastes and preferences revealed in demand. Gandhiji's economic thought recognises and incorporates the spiritual and ethical values as an integral part. He does not consider it unscientific. In his Autobiography he says the following in the context of his experiments in spirituality.

If I can narrate them in a dispassionate and humble spirit, many other experiments will find them provision for their onward march. Far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for these experiments. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist who, though he conducts his experiments with the utmost accuracy, ²⁴forethought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusions, but keeps an open mind regarding them.

Gandhiji in his economic thought framework establishes ethical and spiritual values as core values. He appears to be drawing from the holistic approach of examining human behaviour where *Dharam*, *Artha*, *Kaama* and *Moksha* make the integral whole. He also seems to be in agreement with the position *Kautilya* takes in his *Arthshastra*. If there is a conflict between economic or this worldly interests - *Artha* and *Dharma*, latter prevails. !! *Arthsasthratu balvaddharmasastramiti sthithi*²⁵.

²⁴. Gandhi M.K. *op cit* p x

²⁵. Pandit Sharma, p.9

²⁶. Dasgupta *op cit* chapter 6.

Let us now consider whether Gandhiji has also thought about an economic system that was based on his economic thought. The answer is that yes he advocated an economic system that was based on trusteeship. Gandhiji argued that basic and fundamental argument he made in this regard was that both capitalism and communism were founded on violence. In capitalism, wealth creation generates violence. Communism that talks about equity also recommends violence. As against both the schools of thoughts, trusteeship principle is basically stands on non-violence. The efforts that society has to make to achieve this kind of equity are not on violence – so for a sustainable society, Gandhi's argument was that trusteeship stands a better chance at the theoretical level. This point is very interestingly brought out by Ajit Dashgupta. He says that it was however with trusteeship as a theory, an idea, a social and moral norm that he was concerned. Thus for example, he describes a society based on trusteeship as follows.

²⁶The rich man will be left in possession of wealth of which he will use when he necessarily requires and reasonably satisfies his personal needs and then act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society and by the society.

The fundamental assumption regarding the theory is honesty and integrity of the trustee. Unrealistic nature of the assumption did not deter him since the idea essentially was embedded in the nature of a theoretical model. Many commentaries followed on this point.

Prof. Dantwallah, a well-known scholar economist opined that it was necessary to distinguish the moral principles of trusteeship from the system of economic development and business management that could be deduced from it. In other words, Trusteeship is one such theory from where one should deduce and should not hold Gandhi responsible for such deductions. This point needs to be emphasised as eminent scholars have observed that trusteeship as a concept,

is not absolute but relative in space and time based and the needs of society. Dantwallah differs from other scholars. The principle was =absolute' but application of it can be relative – what is relative or tentative is the floor work of political / economic arrangement based on this moral philosophy. The =theory for theory' must be examined first before we reject his theory on the whole. A number of scholars and philosophers have thought that Gandhi's idea of trusteeship is not operational. However, Gandhi is not arguing of the workability of the trusteeship, but he is only promulgating the theory of trusteeship. The idea of trusteeship is based on one particular value that is embedded in Indian tradition. It is the value of *Aparigraha* non-acquisitive nature of the human being that has to be developed. This is the point, which again Gandhi labours and at the foundation of the trusteeship it is this *Aparigraha*. It has so happened that the positive economics, as it evolved, has ignored values of this nature. *Aparigraha* becomes the integral part of the human behaviour and this has to be considered also as a part of the behaviour of the economic man. Gandhi departs from the conventional positive economists from this point. The economic man has an ordinal utility, which is qualitative and comparable. The *Aparigrahi*, i.e., the person who is acquiring wealth but is not acquisitive, has a variety of uses with his wealth. One would be utilisation for self-gratification of personal needs. This is one part of the utility; the other part of utility is an individual deriving satisfaction by satisfying the needs of others. In this case, she takes into consideration the satisfaction of family members, relatives, neighbourhood, society at large and the whole world by his actions. The important aspect of *Aparigraha* is its multiutility concept. This concept is slightly different and qualitative in nature, and for maximisation of this satisfaction, this multi-order utility has to be considered rather than focusing only on the economic man, where the anthropocentric behaviour aims at maximising individual utility. If this normative nature of the *Aparigraha* is accepted in the mainstream economic

analysis, cultivating an *Aparigrahi* individual becomes a major task. Gandhi believed that the value of *Aparigraha* had been embedded in Indian culture. In communism wealth is to be snatched from the capitalists and then to be redistributed. Through this state capitalism emerges. The wealth creation and distribution is based on violence. Gandhiji's trusteeship is based on *Ahimsa*- non-violence. If the wealthy and the capitalist do not part with their wealth voluntarily, then the seeker of justice has to offer nonviolent resistance – *Sathyagraha*. Gandhiji was repeatedly asked the process of bringing about trusteeship. Persuasion and non-cooperation was Gandhi's answer. Gandhi was also asked that if the trustee fails to behave as a trustee, would the state be justified in dispossessing them. His answer was =yes'. =As a matter of fact, the state will take away all those things and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum violence'. It is interesting to note that Gandhi also thought about the role of the state, too. He had realised the long run process of inculcating a personal moral value in society. The role of the State is only for the shorter time period. Trusteeship is essentially about how to possess and how much to possess. It is not against creation and possession. Creation and possession of wealth is justified in the scheme of trusteeship. In 1917 Gandhiji intervened in the textile mill strike. By then in the entire industrialised world, workers union etc. had taken good shape, negotiation used to go on, but the spirit was that of opponents. It was one versus the other. Gandhi brought in the change and incorporated the trusteeship concept. Gandhiji had told the mill owners that what he expected of them was that they should hold all their riches as a trust to be used solely in the interest of those who sweated for them and whose industry and labour they owe all their possessions and property. Gandhiji wanted that the owners made labourers co-partners of wealth. Unless it was done labourers will be perennial conflict with owners. The value that Gandhiji was promoting was that of *Asteya* – non-stealing. In the capitalist mode of production there is

always pressure to reduce cost. In most events it is the labour cost that bears the pressure. Gandhiji suggested that if the entrepreneurs failed to meet the decent living costs of labourers who produced, it would amount to stealing on the entrepreneurs' part. A trustee would first attend to the needs of the labour and then claim profit or surplus. Trusteeship is therefore an economic system that has potential to get established if the individuals in society believe and practice self-regulation. Self-regulation for inner richness and above

the material enrichment is the central thesis of Gandhiji. In Management education unless the thesis is integrated with the main curricula, teaching spirituality as a standalone subject would push the learners to develop it as instrumental rationality. Bringing in Gandhiji and his thought perspective also faces similar threat. However, if management education incorporates the Gandhi's thought perspective for conducting business, it has potential to build a non-violent and harmonious society.

Thank you.



New Horizons of Rural Development and Gandhi's Perspective

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This paper encompasses the new horizons of Rural Economic and rural development. It attempts to review the fundamental changes and their short term and long term gains the new horizons include Global Séance of Rural Development; Transforming dynamics of rural economy, new approach and fresh design of rural development and its governance adopted by NDA government since 1914-15. In the light of the present scenario of rural development the paper describes the major connotations of Gandhi's rural development. The paper in its last part attempts to suggest 20 point programmes of implementation of Gandhi's prescriptions in present day economic environment and development perspective with suitable modifications needed for the implementation without loss of basic ideals and values of Gandhi's thoughts.

I

New horizons of Rural Development in Post-Economic Reforms Period.

The systematic study of recent literature in rural development provides us the following

basic and new challenges of changes seen on new horizons. We may very briefly review such new horizons of rural economy and development

(1) Rural Development since Post World War – II to Globalization Period

- Rural Development acquired central role in theory and practice of development since 1950. The role of "OBSEOLESENE OF DEVELOPMENT FASION AND IDEALS (CHAMBER-1993-1) and many development fashion over the years came in to right due to the Critical failure of concept and theory of development (HaQ-1976). This was first accepted by World Bank in its white paper on Rural Development where it provided "CORE-PERIPHERY" frame for its members nations seeking foreign aid through World Bank (World Bank - World Bank Report on Equity and development. 2008).
- The celebrated studies of John Harris and others developed real conceptual

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understanding of Rural Development (John Harris) In the line of World Bank white paper on Rural Development, Harris define Rural development itself with emphasis on enlarging rural people's choices (ibid Harris) Sen also had similar idea in 'Development as Freedom.' (Sen A. Development as Freedom 1999).

- One more significant change in the development studies came on the floor is that the concept of development is no more viewed in terms of economic analysis. Its thematic appraisal did not remained with economics alone but it assumed multi-disciplinary character which led the emergence of sustainable development and Human development with reference to 'Rural Development' Harris explained Rural Development stating that rural development which at once broader and more specific than development in terms of economic growth. Since rural development is not only a matter of production but also distribution as a result It has to be Multi-disciplinary (ibid. Harris) that is perhaps the reason why we do not have single theory of Rural Development in development economics.
- Finally the Paradox of Poverty and development was recorded by World Bank due to the failure of development, rural development was suggested in 1970's. However in later decades of 1980, 1990 and 2000 with Global liberation policy once again World Bank documented a burning issue of equity and development (World Bank Report 2008) Economic growth oriented approach was in built with inequality. The core-periphery syndrome due to its centralized approach and top to down approach with non-people participatory rural development in developing actions failed to achieve the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality in rural economy. Many studies also provided

the evidence of increased inequality due to globalization and liberalization as "Rural Development" did not remained powerful safety nets to protect weaker sectors. The rural development got rediscovered in terms of its approach, methods and processes due to the needs for the creation of conditions for the success of liberalization in bringing about equitable development.

- The most important change in thinking that appeared on Horizon was rediscovering Gandhi's rural Development paradigm which emerged before the World war. Behra in his study has well summarized this remarkable rediscovery in the development studies on the basis of important studies and evidence of such changes. Behra notes.

"International development discourse after the war did not draw on Gandhian understanding what Gandhi prescribed then for example and peoples knowledge by emphasizing on cottage and village industries, minimum pressure on environment and sustainable development, decentralization – simply put GRAM SWARAJ." (Behra-2001, Bhole – 2002) In India also there are clear evidence of failure of rural development in terms of poverty, unemployment and inequality due to violent economic growth without distributional justice. (Dilip Shah 2015).

Thus, Globalization, Liberalization and privatization did not answer to the questions therefore new design of rural development on Gandhian linen advocated.

II

Transforming Rural Economy:

Recent report on "Rural Development – 2012 and number of research studies have analyzed the dynamics of Transforming India. (Dipankar Gupata (2002) and (Surinder Jodhka 2001, Gupta 2015) we have to consider the remarkable changes in Rural economy in designing 'Rural Development' In present India, we may briefly state the following important aspects of Transforming India.

How Rural is Rural India?

- (1) India's villages today not defined as rural area in strict sense of definition on account of fundamental changes. It has not remained either Ambedkar's village or Gandhi village republics of his dreams. In fact, it has lost its identity so much that Dipankar Gupta raised the question How RURAL is RURAL INDIA? (Dipankar Gupta – 2000).

In fact, in another study tracking the changes in traditional setting identifying 'RURBAN' India in the place of Rural India Gupta depicts the real scenario of Rural India in the following –

A categorical distinction is facing rough weather that between urban and rural if we take just agriculture. There is so much of the outside World that comes in not just as external markets but as external inputs, further, many of our villages barely qualify as rural if we were to take occupation alone. So the earlier line that separated the female from the workers in towns is slowly getting erased by now agriculturalists are ready to accept that their future lies elsewhere, perhaps in the city and towns, places also in households and informal industries. If they cannot make out it so those please, at least their children should bid. Dipankar Gupta (2015).

The 'Rural-Urban' category blurred so much that there are many sociologic studies which have provided not only changes in economic character of the villages but also social structure of villages also. Surinder Jodhka in well edited papers on "Village Society" (Surinder Jodhka, 2015) gives powerful scenario of Transformation of rural socially is so much changed the villages, perhaps the book view of the Indian village society is fundamentally got differenced in reality largely due to urbanization, stagnant agriculture, migration of village people to city for non-farm jobs etc. and new sources

of communication and transport etc. So much so, that it is rightly stated that we have now village in the city and city in the village (Shah A.M. 2014) one would justifiably agree to Jodhka when he stated the historical perception of villages have substantially changed that perception of our leaders for example Gandhi saw it as "Site of authenticity" for Nehru the village was the source and site of backwardness of India's, for Ambedkar village was a site of oppression where the institution of caste presented itself in its most brutal and inhuman form have changed to large extend.

Indian villages have undergone great dynamic transformation is well brought by India's Rural Development Report-2012 (India's Rural Development Report-2012 PP).

- (1) Increased blurring of Rural-Urban boundaries is so much so that definition of urban and rural area has remained insignificant largely due to reduced growth rate rural population i.e. 1-2% 2010-11 against 1.7% during 1991-2011 while urbanization growth increased at 2.8% and resulted into new multi-dimensional Urban-Rural relationship interdependent and evolving relationship linking Rural-Urban relationship closer i.e. organized retained linked to farming.
- (2) Small holder farming has become the bed rock of rural life due to fragmentation of land holding by 2010-11 roughly 67% of land holding were marginal (Less than 1 hector or 2.5 acre) against 51% in 1970-71. If we include 18% small farmers with 1-2 hector of land as much as 85% are unviable farm holders suffering with low productivity, low income and under employment leading to Rural Poverty in India.
- (3) Increasing agrarian commercialization shifting away to commercial and

high value added crops including horticulture has increased the risk and dependency on urban market.

- (4) Growing importance of livestock a buffer against crop failure, supplementary income, seasonal income in case of small and marginal farmers.

New Approach and Fresh Design of Rural Development

New approach and fresh design of Rural development is reflected the latest budget of central government – 2016 (Dilip Shah – 20160) Prof. Vyas in his I.P. Desai lecture (V.S. Vyas - 2013) had suggested four important reforms for effective Anti-poverty programs executed under rural development these four steps were as follow.

- (i) Design the schemes to suit the poor with enough flexibility
- (ii) Reform the delivery scheme (Direct transfer of benefits)
- (iii) Building collective strength of the poor through institutional building
- (iv) Creation of enabling environment

If look into the budgetary proposals and other implementation of projects, we may find the “New Approach” and Fresh design to meet the above stated reforms suggested. To explain further this point we simply record some important innovative programs and system changes.

- (i) Instead of cutting the rural development allocation, funds raised to Rs.87,765 Crores from Rs.68,817. The Fund management provided with great autonomy to states for the implementation with state specific needs. Lately 25% of the grants were made open to be spent for the exclusive state need based project.
- (ii) States are not only given anatomy but relatively greater share of fund under 14th finance.

- (iii) The major scheme like MANREGA retained with expansion of eligible projects to be taken under this scheme which provide better access of NAREGA for local needs.
- (iv) To eliminate linkages and transfer of funds to non-poor etc. the delivery system is based on two foundations, under Jandhan Yojana beneficiaries are asked to get open their Bank Account and to keep Adhar Card for identify so that their funds could be made available without linkage and in time. We have observed in our reports that this was the major damaging object of fund linkages and nonavailable funds to beneficiaries in time (Dilip Shah National Rural development monitor report (2012-13).
- (v) To enable Panchayats to participate in development of their villages as a part of the obligatory recommendation of 14th finance commission Rs.2.87 Lakh Crores with quantum jump of 2.28% as compared to five years will be allocated to Panchayats and Municipalities. Thus, an average of Rs.80 Lakh per Panchayat and Rs.2.0 Crores for Urban local bodies will help transforming villages and towns.
- (vi) To meet the challenges of transforming rural sector and emerging rural-urban linkages, Development of RURBAN clusters systems – Shyam Prasad Mukherjee – Rurban (Rural-Urban Mission) will developed 300 clusters which will work and incubate growth center in rural areas.
- (vii) The improved delivery system via direct transfer of rant funds along with right to information Acts will certainly check the corrupt practices or we have already documented such evidences in our recent study (Prakash Bacharwala and Dilip Shah Right to Information Act and Rural Development Goverance-2016).

- (viii) All these new measures along with two direct measures to pass the benefits of government subsidy will create very enabling environment for positive Development actions at Micro level.

Two programs in social sector include massive mission to provide LPG connections 1.50 Lakh household in 2016) and to be covered to 5 Crores BPL families. Another scheme of government to provide health cover of Rs.1,00,000 per family with extra top up to Rs.30,000 to seniors and quality medicine supply at affordable price under Prime Minister Jan Aushandi Yojana; under which 3000 Medical Drug supply stores will be open in the country. In addition to that 'National Dialysis' program will also help poor at all the district levels. This provides the direct benefits to beneficiary.

III

GANDHI'S PERCEPTION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Gandhi's perception is reflected in his views on rural development which we attempted in systematic way in terms of Rural Development Model.

It must be noted that there is nothing like "Rural Development model as specifically stated by Gandhi in fact, rural development was not stated anywhere however, we have attempted to organize relevant views of Gandhi and integrated as systematic model. Gandhi's diagnosis of Indian poverty needs revival of rural civilization and establishment of new social order that could be possible through "village development" for which Gandhi prescribed specific approach, strategy, principals and values to be followed. The details of each of these aspects helped us to evolve a specific model what we call as "Rural Development Model" of Gandhi.

GANDHIAN APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

World economic order today faces a great economic crisis composed of a variety of conflicting puzzles such as growth with

poverty; economic progress with pollution and population explosion; inflation with unemployment; ecological imbalances with balance of trade problem caused by energy-price spiral. Consequently, the dawn of new understanding and perception is evident in the writings of leading economists and thinkers. The absurdity and limitations of modern Economic development process is seen in the writings of E.J. Mishan, Paul Samuelson, Club of Rome study, Gunnar Myrdal, Galbraith, and Schumacher etc. Recent study of Toffler is the 'red signal' to current developments of the economic style. It is perhaps known to many how Toffler has vividly shown that 'Individual market-oriented second wave is almost over.' This is indicated by the strikes, lockouts, breakdowns, crimes, psychological distress, pollution, corruption, inflation, alienation, loneliness. Racism, bureaucracy, disorder, mindless consumerism, etc.

In one word, the world is at war with 'wants' with fresh technological strategy which is expected to offer 'Third Wave' to the new world leading to a radical New Synthesis of Gandhi with satellites where a new balance will be struck between the most advanced science with strong technology available to the human race.

NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Under the shadow of ancient Indian civilization Gandhi wanted to develop 'New Social order' having the following characteristics:

- New social order will be based on the foundations of nonviolence and truth:
- Economic progress and moral progress will go together:
- The system will focus on development of 'Man':
- Life will not be pyramid with apex sustained by the bottom but it will be an 'oceanic circle' whose center will be the 'Individual always ready to perish for the village, latter ready to perish for the circle of village till at last the world becomes one life composed of individuals never aggressive in their

arrogance but every member sharing the majority of oceanic circles of which they are integrated units.

- The operation of the society will be based on 'more altruism' and harmony between individual and social interest. [M.K. GANDHI young india.31/12/1931].

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

To achieve New Social Order, Gandhi opted for village development in the place of urban development. Gandhi wanted to convert 'dung-hill' village into 'tiny garden' like republic of Aryan age. His mission was to build Indian society based on the village system. He wanted to develop the village and in fact believed that if the village perished India will perish too [M.K.G. Harijan 29/8/1936]. He gave great importance to village development for many reasons: some of which could be stated as follows:

- Real Indian civilizations was living in the village;
- Exploitation of villages by cities was 'violence';
- We can realize the truth and non-violence only in the simplicity of village life;
- It is possible to evolve non-violent occupational structure only in village set-up with simple living;
- Village life also promotes 'Swadeshi';
- Rural set-up is more convenient to apply principal of physical labour which is a great social leveler;
- Land based economy of village is of institutionalizing the principle of trusteeship.
- Thus, Gandhi's rational of village reconstruction had two dimensions which explained "villagism". First, negativity viewed, it was an onslaught on the exploitative tendency inherent in industrialism and domination by urbanism and positively considered, it was an attempt to establish a non-violent social order from

which exploitation is completely done away with. [S.K. Lal Gandhi and village, 1982].

APPROACH TO VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

The following are the most noticeable elements of Gandhi's approach to economic development:

- Approach to economic problems unlike the other alternative systems was never 'economic' one. He looked at economic problems of scarcity he advocated not an increased supply of goods but a curtailment of demand via life of simplicity.
- Secondly, Gandhi like our modern planner and economists appreciated the problem of the tiny village. He talked about the groups of villages, which is nothing but "cluster" approach to village development today. [V.M. Rao, 1983].
- Thirdly, he was opposed to any adhocism in development. He believed that approach to village reconstruction should not be on a temporary basis but on a permanent basis.
- Finally, Gandhi also had realized the need for an integrated rural development. Of course, his integrated approach was of a different type. He believed that craft, art, health and education should all be integrated into one. It must be noted that his development approach was that 'Nai Talim' should be integrated with village reconstruction programme.

PRINCIPLE COMPONENTS OF GANDHIJI'S STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY

A close study of Gandhi's writings gives us a clue to the well-designed strategy of development consisting of some six components. These principle components are briefly summarized as follows:

SELF-SUFFICIENT VILLAGE ECONOMY

Self-sufficiency of the village was strategy to delink rural dependence on urban areas. To put it in Gandhi's own words: "My idea of self-sufficiency is that village must be self-sufficient in regard to food, cloth and other

basic necessities.” Gandhi had clearly stated that his concept of self-sufficiency was not a narrow one, nor was it that of selfishness or arrogance. He also realized that “we shall have to get from the outside village what we cannot produce in the village. To make this possible village was expected to produce more than its needs to exchange with other village. [M.K.G. Village Swaraj. Navjivan. pp.141]” He also emphasized self-sufficiency of production of ‘cotton’ as the raw material for basic village industry of spinning. Role of this principal component in the strategy of Gandhian economic order is quite possible if we attempt to see the implication in practice. It could be antidote to exploitation of village by urban areas. Duality, quantity and production were to be controlled so that the simplicity and control of wants could be realized. Importance of the “decentralized economy” to be stressed upon.

DECENTRALISATION

Gandhi gave a clear strategic place to decentralization in his scheme of thought. He believed that of superior consideration is ‘Man’. The end to be sought is human happiness with mental and moral growth. This is expected to be achieved under decentralization. Further, centralization is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society, and cannot be sustained and defended without violence. He envisaged decentralization of economic power thorough the revival of village industries.

KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Gandhi considered ‘Khadi’ almost like ‘lead industry’. Emphasis on Khadi was ‘moral’ as well as ‘material’. Hence, he recognized Khadi mentality as decentralization of production and distribution of necessities of life and ‘beginning’ of economic freedom and equality for all in the country.

Gandhi had a clear rationale behind the choice of Khadi. His most important anxiety was ‘work to all’. Therefore, he challenged the rulers, saying that “if government could provide full employment to all people without the help of Khadi and village industries, I shall be prepared to wind up my constructive

programme in this sphere” [M.K.G. Gramswaraj, 1962 pp.139] Apart from this, he considered this to be the most simple and best known industry, as an instrument for those who do not have enough from agriculture.

OPERATIONAL MECHANISM OF GANDHIAN STRATEGY

Gandhi expected that implementation of the development strategy would be possible by development of the following institution and instruments:

- Panchayati Raj;
- Cooperatives;
- Trusteeship;
- Nai Talim

PANCHAYATI RAJ

Every village will be a republic where the panchayat will have full power of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. Panchayat is supposed to exercise legislative, executive and judiciary functions. It would look after education, health and sanitation. It would become the true instrument of decentralized political and economic power. It is also expected to develop moral and spiritual values.

COOPERATIVES

Gandhi recognized the roots of cooperation in dependence. He noted that when dependence becomes necessary in order to help society it is no longer dependence but becomes cooperation. In fact, he gave very specific role to cooperatives in the field of agriculture saying “We must attempt to prevent further fragmentation of land and to encourage people to take to cooperative farming.” He also advocated earning interest was regarded by him as “bad goal”, cooperative farming and dairying was undoubtedly a good goal prompting national interest. Thus, cooperative was an important instrument of implementation of Gandhian system.

TRUSTEESHIP

“Trusteeship”, the last will and testament of

Gandhi, was regarded as an instrument of transforming the capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives the owner of Land and capital a chance to reform himself in the context of rural reconstruction and envisages an active role for trusteeship. All the land belonged to God, that is community, and land should be collectively owned and operated for the welfare of the community. 'Landlords' are merely trustees. By persuasion the heart of the landowners should be changed and they should be induced to donate their land voluntarily. He said: "I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalist by nonviolent method and therefore, there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict." *ibid*, pp.99] Thus, trusteeship was an important part of the mechanism of Gandhian strategy.

NAI TALIM

He had no faith in modern education where literacy and information are the two basic consequences. He believed that today's education is Debauchery of the Mind. Hence, he developed the idea of Nai Talim for "all round drawing of the best in child and man, body, mind and spirit." Nai Talim was described as an education through handicrafts which could be so 'Productive' that the school can be made self-supporting, the condition being that the state takes over the building of these schools.

VALUE STRUCTURE

Gandhi's approach to development was conditioned by some basic values to be accepted and followed as 'Man' is at the centre of economic planning and development. He is also the main force of implementation. Man is supposed to have faith and action to assure the success of Gandhian strategy of socio-economic order based on non-violence and truth. Most important 'values' are summarized below:

PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING

Gandhi rejected the utilitarian basis of human conduct and expected that human being will follow simplicity aiming at deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants and thus

adoption of "voluntary poverty" will follow the objective of moral and spiritual life in the place of material life aimed by modern civilizations.

DIGNITY OF LABOUR (BREAD LABOUR)

Influenced by Tolstoy, Ruskin and The Gita he developed the values of dignity of labor. Everybody must earn his bread by physical labour. He who eats without offering sacrifice eats 'stolen food'. Sacrifices can only mean bread labour. Gandhi, wrote in 1925 "Labour is thus the only passport to earn one's bread. No labour no meal." He also made very clear that "No man can earn his bread by intellectual labour" Needs of the body must be supplied by body. Intellectual labour is the soul and is its own satisfaction; intellectual labour is on any day the highest form of social service. Such bread labour is sterile and "This labour can truly be related to agriculture alone." Gandhi an concept of bread labour also emphasizes right of each individual who engages himself in some form of creative and productive body labour to claim a dignified existence. "One who labors must necessarily get his subsistence." [M.K.G. *Ibid*].

SWADESHI

Swadeshi is the spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. It transcends physical and material things. It is based on the faith that "I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. I should serve it by forgiving it its defects."

"In a domain of politics. I should make use of the indigenous institutions." Thus the tone of the statement advocates wider use of indigenous products, services and institutions.

BALANCE BETWEEN ENDS AND MEANS

Non-violence and truth could not be sustained unless a balance between ends and means is maintained. Gandhian system requires non-violent means to achieve high ends. This idea has been nicely explained by Aldous Huxley who states that "No economic reform, however institutionally desirable, can lead

to desirable changes in individuals and the society they constitute, unless it is carried though in a desirable context and by desirable methods.”[Aldus Huxley, ends and means. pp70].

IV

20 POINTS PRESCRIPTIONS OF GANDHIAN PRESCRIPTIONS FOR PRESENT ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE:

In the light of the earlier deliberation, we may briefly indicate following 20 points programme to implement ‘Rural Development’ on the Gandhian style and model, may be at least reducing the gaps between Gandhian and Government model, but certainly more powerful for achieving limitation on reduction of poverty, adequate employment to all and reasonable inequality of income wealth and consumption etc.

1) Agricultural Development

Agriculture needs top priority related to planned allocation from low level of 12% to 15% at least 50% The Second Revolution is needed to concentrate on dry land farming where largest no. of small and marginal framers are engaged. The drip irrigation, watershed development and water conversion can play vital role. Extension should be at the door of farmers with easy provisions of inputs. Technology and credit at the door of farmers with supply chain management and linkage with related organized sector. Cooperative productive societies are needed to ensure remunerative market price to farmers. Amul dairy pattern of cooperatives provide an example and model for replication in all India and among other Agriculture produce.

2) Agro Based Industries

Gandhi accepted that “Other Industries also could be promoted. The non-farm employment is essential with better processing techniques agro-based industries is possible to promote value

addition and employment Manibhai Desai great Gandhian has done such ‘Wadi Project’ for tribal.” (Dilip Shah – 2005).

3) Revival of Khadi and Village Industries

It is good that Khadi commission has not only has started making Khadi popular with technology, power and fashion model. This is step towards creating “Demand”. Government sector is great consumer of clothes. A compulsory uniform by Khadi alone can create very great demand. Now KVIC has developed 29 Industries which could made sustainable with CISR 300 technologies which are appreciate for Rural Industries. Thus, there is scope for the poverty reduction ensuring income to poor in rural areas.

4) Sustainable Development

With better implementation of existing laws; IEC and creating sense of responsibly we should reduce land and deplaning water resources and deforestation could be possible to protect the dependency of poor on common resources.

5) Priority to PURA

Reversal of migration is possible due to better livelihood and economic amenities on account of urban facilities in villages. Which include better school, health centre, digital centre, roads, link roads; electricity, power, drinking water etc. better facilities and over heads in rural area can reduce the attraction to shift to urban area from rural area.

6) Development of ‘Towns’

As growth centers between cities and villages is very strategic to reduce urbanization and to retain the ethos of villages along with linkage of urban markets and rural / local sources of production for labour intensive tiny industries.

7) Trusteeship

The present capital intensive character

is simply could be seen through huge 29 industries earning 29% profits could not generate even 65,000 jobs in whole decade. We cannot change the structure of production but corporate could be asked to create indirect jobs by real use of corporate social responsibilities (CSR). The present crisis of jobs among most of the working class youth woman, educated, semi educated is there. The national movement with rural bias addressed to promote skill development at great scale and speed will be needed to take advantage of demographic dividends by their participation of youth in new job opportunities. This could be possible to follow the sense of trusteeship in CSR on the line of TATA model.

8) Reconstruction of Rural Area

Reconstruction of rural area could be converted Gandhi Ashrams as "Rural Development creates" and also 18 programmes of rural reconstruction could be applied with new designs and styles suitable to new generation so that we can achieve total development addressed to the needs of Human beings.

- 9) We are at present having "Educational Crisis" which had failed in every sense of the terms. It could neither prepare a youth for jobs or life. 'Naitalism' still is an answer to many riddles of educational crisis. However, we need national mission of Educational commission on the line of 'Naitalism' right from primary to college education our Gandhian Gramin Collages schools also needs to be totally reviewed. The political will and powerful demand only can change the scenario.
- 10) Mindless consumerism needs to be controlled by systematic regulation of ruthless marketing so that our rural population which has started copying urban and urban copying western world could be a reduced.
- 11) Communal harmony, ethnic integration and main streaming tribes and dalits in our development process are very essential pre requisite of inclusive development. Our present record is not so satisfactory even after 68 years which is indicated by communal riots and higher levels of poverty among tribals and dalits etc.
- 12) Our Present Growth strategy is highly dependent of foreign investment in fact our Indian stock market is directly Governed by exist and entry of foreign investors. Apart from it leads to growth in non-priority area like services and durable consumers and retained consumers while we need investment in the infrastructural development, education and health for rural development. Ultimately we must have our own investment production market etc. Ramdev model is one answer to get read of the foreign investment and multi nationals.
- 13) We shall need revolutionary approach in the promotion of nature resources like water. The present programmer of watershed development has brought very encouraging results as per the needs of the different rural areas and rural poor people who may not be able to take advantage of watershed programmes. Water conservation and water collection needs new outlook.
- 14) Participative management of natural resources and infrastructure on the line of participative forest management and irrigation management are very essential. The successful experience for the leadership of NGOS likes AKRSP; development support centre etc. in Gujarat has provided a model.
- 15) The Taboos like Non-use of sanitation facility, drinking alcohol, gender description child labour. Exploitation illiteracy etc. and other social evils still exists with us while a lot of work was done by Gandhi we need to overcome these issues which could not be possible just be legislative advancement. Its needs the

very power public movement under the leadership of civil societies, Government and panchayats etc. Involvement of schools and colleges students and teachers can play vital role.

- 16) The present programmers “SARVA SIXA ABHIYAN” and Health For All under health mission are well come to rapid the process of education and health development but these programmer are quantitative in utilizing funds and creating infrastructure without considering the “Quality” of services and supplementary needs to use the available infrastructure. For example what is the sense in providing computer if there is no power in the Panchayat/ School? What is the sense in construction of latrine without water? What is the sense in creating health centre without medicine and even medical staff? We lake integrated approach which results into such problematic situation.
- 17) Participation of rural community is very critical gap today. A syndrome of god dependency and Government dependency needs to be breakup as it is major road block of sustainable development. However, this needs proper information, education, communication and training to Rural people, leaders and community bodies etc. which will help creation of well understanding, critical, contributive participation in rural development and work as watch dog on rural development programme as monitor and evaluator. Excellent provision like Social Auditing is only possible to be done through sensible people’s participation.
- 18) A systematic drive for participation programme development of people is not possible by Government for several Reasons. Hence, NGOs needs to be promoted under National NGO policy. NGOs should work on Gandhians model of rural development like Gandhaian NGO in Gujarat.

19) Gandhian NGOs need not to be contractors of Government programmer but should provide a linkage between government and people.

20) Finally, Role of Panchayats and cooperative needs to be accelerated with their better capacity building as political decentralization and economic decentralization are only possible through powerful development of Panchayat Raj and cooperative development. There is very successful white revolution by cooperative in Gujarat which has substantially improved the rural livelihood is a model and worth implementation. (Dilip Shah – 2015).

Finally our strategy of development should be on development of Smart Villages and not Smart Cities because Smart Villages will be able to redesign our Rural Sector to take the benefit of economic reforms in India.

Ultimately, our all steps should pass through the Acid test that Gandhi gave us i.e. every step should help the Antyoday Family so that we may achieve Sarvoday Society.

CONCLUDING NOTE:

Total revolution of J. P. vision is far from present scenario. However, we can attempt to take best advantage of existing rural development programme and mode them towards Gandhian model. We need Gandhi reforms not global economic reforms. Who will not appreciate India with zero poverty, 100% employment and least inequality which will put India from 136th rank to first 10 nation of human development? 1st nation in happiness index with zero level of slavery index and also 1st nation of non-violence instead of 20th nations who are most violent nations?

A next step of such achievement of India will be way forward for GRAM SWARAJ - DREAM OF GANDHI'S BHARAT.

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Gandhi, an Organizational Guru In Pursuit of Peace

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to understand the psychological lessons that we may learn from Gandhi's life, especially in the fields of leadership and organizational behaviour. It discusses the organizational psychology as implied in Gandhian leadership and several distinctive features of karma-yoga as practised by the Mahatma. While Gandhi had used non-cooperation as a necessary tool to break a bad system, the essence of his entire philosophy was cooperation. The most important quality of a nonviolent CEO, which we can glean from Gandhian philosophy, is the ability to transform people through love and goodwill. The need of the day is the necessary will and determination to actualize and realize the spirit of Gandhi inspired by his concepts of truth, love and nonviolence.

Keywords: *Intuition, Inner voice, Truth and nonviolence, karmayogi, nishkama-karma, pragmatic leadership, CEO, satyagraha, non-cooperation, spiritualism, swadeshi, peace, soul force, altruism, perennial peace.*

M.K. Gandhi was not an exceptional individual by birth. He transformed himself with effort, diligence and commitment to become one. The metamorphosis of Mohandas into Mahatma is not sudden and mysterious. It was a cultivated change. He tells us in his autobiography how

he lied to his parents and committed some disgraceful acts as many do. But what marks him apart is that he did not try to cover them up. He had the courage to confess, which gave him the motivation to resolve and not to hide them. This led him not to succumb to

such temptations in future, and the strength to stand by that resolve. This was the beginning of a lifelong pursuit in search of truth and personal transformation. A shy, timid and somewhat withdrawn young man, became an outstanding public figure and mass leader who helped to bring political emancipation to hundreds of millions of fellow Indians and provide inspiration for many more outside India. What are the psychological lessons we may learn from his life in matters relating to leadership and organizational behaviour? In a recent book, Gandhi, CEO, Alan Axelrod traces the leadership strategies employed by Gandhi and their relevance to current competition-driven global business and management. He organizes these strategies into fourteen facets and draws one hundred lessons to learn from them. We may not share Axelrod's corporate slant and some facile generalizations in a book primarily addressed to general public. However, we freely draw from his insights and add our interpretation. In doing so, we use our own dimensions and characterization.

The Goal Whatever is the field of activity, Gandhi's goal is to realize truth. In this endeavour, the task of the leader is twofold: (a) adherence and commitment to Truth, and (b) contextualizing truth in a given situation, i.e., to relate absolute truth to the existential conditions. These are contained in lessons 98, 99 and 100 of Axelrod. In his words, they are (98) "Ask the Question of Truth", (99) "Demand Truth", and (100) "Truth Always Triumphs". In Gandhi, "truth" has various connotations. There is however one fundamental distinction he makes between Truth in its absolute sense and truth as manifests or conceived in a given situation. The former is presumed to be one and unchanging. However, it is not objectively given but subjectively/intuitively felt. The latter is admittedly not uniform, but relevant to a given context. This is something that can be discovered and rendered objective. Here lies the genius and the creative contribution of the leaders. In contextualizing truth, the leader actualizes it.

Intuition has a place in Gandhi's epistemology. Among other things, Gandhi listened to and guided by his "inner voice". It is the inner voice that gave him access to intuitive truth. In order that the inner voice be a genuine/truthful communication, Gandhi has repeatedly asserted, one's mind should be focused on truth and be free from biases, prejudices and preconceptions. In other words, it should be dispassionate and fully detached. Thus detachment, i.e., free from prejudice and bias, is a precondition for one to be a good leader. Detachment is not renunciation of action; it is renunciation of the ego and selfishness. It is not sannyasa, but nishkama-karma as in karma-yoga.

Discussing organizational psychology in the native Indian tradition, Dharam Bhawuk (2008) presents an indigenous topology of leaders. His classification identifies four distinctive types of leaders:

(i) sannyasi leaders, (ii) karmayogi leaders, (iii) pragmatic leaders, and (iv) legitimate non-leaders.

The first category includes such people as Swami Vivekananda and Shivananda. Obviously, sannyasi leaders are the religious leaders, leading people in their spiritual lives. However, Bhawuk seems to extend this leadership style to secular domain as well. For example, he includes Swami Agnivesh in this category, and credits him with initiating some social reforms. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru are included in the category of karmayogi leaders who rendered selfless service following the Bhagavadgita ideal of nishkama-karma. The third group of pragmatic leadership is represented by people like Indira Gandhi, Ratan Tata and Dhirubhai Ambani. These are successful leaders in politics and business who are neither sannyasis nor karmayogis. The legitimate non-leaders are leaders by accident. They are those who are thrust into leadership roles by some accident such as birth or some other extraneous reason and occupy a position of authority in an organization even when they show no special talent or aptitude for leadership. Even though

Bhawuk does not mention, India appears to be a special place for leaders of this type, where “dynastic” politics is widely practised and where family business is not uncommon. While the above typology is not without merit, it would seem that the only type of genuine indigenous leadership is the karmayogi type, which is very distinctive and contrasts well with Western leadership categories. Other cultures also have sannyasi leaders, which include many religious crusaders, and of course they are full of pragmatic leaders in politics as well as in business corporations.

Mahatma Gandhi was a karmayogi in its best sense. He substituted sacrifice to selfishness. He added ethical dimension to business and governance. He lifted the self to the level of supreme and sought to dim the separation between his “self” and the others. In attempting to bridge polarities and unify humanity, Gandhi truly showed a kind of leadership that is rare and yet much needed to lead the world during these troubled times. His concept of trusteeship is amazingly appropriate in the current emphasis on the social responsibility of corporations and business (see Rao, 2014c).

The Means If truth is the goal, for Gandhi, nonviolence is the means. Truth and nonviolence are overarching and interlinked principles on which there is no room for compromise whatsoever. However, Truth and Nonviolence as absolute and uncompromising values are ideals. To realize truth in one’s life and to practise nonviolence in one’s thoughts and actions, i.e., in order to actualize them, one need to contextualize them. Such contextualization is the primary task of the leader. The leader does not merely preach nonviolence, he practises it. In so doing, a successful leader actualizes it. In contextualizing nonviolence, Gandhi actualized creatively a series of strategies for nonviolent action and leadership. Gandhi spent his lifetime experimenting with a variety of techniques to actualize nonviolence as an effective mode of conflict resolution. It has ranged all the way from promoting dissent and non-cooperation to practising

satyagraha and even going on fast unto death. A leader should know when and how to start non-cooperation. He should also know how to compromise, and when and how to end the struggle. The leader should be firm in his convictions and yet ready for compromise and even to modify his stand because of inherent inability to know what ultimately is right and correct in a given situation.

Now, Gandhi’s role as a leader, as the world knows, is in the context of resolving conflicts. His nonviolent methods such as non-cooperation and satyagraha are the tools he had adopted to resolve conflicts. Further, his campaign is often against those in authority. In the case of leaders who are heading an organization, there is a kind of role reversal. The leader himself is the authority. In such situations do Gandhi’s strategies of nonviolence work? The answer to this question would be twofold. First, while Gandhi clearly waged his campaigns against those in authority and fought on behalf of the workers and against the organization, he in his own leadership role had to build his own movement and draw the best out of his co-workers in the cause of the campaign; and this is no different from the role of the CEO who motivates, unites and inspires his staff to do the best to promote the cause of the corporation. Second, admittedly the dynamics of interaction in conflict resolving situation and team building effort are different. This may call for different emphasis; but the activity runs very much in similar ways.

The leader promoting non-cooperation and the CEO promoting cooperation are working in similar ways. They could adopt analogous nonviolent strategies. Just as the satyagraha leader does not coerce or compel his co-workers to join the non-cooperation movement, the corporate CEO may not adopt coercive methods to demand cooperation but persuade them to do so in their own best interests which are tied to the interests of the organization. Cooperation in Gandhi’s thinking is the key to success. Non-cooperation is a necessity to break a bad

system, by making it dysfunctional. Therefore, the success of a corporate leader depends on the level and quality of cooperation he can generate among the workers, just as the success of the one leading a struggle depends on the non-cooperation with the authority generated by the cooperation within and among the members of the group waging the campaign struggle.

From the twin principles of Truth and Nonviolence in relation to leadership, we may conclude that the leader's primary role is to make the ideal real. The ideal is the goal. The real is what is factual. The beauty of Gandhian thought is that many of the usual dichotomies lose their punch. Individual and society, ideal and real, theory and practice, secular and spiritual, and so on are not distinct and sharply dividing categories. They constitute one and the same continuum. Take for example, the realideal dichotomy or its philosophical counterpart pragmatism and idealism. In Gandhi, we find pragmatic idealism. It consists in transforming the ideal into the real in one's life. Similarly, is the case of the divide between the individual and the group. The interest of the individual and the welfare of the group are mutually related and indeed tied. In the final analysis, what is good and right for the individual is what is good for the community. Similarly, what is good for an employee of an organization is something that is equally good for the organization as well.

The ninth of the fourteen facets in Axelrod's analysis of Gandhi's leadership strategies is titled "Principles and Pragmatism". It roughly corresponds to what we described as "ideal and real". There is, however, an important and in some ways crucial distinction between the two. In the former case, Axelrod speaks of how Gandhi successfully practised "the art of balancing principles and pragmatism to produce meaningful and productive change" (2011: 122, emphasis added). In our interpretation, there is no dichotomy between principles and their pragmatic application because they are not different and distinctive, but reflexive of each other. Therefore, there is

no need to balance them. Pragmatic action is what makes the ideal real in a given situation. Pragmatic application of a principle is no other than concretizing the principle, i.e., actualizing the principle and making it real in a given context.

What Is It Like to Be a Nonviolent CEO?

The question does not appear relevant. At the outset, it may be kept in mind that we are not concerned how the CEO governs his organization by nonviolence because the CEO is not the governor. The relationship between him, the organization and its employees is not one of the governor and the governed, not of master or servant. Rather the CEO and the other employees of the organization are all employees, partners and stakeholders. The others involved are an extension of the leader himself/herself. Therefore, what binds them all together are not coercive rules or punitive procedures, but mutual love and goodwill. Gandhi spoke of love and soul-force. It is what should drive the organization and not the fear of punishment, not even the lure of rewards. The binding and driving force is truthful understanding of the goals and shared values, and voluntary and wholehearted compliance with them. This calls for communication and shared perception of common good. One needs violence and punitive action to maintain untruth and justify improper actions. No violence is needed to ensure that truth prevails and that right action is taken. What fosters truth is love and not coercive persuasion. Therefore, the nonviolent CEO is the one who radiates love, spreads compassion, and helps to "create a climate of compliance" by truthful persuasion and the strength of shared values. In order to accomplish this the nonviolent CEO is one who is able to transcend the ego and selfish indulgences and reach out to others with love and altruism because he sees the others in himself. This is proportional to what Gandhi meant by reducing oneself to a zero. The leader takes the suffering of others as his own. His love for others makes him to endure suffering himself and not inflict it on others. His suffering generates empathy, propagates

love, and creates a situation conducive for optimum realization of the shared goals and interests of the leader, organization and the employees, nay all the stakeholders.

The CEO is thus neither the master nor the servant of the organization. He like the others involved finds common identity in the very spirit of the organization. However, he is the leader. In being a leader, he inspires, challenges and motivates all those around him and beyond. His task is one of humanizing the organization. Humanization in the Gandhian sense is bringing forth, out into the open, the hidden divine that is often suppressed by the animal instincts in us.

Central to Gandhi's leadership model is persuasion. Persuasion involves communication of truth and not coercion to comply. Gandhi was a consummate communicator from the very beginning. He created for himself the tools for communication. Recall how he had started in 1903 the journal *Indian Opinion* in South Africa. Gandhi was an incessant writer of felicitous letters, which fill dozens of volumes. Again recall his campaigns, for example, the Ahmedabad satyagraha of the textile workers he led. During the strike, a leaflet was issued everyday detailing the movement. And then there were those meetings. During the morning, Gandhi addressed the prayer meeting at the Ashram. Every evening Gandhi gathered around the workers under the big babul tree on the banks of the Sabarmati River and spoke to large gatherings. Thus as a leader he continuously kept in close touch with his co-workers. Gandhi inspired change while ensuring stability. He was clear in the perception of his objectives and goals; and he was able to communicate them with such simplicity and straightforwardness that no one can miss their import. This is indeed what created the common identity which is so essential for a sustained and successful campaign. Simplicity is mark of Gandhi's leadership. His language was simple like his attire so that he could relate to people whom he was representing. Gandhi measured his

success more in terms of the effort shown than the results achieved.

When we talk of leadership, we often speak about leadership style such as democratic vs autocratic type. Was Gandhi a democratic leader, or was he an autocrat? We believe the democratic vs autocratic is a categorization in the Western tradition. It is not really helpful to understand the Gandhian model of leadership. Gandhi did not always follow the majority opinion. Rather he attempted to mould the public opinion consistent with what he considered to be truth. He did not subscribe to the view that the majority view is always right. However, he always wanted the majority to subscribe to truth he sought. A true leader is one who wins the majority to endorse the truth and not one who sheepishly follows the majority opinion.

Now, one may legitimately wonder whether the "rough-and-tumble realities of the boardroom and marketplace" and "the down-and-dirty world of politics and business, of deal-making and power playing" admit the kind of altruism that characterizes Gandhian type of leadership. Gandhi earnestly believed that it is possible; and his life is a measure of its practicality and success. Though modest by all means, it is a testimony for its usefulness. Its relevance is increasingly felt as a necessity to reduce the pace with which humanity is fast moving towards self-destruction.

Again, the response to the above concern of impending disaster and reasonable reservation about the applicability of Gandhi's ideas is implicit in the Gandhian model of leadership and the nature of business itself. The so-called the "down-and-dirty world" of politics and business is so because of the manifest divorce of values and goals of business and politics as practised. Gandhi endeavoured all his life to emphasize and point to the inalienable connection between morality and business, ethics and politics. He strived relentlessly to spiritualize politics; it is no more or no less than adding to them the value dimension and ethical perspective. The "rough-and-tumble of

realities of the boardroom” is a consequence of the conflict between business values and genuinely shared general values. When business values profit more than morals, then we have the problem. Gandhi showed how moral values should be central to business values. As Axelrod admits:

The world’s economic experience in the first decade of the twenty-first century had demonstrated that, far from being optional in business, let alone incompatible with profit, sound ethics are integral with the processes of commerce and are essential to sustained profitability.

- 2010: xiv

If this is indeed so, how can the Gandhian model be irrelevant in the twenty-first century!

To conclude this part, Gandhi’s model of leadership is in a word “spiritual”. What we mean by spiritual is often clouded by one’s preconceptions. In the West, it is a much abused and misunderstood word. It is closely associated with chicanery in séance rooms and fraudulent practices of mediums. In Indian thought and Gandhi in particular spiritual stands for altruism, sarvodaya (literally the rise of all). It is transcending the self and negating the ego. It is experiencing one’s identity within universal identity. Spiritual is a state of being. Spirituality is an aspect intrinsic to human condition but is often clouded by mundane appetites. Spiritual realization actualizes “I” and the “other” as reflexive of each other.

Spiritual goes beyond reason and rationality. It is not, however, an irrational but a trans-rational state. It is extraordinary and significantly different from the ordinary and the mundane. It gives one higher threshold for tolerating ambiguities. It endows one with a special facility to reconcile paradoxes and assimilate opposing points of view. In an important sense, it is a state in which contraries coexist without creating conflict and dissonance. Such an attitude is indeed the bedrock of pluralism. Pluralism as a way of life is dependent for its very survival on such a

spiritual state. Gandhi was all too familiar with and quite appreciative of the Anekantavada of the Jainas and the multifacetedness of truth advocated by it. We find a fine blend of absolutism and contextualism in Gandhi, which again would be possible only in a spiritual state of being.

As mentioned, spirituality for Gandhi is not seclusion, not a state of recluse. Rather it is engagement in intensive activity which is not egotist but altruist. In fact, Gandhi saw little difference between spirituality and service. In a sense, Gandhi applied spirituality to work and action. In other words, he actualized spirituality in selfless action and altruistic work. Gandhi asserted, “I have not yet understood that there is anything like spiritual or moral value apart from work and action” (CWMG, 40:14).

Again, “My spiritual seeking, whether or not original, has always been in the form of social service” (CWMG, 55: 147). What is original here is that Gandhi attempted to contextualize and actualize spirituality in life and action instead of merely speculating about it. It is indeed the Gandhian method of making the ideal real in a dialectical process, bridging the gap between the transcendental and the empirical. This is what he did, in dealing with truth and nonviolence.

Gandhi’s Pursuit of Perennial Peace Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundations for perpetual peace with his philosophy and practice of nonviolence. In his thought, we find an architectonic of an edifice for perennial peace. In his physical form, he left us over seventy years ago. We did little since to build the projected structure for people to live in peace for ever. The world can ill afford to wait any longer. Darker clouds of terror and violence envelope the world horizon more now than during his time. We have perhaps the last opportunity to move forward along Gandhian lines to save the world from the catastrophe staring at us.

We need to act now on various fronts the Mahatma had already envisaged so as to

preserve peace on the planet. In this context, the following questions arise: What may we do to reform politics and build sustainable state structure? How may we reform the way we educate our citizens? What are the relevant items in Gandhi's constructive programme we need to implement and how may we pursue them with the required vigour and dynamism? How is Gandhi's notion of swadeshi relevant in the current scenario of globalization?

First, let us take up the matter of swadeshi. During his time, swadeshi was Gandhi's slogan to fight the British Raj, to break the economic back of colonization, and to rejuvenate the socio-economic base of rural India. In principle, however, Gandhi's concept of swadeshi is much broader than this. The above are simply some of its practical applications by Gandhi. Swadeshi essentially stands for self-reliance. Equally, it has a spiritual dimension. Gandhi saw the law of swadeshi "ingrained in the basic nature of man. . . . In its ultimate and spiritual sense swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its earthly bondage". The earthly bondage is what divides people. Freedom from it consists in crossing the boundary walls built by the ego, and constructing bridges to unite one with others, sharing their sorrows and joys.

The relevant question here is how we may deal with identities that divide people and realize the oneness of humanity. Globalization is now a matter of goods and business and not brotherhood of people. As currently conceived, it relates primarily to external things and not to the inner spirit. Our concerted, common effort should be guided by the concern for the inner and the spiritual. Attention to the inner spiritual dimension bestows on one true freedom. Freedom to think and act, and self-reliance in all spheres of life are the two central principles of Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence.

Gandhi formulated a comprehensive constructive programme to bring about the needed nonviolent socio-political changes. His constructive programme includes seventeen

items that address issues of communal unity, rural industry, sanitation, education, women, national language, economic equality, among others. His universe of concern ranges from peasantry, students and labour, to tribals and lepers.

Decentralization and grossroots empowerment are the major guidelines for structuring the sustainable socio-political order. Nonviolent social action is the governing motif. It is Gandhi's tool of change and a viable substitute for terrorism. Tolerance of the highest order is the central piece of his frame of mind. There is no room for distrust and suspicion, destruction of life and property. We need to think cogently, as he often asserted, how we may provide the food and clothing to the hungry and ill-clothed millions. Thus, we may note, cleanliness is just one aspect of Mahatma's constructive programme. The current clean India campaign is well construed; but we need to move beyond the catchy slogan of "Swachh Bharat", to other items in Gandhi's constructive programme.

Further, we may not ignore the fact that cleanliness for Gandhi means more than clean body and surroundings. It includes clean mind; and more significantly clean self. Clean self constitutes the spiritual side of human nature. Spiritualization involves cultivation of altruism, as we noted, that binds one's self with others, because all individual selves are rooted in the common self. That is the reason why Advaita philosophy has appealed to Gandhi. At the same time, tolerance of highest order to allow for multiplicity of views is called for. Hence Gandhi subscribed to the Anekantavada of Jainism. He was an Advaitin as well as a Jaina at the same time. Gandhi's posture of unity in diversity is the need of the hour. It deserves adoption and practice by every conscientious citizen of the country.

Gandhi in his day campaigned against untouchability. It is a campaign against exclusion and a compelling call for solid, social inclusiveness and equality. Equality is more than economic equality; it includes

among others social equality. Seventy years after Independence, social equality is still a distant goal. Inequalities of all kinds stare at us in every sphere. For example, we continue to treat people as socially unequal and provide for all kinds of reservations to uphold social justice. This clearly illustrates the fact that we are nowhere close to achieving Mahatma's goal of social inclusiveness, where all privileges automatically accrue to all people.

Prohibition is another important item in Gandhi's constructive programme. It is the removal of "the curse of intoxicants and narcotics". Currently, the intoxicants involve more than alcohol and drugs. All kinds of propaganda, intolerance for beliefs and faith of others are no less to be condemned and rooted out in our society than the use of drugs. Prohibition is prohibition of exclusiveness and ego-identity. It is in Gandhi's words reducing oneself to a zero, "nothingness".

Rejuvenation of rural landscape and revitalization of rural industry are at the root of Gandhi's economic programmes. They were meant to break the monopoly of corporations, their stranglehold on consumers, and to enforce economic empowerment at the grassroot level. Gandhi used khadi as a symbol of revitalizing rural industry.

Education is at the heart of Gandhi's constructive agenda. He pleaded for what he called new education (nai talim). It is basic education which links teaching in the classrooms with community activities. It is meant to develop both the mind and body. Basic education "keeps the child rooted in the soil with a glorious vision of the future". Gandhi championed the cause of adult and continuous education, equality of men and women, and a national language to unite the people with diverse regional languages as citizens of one nation.

As may be noted, Gandhi's constructive programme is context-related, directed at the needs of the country and the people at the time as he saw and interpreted them. Therefore, we may have to reinterpret and

adapt Gandhian ideas and practices in the light of the prevailing conditions. He would certainly object to any blind following of his thoughts without adequate scrutiny of their relevance and suitability for application in the present socio-economic context.

Let us take, for example, Gandhi's campaign for rural rejuvenation. Now, as things stand, the country is moving fast towards urbanization. There is an unending and inexorable migration to cities. Therefore, the problem is no longer one of stopping the spread of cities. Rather the concern is one of bringing the village spirit of face-to-face communication and personal intimacy and love between people into our cities. It is generally the case that in the city landscape the individual is lost in the maze of impersonal interactions. Life becomes mechanical. We need to restore the lost individual in the cities to his/her roots by instilling in him/her the true rural spirit and culture. This should be one of the major concerns for dealing with problems of urbanization. Similarly, Gandhian ideas on education are extremely relevant. It is not simply a matter of implementing his plans for basic education. What is more relevant and significant is the spirit behind the nai talim, which is connecting classrooms with community. The educational practices currently in vogue in the country have their origins in our colonial past. They need to be rerooted in our native ethos. Education in India and Indian education should convey the same spirit. Currently, it is not the case.

Various items in Gandhi's constructive programme are interlinked. Consequently, they may not be dealt with piecemeal. The approach should be holistic, comprehensive and fully committed to the principles involved. They are not meant to exploit others for promoting and helping oneself. Consequently, nonviolent social action is the only acceptable recourse for constructive change. Such action is person based, and yet socially directed. In Gandhi's view, change must begin with the individual and become an instrument for social change and not the other way round.

Gandhi's constructive programme is thus the resource for connecting the individual with society. It involves cultivation of the spirit of service that binds the individual to society.

The country with all the changes it currently faces needs to adopt the Gandhian notion of inclusive and yet pluralistic India. We have no Gandhi amidst us to lead. However, we do have the agenda he left for us to act. What we need are the insight, necessary will and determination to actualize and realize his spirit which still hold relevance to not only our country but also to the entire human kind.

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Gandhi & Press in South African Context

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Introduction

Gandhi spent almost twenty one years in South Africa as a lawyer and public worker. However the developments in South Africa immensely impacted his attitude to social problems and his philosophy. He decided to devote himself to serving the Indian community which was subjected to humiliation and discrimination in the hands of the white rulers. In the course of time the *role of press* became highly relevant. In view of this, this article discusses the importance of press, genesis of protest journalism in South Africa and how it subsequently became a driving force behind Gandhi's campaign there.

The connection between politics, protest and media has been much discussed and written about. Research on political process reveals how protest arises from within institutional politics and feeds back into it. However,

media researchers refute the belief that media is passive and a neutral recorder of such events. (Gans, 1980 p.62; Chomsky, Noam, 1988, p.88). It is mostly seen that protests need and gain publicity through news coverage to succeed, but then their relation to institutionalized politics influences the way the news media responds to them. Therefore, media is undoubtedly a very powerful tool that helps shape public opinion. Its power is mostly symbolic and persuasive to the extent that it has the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions. In view of this, role of the press in politics, especially during protest movements is crucial, as it plays the role of a critique and also aids in making way for mass politics. Therefore, as a determinate factor in 'resistance', it is an instrumental factor in societies that gives resistance movements its viable course.

Media therefore contributes to the interaction and participation of the community by building a positive ground for consensus and social action among the public. It is the sum total of all communication means that are relevant to protest and activism. It also facilitates attitudinal change essential for common collective action and mass politics. For instance, it has been observed that, public opinion was formed largely through the print media in Gandhi's crusade for the rights of Indians under British rule. Gandhian press became an indispensable pillar of his campaign and was instrumental in bringing about the attitudinal change that shaped public opinion against the British rulers and gathered support for exerting external pressures. It worked as a weapon for an overall reform of the community and his oppositional politics. In fact, the progress of the Indian community and its politics was to a large extent made possible by the press. This liaison between press and politics made Gandhi realize its immeasurable significance, to instrumentally employ as a forceful and persuasive tool.

Consequently, Gandhian politics gave new dimensions to the role of press as a political tool. It did not operate simply as channel of communication but it acted as an active agent in the political and social processes that powerfully structured and engineered change. It facilitated the socio-cultural and political evolution of the Indian community and their perception about themselves and outside. The role of press was well expressed by him when he remarked in a letter to the editor of *The Times of India* that "*Publicity is our best and perhaps the only weapon of defense.*" (The Times of India 1869, 20 October). Through his writings and editorials, Gandhi effectively wielded influence and gained the trust of the community which, in turn, made him a successful mass mobiliser and leader. Thus, this article looks into how press developed as a viable mechanism behind plaiting views and perceptions in South Africa from as early as the late nineteenth century. From an

early start, it gradually added weight behind Gandhi's ideas and his movements in South Africa.

Gandhi and the Press

Press in South Africa developed primarily as their mouthpiece to voice their grievances among Indians. It played a major role in the evolution of Indians as a community asserting its existence and identity. Eventually, the anti-Indian moves of the government in South Africa were countered for the first time in South Africa by the mobilized and articulated expression voiced by the spokesman of their community, M.K. Gandhi. With his intense and eloquent mouthpiece, the *Indian Opinion*, Indians started asserting themselves in an environment of racial segregation and injustice. Gandhi launched his Satyagraha in South Africa, three years after the advent of *Indian Opinion*, and it acted as an indispensable component of the eight years long struggle.

As noted earlier, Gandhi was the spiritual giant of the twentieth century, exerting the most profound influences over three hundred ninety million people and affecting the history of the world (Cousins 1970, p.29). Thus, Gandhi's fascination for communication skills, helped in the evolution of protest journalism in his life and in South Africa. It showed a new direction in revolting against injustice and it developed a special place for public opinion making a great impact in the society. It was the only medium that positioned itself in the line of action, without which the functioning frame would stand nullified. With this background the following section seeks to locate Gandhi and his printing experiments in South Africa's complex political environment and the role of press in Gandhi's resistance movement.

Since the inception of Gandhi's political activism, journalism was an important component of his protest politics. Gandhi perused his dreams by using his effective means of communication, his strength of writing skills and his mightiest tool, the print media. Be it his style of enquiring with the editors of newspapers in South Africa,

or refuting to the issues created by the Government of South Africa, his writing skills and technique achieved desired results.

Gandhi's writing odyssey began with his '*London Diary*' which was an account of Gandhi's first trip to London. The first entry of the diary was dated 12 November 1888 and begins almost like a novel with these sentences, "What led to the intention of proceeding to London? The scene opens about the end of April." (CWMG Vol.001, p.2). These words are the opening of an eight page recollection about the decisions and difficulties Gandhi faced related to his move to England. There was no attempt to write this part of the diary in a conventional day to day manner but the content of these early entries provide often conflicting, reasons for Gandhi's trip to England. For Gandhi's family, education was the only reason for Mohandas's trip to England. For his family Gandhi's success in his studies would mean the alleviation of their difficult financial circumstances. He wrote that "a secret design in my mind of coming here[was] to satisfy my curiosity of knowing what London was" (Vol.001, pp.2-6). The diary was his very first work that encompassed his life-long engagement with autobiographical reflections. (Sharma 2004, pp.35-6).

Gandhi's diary entries were a window to his life. His preoccupation with his dietary and daily toilette and grooming practices demonstrates that Gandhi, at this stage of diary writing, took seriously the view that the diary would be an account of one's daily practices. The detailed record of life on board of the ship provides insight into the awe and fascination that the young Gandhi had experienced as a novice sea traveller (CWMG Vol.001, p.10). This reads very differently from the next diary that Gandhi wrote on his return trip to India. The young novice traveller, fascinated even by the stars, was beginning to realize his potential. This change has been described well by Varsha Jagarnath, referring to Gandhi's transformation into a young cosmopolitan gentleman possessed with the critical eye of a seasoned traveller, with an

acute awareness of his audience in England'. (Jagarnath 2012, pp.1-34).

In the years to come, Gandhi's first association with the English society brought him into the realm of journalism that surfaced his latent talent. His initial interactions with the print world started with the columns in *Daily Telegraph*, *the Daily News* and *the Pall Mall Gazette*, distributed across London (Ghose 1991, pp.19-20). His friendship with the members of London Vegetarian Society afforded him an opportunity to contribute for their magazine and journals when he composed on general themes with an emphasis on discussion of Indian customs and values. The three years of his England stay enlarged his horizon and developed him into 'a more accomplished free-lance journalist. (Ghose 1991, pp.19-20).

Gandhi's tryst with journalism and writing continued once he was firmly established in Transvaal. More than a year after his arrival in the colony, one comes across another diary entry within the records of CWMG which began on Friday June 22 1894. (CWMG Vol.001, p.122). The entries in this diary were very short and dealt mainly with administrative matters while briefly noting important events of each day. Although most of the entries were short, it was clear that from this time on, Gandhi took the writing of a diary very seriously. This diary reads like a list of his daily professional activities, clearly demonstrating Gandhi's rise to public prominence. It significantly, illustrates how writing became fundamental to Gandhi's daily activities. . It becomes clear that even though Gandhi was new in South Africa, he was speedily roped into dealing with the political and legal issues affecting the merchant class Indians in both Transvaal and Natal. The diaries that Gandhi wrote during his stay in South Africa which started on the 22 June 1894 and ended on the 19 September 1894 will be referred to in this thesis as the first South African diary. Please note that this only includes diaries contained in the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*.

However, once we get to Gandhi's later

life we can read through his diaries a closer union between his spiritual and political philosophy as well as notions of physical and mental discipline. A close reading of Gandhi's diaries provides insight into Gandhi's daily activity. Secondly, they allow for the tracking of the growth of Gandhi's political popularity. Additionally, the diary itself is a reflection of Gandhi's search to unify the various aspects of his life. Finally, the self-imposed daily practice of writing in a diary was a means for Gandhi to strive to self-regulate, compartmentalize and control the activities of his day (CWMG Vol.001, p.10).

As Gandhi realized the need to write diaries, he evolved as a writer, and developed a style of his own. The study of these diaries in Gandhi's life is thus very important for a researcher to trace the evolution of the journalist Gandhi. (Jagarnath 2010, pp.1-34). Gradually, Gandhi, made strategic use of his diaries to shape public opinion and keep the public informed on various issues and matters. (Dalton 1997, pp.219-21).

Subsequently, the Anglo-Boer Wars (1899-1902) provided an opportune time to reveal his skill in freelance journalism. When the war broke out, Gandhi with his Indian volunteers organized The Natal Indian Ambulance Corps, to help the wounded people. Once in the job, he gained first-hand experience of the battlefield. He noted down this experiences like a war correspondent, which was published as an account in the *Times of India*, Bombay. (Bhattacharya 1965, pp.6-7). As a correspondent he attached with the local press and even acted as the South African correspondent to journals outside the country to report about the state of Indians in South Africa. He also became South African correspondence of Dadabhai Naoroji's journal, *India*, published in London on Indian issues. His articles and correspondence on the conditions of the South African Indians were given space and were well received in the journal. He maintained regular contact with Naoroji, keeping him informed about the situation in South Africa. For instance,

he had sent a telegram to Naoroji which was published in the journal, *India* on 9 September, 1896. It read, "The court has decided that the government has power to remove Indians in the Transvaal to location for both trade and residence. Judge Jorissen dissented from the decision. Great Contagion prevails. It is feared that the removal to locations may paralyze trade. Large interests are at stake. We are relying upon Mr. Chamberlain's promise to make representations to the Transvaal Government after the trial of a test case, which, he said, was necessary to secure a definite issue". (CWMG Vol.003, p.17).

Thereafter, Gandhi regularly wrote to newspapers, and one of the first critical issues he brought up was related to his anguish against the Franchise Amendment Bill of 1896, which debarred Indians of their voting rights. He acted as a representative of Indians to the authorities and wrote letters to the press to expose the racial injustices. With regard to the above Bill he wrote in a letter to Dadabhai Naoroji², expressing concern over the real objective of the Bill as perceived by the government. He thus wrote:, "*We do not want the Indians any more. We want the coolies, but they shall remain slaves here and go back to India as soon as they are free.*" (CWMG Vol.001, p.155). He also urged in his letter to exert his influence to bring about the changes in the immigration Act.

As journalism and the power of writing gained foothold, Gandhi's letters to the editors of South African dailies provided lessons to fight injustice and exhibit the skills to employ press to publicize and bring the debate to public forum. An interesting example was his letter dated October 25, 1894 to the *Times of Natal*, which carried a contemptuously worded editorial titled, 'Rammysammy '. Gandhi in his reply to the editor wrote:

"You, in your wisdom, would not allow the Indian or the native the precious privilege (of voting)

2. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917); statesman, often called. "the Grand Old Man of India". Thrice presided over the Congress session, in 1886, 1893 and 1906. Enuniciated, for the first time, Congress goal as one of swaraj or independence. Member of the British Committee of the Congress in London.

under any circumstances, because they have a dark skin. You would look the exterior only. So long as the skin is white it would not matter to you whether it conceals beneath it poison or nectar. To you the lip-prayer of the Pharisee, because he is one, is more acceptable than the sincere repentance of the publican, and this, I presume, you would call Christianity. You may; it is not Christ's.

He added: “*Sir, may I venture to offer a suggestion? Will you re-read your New Testament? Will you ponder over your attitude towards the coloured population of the Colony? Will you then say you can reconcile it with the Bible teachings or the best British traditions? If you have washed your hands clean of both Christ and the British tradition, I can have nothing to say; I gladly withdraw what I have written. Only, it will then be a sad day for British and for India if you have many followers.*” (CWMG Vol.001, pp.136-7) Thereafter, he became a skilled publicist and between 1894 and 1898 the *London Times* devoted ‘eight leading articles’ to the Indian problem in South Africa, almost entirely in response to the interest he generated. (Nanda 1958, p.37).

As Gandhi became powerful with his writings, in the last weeks of 1895, he published a long pamphlet on ‘the Indian Franchise’, framed as ‘an appeal to every Britain in South Africa’. Extending over fifty printed pages, it provided a comprehensive overview of the Indian question in Natal. Gandhi argued that “the Indian’s fitness for an equality with the civilized races’ was demonstrated by the fact that in British India, they had served as senior civil servants, High Court judges and Vice Chancellors of Universities. Indian soldiers had also shared their blood for the defence of the realm and his countrymen were loyal and law-abiding. So, it was unfair to relegate them to second – class status in any part of the British Empire. Gandhi dismissed the fear, widespread among whites, that if the Indians were allowed to vote, they would soon dominate the European. Of nearly 10,000 registered voters in Natal, only 251 were Indians, mostly merchants. Gandhi believed that ‘the number of trading Indians in the colony will remain almost the same for long

time. For, while many come every month, an equal number leave for India’, So, if the Government wished, they could introduce a more stringent property qualification.” (CWMG, Vol.001, pp.87-98).

In this tense situation there was another point of contention due to the spread of the perception that ‘a few Indians want political power and that these few are Mahomedan agitators and that the Hindus should learn from past experience that the Mohamedan rule will be ruinous for them’. In response to such a devious claim, Gandhi said that, ‘the first statement is without foundation and the last statement is the most unfortunate and painful.’ This was a ‘most mischievous’ attempt ‘to set the Hindus against the Mahomedans in Natal, ‘where the two sects are living most amicably’. (CWMG, Vol.006, pp.266-90).

During this period of momentous changes Gandhi left for India on a short trip, on 5 June 1896. By this time Gandhi had two partial victories to his credit. One was the Indian Franchise Amendment Bill, which was not approved in its prior condition and another was the Immigration Bill, which though got passed, had the 25 Pound Poll Tax reduced to 3 Pound if not completely eliminated. Thus, by now the Indian question was so well accounted and spread through press, that when Gandhi went to India in 1896, his visits and activities were covered by all the major newspapers. With his achievements reaching milestones, his tour to India in 1896, was chiefly commissioned to educate the public and the authorities in India in regard to the treatment the Indians were receiving in South Africa.’ (CWMG Vol.011, p.2).

As he was preoccupied in engaging the resident Indians, updating them about the situation of South African Indians he distributed to Indians his ‘Open Letter’ written to the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of Natal in 1894 to show what inhuman and insensitive treatment the Indian receives at the hands of the Europeans

in the Colony: *The man in the street hates him, curses him, spits upon him, and often pushes him off the foot-path.The Press almost unanimously refuses to call the Indian by his proper name. He is "Ramysamy". He is "Mr. Samy". He is "Mr. Coolie". He is "the black man". And these offensive epithets have become so common that they (at any rate, one of them, "Coolie") are used even in the sacred precincts of the courts, as if "the Coolie" were the legal and proper name to give to any and every Indian. The public men, too, seem to use the word freely. I have often heard the painful expression "coolie clerk" from the mouths of men who ought to know better. The tramcars are not for the Indians. The railway officials may treat the Indians as beasts, No matter how clean, his very sight is such an offence to every White man in the Colony that he would object to sit, even for a short time, in the same compartment with the Indian. The hotels shut their doors against them.*

To intensify his campaign he got busy with printing a pamphlet for the Indian audience based on the grievances of South African Indians. His previous petitions added with some fresh evidence based on personal experience, occupied the pages of the pamphlet. He printed 10,000 copies of this pamphlet which was known as the '*Green Pamphlet*'. (on account of the colour of its cover).He posted them to newspaper editors, across the country, and carried copies with him to Bombay in 1896. Newspapers like '*The Times of India*' carried news about his '*Green Pamphlet*', which was also known as '*Mr. Gandhi's able and striking pamphlet*'. The paper provided some examples of the '*gratuitous oppression and persecution*' as documented by Gandhi, like, the exclusion of Indians from trams, the consignment of Indians on third-class carriages, and the harassment of even '*respectable Indians*' under a harsh vagrancy law." (CWMG, Vol.002, pp.51-4). In addition, his interaction with various newspapers in India such as *The Madras Standard*, *The Hindu*, *The Statesman*, and *The Amrit Bazaar Patrika* facilitated him to promote and champion the issue which infused due strength into his campaign.

Along with the widespread printing of the pamphlet, meetings were also held. There were many instances where Gandhi's speech created a swirl. One such instance was when, on 26th September, 1896 a public meeting was convened at the Framji Cowasji Institute, Bombay, to discuss the Indian question in South Africa. (Guha2013, p.104). Pheroza Shah Mehta presided over the meeting and Gandhi passionately addressed the public. He said, "The British in India, admittedly, selectively allowed their subjects to become judges and municipal councilors: in Natal. However, they 'desired to degrade us to the level of the raw Kaffir whose occupation is hunting and whose sole ambition is to collect a certain number of cattle to buy a wife with, and then, and pass his life in indolence and nakedness ...We are hemmed in on all sides in South Africa', in Natal they were under the 'yoke of oppression'. 'It is for you, our elder and freer brother, to remove it.' (CWMG, Vol.002, pp.50-60).

While Gandhi tried to stir public opinion in India, this trip proved immensely successful. The South African Indian cause was well received and reported in almost all the newspapers in India. This facilitated him in advancing the issue and received favourable gestures from the political circles in India. He met various politicians, lawyers and interacted with a number of social reformers like M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak and informed them about the apartheid policy in South Africa and racial discriminations against South African Indians. He appealed them to pursue the imperial authorities to bring pressure on South African governments.

However, the *Reuters* reporting about Gandhi's India tour and his '*Green Pamphlet*' in 1896, which was an 'exaggerated summary' of his views and speeches in India was misinterpreted enough to create sizeable discontent among the Europeans in Natal. Thereby, *The Green Pamphlet* was taken by the British as an anti-government publication. (Gandhi 1896) Adding to the atmosphere of

wrong judgement, the local newspaper, *The Natal Mercury*, reported, that Gandhi had claimed that Indians were robbed and assaulted in Natal, combined with rumours concerning the meetings he had addressed in Bombay and Madras. A phrase, and headline, much favoured by the Natal papers in the last weeks of 1896 was 'Asiatic invasion'. The colonists feared that the few hundred passengers waiting off the coast were the beginnings of large-scale immigration that would decisively alter the demographic profile of Natal. One man was presumed to be at the head of the horde: the lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

These reports ultimately enraged the settlers. As a reaction, it led to demonstrations against Gandhi and the Indian community which assured anti-Indian legislation and restrictions on them to enter, trade and settle in Natal.

In actual fact, the pamphlet contained nothing different from what Gandhi had stated before. He promptly condemned these accusations through a letter to the editor regarding the falsehood of the news. The editors of the *Mercury*, after actually reading it, admitted to their mistake and on 18 September, 1896 wrote the following:

Mr. Gandhi, on his part and on behalf of his countrymen, has done nothing that he is not entitled to do, and from his point of view, the principle he is working for is an honourable and legitimate one. He is within his rights, and so long as he acts honestly and in a straight forward manner, he cannot be blamed or interfered with. So far as we know, he has done so, and his latest pamphlet, we cannot honestly say, is an unfair statement of the case from his point of view. Reuters' cable is a gross exaggeration of Gandhi's statement.

However, attack through the press continued on Gandhi. Another newspaper, the *Natal Advertiser* printed a sarcastic plea urging swift action against the 'great Gandhi [who] has arrived at the head of the advanced guard of the Indian army for invasion – the army that is to dispossess us of our country and our

homes ... We must be up and doing, and make our arrangements so as to be able to give the invaders a fitting reception. (Britton, 1999, pp.513-514).

As such tirades against Gandhi continued, he had to pay a huge price for this false propaganda against him. When Gandhi set sail from Bombay aboard the ship *SS Courtland* with his wife, Kasturba, and sons, they were prevented from landing on the grounds that they were being put in quarantine due to contamination in Bombay. The truth was that local feelings were running high and rumors were doing the rounds that the Indian passengers aboard the two vessels intended to 'invade' Natal. The white agitators alleged that Gandhi had, whilst abroad, maligned and lowered the fair name of the whites in Natal. Furthermore, he was now flooding Natal with undesirable Indian settlers loaded on two ships. On both scores they were wrong, but then racialism and truth have never been compatible companions. Thus, after a long quarantine period of 20 days and receiving assurance that it was safe to land, Gandhi disembarked.

This incident did not make Gandhi give up writing for the press or fighting for justice. He defended himself from the allegations against him in connection with his Green Pamphlet. Gandhi declared in his long letter to the *Natal Mercury*, the falsehood of the news. He denied that in India he had 'blackened the character of the Colonists', denied that he wished to swamp the colony with Indians and denied that he had any political ambition whatsoever. He wrote that, "I am in Natal not to sow dissensions between the two communities, but to endeavor to bring about an honorable reconciliation between them. In my humble opinion, much of the ill feeling that exists between the two communities is due to misunderstanding of each other's feelings and actions.I have been taught to believe that Britain and India can remain together for any length of time only if there is a common fellow feeling between the two peoples. The greatest minds in the British Isles

and India are striving to meet that ideal. I am but humbly following in their footsteps, and feel that the present action of the Europeans in Natal is calculated to retard, if not altogether to frustrate, its realization. I feel, further, that such action is not based on good grounds, but rests on popular prejudice and preconceived notions."

Further, he reacted strongly regarding the Natal Premier plan to overrun the country with free Indians immigrants and as a response he wrote, "It seems that everything is being hurried on as if there was any danger of thousands of Indians of all sorts and conditions pouring into Natal. I submit that there is no such danger and the late quarantine would serve as an effective check, if there was any. He also mentioned about the Indian contribution in developing Natal's economy. "The thousands of free Indians, apart from the indentured, who have developed the large estates in Natal and given them a value, and turned them from jungles into productive soil, I am sure you will not call an evil to the Colony.³ (CWMG, Vol.002, pp.131-2). They have not ousted any Europeans; on the contrary, they have brought them prosperity and considerably increased the general wealth of the Colony" (CWMG, Vol.002, p.246).

This letter to the press was accompanied by a formal petition to the Natal Legislative Assembly (the lower house of the Colony's Parliament). Despite their apparent neutrality in terms of race, said Gandhi, the three new Acts: ".....the first that allowed the colony to deport passengers coming from places where plague or other epidemics currently raged. The second declared as a 'prohibited immigrant' anyone who could not sign his name in a European language. The third gave town boards the liberty to deny or refuse to renew trading licenses to those who did not keep their books in English, or whose premises were 'not provided with proper and sufficient

sanitary arrangements", - were designed 'to operate against the Indian community alone'. Those refused licenses were denied the right to appeal in court. This would be deemed an arbitrary measure in any part of the civilized world.' (CWMG, Vol.002, pp.231-5). Therefore, in an environment of constant criticism, Gandhi persistently wrote to bring understanding between the two communities.

Gradually, India's English press solicited Gandhi's letters and articles related to South African affairs. Gandhi's articles had already made a mark in the field of journalism. The *Times of India*, *The Hindu*, *The Statesman* and the *Englishman* vied with each other to publish Gandhi's work. *The Times of India's* weekly edition published a series of articles by Gandhi between the year 1899 and 1900. Moreover, he was in regular contact with the editors of the newspapers in India such as G. Subrahmanyam of *The Hindu*, Parameshvaran Pillai of *Madras Standard*, Mr. Saunders of *Englishman*, and Mr. Chesney of the *Pioneer* which enhanced his skills and expertise. These experiences further emboldened him to start his own newspaper (the *Indian Opinion*) in South Africa, which became a potent weapon in his struggle against the English.

Gandhi and the Indian Opinion

In order to publicize the grievances of Indians and mobilize public opinion in their favour, Gandhi started writing and giving interviews to newspapers, He focused on open letters and letters to editors, but soon realized that occasional writings and the hospitality of newspapers were inadequate for the political campaign he had launched. He needed a mouthpiece to reach out to the people. So, in June 1903 he launched *Indian Opinion*, the weekly newspaper which was to serve the interests of British Indians in South Africa. By 1898 the 'International Printing Press' (IPP) initiated its operations in Durban and from 1903 began printing *Indian Opinion*. Reaffirming the importance of the paper, Hofmeyr, who has extensively researched on Gandhi wrote: "The necessity of oriental printing works, has been felt for a long time

³. The Quarantine, Dealers' Licences, Immigration Restriction and Protection of Uncovenanted Indians Bills Speaking in Parliament on March 27, the Natal Premier had referred to a systematic plan to overrun the country with free Indian immigrants.

past, by the Indian Community in Natal, and especially by merchants, priests and teachers in Durban, and other centers of population in the colony. (Hofmeyr 2013, p.46).

A year and a half after the launch of the paper, IPP moved to Phoenix, Gandhi's first ashram, fourteen miles north of the city. Later, Tolstoy Farm also made valuable contribution to this Satyagraha movement shaping his political vision. In the farm everyone had to work, drawing the same living wage, and attending to the press job work in spare time. Thereon, Gandhi's resistance movement was largely grounded on his press that skillfully advanced his political activism. Reflecting on the expanding role of the press, Hofmeyr writes "found themselves protagonists in the larger story of Satyagraha, or passive resistance, in South Africa, which unfolded between 1906 and 1914". (Hofmeyr 2013, pp.2-3). As Gandhi's philosophy increasingly got shared through the press, the journal dated 24 December 1904, announced the shift in location and issues printed on the farm, reached its subscribers by the first week of January 1905. *Indian Opinion*, took to a new look altogether. It was a fool's cape sized paper that expanded from eight pages to thirty six pages. There were three columns in place of six and the last pages were occupied by the advertisements. (Guha 2013, pp.174-9).

In the initial years, Gandhi took help of a political co-worker named Madanjit Vyavaharik and journalists named Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar to run the *Indian Opinion* and the first issue was out on June 4, 1903, and hit the streets two days later. The first editor of the newspaper was Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar who was a journalist from Bombay and was known to Gandhi since 1897. He was also the one, who volunteered in the Indian Medical Corps under Gandhi in the Boer War. Nazar played a vital role in chalking out the policy of the newspaper.

However, he was always dependant on Gandhi for his critical writing against the government policies in *Indian Opinion*. Gandhi's writing was direct and forthright

in conveying things. He had a clear thinking and knew well what he was going to say. The newspaper and its functioning was largely organized and managed by Gandhi. Even when Sjt. Mansukhlal Nazar became the first editor. Gandhi was the one who called the shots. Expressing his responsibilities towards the content of the paper he wrote. "But I had to bear the brunt of the work, having for the most of the time to be practically in charge of the journal. Not that Sjt. Mansukhlal could not carry it on ... he would never venture to write on intricate South African problems so long as I was there. He had the greatest confidence in my discernment, and therefore threw on me the responsibility of attending to the editorial column....! Was avowedly the editor of *Indian Opinion*, I was virtually responsible for its conduct." (Gandhi 1927, p.210).

Like many experiments which shaped Gandhi's thought and belief, the experiment of running a newspaper revealed many a novelty to him. In his autobiography he described several times his experiences regarding the publication of the paper. His cousin Prabhudas Gandhi, who was actively associated with the press, in his book has mentioned some of the interesting facts which show Gandhi's intense knowledge of the working of the printing press. "Friday nights were of importance for the weekly *Indian Opinion* was dispatched by Saturday..... The press workers themselves had to print the paper, fold it, paste and addresses, make bundles and take them to the station. The work would take the whole night and there would still be something left to do after day break. Under such pressure of work Gandhi along with others would keep awake all night. To encourage the staff rice-pudding would be served all night." (Gandhi 1956, p.286).

Thus, during the years that Gandhi spent in South Africa fighting racial discrimination against the Indians, *Indian Opinion* became a valuable tool in cementing Gandhi's vision, causes and movement there. The newspaper under the stewardship of Gandhi became an essential force behind Satyagraha with important functions and objectives.

Gandhi and the other Press

Gandhi's contemporaries in the realm of printed words both the European-owned press as, *The Johannesburg Star*, *The Natal Witness*, *The Pretoria News*, *The Johannesburg Illustrated Star*, *The Natal Advertiser*, *The Times of Natal*, *The Star*, *The Natal Almanac*, etc., and the Indian papers as, *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *The Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, *Englishman*, *The Kesari*, *The Hindu*, *The Madras Times*, etc., immensely helped him in highlighting the Indian cause and awaken consciousness in South Africa. Simultaneously, the 'sympathetic spirit' and 'influential support' of few newspapers as *The London Times* and *The Times of India* facilitated the struggle in an immeasurable manner and raised them higher in the 'estimation of the Europeans in South Africa'. Newspapers such as *The Transvaal Times* under Albert Cartwright, a liberal European had amiable relations with Gandhi and often supported the Indian cause.

As the atmosphere around changed, the South African newspapers which were hostile to Gandhi's movement showed visible streaks of changed perception and supported the Indian issue. *The Friend of Bloemfontein*, *the Transvaal Leader*, *Pretoria news*, *the Cape Times*, *the Natal Mercury*, etc in their columns supported Indian cause and exhibited respect for 'the courage of the Indians. (Meena 2008, p.57).

As far as Indian papers were concerned, the interest in the South African struggle was particularly keen in South India, the region from where the majority of the Satyagrahis came. A Tamil paper published out of Madras praised the 'wonderful determination' of 'Mr. Gandhi and his followers'; they had 'glorified the good name of India by means of their noble and courageous conduct, risking even their lives'. A Kannada paper printed in Bangalore saluted 'the leadership of that zealous servant of India, that generous and heroic personage. Similarly. A Telugu weekly symbolized 'Mr. Gandhi' in with Arjuna. (L/P&J/R/5/118, APAC/BL cited in Guha p.488).

Going by the widespread interest, to raise

money for the struggle, G.A. Natesan, a well known Indian journalist and a freedom-fighter from the erstwhile Madras Presidency, reprinted Polak's booklet on Gandhi. In December 1913, a rival publisher in Madras, Ganesh and Company, commissioned its own capsule biography of the hero of the Passive Resistance Movement', and its proceeds would to go 'in relief of our brethren in South Africa in their present struggle'. (Anon 1913, p.28). Assistance for the Indian cause continued in full swing as a rising lawyer in Salem, C. Rajagopalachari, and reprinted Gandhi's account of his jail experiences for the same purpose. Rajagopalachari said Gandhi 'must be ranked with the Avatars', while his followers, 'even in these degenerate days, act[ed] like real heroes in the cause of the Nation'. The booklet sold rapidly, and the lawyer was able to send a cheque of Rs.1,500 to aid the struggle in South Africa. (Rajagopalachari 1913, p.48).

Across the country Indians were showing solidarity with satyagrahis. In the holy city of Banaras, protesters burned effigies of Generals Both and Smuts. In a meeting chaired by the celebrated nationalist leader Madan Mohan Malviya, a Hindi poem named Pratap read out verses urging patriots to hear the 'far cry from distant Africa', where 'heroes like Gandhi in jail' were 'showing the bravery of India to the world'. (Guha 2013, p.49).

As a result, by 1913 many parts of India were familiar with Gandhi's name. More Indians read newspapers than books and more still attended or heard of meetings organized in solidarity with the South African protests. The struggle of Indians and their heroic resistance to racial oppression in that faraway land was now known in towns across the subcontinent. Their leader was saluted and celebrated in talks, editorials, reports, poems, and at least one play. This was testimony not so much to the originality of his political ideas as to the vigor of his political practice. Thus, Mohandas Gandhi had made a definite impact on the popular consciousness of the motherland. The impact was not, however, as the author

of an obscure text named *Hind Swaraj*, but as the chief inspirer of the collective defiance of discriminatory laws and the collective courting of imprisonment by Indians in South Africa.

Conclusion:

As discussed in this article, Gandhi looked upon journalism as a means to serve the people and not as a commercial enterprise. He expressed in his autobiography: the sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole countryside and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within.' (Bhattacharya 1965, 24). However, it has often been argued that Gandhi's South African politics was not conclusive and did not provide 'enduring solution' to the Indian question. But his activism intended and meant much more. It would be gross underestimation of his movement to confine and measure it through its political achievements. It was a multi-dimensional campaign, stretching beyond the political realm encompassing the socio-political, cultural and moral aspects aiming for the overall advancement of the community, which would have been difficult to conceive without the spearheading role of his press.

About *Indian Opinion*, it unquestionably became a flashpoint in Gandhi's struggle against the British in South Africa. Even when he relinquished his ownership of Phoenix Settlement and *Indian opinion*, a new title deed in 1912 gave control of the settlement and the newspaper to a board of trustees. When Gandhi left for India in 1914, taking with him many Indian settlers from Phoenix, the task of continuing *Indian Opinion* was left to Polak, West and later Gandhi's son Manilal. Gandhi's apprenticeship with *Indian Opinion*, however, would serve him well when new political journals (like Young India, Navajivan, and Harijan) were launched to advance his

political goals in a bigger cause that is –the liberation of India.

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Rights and Obligations Under the Indian Constitution with Emphasis on Fundamental Duties & Gandhian Philosophy

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Abstract

India is well known for its 'Dharmashastras'. With the continuous developments over the centuries the requirement for various laws took a great leap and keeping in view the contemporary requirements of rapidly changing human society new laws evolved and 'Dharmashastras' acted as a source of law. In the ancient times 'Dharma' did not denote any kind of religion or right but only the performance of the duties. Everyone had to perform his assigned 'Dharma' (duties). The need for performance of fundamental duties by the citizens in contemporary Indian scenario is of great relevance if the nation has to become 'Harmonic' and progressive. We all are quite vociferous when it comes to our inalienable Rights but evade away from performance of our duties. Mahatma Gandhi also remarked that "*a well performed duty creates a corresponding right*". In fact "Gandhi's programme of social reform was based on duties rather than on rights. He said very clearly that he did not care for rights, but for discharge of duties:

If all simply insist on rights and no duties, there will be utter confusion and chaos. If instead of insisting on rights everyone does his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind.

“He argued that if there were any rights at all, it could only be the result of well-performed duties:

It is therefore necessary to understand the correlation between rights and duties. I venture to suggest that rights that do not flow directly from duty well-performed are not worth having. They will be usurpations sooner discarded the better.”

Therefore, through this paper an effort has been made from my side to emphasize on the duties along with Gandhian philosophy with respect to the duties and rights rather than stressing upon the rights only, because if **RJD i.e. the RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND DIGNITY** is to be achieved then the performance of duties by every citizen in an honest, responsible and disciplined manner is rightly needed.

Brief History

The fundamental duties have been borrowed from **USSR** (Russia). Originally there were 10 fundamental duties which were imbibed by our Constitution. These are contained under Part-IV (a) and Article 51(a) of the Indian Constitution. These 10 fundamental duties were included in our Constitution after the 42nd amendment in the year 1976, whereas later in the year 2002 & after the 86th amendment one more duty was added to our Constitution which speaks of **“Parents duty to educate their child between the age group of 6-14 years”**. Therefore, we have total of 11 fundamental duties in our Constitution which every Indian citizen is required to perform towards the State. The *Fundamental Duties* are also defined as the moral obligations of all citizens to help promote a spirit of patriotism and to uphold the unity of India. These duties set out in Part IV–A of the Constitution, concern individuals and the nation. Like the Directive Principles, they are not enforceable by courts unless otherwise made enforceable by parliamentary law.¹

Concept of Fundamental Duties in Consonance with Rights

Fundamental duties are of paramount importance in a sense that they perform an educative role. “Neither one can bear a

flower nor fruit without the performance of the duties”. Without the right set of education modules the system would be full of ‘Negergies’ (negative energies) and at the same time would be unable to generate ‘Synergies’ (system’s or positive energies) which are highly required for any system or machinery to function smoothly. There must be the reconciliation of duties with the rights because duties in one citizen imply rights in other citizens. For example, the duty “to renounce the practices derogatory to the dignity of women” implies a right in every woman not to be subjected to such practices. Similarly, to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic, regional or sectional diversities is the duty of every citizen and we all get educated about the harmony and integrity between the fellow countrymen regardless of diversities². It also gives us a right at the same time not to be victimized or discriminated in any manner at the hands of anti-social elements that follows “Division” philosophies or have a divided vision approach. In nut shell it can be said that the confluence between the rights and duties is very necessary for attaining justice, equality and preserving one’s dignity. This can further be manifested through a leadership model called **J E D (JUSTICE EQUALITY & DIGNITY)** where Justice can also be portrayed with a mathematical equation i.e. **JUSTICE=**

¹. Part IV-A- Fundamental Duties, “Constitution of India” 11th ed. By Mahendra P.Singh, P.361.

RIGHTS + DUTIES which would eventually render the safeguard to everyone's dignity.

Significance

1. Fundamental duties serve as a reminder to the citizens that while enjoying the rights they should also be conscious of their duties which they owe to their country, society and fellow citizens.
2. They serve as a warning against the anti-social acts like disrespecting Indian National flag, national anthem etc.
3. They help the Courts in examining and determining the constitutional validity of law. For e.g. Acts passed out by the Parliament are whether Constitutional or Unconstitutional can be traced out or examined by the courts.
4. Fundamental duties are enforceable by law. Hence, Parliament can provide for the imposition or appropriate penalty if any of them is not being followed in the country i.e. once the law has been made by the Parliament and not being fulfilled like **The Prevention of Insults to National Honor Act 1971**, an act of Parliament of India is a law made by the Parliament which prohibits and the desecration or insult to the country's national symbols, including the National Flag, the constitution, the National Anthem and map of India including contempt of Indian constitution.

Thus, the basic significance of fundamental duties is that they define the moral obligations of all the citizens of the country in order to assist in the promotion of the spirit of patriotism, brotherhood and uphold the integrity, divinity and dignity of India.

Ashoka's Four Lions and Chakra Metaphor or Forces in Context of Indian Society

National emblem of the Republic of India consists of four Lions along with the Ashoka's Chakra or wheel with 24 spokes which is a depiction of Buddhist Dharmachakra. It is so called because it appears on a number

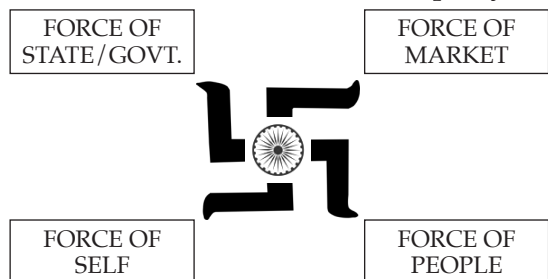
of edicts of Ashoka, most prominent among which is the Lion Capital of Ashoka.³

Prof. Subhash Sharma in his writings has given a new interpretation to this symbol in terms of following four forces influencing human society not only at the national level but also at the global level.⁴

1. Force of Market – Lion on the Right side
2. Force of State/ Government – Lion on the Left side
3. Force of People – Lion on Front
4. Force of Self – Lion on Back side⁵

Relationship of these forces can also be established with the performance and non-performance of fundamental duties and its impact on the Nation. These forces may be articulated in the form of a Swastika model also when they are put together in a square form which represents the confluence between the rights and duties and also depicts the pace of the nation's economy through the constant movement of Chakra. If the rights and duties are in confluence with each other and performed by the citizens in a responsible and righteous manner then the nation would move towards the situation of **Shubj-labh** which would bring peace and prosperity and if not then, the development of nation and its citizens will start declining.

Swastika Model of Peace & Prosperity⁶



(Source: New Earth Sastra, Subhash Sharma, 2012, p.4.)

² Part IV-A- Fundamental Duties, "Constitution of India" 11th ed. By Mahendra P. Singh, p.362.

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashoka_Chakra

⁴ New Earth Sastra: Towards Holistic Development and Management (HDM), Subhash Sharma, 2012., p.

⁵ New Earth Sastra: Towards Holistic Development and Management (HDM), Subhash Sharma, 2012, p.3.

⁶ Four Forces Swastika Model- <https://www.slideshare.net/DrSubhashSharma/spirituality-in-management-implications-for-management-education-in-india>

These four forces of Ashoka's Lions and the pace of Chakra's movement are the driving force of the overall development of Indian citizens and economy as a whole around the periphery of which the whole nation revolves. This not only represents the foundation of the nation on which its progressiveness depends but also reveals the negative impact of all these forces on nation's growth & development if fundamental duties are not performed by the citizens in an honest and responsible manner which could globally bring aspersions to the nation.

Elaboration of Impact of Non-Performance of Duties and the Four Lions Metaphor

1. 1st Lion - 'Market Force' - Non-performance of fundamental duties and only showing diligence towards the rights by the citizens of the country may lead them to indulge in the corrupt, in disciplinary and malpractices which may ultimately lead the nation towards the **Negergic change**. This not only affects the forces of market i.e. Demand and Supply in the economy but may also lead to the indulgence of other citizens on a large scale into the unethical and corrupt practices like adulteration, hoarding, black marketing, price-rise, tax evasion etc. Therefore, in order to maintain the environment of Peace and Prosperity in the market or nation's economy the performance of duties in an ethical, honest & disciplined manner by all the stakeholders of the nation is of utmost importance.

2. IInd Lion – 'Force of State/ Government'- The second Lion refers to the force of State/ Government. It has often been witnessed in the context of Indian Polity that our leaders love to make the mockery of our system and Constitution by playing the accusation cards on each other whereas the bottom-line is of the view that whosoever attains Power gets engaged in satisfying his/ her desires as per his/her own wish and whims and that too at the cost of the people and their hard-earned money whom they represent.

Same is the case with the Public officials. In most of the public offices it has been found that either the officials are arbitrary in nature or corrupt and have no sense of discharging their duties in a righteous and honest manner. Such unethical, irresponsible and indecent act by the State/ Government weakens the whole system, makes it brittle and hampers the economic as well as social development of the nation and its citizens. Therefore, the need for performance of duties in a responsible, sensible, dedicated and honest manner by the State/Government officials should be understood and abided by, because it is the Political or Government structure of the nation which is a guiding force for its citizens and if this is achieved the 2nd Lion will roar loudly not only at national level but also at the global level too.

3. IIIrd Lion-'Force of People' represented by Capillary action- The IIIrd Lion of Ashoka's four Lions and Chakra model refers to the force of the people or the citizens of the nation represented by the capillary action. Any nation is built through the positive and collective efforts of its citizens. But of late it has been seen that the concept of 'One God' and humanity which prevailed in earlier times has been outclassed by a concept of 'my god' and the citizens are driven by their own egos. This refers to a dichotomized situation where citizens or people get attracted towards their respective Gods or Goddesses which eventually leads to clashes sometimes or even riots etc. Same is the case with distinct religions, regions, castes and languages etc. Such division and non-performance of duty by the people towards the State and fellow countrymen creates such a gap between the people and State that it becomes difficult to bridge the gap between them and consequently integrity of the nation gets broken and nation loses its secular identity & sanctity too. The capillary action of people here refers to their attraction towards their egos and respective gods or goddesses, castes,

regions, religions and languages etc. due to which they start considering them superior and others inferior. Therefore, people of the nation should understand the importance of performing their duties towards a nation and their Capillary action should be directed towards building a harmonic nation through holistic thinking.

- 4. IVth Lion- 'Force of Self'**- The IVth LION refers to the 'Self' aspect or force. Self can be in terms of Rights, Duties and HOPE (Higher Order Purpose of Existence, Sharma, 1996, p.121) and accordingly there are three kinds of people viz; (a) Those who give primacy / priority to rights, (b) those who give primacy / priority to duties and (c) Those who are able to balance between the rights and the duties. If the dysfunctional consequences of non-performance of fundamental duties by the citizens are to be corrected, then there is the need for having people having positive perspective towards maintaining a right balance between the rights and duties. The 'self' aspect deals with a situation where we the people of India especially are most concerned about the well being and prosperity of ourselves, family or people related to us or in whose life we have vested interests. In other words, we are least bothered about the Justice, Rights and Dignity of others and forget either knowingly or unknowingly to discharge our fundamental duties towards the State and the fellow countrymen. Therefore, the force of 'Self' needs to transform itself with the acceptability of 'Others' aspect where there is scope for welcoming and accepting everyone irrespective of any caste, religion, creed, race etc. to which he/she belongs to and strive towards turning the nation into a Harmonic society and Ram-rajya.

Gandhian Philosophy With Respect to the Discharge of One's Duties

According to Mahatma Gandhi *Swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. Real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of*

*the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused.*⁷ In this sense, Gandhi primarily focused on the education and welfare of masses and then further emphasized on the resistance of authority through non-violent steps, whenever there occurred an abuse of power by the State.

The crux of Satyagraha, for Gandhi, is in deciphering what one's duty is. Gandhi speaks of rights in the context of duties and that is his distinctiveness; he considers 'real rights as a result of performance of duty' meaning, that all rights to be deserved and preserved as rights is derived from duties which are performed well. Rights cannot be divorced from duties and that rights have to be exercised in the interests of all. The concept of duty, for Gandhi, is derived from the idea of dispassionate action which the Bhagavad Gita advocates. Unless one's action is performed with a degree of detachment one would not be free from the anxiety of its future consequences. He contends "if we are sure of the 'purity' of the means we employ, we shall be led on by the faith, before which any fear and trembling melt away". Non-attachment does not mean lack of clarity about the ends one desires to achieve. For Gandhi, the important thing is to get the people to do what they ought to do without offering inducements or threats or theological sanctions. Interestingly, Gandhi accepts the core idea of right-based individualism, the dominant paradigm in contemporary political theory, namely human equality and moral worth of every person but rights are coalesced with the idea of duties, assigning individuals with responsibilities to lead a moral life and devote to the good of their community. He also supports the basic rights of those at the margins of society, namely women, untouchables and the vulnerable, who have been objects of domination and humiliation. According to him, Freedom is not being left alone but the freedom to cultivate love and service which he describes as the best feature of human nature. He champions equal rights for women

⁷. - <http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/19654/1/Unit-5.pdf>

and the right of everyone to make the choices they desire. He rejects ascriptive properties such as gender, class, birth, caste, education or nationality that can justify unequal treatment and disqualify some as moral agents. Duty, for Gandhi, is disinterested action which is performed without much attention to the result and one which morally conforms to the order of the Universe. Rights and duties lead to common good which is the basis of swaraj- self-rule, self restraint, self-discipline and voluntary self-sacrifice and this in turn is based in the notion of individual autonomy and moral self-determinism. Gandhi, as a philosophical anarchist, stresses on individual claims against that of the state, with the aim that the individual armed with dharma or the moral law is the best to judge authority, take corrective steps if necessary through acts of satyagraha, and bring about common good with which his good is inextricably linked.⁸

Indian Judiciary's Performance of Duties in Securing Faith in Law and Transforming Indian Society

India has witnessed various changes in the laws and lives of various aggrieved people too in a recent year. In other words, it can be said that through some of the recent judgments by India's apex court, the Indian Judiciary is playing a positive and dynamic role in the transformation of the Indian society through the instrumentality of law by proper discharge of its duties. Several laws which showed that India was trailing other countries in recognizing individual's rights have been struck down.

Some of the iconic judgments delivered by Supreme Court by interpreting laws to expand the ambit of fundamental rights, thereby discharging its own duties to the fullest for securing equality and dignity to all citizens are as under:⁹

1. Lifting ban on entry of women (aged 10-50) inside Sabarimala Temple -

Saying that "Devotion cannot be subjected to gender discrimination", the Supreme

Court removed a ban that prevented women between 10 and 50 years of age from entering Kerala's Sabarimala temple. Chief Justice Dipak Misra, Justice A.M. Khanwilkar, Justices Rohinton F. Nariman and Dhananjaya Y. Chandrachud concurred with each other while Indu Malhotra dissented saying that courts shouldn't determine which religious practices should be struck down or not.

2. Decriminalization of Section 377 by Partly Striking it Down The Supreme Court, in a landmark judgment which came out in early September, decriminalized gay sex holding that consensual sex between two adults was covered under the right to privacy.

A five-judge bench of the Supreme Court headed by CJI Dipak Misra partly struck down Section 377 of Indian Penal Code (IPC) holding it violative of the fundamental right to privacy. However, the Supreme Court said that Section 377 would continue to be in force in cases of unnatural sex with animals and children.

Any kind of sexual activity with animals and children remains a penal offence. The Supreme Court held that Section 377 of IPC was a weapon to harass members of LGBTQ-plus community resulting in discrimination against them.

3. Adultery Not A Crime

The Supreme Court unanimously struck down a 150-year-old law that considered adultery to be an offence committed against a married man by another man. Defined under Section 497 of the IPC, adultery law came under sharp criticism for treating women as possessions rather than human beings.

The Supreme Court declared Section 497 as unconstitutional. Adultery is no longer a crime but if it leads to someone committing suicide, the act will be treated as a crime - abetment to suicide.¹²

⁸ - <http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/19654/1/Unit-5.pdf>

⁹ - <https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/5-historic-judgments-that-changed-our-lives-in-2018-1350692-2018-09-27>

Conclusion

India is well known for its Dharamshastras around the globe. Indian constitution draws upon it and incorporates the idea of duties along with fundamental rights. Main force in the life of a nation is force of 'Self'. This force finds its manifestation through rights and duties. If we forget or evade our duties and voraciously talk about the rights, the right balance between the Rights and the duties gets diminished and due to which dispensation of appropriate Justice also negatively gets affected. There should be a right balance between of rights and duties and only then the Justice could be rendered. Mahatma Gandhi rightly observed that *an individual is a social person and the essence of individuality is social self. The emphasis on duties emanates from his quest for building a humane society and conflict(s) would be resolved non-violently (ahimsa) through adherence to truth or satyagraha.* Accordingly, we need to change our perspectives and collectively believe in the principle of maintaining the balance between the rights and duties.

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Jurisprudence: Critique of Gandhi's Legal Activism in the Framework of Hegel's Historical Dialectic

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1. Prologue

The Paper

The paper demonstrates Gandhi's legal activism as relating to social practice of the theory of jurisprudence. The theoretical structure is sought within the logical categories advocated by Hegel, the German philosopher, in his two works on *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1809) and *Philosophy of Right*. (1821). These two aspects, Gandhi's legal activism and Hegel's theoretical framework are assessed with the aim of making it relevant in the current Indian and global context.

Basic Assumption

The basic assumption in this paper is that there is a design of a historical dialectic in Gandhi's socio-political and spiritual-reformist activism. He described his life as 'experiments with truth' – a life that had contradictions and compromises; where he could observe his intentions and actions without attachment.

Scope

The scope of the paper is limited to the two major legal problems Gandhi's activism achieved: Against the Asiatic Registration Act (South Africa), from 1893 to 1914 and against the British Salt Act (India), from 1915 to 1947. The struggle against these two laws, consumed his entire active life of 54 years – 21 years in South Africa and 33 years in India.

Method

It consists of the events unfolding in history between the Government of the United Kingdom's Monarch and his subjects. The context is provided by the colonists in South Africa where the Asiatic subjects are discriminated against the White subjects.

- Context: Existing unjust situation: The indentured labourers 1860 and 1911 imported from India to develop sugar industry in Natal Province.

- Conflict: Passive resistance and non-violence, self-sacrifice and demonstration of truth, a novel way to meet head-on the oppression.
- Compromise – conflict resolution: After dialogue with the adversary, earning a convincing peace.

Critique

It consists of an assessment of the dispute by the application of the legal principles as well as moral appraisals, bearing the antecedents and consequences. The analysis will consist of whether individual and collective rights would be respected; whether justice would prevail and morality in its comprehensiveness would be upheld.

I would like to advocate that these two great historical figures can be reconciled in the service of jurisprudence. The term is a combination of Latin *jus* and *prudentia* which implies 'law' and 'discretion', good sense.

2. Hegel and Gandhi: Philosophical Positions

Hegel

The Historical Triad

Hegel marked the zenith of German idealism, the metaphysics concerning reality as a given of the mind. The mind shapes the reality, not the other way around. For Hegel, the greatest idea is God, philosophically the Absolute Idea that involves and evolves in human history. Its nature is rational; one can assert what is rational is real and what is real is rational. Rationality develops through human decisions, human consciousness shaping and demolishing and reshaping the events of history. There is always motion in history, nothing is static. Whatever poses itself has its opposite and with the strife between the two a third emerges and so the processes of history move on in this triadic fashion. History, its events in time, expresses a triadic logic: as an idea comes to be established and due to its imperfections an equally opposite idea comes into existence creating a conflict where none is a winner which leads to understanding

of some basic truths based on which a compromise or a resolution of the conflict is achieved. However, this historical triadic cycle moves on creating further conflict situations and compromises. It shows people learn very little from the past events of history.

Spirit

The Idea is also known as the Spirit that moves the world; its nature is freedom which proceeds from the Will. Hegel postulated the principle of individuation, that which makes each person different, which proceeds from the freedom of the will.

Law

The collective will of the people is the basis of contract, the law. It ensures the exercise of rights. Private property is the concrete expression of the abstract right. Conflict arises when there is a dispute about rights. It is not a conflict between right and wrong; it is between two rights.

Gandhi

Spirituality

It is the cornerstone of life. God is its object. One experiences God in the pursuit of Truth. God's nature is Truth; both these concepts are one and the same. Morality consists in pursuing the Truth; it is the moral absolute. It is expressed through love. *Love* is the supreme law; it is about trust, friendship, surrender, suffering, endurance, hope and sacrifice.

Moral Responsibility

It is about the nature of one's own actions. Morality consists not in the justifiable ends but in the means. If you are fighting for a just cause, howsoever great, violence is not justifiable. The afflictions meted out by the adversary are to be meted out with suffering them, howsoever unjust. The suffering caused must awaken the consciousness of the adversary to see the truth. Thus sacrifice, self-sacrifice is braver than recourse to violence.

Justice

The aim of justice in a court of law is redress to the victim and punishment for the perpetrator

of crime. However, there are unjust laws such as those discriminate people on the basis of colour or indefensible taxes. Unjust laws must

be resisted through non-violence, and make the violator conscious of the wrongdoing.

HEGEL Historical Dialectic	GANDHI Social Dialectic
Theodicy: The Absolute Idea (rational), the Spirit expressing, developing and progressing through history through the social consciousness (real) of individuals and their collective. Thus what is rational is real and <i>vice versa</i> .	Spirituality: God is Truth, the Moral Absolute, where human actions must be judged by the means adopted to achieve a goal – means must justify the ends. Thus God is Truth and <i>vice versa</i> .
The Spirit is free; the society presents diversity of choice; freedom is the principle of individuation.co	Moral responsibility for one's own actions; non-violence is the means, truth is the end.
The basis of the exercise of rights of the individuals is actualized through the reasoned laws.	There is no law above the law of love. An unjust law is violence. It must be overcome by love.
History is the progress of the consciousness of freedom.	Constant development is the law of life.
Conflict is not between right and wrong; it is between two rights.	Conflict is common between capital and labour – rich and the poor.
State comes to exist through public contract; law is its will; private property is the first right equalling liberty.	Any dogma that is in conflict with reason creates moral conflict. The answer to any violent situation is not violence which begets more violence. Conflict resolution is possible only through <i>satyagraha</i> or passive resistance, a non-violent position ready for self-sacrifice.

3. Hegel and Gandhi: Jurisprudential Positions

Hegel

Concept of Right

It must be first understood in its ideal or purest form. The Absolute Spirit in its movement or revelation is expressed through Free-Will through which actualization in the society takes place. The concept of right is metaphysical in nature, in other words, its understanding purely as a concept. Right is the basic foundation of legal philosophy. It may be categorized into three aspects:

- a) Right as right, that is understood as abstract idea; it grants the individual the absolute right to be independent, free and self-determining.

- b) Right as morality, where one is able to see and recognize another's individuality and respect it.

- c) Right as ethics, where the same rights (duties) apply to the society and their relationships. This is the foundation of law.

Law

It is the outward expression of Right; while the law is nitty-gritty of legislated regulations for the conduct of the individual and the society, the latter has the rationale for the former to exist. The law can exist only through reason. An unjustifiable law is absurd. The law exists for the benefit of the individual, the family, civil society and the state.

Justice

It proceeds from the idea of the protection of Right and it lies in its administration. Right is vindicated in a court of law. Justice can be inferred with the interrelation of rights and duties. Jurisprudence consists in a well reasoned inference of these two constituent elements and raises it to a new level, only to be further set to dispute. Jurisprudence conducts itself on the ideals which can be universalized, in other words, one standard of judgment for all.

State

Right as ethics defines state; it assimilates within it the right of the individual and of the society. It does so by creating laws, which are rational and apply equally to all impartially. Philosophically speaking, the individual and social consciousness is raised to a universal degree, where all are equal before the law – the subjective merges into the objective state of affairs. Thus the state becomes the steward of protecting the individual rights of private property, family, which are a personal extension of one's self. Equally, the civil society which is endowed with the right of association and self-expression, freedom and liberty, the state is the arbiter to protect the rights. Such role of the state is the basis for constitutionalism.

Constitutionalism

It is rational charter for the administration of the state where individuality or subjectivity and universality or objectivity may be unified and reconciled, where rights and duties are enshrined.

World-History

Further, it is not just one state; there exist several states and they relate to each other as would individuals and civil society to state. A comity of states builds relationships by the philosophy of the same idea of right. Together they seek a common destiny by forming one spirit, *Weltgeist*, the world spirit. In this manner, the history of the world unfolds assimilating in itself unity and diversity of several values, purposes and goals.

Theory and Praxis

Admittedly this is not a noiseless gong. The states as well as the union of states have their own problems. The practical life is of action, and actions are not perfect. Selfishness, conceit and caprice disfigure the picture of the state, ugliness and crime raises its head. However, good, positive and affirmative life finds its own place. The logic or the dialectic of good opposed by evil, and yet again that overcome by positive efforts is our world history. It moves on.

Gandhi

Law: It is *Dharma*. It is the moral law, not relative, but as absolute as the Truth; intuitive by nature. It embodies truth and dignity; develops good conscience; it is conscientious in meeting out justice. The law as practiced in the West is divisive, more after settling of entitlements rather than stand for truth. Adoption of English law divides people based on their disputes; it also discriminates based on differences of communities by race; it applies different standards for its own people and those under colonial yoke; it is enslavement.

Justice

English system of law promotes the profession of lawyers at the cost of the litigants; each lawyer wants to serve the interests of his client, but do not serve the social good. Would the English have succeeded to rule the country without their law, and without Indians? If they did, it would be only over the English imposing law on the English. So, if you refuse to come under that law, although they may use their force to enforce you, you also suffer and sacrifice, in the end it is you who convince them of the futility of such laws and the practitioners of such laws.

Example: Can we really say that the British colonized us? Did we not allow ourselves to be colonized – now for money, now to bargain kingdom for their protection? So if I have traded, then have done so willingly, why blame the seller? At a certain point the seller wields dominance, and the buyer yields to

his dominance. But if on a fine day the buyer refuses to buy, irrespective of the force used against his will, such a refusal is unyielding, irrespective of the force.

Culture and Law

It is the seedbed of civilization. 'Sanskriti' a Sanskrit term from its very linguistic origin stands for culture or civilization. It also stands for traditional good behaviour; it espouses basic goodness of man, an image of the divine in man – human dignity. Indian culture is superior to others since it embodies non-violence (*ahimsa*), truthfulness (*sataya*), non-stealing or honesty (*asteya*), celibacy or purity (*brahmacharya*) and self-denial of desire or non-attachment (*aparigraha*).

Law in the ambit of culture seeks to establish truth without turning the adversaries into enemies. Those in power of exercising the law, in truth, instead of punishing agents become arbitrators to reconcile the disputing parties and establish peace. Unlike the punitive Western culture, it is an ethical culture, guided by higher moral principle.

Moral Duty against Unjust Law

In the interest of others, it is not only fair but also high moral duty to break an unjust law, for instance, the laws that discriminate people. Passive resistance to unjust law is duty; suffer under it until the conscience of the lawgiver is awakened to the truth.

Transcendental Nature of Law

The law is an expression of moral conscience. The law of the state, if it is just then it is a well formed judicial conscience. It substitutes individual conscience. Upholding of The law is important lest the state degenerate into anarchy. Morality is its own standard, and if the state law violates it by discriminating people or hinder their right to speak then such a law must be disobeyed. However, breaking of the unjust law does not mean that one does not submit to the power of the state to punish. One must suffer as a means to demonstrate the perpetrated unjust law, thus appealing to the universal conscience or morality. A judge

has no right to be in his position if he has to preside over unjust laws.

Property

Stewardship or trusteeship is the basis of all ownership. It results in public responsibility. Those who possess much and are rich must understand it is theirs in so far as they are the keepers of it. Its use must benefit the society. Those who have less or not at all, they also must work for their livelihood. Why a high official would be paid more than a labourer in the field? Need and its fulfilment must be the guide; not greed and its pleasure. Goods, personal skills and talents are valid only in the service of the society. An egalitarian society is the aim.

This was practiced in the communities he had founded: Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix Farm in South Africa, and Sabarmati Ashram in India. Manual labour was esteemed; cleaning, washing and menial chores were dignified. The modern professions such as in transport – trains - and in medical field – doctors - were uncalled for. However, this is the ideal. One cannot be forced into social service. This can happen only in a highly disciplined society. Nevertheless, the ideal is a guide which is worth replicating.

Jurisprudence

It consists in restoration of relationship between the two disputing parties. Arbitration: understanding the opposing positions, bringing the disputants on a level where communication is established, the parties are made to understand the merits and demerits of continuing in confrontation. The solution: Convince the warring parties that justice delivered by the court of law only ends up one being punished who will never be happy again and the one who has benefitted from the case has more to lose than gain. Settlement through arbitration is based on truth and respect, mutual trust and abiding love. Thus jurisprudence is social action to establish the highest human moral values.

HEGEL (FREE-WILL)	GANDHI (DHARMA)
The state, the right, the law – legal, social, political and economic - aspects are an evolution of the Free-Will. Right is an abstract concept. Morality is its expression in individual relationships. Ethics is social morality.	Gandhi proposed <i>dharma</i> , the supremacy of moral life in public life or private life. Truth, Non-violence, Love, Sacrifice, Dignity, Self-denial, Passive resistance to unjust laws, Suffering against discrimination, Self-control and all such values are expressions of God. This is revealed and lived in culture.
State is founded on law, the rational spirit, its absence is anarchy.	The essence of the state is <i>swaraj</i> , liberty in its full sense. Law is to be disobeyed if it is unjust through <i>satyagraha</i> , passive resistance in pursuit of truth.
Right to property is the basic right upon which economic, social and moral contracts are based.	Property in trusteeship: Purpose of possessions is to satisfy needs, not greed.
Freedom consists in the active participation in the matters of the state	Just laws must be administered strictly.

4. Gandhi's Jurisprudence Praxis

CASE I: On Indentured Labour:

Gandhi versus British Government in South Africa

Parties to the Case: Satyagrahies led by M.K. Gandhi versus British Government in South Africa

CONTEXT

Background: Historical Context

The British Crown's colonial regime, first through the East India Company followed by direct rule, in India systematically drained out its riches and compounded the ordinary life with unbearable taxes, reducing the populace into abject poverty. Ironically they turned to other British colonies to seek livelihood by offering to be indentured *coolies* or bonded labourers. The British colonial hold in Africa was total except Ethiopia and Liberia; the other European countries held some pockets of the continent. South Africa was initially occupied by the Dutch and the British, which eventually came under the British Crown. Both, British and the Dutch, systematically exploited the indigenous people whom they enslaved and banished them to reserves kept

for them because they were blacks and were not in the habit to work in plantations and mines. Indians who were adept at these were in demand.

Legal Matters

The history goes back to 17th and 18th centuries when Indians were procured as slaves. Since 1834 Indians as coolies were brought from India. In Natal province, the British territory, a citizens' meeting took up the resolution to import indentured labourers from India. In 1859 the Natal Government through an Act provided for two types of immigrants: i) the indentured labourers ii) the passenger quota, the traders and lower level office workers, about 25% of the indentured coolies. There were licensed agents to procure immigrants, and the office of the Protector of Indian Immigration would issue certificate of registration. There were various laws enacted with regard to coolies, servants, apprentices and their masters. There were also various checks and balances such as payment of travel by ship from India and back, wages, medical reports, inspection of places where the coolies worked and their families and children lived. [*Masters, Servants and Apprentices Act*, 1856;

Natal Act No.14 of 1859; Law 13 of 1859; Law 15 of 1859; **Law 12 of 1872; Law 19 of 1874; Law 20 of 1874; Act 21 of 1883**] However, more of these were followed in the breach than in practice. The coolies and their dependents lived abjectly and suffered ignominious racial discrimination.

Legal Activism of Gandhi

He arrived in the British colonies in South Africa in 1893. Almost immediately he faced extreme racism personally: he was thrown out of a first class compartment of a train; he was kicked into the gutter a couple of times by the Whites; he was insulted in the court for wearing an Indian headdress. He also saw the worst infliction treatment meted out to his fellow Indians. Indentured labourers were treated no better than slaves – beatings, causing injury, underpayment and so on. He came to the realization that his mission consisted of more than for what he had come – to represent a businessman in the court.

‘**Civil Rights**’ was the watchword. Indians in South Africa, whether indentured or the rest, by the force of law were subjects of the British Royal Crown, just as the British in the United Kingdom. Race was not the determinant of the legal status. Hence the civil rights were violated. In 1894 Gandhi founded Natal Indian Congress to fight collectively to restore the violated rights. For this purpose later in 1904 he also started a journal called *Indian Opinion* from a community that he had founded, the Phoenix Farm, a collective living irrespective of creed and race.

The Black Act: The Transvaal Asiatic Amendments Act, 1906, was the most controversial. It demanded the registration and fingerprinting of all Indians living in Transvaal and Orange Free State, erstwhile Dutch regions. Here several rights were violated: racial segregation, prohibition of private property, forbidden to vote in local elections, regular curfews to keep the streets off-limits to Indians so that the Whites may enjoy their leisure.

Satyagraha, 1906: In protest Gandhi organized

his famous passive resistance movement called *Satyagraha*. The relentless struggle carried on until 1911-14.

CONFLICT

Satyagraha versus British Empire

The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act, 1906, came into force in 1907. Its provisions were: a) Objective to register all Asians including Indians, Chinese and others;) the process consisted of a certificate with thumb and other finger impressions, name, gender, caste, body marks, and other personal details; c) it was for all Asians upward of age 8 man, woman or child; d) it had to be produced on demand by the authorities, police; e) the offenders were to be detained and would be liable for deportation; f) the minor children would have to be brought to the registrar’s office and go through the prescribed identity particulars; g) the offenders shall not enjoy right of appeal.

The Passive Resistance or Satyagraha I: Gandhi reacted by naming it as the Black Act. He reasoned it being not only discriminatory but also an affront to human dignity. (i) It was discriminatory because they – both the Whites and the Asians in South Africa were subjects of the British Crown. As citizens they were equal before the law; but the law itself turned self-contradictory in this legislation. (ii) Discrimination among human beings with respect to race is an insult to humanity; all are human beings and worthy of same respect. The said law violated the basic tenet and was unbearably humiliating.

The Satyagraha Roadmap: Gandhi put forward his strategy of Satyagraha before his confidants: a) face the wrath of the law without fear; b) disobey the law and refuse to register; c) offer no resistance upon arrest; d) suffer imprisonment – all this is to be done without hatred against the authorities.

The Act came into force. People followed the roadmap. They broke the law. They were arrested. Out of 13,000 Indians in Transvaal all except 511 people offered Satyagraha; they were arrested and imprisoned. With so many

thousands in the prison authorities were in a dilemma. For it served no purpose to feed them for free while their productivity was a loss to the government. The futility of the law in the face of non-violent protest was well demonstrated. Gandhi, one among the arrested and imprisoned was later summoned by the authorities that resulted in Gandhi-Smuts Compromise.

COMPROMISE

Gandhi-Smuts Compromise

Jan Christian Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, whose task it was, among others, to implement the Asiatic Registration Act. He was a multifaceted personality - lawyer, general, politician and philosopher - despite political differences, he admired Gandhi. Both reached a compromise: Instead of compulsory registration Asians will register voluntarily, and the government on its part will repeal the hated law. The fellow Indians who had followed Gandhi and had suffered imprisonment were disillusioned by the compromise for they perceived that it had not achieved anything. The enraged group tried to lynch him however he was saved by close friends, who were Whites.

Satyagraha II: The sceptics were proved right. Compromise did not materialize in reality. Gandhi again inspired his flock. They burned the registration certificates in a public show of defiance. They, including Gandhi, paid for it dearly; now imprisoned for longer and with more rigour. Having done his time, he sailed to England to appraise the plight of Indians, who indeed were British citizens, to several appropriate authorities. But he failed on all counts. He tried his best to convince his fellow Indians in London. It drew sympathy. He returned back to South Africa dejected. He expressed himself in his writings, which later were to become his ultimate philosophy: *Hind Swaraj* or *Self-Rule*. It was a testimony to the principles of Truth and Non-Violence and the determination to pursue the same single-mindedly.

Satyagraha III: Back on the South African

soil he changed his life and lifestyle. He gave up lawyer's practice. It is not good to make money out of the distress of a man. One must toil for his living. He started the second farm community called Tolstoy Farm. Manual labour is the essence of livelihood. In the September of 1913 he was impelled into action as a new law was enacted that nullified marriages other than according to the Christian ritual. Upon Gandhi's call women took recourse to Satyagraha and volunteered themselves to be arrested. Gandhi's wife, Kasturba was incarcerated, too.

It was immediately followed by £3 tax on indentured labourers. The miners and the sugar plantation workers started strike. Gandhi channelled the anger into Satyagraha and crossed the Transvaal forbidden territory with 2,000 strong Satyagrahis. All were arrested. He did time in different jails along with his Indian and European colleagues. He was released towards the end of 1913. In early January, 1914 Gandhi-Smuts summit that resulted in Indian Relief Act.

Gandhi-Smuts Compromise: Smuts by this time was the Prime Minister of the South African territories. The negotiations produced the following results: a) Indian Relief Act, 1914 was proposed; a) the relief consisted in the abolition of £3 tax; b) the marriages performed according Hindu and Muslim rites will be recognized; c) free entry for educated Indians into the country; d) Gandhi must leave South Africa once the law is passed. The government passes the said law in July 1914. In the very same month Gandhi leaves the shores of South Africa, never to return again.

CASE 2: On Salt Law:

Gandhi versus British Government in India

Parties to the Case: Satyagrahis led by M.K. Gandhi versus British Government in India.

CONTEXT

Historical Background

First, a blanket statement: There has been no ruler in India who has not imposed salt tax. Even under the Gupta Empire, 4th to 6th

century, considered as the golden age of India, the salt tax was extant. The tax was abolished for the first time in history in October 1946 by Jawaharlal Nehru as the interim Prime Minister of India. However, it was re-enacted as 'salt cess' in 1953. Gandhi had broken the salt tax law in the celebrated Dandi March in 1930. However, he lived to see its abrogation and cherished the same until his assassination in January 1948.

Salt, the Symbol of India's Freedom

By 1930 Gandhi was a world figure. Everything he said and did had enormous significance. His campaign against the British salt law raised the level of Satyagraha to its nadir. Historians have equated it as the quintessence of India's freedom struggle. It directed the age old anger against the hated salt tax into a peaceful march of tens of thousands of people. It demonstrated the power of non-violence. And the world took notice in amazement.

British India and the Salt Tax

As East India Company fought wars and took possession of lands it totally monopolized the production and sale of salt. That is, all rights were reserved, from acquisition to production, from distribution to trade. It also charged exorbitant tax on it. Authorities back in Britain were shell shocked at the depravity of monopolizing the salt, which stripped Britain of all moral decency. But large sums of money supplied by the company shut them up in silence. Even under the direct rule of the Crown, after the Indian Mutiny in 1857, there was no change either in salt monopoly or tax. There emanated strong and powerful voices from both the sides of the Empire. Apart from the expression of moral outrage, there was very little succour. The Indians contributed almost ten percent of their income as salt tax! In the early decades of the 20th century salt Tax amounted to £25,000,000 out of the total revenue of about £800,000,000.

CONFLICT

The Dandi Defiance

Gandhi opined that it is immoral to tax such a natural, utterly essential mineral for

human dietary and nourishment as the salt. Further, politically it was unjustified for an alien government not only to monopolize its production and trade but over and above that to subject it to tax. He had dealt with the issue of salt even while he was studying law in London, later repeatedly in South Africa. Indians were highly sensitive to salt tax. British Government in India had to repeatedly amend the salt act, at times showing leniency but most of the time being very harsh. From its inception in 1885, at every annual Congress Session it became customary to pass a resolution against the salt tax. Upon his return from South Africa Gandhi's activism in Congress intensified the agitation. In 1929 at the Lahore Congress Session declared *purna swarajya* – total independence, boycott of legislature and the celebration of National Independence Day to be on January 26. In the following year, 12 March 1930 Gandhi started the national *satyagraha*, the Dandi March, defying the salt taxation law.

Making of Salt

At the commencement of the month of March 1930 Gandhi wrote a lengthy letter to the then Viceroy Lord Irwin detailing the suffering and anguish of the Indians, and thereby demonstrated that the colonial government was unjust and illegitimate. The limit has been crossed. There will be a *satyagraha* that will depict the angst and torment of the people against the salt tax. For his long epistle Irwin sent a terse note. It will be in violation of the law and disruption of public peace. Irrespective of the warning, the *satyagraha* began on the 15th as was earlier decided and well prepared with suitable discourse, prayer and publicity. Meticulous but Spartan preparations – people who will march, places to rest, food etc. - were made in typical Gandhi style. He willingly and openly spoke to the media. This may be the last protest. Sardar Patel is already arrested. Arrangements are made to offer voluntary arrest batch by batch. The victory is at hand. The law will be broken. Salt will be made. It will be India's victory. Then it will be *swaraj*. So, the world was well

informed. The March: 78 initial volunteers, 12 March 1930 to 6 April 1930, 384 kilometres, from Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmadabad to Dandi, Coast of Arabian Sea, Navsari District. Village by village, town by town, hundreds of thousands of people thronged to see and listen to Gandhi. Upon arrival at the destination, amidst the pressing throng of people the frail figure of Gandhi holding a staff bent down, picked up a few grains of salt and to the effect, 'With this, I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire.' Thus he broke the most hated law without an iota of violence. It was a moment when Britain, the world super power of the time seemed as helpless as, to quote O. Henry, a turtle on its back.

COMPROMISE

The Aftermath

Post Dandi it was business as usual for the British Government in India. In fact, it was worse; thousands of satyagrahis as well as their leaders and Gandhi himself were jailed. However, protests, shutdowns, and all forms of resistance were carried on by the large populous in spite of the absence of their leaders. Satyagraha became India's weapon of freedom, an unparalleled moral force. Gandhi was called to meet the Viceroy. It produced a compromise which is known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Accordingly, a) The Congress will stop satyagraha; b) Congress will participate in Round Table Conference in London; c) withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions; d) release all political prisoners; permit peaceful picketing of foreign liquor and cloth shops; e) permit manufacture of salt and trade by persons living near the coastal areas; f) restore confiscated properties of the satyagrahis. However, post Dandi, the fervour declined. Gandhi was in the public eye; however he withdrew himself from Congress in 1935 and busied himself with social causes such as campaign for cleanliness, movement against untouchability and remarriage of widows, affairs of Sabarmati Ashram, publication of literary magazines such as 'Young India' and 'Harijan'. In the result, the salt tax was not abolished.

5. Critique

CONTEXT

Protestant Reformation

In 1517 Martin Luther (1483 - 1546), a monk, began a protest movement against the prevailing religious, political and cultural powers of the Catholic Church. It came to be known as the Protestant Reformation in Europe that changed it totally from religion to politics, from economics to culture. It stood for two basic values of reason and freedom. It stood for learning and self-determination; for Luther translated the Bible into German and thus freed the people from the authority of exclusive religious domain. As it progressed it was also known as Age of Enlightenment or Age of Reason as everything changed from commerce, lifestyles, education, travel, fine arts and hosts of other things that it is also called as era of Renaissance, a regeneration of everything concerning people.

The Enlightenment

Among the great intellectuals of Europe Hegel was one of the masterpieces. Others were: Adam Smith, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Galileo, Voltaire, Copernicus, Newton, Locke, Gutenberg and the whole galaxy of scientists, inventors, entrepreneurs, explorers, etc. Kant's dictum, 'Dare to know! Have courage to use your own reason', defined enlightenment. In political field there occurred revolutions in France (1789), then in America (1765 and 1783) which charted a course in liberty, equality and the human fraternity. From an assumed flat Planet Earth, it became a demonstrated globe belonging to a solar planetary family. Hegel, who was lived in the latter part of the 18th century and early part of 19th century, had absorbed three centuries of intellectual and historical advances of mankind. He produced a highly analytical logical system to be applied to philosophy, science and history. All his works in these three fields are extremely relevant even today.

CONFLICT

A Philosophy Gone Awry

Did Hegel know about Ibrahim Muetteferrika

(1674–1745)? Probably he did, for he was a highly respected diplomat of the Ottoman Empire who succeeded in stitching alliances between different European powers. Over a century before Hegel, he had observed that the Christian countries were weak comparing to the Muslim ones. However, presently they are the most dominant, even over the Muslim countries. The secret, he said, lies in their laws and rules invented by reason. Hegel had summarized this power in his famous maxim 'Rational is real; real is rational' (sometimes translated as rational equals actual and actual equal rational), in other words reality may be understood rationally. Hegel considered only the Christendom possessed the truth, the idea of the Absolute from which the Spirit proceeds and the history of the world is unravels, develops and progresses. Other civilizations are not rational; they are based on magic and forms of enchantment. Freedom that proceeds from the free will and all the human progress depends on it is possible only through the logic of the historical dialectic. Thus for human progress European thought is necessary. To begin with it needs to be imposed which in the long term it will benefit the natives of the colonized territories.

Colonialism

All that was required to the adventurous Europeans was a justifiable idea to explore, discover and exploit the new world. Every Western European country eventually became a colonizer. In South Africa both the Dutch and British did it with a purpose to settle down and eventually create their own nation independent from their motherlands. Same was the case with several Europeans taking hold of Australia. However, other European countries occupied several parts of Africa and Asia purely to run their writ politically and economically to exploit and enrich themselves. Take the case of India, several Europeans – Portuguese, Dutch, French, and the British-colonized different parts of India. Ultimately it is the British Crown that established its colonial government with a viceroy at its head. From 1757 to 1947 the British rule drained not

only India's famed wealth, but also heavily taxed its people and impoverished them as to become world's poorest, a pitiable story of a nation from riches to rags. Justifications are still purported at the highest levels of state summits as 'civilization', 'shared heritage', 'rule of law', 'science and technology, and above all the 'Commonwealth.'

The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx (1818 – 1883), and Friedrich Engels were close followers of Kant's philosophy and of Hegel's logic and the philosophy of history. His interest was to create a political state where all the class struggles will come to an end. He replaced Hegel's fundamental principle of the Absolute with Material progression of history. The values of freedom, self-determination, and social development were interpreted purely in materialistic terms, the inherent contradiction within the material life in the society. The theory of the state advocates, to begin with, the slave states, which then developed into feudal states, and yet again these became capitalist states. Now with the new logic of the historical dialectic it is imperative that the working class in these states must rise in revolution to establish a proletarian state, where people share a common destiny, communism.

Philosophy to Chaos

Hegel should share no blame. He was an honest Christian and a philosopher par excellence. The philosophical system he created was purely within the bounds of abstract ideas. It was based on logical syllogism that interpreted history in a triadic from: a positive element opposed by a negative element and their mutual contradiction reconciled and elevated to a higher stage. However, it suited the people to twist and turn and use wantonly to serve their purpose. They used it to spread their beliefs, expand their economies, trade in slavery, ship home the riches that never belonged to them, and cast heavy burdens on the people justifying every possible illegality shorn of all morality. Thus a hijacked pure philosophy turned the world into a terrible chaos.

COMPROMISE

Experiments with Truth

'I have come to bear witness to the Truth', said Jesus at his trial at Pilate's court, the Roman Governor of Palestine about 2000 years ago. And Pilot retorted 'What is Truth?' and walked out to meet the detractors of Jesus. Truth is inconvenient to those who couldn't care less for morality. Colonial powers around the world have done it; they have walked away from the truth of the basic natural rights of the people they have subjugated. Gandhi's life was a mirror to their neglect of moral responsibility. Gandhi had imbibed in himself the Jaina virtues: Non-violence – *Ahimsa*, Truth – *Satya*, Non-stealing – *Acharya* or *Asteya*, Celibacy/Chastity – *Brahmacharya* and Non-attachment/Non-possession – *Aparigraha*. Jain monks live by these principles. Gandhi lived like a true Jain monk; he applied the same paradigm into social dialectic to pursue justice. To be influenced by Jainism and a Hindu like Gandhi switching to it without much ado is quite natural for Gujaratis. In ancient India, the kings in their last days used to embrace Jainism and eventually fast unto death. Gandhi, it was as though he stood outside himself and experimented on these values. He was greatly edified. The fruits of his actions were unimportant but its roots; means to a goal were important but not the goal. Whether he went to prison, whether he was lynched, whether he fasted, whether he walked for miles on end, whether he wore just a loin cloth, whether he met a simple illiterate villager, whether he met a viceroy, whether he met a king none of it mattered to him as long as all of it reflected truth, that it was achieved through non-violence. Freedom of his motherland was the goal, but if it were to be achieved by violence, then it was not worth it.

Hegel-Gandhi – Meeting of the Minds

Hegel's philosophy consisting of the Absolute Spirit, Free Will, Reason-Reality were all pure concepts, an effort to understand human self; self-knowledge as the highest achievement and the expression of the same in a morally

bound society. It is phenomenology to be precise which primarily deals with the experiences of our consciousness. This is the essence of the idealist philosophy, that mind determines what we think, express and do in a structured way that we can see the act of the those empirical experiences in our minds, leading to the conclusion what is rational is real and *vice versa*. For Gandhi, the essence of our existence lies in the Free Will. He believed no adversary can win against the indomitable Will. All actions follow from our will. However, people used Hegel's philosophy to justify their own ends just as vested interest people in India use *Satyagraha*. Gandhi in the depth of his spiritual reflections found the will of God to be expressed by seeking truth and upholding morality. This is the essence of Hegel's philosophy too; for freedom proceeds from the free will which abides in morality. The position, its opposition and their reconciliation on a higher principle are the stages of the development of the soul; it is a deep spirituality that Gandhi practiced. It is self-evident that all human beings in essence possess the divine spark in them and they are free; they enjoy self-determination. However, Hegel erred when he presupposed that the Eastern cultures are ignorant about the self-determination, self-knowledge and its freedom.

The Mahatma and Jurisprudence

His contribution to jurisprudence may be summed up as: Ethical Jurisprudence. The students of law and its practitioners - the common law as prevalent in Commonwealth countries – study the contribution of Gandhi to jurisprudence. While custom is the basis of law, ethics is its conscience. This is well illustrated in the Constitution of India.

Gandhi's Place in History

About Gandhi's place in history there are no two opinions; he will remain a mahatma, the great noble soul. However, about his methods or means to attain a goal there are a plethora of opinions. Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) one of the greatest philosophers that India ever produced and one of the greatest national

heroes thought differently. There is no point in cringing and pleading for what is already rightfully yours – your freedom in your own country. If due to some historical conditions there have been disputes then it needs to be settled in an agreed contract with dignity and respect. Hunger strike to force the masters into some sort of moral discomfort is to mix the spiritual means to gain material gains. One must appreciate the difference between *dharma* (spiritual quest) and *dharna* (protest), the former is a spiritual pursuit, the latter is a *quid pro quo* over a deal. However, people perceived that whatever Gandhi did he was totally selfless and remained an epitome of self-sacrifice and suffered for the cause of independence of India with fearlessness and dogged determination. People also perceived with great sensitivity that his death at the hands of his own countryman, the ultimate sacrifice, for the sake of the entire nation. No money, no office – nothing of his own – yet he remains the father of a worthy nation.

6. Epilogue

India Post Gandhi

The wheel of history moves on. Out of 73 years of independence, it was ruled by the Congress which followed the socialist ideology of social liberalism and economic conservatism. The Bharatiya Janata Party who have completed two five year terms earlier on and is going into a third time five year term espouses a republican ideology which follows social conservatism and economic liberalism. Which would be the redemptive option to emerge the history will have the answer.

APENDIX

I. Persons

Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 at Porbandar, Kathiawad in present day Gujarat and was assassinated on 30 January 1948. He lived for 79 years. If he had not been born and had not impacted the world the way he did, it would have been poorer inestimably. He has been revered as the *Mahatma*, a man of noble or

righteous soul. He was assassinated on 30 January 1948. His contribution goes beyond winning Independence for India. His ideals of Satyagraha, non-violence and fight for justice have perennial value. In public life he undertook 17 fasts; jailed 13 times consisting of a total of 11 years and 19 days. The year 2019 is celebrated as the 150th birth anniversary. He has his presence in the world, more now than in the past, wherever fight for justice and freedom is going on.

Hegel

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born on 27 August 1770 in Stuttgart, Germany; he died on 14 November 1831 as professor of philosophy in Berlin. Hegelian era was of great philosophical advances and of monumental change in the world order. He founded a novel system of that delineated history as a triadic movement which assimilated within itself contradictions. His philosophy, therefore, incorporates the best Idea to explain human existence, the social relationships and action in the world. The system is a mental tool, a logical way to deal with the human affairs. He has influenced politics, religion, prose, poetry, science, nature and several branches of learning. His philosophy is a step by step method, a logical system – dialectic, which can be applied to any branch of learning.

The Author

Daniel Albuquerque is an alumnus of Julius Maximilian University Wuerzburg, Germany and is the member of the Franz Brentano Forschung of the same university. He is associated with Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, Germany where Hegel was once a professor and Karl Marx was a student. He is associated with Banasthali Vidyapeeth, Tonk, Rajasthan, of which Gandhi was the inspiration of its founding and had said that it is enshrined in his heart.

II. Short Glossary

1. *Gandhi*

Jaina principles: Five Great Vows (Mahavratas) of Jainism

1. Non-violence - *Ahimsa*.
2. Truth - *Satya*.
3. Non-stealing - *Achaurya* or *Asteya*.
4. Celibacy/Chastity - Brahmacharya.
5. Non-attachment/Non-possession - *Aparigraha*.

2. Hegel

Concepts: Abstract ideas; Absolute, Idea, Spirit, Mind are used interchangeably

History: The evolution of the idea of the Absolute through the dialectical stages

Dialectic: Prevailing context-Conflict-Compromise (Unlike the usual translation of thesis – anti thesis - synthesis)

Social: The distinction between self and others and their relationship

3. Others

Boer: Dutch farmer in South Africa.

Anglo-Boer Wars: Two wars were fought between the Dutch and the British in South Africa between 1899 – 1902, known as I and II Anglo-Boer Wars. Reason: Rivalries to own gold and diamond mining. Boers were embittered by the British stance against slavery and Anglicization. Britain won the wars and in 1910 granted autonomy which eventually in 1931 Britain granted independence. It became a republic in 1961; became republic; however, ruled by the white minority government which perpetrated the apartheid system; it is only in 1994 it became a nation under Nelson Mandela, after the universal exercise of franchise.

Cooli Pejorative term used for Indian indentured labourer

Jurisprudence Study of the art and science of law; in theory deals with systematic study of concepts, analysis and criticism; in practice deals with actual application of principles, procedures and its consequences in the society.

Colonies: Two British colonies: Cape and Natal; two Dutch colonies: Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

British Salt Tax: 1759, 1835, 1882, 1929 doubled 1944. The tax continued until 1947; abolished in 1946 by the Indian Interim Government; later, introduced as 'salt cess' in 1953.

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Gandhi, Aurobindo and A New Social Vision

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Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo are two great socio-spiritual thinkers of modern India. Their ideas made worldwide impact. Wikipedia sums up Gandhi's vision and Sri Aurobindo's vision as follow:

"He (Mahatma Gandhi) professed the philosophy of Hindu Universalism, which maintains that all religions contain truth and therefore worthy of toleration and respect. It was articulated by *Gandhi*: ...*Gandhi* believed that at the core of every religion was truth (satya), non-violence (ahimsa) and the Golden Rule."

"He (Sri Aurobindo) integrates in a unique fashion the great social, *political* and scientific achievements of the modern West with the ancient and profound spiritual insights of Hinduism. The vision that powers the life divine of *Aurobindo* is none other than the Upanishadic vision of the unity of all existence."

To see the relevance of their ideas for future

of humanity, we need to understand the key driving forces of our contemporary society. Our contemporary society is driven by four fundamental forces viz. force of market, force of State, force of people and force of self. There is a dynamic interaction between these four forces influencing institutions, organizations and individuals. In the social discourse originating from the West primary focus has been on the force of market and force of State. Accordingly ideologies such as capitalism and socialism originated. However this social discourse ignores the force of people and force of self as autonomous forces. It is here that Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo enter the domain of social discourse to arrive at a new vision of the society beyond the traditional discourse of capitalism and socialism. Two key ideas from these thinkers to shape the future vision of society are as follows:

1. Economics of Gandhi
2. Spirituality of Aurobindo

Gandhi's famous expression, "There is enough for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed". Takes us towards a cosmopolitan view of resource of the planet and their use. This view implies recognition of rights of all living beings on the resources of the earth and their sustainable utilization for every one's benefit. In it there is a message of sustainable development and sustainable consumption. A narrow view leads to greed maximization for benefit of few leading to conflict and disharmony with nature and other human beings. Three key ideas of Gandhi are: Non-violence, Swaraj and Ramrajya. These ideas have origin in India's freedom struggle and are relevant for the contemporary society as well as for future of humanity. They provide a transformational vision for the contemporary society.

Thakar (2009) in the context of economics of Gandhi observed, "Gandhi presented his unique idea of trusteeship as a means of transforming the unequal order of society into an egalitarian one. Gandhi maintained in no ambivalent terms that the individual cannot hold wealth for selfish purpose or against the interest of the society. Social necessity and collective good are the guiding principles in economic sphere, not personal greed or whim. There cannot be distinction between economics and ethics. That economics is untrue that ignores moral values. True economics stands for social justice, promotes the good of all equally including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life. While profit is the guiding rule of business, it cannot be the only rule. The methods of business cannot be unethical and harmful to the society." With respect to Democracy, she observes, "Gandhi had visualized a democracy where the weakest have the same opportunity as the strongest."

Singhal (2009) observes that Gandhi's yardstick for action was simple: "Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest person whom you have seen, and ask yourself if the

next step you contemplate is going to be of any use to that person." He asks the question: 'What implications does the Gandhian praxis of "putting the last first" hold for those that value an integrated approach to social, material, and environmental well-being?' and explores an answer to this question in his article, Gandhi's Customer Strategy: The Last Comes First.

Srivastava (2009) observes, "Gandhi was not nor merely a thinker, rather he was a doer. His actions and philosophy are not limited to specific areas, but permeate through all walks of life. His thoughts encompassed human life in its totality. For him holistic growth of individuals and through them society was the ultimate goal. Gandhi's vision of development was always individual and culture centric. He envisioned a development model which would be fuelled by individuals without making them overly dependent in external forces. He always talked about progress within the overall cultural framework of a society."

Spirituality of Sri Aurobindo is reflected in his vision of evolution of human mind and consciousness to cosmic level. Circle of consciousness should expand to get connected with entire cosmos. This connectivity is the essence of spirituality. Once this connectivity is established there is realization of oneness of humanity and all living beings.

Albuquerque (2009) applies Aurobindo's principles of consciousness to the context of economics and management. He observes, "When we adopt Sri Aurobindo's consciousness principle it results into a new business model. a) It sees all the resources, however limited, as not different from one's own self. b) It does not believe in the exploitation of resources, it evolves them into superior consciousness resources. c) It does not exploit labour, it empowers it as responsible shareholders d) It does not take advantage of the consumers; it allows them the freedom to be satisfied with what they choose."

When Economics of Gandhi and Spirituality of Aurobindo, are connected with contemporary

world view we arrive at a new vision of society. To understand this new social vision we draw upon some views of life and human existence drawing upon ancient Indian wisdom and contemporary social discourse.

VIEWS OF LIFE AND HUMAN EXISTENCE

Drawing upon Purushartha theory we can identify following three models of society based on dominance of Artha (Transactional: T1), Dharma (Transformational: T2) or Moksha (Transcendental: T3) view of human existence.

Model I: Artha driven society: This model is represented by 'Capitalism' as its focus is on artha (wealth) at the cost of dharma and moksha. We can also refer to it as 'Market's Maya' because it represents the powerful attraction of Market and an illusion that Market can solve all problems of the society. It takes a purely Transactional (T1) view of life and human existence and is rooted in values of profit, competition and self interest (pcs). This represents economistic view of society and in the context of nations it is represented by GDP growth rates, per capita income and related economic indicators.

Model II: Dharma driven society: In this model, State is expected to deliver good governance to its citizens. Kautilaya envisaged such a State much before other thinkers. Gandhi gave the vision of Ramrajya for good governance by the State. Justice is the keynote of this model of society. Gandhi also differentiated between the greed and need and highlighted the need to control the greed. When society's DNA (Desired, Needs and Aspirations) and RNA (Resources, Needs and Aspirations) are driven by greed, societies face ethical and ecological crisis. This is the keynote of Gandhi's advice on difference between greed and need. In essence, this model essentially represents the Transformational (T2) view of life and human existence and is rooted in justice, rights and duties (jrd). In Gandhian thinking social justice achieved not just through the rights approach but through rights and duties/ responsibilities approach.

In democratic nations, vision of dharma driven society is reflected in nation's constitution. It is also reflected in social indicators of human development e.g. in Human Development Index (HDI).

Model III: Moksha/Higher Consciousness driven society: This is the 'Sacro-spiritual society' model. Inspiration for such a vision comes from higher levels of consciousness. Aurobindo's Divine Life vision is rooted in this view. This model is rooted in Transcendental (T3)/HOPE (Higher Order Purpose of Existence) view of life and human existence and is rooted in love, compassion and dignity (lcd) as fundamental values. It is reflected in spiritual development indicators such as per capita happiness.

Human existence can also be viewed in terms of three energies of nature viz. violence (Tamas), Vibrance (Rajas) and Non-violence (Sattava). These energies get reflected in various world views. Revolutions in human history were rooted in violence to create social change and change in power structures e.g. French revolution and Russian revolution. Only India's freedom struggle represents a unique example of non-violent change in liberation from colonialism. Greed driven worldview leads to increase in violence (direct and indirect), while need driven worldview leads to vibrance. Greed driven worldview leads to needs maximization leading to social conflicts and inequalities. Need based world view with focus on non-violence, leads to harmony and conflicts dissolution. As the contemporary society is facing many social conflicts and experiencing lot of violence including terrorism, there is an urgent need for a mind set change towards non-violence/ sattavik approach to conflict management.

TOWARDS HOLISTIC VISION

In view of the historical experiences of both the Western and Indian society, a new holistic vision is needed wherein Transactional (T1) approach, Transformational (T2) approach and Transcendental (T3) approaches are balanced for Holistic Human and Social Development.

In such a view of development economic. Social and spiritual indicators of development find an integration. Giri (2018) in his work on practical spirituality and human development suggest the idea of 'Integral Development', wherein there is balance between T1, T2 and T3 worldviews. This vision implies harmony and balance between four forces of market, State, people and self (spirituality). We can represent this vision in terms of two axis model wherein x axis represents the force of market and State usually represented by rightist and leftist ideologies and y axis represents the force of people and force of self. Gandhi's 'swaraj model' represents the force of people often manifested in terms of 'capillary action model of development' with focus on grassroots institutions leading to economic self reliance. Aurobindo's self evolution model represents force of self. As indicated earlier, intellectual discourse is usually centered around x axis between ideological positions based on primacy of market or primacy of State. In such a discourse y axis doesn't find much attention. For holistic vision of society we need to incorporate both x axis and y axis arguments. When both x axis and y axis dimensions are incorporated we arrive at holistic vision of society. Fig.1 presents this four forces model of 'Harmonic Development' of human society (Sharma 2012).

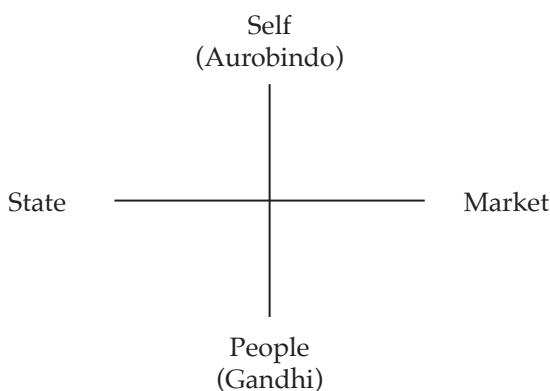


Fig. 1: Four Forces Model for 'Harmonic Development'

(Source: New Earth Sastra, Subhash Sharma, 2012, p. 4)

We can also represent this model as a 'swastika model'. When four forces are in harmony there is order in society. If these forces are not in harmony as we are observing in contemporary society, there is global disorder. Hence policy making should aim at achieving a proper balance between these four forces. However in general focus of policy making is usually on market or state driven view of society.

When we take a historical perspective, we observe three major trends war, colonialism and domination. In human history self and other have been viewed in terms of enemy model leading to wars, colonialism and domination. Contemporary society through the vision of globalization is rooted in the idea of domination, wherein global corporations play a role to dominate the resources of others leading to many new forms of conflicts and new issues such as climatic change. Hence a new vision is needed. This vision implies following fundamental shifts in human thinking and mindset to create a shift in societies from 'nenergy' (negative energy) to synergy or from disharmony to harmony:

From War to Peace

From Guns to Roses

From Terrorism to Transcendence

Such a vision with roots in Gandhi and Aurobindo's ideas is based on following three principles related to Life, Society and Leadership:

- I. Eco-sattavik view of Life: This view of life implies ecological and spiritual and non-violence perspective of life as an integral part of human existence. Thus, it incorporates the ideas of Sustainability and Spirituality in all systems and processes of business and other social institutions.
- II. Sacro-civic Society: This view implies a sacro-civic perspective of human living. Democratic living together (civic society) should be guided by HOPE (Higher Order Purpose of Existence) to give meaning and purpose to human existence. Idea of

sacro-civic society has roots in Ramrajya vision of Gandhi. Ram stands for sacro/ spiritual dimension and rajya implies civic dimension of society.

- III. Divine-Democratic/ Ethico-Democratic Leadership: Leadership of business and social institutions should be Divine-Democratic and Ethico-Democratic in nature in order to ensure that first two principles viz. eco-satavik view of life and sacro-civic society, are put into practice.

‘DNA’ and ‘RNA’ MANAGEMENT

This vision echoes the sentiments of Soil (idea represented by Gandhi) and Soul (idea represented by Aurobindo) and in between the two is human society’s DNA (Desires, Needs and Aspirations) and RNA (Resources, Needs and Aspirations). Thus, we have the following linkages for a holistic vision of the world:

Soil -----‘DNA’ and
‘RNA’ ----- Soul

When a nation manages its DNA and RNA within the framework of the Soil to Soul philosophy, its rivers, mountains and other natural places retain their charm. However, if its ‘DNA Management’ and ‘RNA Management’ ignores this philosophy, it leads to environmental pollution and associated consequences. Thus, ‘DNA Management’ and ‘RNA Management’ have important implications for policy making at the national and global levels. Gandhi and Aurobindo urge us to manage society’s DNA and RNA in consonance with sustainability of resources and spirituality perspective of higher consciousness.

In the wake of above, Gandhi and Aurobindo will ask following three simple questions from policy makers and decision makers:

1. Is policy making and decision making leading to Prosperity for all?
2. Is policy making and decision making leading to Justice for all?
3. Is policy making and decision making

taking the society in direction of Peace for all?

These three questions that relate to economic, social and spiritual aspects of society, can help us in evaluating the efficacy of various isms and ideas in creating social change towards Prosperity, Justice and Peace (PJP) for all.

In Corporate context the new vision implies a movement towards Holistic Corporate Management (HCM) wherein Management Systems and Processes are linked with eco-sattavik world view. Many new social movements such as concerns for ethics and governance, environmental movement, feminism, spiritual movements are creating new force fields that are forcing Corporations to adopt some new practices that are socially responsible and eco-friendly. At the thought level, ideas such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Good Corporate Governance, Sustainability etc. have already found intellectual acceptance as well as acceptance by enlightened leaders in the corporate world.

Sharma (2007) identifies following five principles of Holistic Corporate Management (HCM) from Gandhi’s writings and thoughts:

1. Customer is the most important visitor: “A customer is the most important visitor on our premises. He is not dependent on us. We are dependent on him. He is not an interruption in our work. He is the purpose of it. He is not an outsider in our business. He is part of it. We are not doing him a favour by serving him. He is doing a favour by giving us an opportunity to do so”, so said Gandhi. Taking care of the customer is fundamental aspect in any business. It has been said in Indian business folklore, ‘customer is the wealth’ and ‘customer pays our wages’. He is part of business. Thus, he is internal to the business and is an insider. We only need to put this philosophy given by Gandhi into practice.
2. Manager as a Trustee: Manager is essentially a trustee of the organization. As a trustee,

manager should look after the interests of every one involved with the organization.

3. Harmony is the basis for relationship between employer and employees: Co-operation between employer and employees is at the foundation of effective management of an organization. Harmonization paradigm implies a cordial relationship between workers and management to achieve the overall goals of an organization. This idea of harmony in relationship can also be extended to other stakeholders’.
4. Leadership of the self: “*Nij par shasan, phir anushasan*” - Rule the self before ruling others. This is the essence of self-development philosophy articulated by Gandhi. Gandhi further states, “Rights that do not flow from duty well performed are not worth having.” Thus, rights and duties go together.
5. Means - Ends: Phrases such as trust and transparency are now becoming part of the management lexicon. They emphasize the nature of means employed in achieving the ends. It is in this context that Gandhi emphasized the ‘moral economics’ concept wherein ethics and economics should go hand in hand and the gap between ethics and economics should be reduced. The essence of means-ends analysis lies in reducing this gap. Today there is much talk about business ethics or ethics in business. This is also indicative of the urge to reduce the gap between economics and ethics.

The above five management principles constitute the core ideas from Gandhian thought that have eternal relevance. They provide a foundational premise for making modern organizations as model corporate citizens. They take us a step nearer to the concept of corporate *shubhlabh*, wherein a corporate/ business organization is viewed as sacro-economic entity and not merely an economic entity. Further, business activity is viewed sacro-economic in nature.

Towards Holistic Vision

Future of humanity lies in liberating ourselves from the currently narrow perspectives of corporations and society to a more expanded holistic vision. This liberation implies that we become ‘swatantra’ by properly understanding the tantra (essence) of ‘swa’ (self). It implies our reconnection with Soil and Soul. Reconnection with Soil implies Sustainability and reconnection with Soul implies Spirituality. Such reconnections will also ensure that we move towards ‘Pragyatantra’ wherein ‘Prajatantra’ (Democracy) evolves into Pragyatantra (Harmonic Democracy) and wisdom of the soil and wisdom of the soul guide the human existence.

Above discussion lead us towards a new vision of human society with following shifts:

1. From Globalization to Harmonic Globalization: Current philosophy of globalization is essentially the idea of economic globalization wherein multinational corporations play a dominant role and economic power is concentrated in them. This globalization is not harmonic in its approach as it ignores the force of people and force of self/ spirituality. Hence there is a need to shift towards the idea of ‘harmonic globalization’ based on balancing fur forces viz. forces of market, State, people and self.
2. From Democracy to Harmonic Democracy: Modern societies are characterized by multi-variables dialectics such as race, caste, class, religions, gender etc. These variables create divisions in society and politicians in democracies resort to creating more such divisions in order to capture vote banks. This leads to hate and violence in society. Hence, there is a need to move towards the idea of ‘harmonic democracy’ wherein divisive discourse is delegitimized by constitution.
3. From Civic Society to Sacro-civic Society: There is a need to incorporate spiritual dimension in all activities of human society. This implies a shift towards sacro-civic vision of society.

Above discussion is presented in Fig. 2.

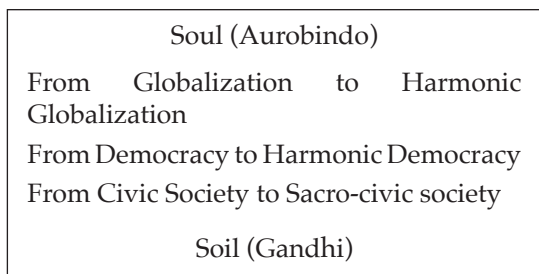


Fig. 2: Towards A New Vision of Society

In future, both Western and Eastern societies will move in this direction because of new awakening that is dawning upon humanity. Current turbulences and changes at the global level in all societies are indicative of the same.

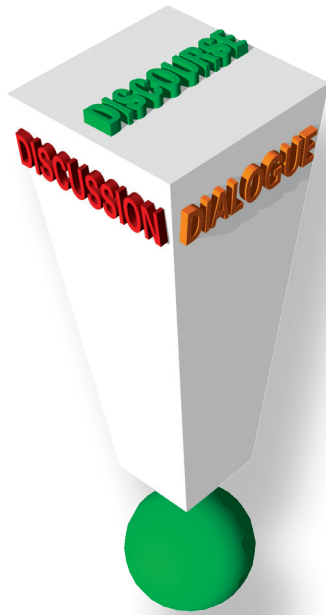
To conclude, the new vision implies a new integration of three thought currents viz. Transactional (T1), Transformational (T2) and Transcendental (T3) represented by Market's Maya, Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo leading to an integral view of economic, social and spiritual visions of society. This is the essence of the idea of Holistic Development and Management (HDM) that would take us beyond the social discourse of contemporary ideologies of capitalism and socialism and provide a new holistic vision for the world.

An important question before us is: How to implement the new vision incorporating Gandhi and Aurobindo in social discourse and development discourse? This requires a change in education system. Current education system with focus on market and State, needs to move towards 'Integral & Holistic Education' wherein focus moves beyond the market values and it incorporates human values, social values and spiritual values as integral part of curriculum so that future generation can provide enlightened leadership to corporations, institutions and grassroots organizations. This will lead us towards achieving the holistic vision of holistic development and management.

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