

Quality of Life Among Elderly Women –An Empirical Study of Pathanapuram Taluk in Kollam District, Kerala

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The world in which we are living is slowly graying. One of the characteristic features of aging and one which is more relevant to the present study is the feminization of ageing. Women live longer than men and they constitute the majority of the older population. At the global level, women comprised 55 percent of the older population. In Indian society, aged are respected since centuries, but due to westernization, industrialization, urbanization and globalization, changes are visible in India's social fabric. Today, the elderly demand that society should not only ensure independence and participation, but also provide care, fulfillment and dignity. Kerala continues to be the state where the females outnumber males per thousand. The focal point of this study is to analyze the socio-economic and health profile of the elderly women and also their quality of life. This study seeks to analyze the aging problem of elderly women and their quality of life with special reference to Pathanapuram Taluk in Kollam District of Kerala.

1. Introduction

Increasing longevity and population aging has emerged as one of the major global issues of the 21st century. The growth rate of the elderly population is more rapid in developing countries like India than developed countries. Among all the states in India, Kerala achieved a tremendous demographic transition well recognized all over the world. Kerala continues to be the state where the females outnumber males per thousand. This particularly aggravates the plight of the elderly women. Women above the age of sixty, the marginalized group have life expectancy, low income, no assets and no pension which needs greater attention, concern and care. Aging in Kerala is disproportionately a female phenomenon and this gender dimension of ageing is a significant aspect. Population ageing could have profound implications for the economies as well as the societies. The focal point of this study is to analyze the socio-economic and health profile of the elderly women and also their quality of life. So this study seeks to analyze the aging problem of elderly women and their quality of life with special reference to Pathanapuram Taluk in Kollam District of Kerala.

2. Methodology

Primary and secondary data are used in this study. The primary data for the study have been collected through survey conducted among elderly women (above 60 years) in three panchayaths such as Pattazhy, Thalavoor and Vilakkudy of Pathanapuram Taluk with a structured schedule. In the selection of sample items, snow ball sampling technique has been adopted and eighty samples were collected from each panchayaths. The sample size is fixed as two hundred and forty. The secondary data were sourced from books, journals, reports, newspapers and online media.

3. Review of Literature

There have been various studies in the elderly and their issues. Some of them defined the process of aging while others examined the issues of elderly. According to Edward J Stiglitz (1957) "Aging as the element of time in living". James Barren (1964) defined "Aging as an involuntary process, which operates cumulatively with the passage of time and is revealed in different organ systems, as inevitable modification of cell, tissues and fluids". The United Nations defines aged persons as those who are over 65 years old because often

there is obvious degeneration in organic functions after that age. While developed countries have set age of retirement as 65 years, in developing countries it varies from 55 to 65 years. In the Indian situation, those 60 years and above are generally regarded elderly population. Social scientists define aging as the survival of a growing number of people who have completed the traditional adult roles of making a living and child rearing. They are of the view that the years following the completion of those tasks represent an extension of life. Though the definition of older varies across the nations and societies, but a common thread is that the word old has negative connotations. Old age can be broadly characterized by time-altered changes in the individual's biological, psychological and health related capabilities and their implications for the consequent changes in the individual's role in the economy and the society (Rajan, Mishra & Sarma, 1999). Old age brings various types of changes in physical structure, cognitive abilities, emotions and personality patterns which give rise to various problems associated with old age. The muscular strength decreases and activities become slower. Sensitivity to physical stimuli is reduced. The resistance to diseases and environmental changes also reduces. Old age produces physical helplessness and dependence on others for economic support due to retirement from job, no regular income, or lack of sufficient savings.

Old age in Indian context is regarded as a period of 'rightful dependency' with the support of the extended family and in particular adult sons. The aged remain active but just with different activities. In India the aged control the family, monitor wealth and exercise power such as in arranging marriages and counseling the younger people. The traditional value system provides respect and place to aged individuals. A shift in the status of aged has been observed (Jamuna, 2000). Rapid modernization has affected the lives of the aged. Joint family system is giving way to nuclear family system and the size of the family is declining. Factors such as these have affected living arrangement. Some aged live separately from their children. But living in old age home is not yet widely acceptable. The immediate family support has weakened and more so will show decline in the years to come. Decline in young-old ratio has made it harder for aged individuals to obtain support from youngsters. Diminishing numbers of younger ones has also given rise to support burden. This has affected social status of the aged and they are in turn regarded as a burden. The problem of limited financial security is faced by the aged in India (Krishnaswamy, Seine, Munodawafa, Varghese, Venkataraman, & Anand, 2008). The lack of social security makes the poor aged persons financially dependent on their sons (Deka, 1993).

A study was conducted by Rayanagouder and Gaonkar (1992) to assess the effect of income, education and religion on the life satisfaction of the elderly retired women in Dharwad and Hubli city. The results showed that income of the elderly women was positively and significantly related with life satisfaction. Three significant areas in which National Policy on Elder Persons (1999) makes specific reference to older women are: (i) expanding social and community services and enhance accessibility by removing barriers and making services client-oriented and user-friendly; (ii) making family members appreciate and respect the contribution of older women with special programmes and partnership with media; and (iii) working with the legal system to protect widow's rights of inheritance. The government recognizes that policy and programme initiatives from many government departments would be needed as ageing responses cut across mandates of many Ministries. Further it is also recognized that active involvement of NGOs/CSOs and the private sector would be essential in efforts to enhance the quality of life of senior citizens. Datta (2002) bring up issues concerning elderly women in India is a region of expanding concern for some reasons.

Dr. K.C.Zachariah has attempted to assess the consumption pattern of elderly women. The study of the consumption pattern of the aged women in Kerala throws light on many crucial issues. From the study it is clear that consumption is influenced by socio economic variables other than the income of the elderly women. It invites direct attention to the need for income security, reforms of the social security measures for the aged and the increased role of Government, NGOs and the society in taking care of the aged women. Sadasivan Nair has revealed in his studies that widowhood rates in Kerala are expected to increase since the life-expectancy of female is higher as seen elsewhere. This means that the proportion of females far outweigh their counterparts in the aged segment of population in the state, and most of these females

are widows, and the trend is likely to continue. Leela Gulati and Irudaya Rajan also mentioned the two main dimensions of aging in Kerala as the overwhelming presence of women at the older ages and incidence of widowhood.

The quality of life of people as an area of research has gradually become the focus of attention of the researchers from various disciplines including economists from the decades of 1960's. Although it appears that the study of quality of life in India is a recent phenomenon, scant attention has been given to this. The reasons attributed to this are: first, there are few research studies in India and Kerala on the quality of life of the people in general and of the aged women in particular; second, the focus of developmentalists has been on analysis of the Gross National Product to measure the economic development and they have done little to analyze the quality of life. The paucity of literature in this area of economic research can be attributed to the lesser importance of the women themselves and aged women particularly, who have been given superficial attention in the process of national development. Above all, the most important reason is an apathetic attitude of the society towards women, which prefers to adopt and nurture traditional image of women. Therefore, the quality of life studies has not emerged as research problems. It is only recently, that in India researchers have become alive for taking up the quality of life issue of the women. Thus an attempt has been made hereby to make an analysis of quality of life among elderly women with special reference to Pathanapuram Taluk of Kollam District in Kerala.

4. Definition of Quality of Life

The World Health Organization (1993) conceptualized quality of life in terms of five broad domains: physical health, psychological health, level of independence, social relationship, and environment. The World Health Organization defines quality of life as, "An individual's perception of his/her position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which he/she lives, and in relation to his/her goals, expectations, standards and concerns. It is a broad-ranging concept, incorporating in a complex way the person's physical health, psychological state, level of independence, social relationships, and their relationship to salient features of their environment".

The WHO has given categories of indicators of quality of life which can be clubbed into various domains. A scale has been developed by combining several categories. These domains reflect the multi-dimensional and all encompassing nature of quality of life. The objective of WHO has been to improve quality of life of the older persons by raising the functional level of the various domains that constitutes it. To understand quality of life, its measurement is important. Therefore, it is incumbent that the definition of quality of life must be considered together with its measurement. Through systematic inquiry, the WHOQOL Group identified six interrelated domains of QOL, i.e. physical, psychological, level of independence, social relationships, environment and spirituality, religion and personal beliefs. While the initial conceptual framework for the WHOQOL-100 evolved six domains, subsequent data analysis yielded a four-factor model. Physical and level of independence, and also psychological and social relationships domains, were merged. The four domains were namely the physical, psychological, social relationships, and environment domains. The four domain confirmatory factor analysis model for WHOQOL-BREF takes into consideration the four Quality of life domains when evaluating overall Quality of life.

Physical Domain

Physical domain encompasses capacity of an individual in fulfilling necessities of life. The activities are carried out in their normal course to meet basic needs, fulfill usual roles, cope with pain/discomfort, and maintain well being (World Health Organization, 1998). Facets incorporated within physical domain are

- ADLs
- Dependence on medicinal substances and medical aids
- Energy and fatigue

- mobility
- pain and discomfort
- sleep and rest
- work capacity

Physical health gives an individual the ability to perform and adapt to the environment. Physical health is estimated by an individual's perceptions of energy and fatigue, pain and discomfort, and sleep and rest. The physical health domain has shown a positive relationship with overall QOL.

Psychological Domain

The psychological domain is an individual's perceptions of body image, cognitive function, self-esteem, feelings about self, and perceptions of how other people feel about the person (World Health Organization, 1998). It is a person's evaluative reaction to his or her life; either in terms of life satisfaction or affect. Facets incorporated within this domain are

- bodily image and acceptance
- negative feelings
- positive feelings
- self-esteem
- spirituality/religion/personal beliefs thinking
- Learning, memory and concentration.

An individual's psychological well being positively influences their QOL.

Social Relationships Domain

This domain includes an individual's perceptions of their social support, sexual activity, and social inclusion. People value their relationships with self and with others (World Health Organization, 1998). Humans need to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance, they need to love and be loved both sexually and non-sexually. In the absence of such belonging, individuals become susceptible to loneliness, anxiety, and depression. This domain incorporates

- personal relationships
- social support
- sexual activity

When an individual is no longer able to physically, emotionally, or sexually relate to self and others, QOL is often negatively affected.

Environment Domain

In environment domain individual's perceptions of physical safety and security are included as they give emotional freedom. It is also vital to have accessibility to good quality health and social care that provide opportunities for acquiring new information and skills. The environment provides for participation in opportunities for recreation and leisure. It includes

- financial resources
- freedom
- physical safety and security
- health and social care: accessibility and quality
- home environment
- opportunities for acquiring new information and skills

- participation in opportunities for recreation/leisure activities
- physical environment; transport.

A safe and secure environment promotes a high level of QOL (WHOQOL Group, 1995). The present study is also rooted in a model and variables developed by the WHO.

5. Demographic Profile

For the sake of present study, 240 elderly women, 80 each from the selected Panchayaths namely Pattazhy, Thalavoor and Vilakkudy are taken from Pathanpuram Taluk on the basis of snow ball sampling. The sample is divided into those above the age of 60 but less than 70, those above 70 years of age but less than 80 and those above 80 years of age. Because of the fact that the number of elderly women being more in the age group of 60 -69, more weight is assigned to this group.

Table 5.1 Age Composition of the Samples

Age Class	No. of Elderly	As a Percentage of Total
60-69	140	58
70-79	76	32
>80	24	10

Source:primary data

6. Marital Status

Out of 240 elderly women in the sample population, 58 percent are widows, 38 percent are married, and 4 percent are separated or unmarried. The larger percentage of widows in the sample collected needs to be stressed. This is more explicit in the 80 plus age group. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is the fact that women live longer than men. Coupled with this in Kerala, men are usually older than women at the time of marriage. All these have led to the presence of more widowed women. Growing number of widowed women, and also, though in a small proportion, the presence of separated and unmarried women in the sample has repercussion on their quality of life. They have to depend on their children or relatives as the case may be. Most often this adds to their economic plights they are considered, though not in all cases, as economic parasites. Living with spouse gives women a sense of security, both economic and emotional, to the extent that it surely affects their quality of life, because this has tangible effects on degree of dependency on children, relatives or others.

7. Education

The sample presents varied picture with reference to their educational qualification. Illiterate women comprise two percent of the total sample. It is to be noted that they belong to the 70-79 and 80 above age group while none of the women in the 60-69 age groups in the sample is illiterate. It can be ascribed to the phenomenal advancement that Kerala society has succeeded in making literacy universal to all sections of people and also for both sexes. 52 percent of the people have only primary education while 38 percent have secondary education, 6 percent have degree and 2 percent have above degree qualification. This has precise bearing on the quality of life of the elderly because this is the foundation on which they build their economic independence by reaching out to employment opportunities.

8. Monthly Income of the Elderly

Occupational structure of the sample has significance with regard to the monthly income pattern of it. Since most of the members of the samples are housewives without any tangible income stream, the monthly income pattern of them also does not have any tangible effect on the quality of life. 30 percent of the sample does not have any tangible income. 60 percent of sample population has got income less than Rs.10,000 which may in the form of old age pension and 10 percent of people has got income above 10,000.

9. Source of Income of Elderly

Those elderly women who have income of their own derive from variety of sources. For the sake of study, the probable source of income of the elderly has chosen as agricultural income, property, business, savings and pensions.

Out of 240 sample population, (Table 9:1) 15 percent considers agriculture as the main source of income while none of them considers business as the source of income. This table also shows that 3 percent of the income accrues from rent of property in their name and 8 percent from the interest of their savings. NRI financing is enjoyed by mere 2 percent of elderly in these regions. 42 percent of the people have got some sort of pensions from the Government. Though this number forms considerable amount of the sample, the amount that they receive in the form of pension is not sufficient to sustain economically. 30 percent of the sample does not have any income source whatsoever. It is more relevant in the light of the fact that some of them do not have any personal income sources in the sunset years of their life.. Economic dependency among older women is therefore high. This may affect their quality of life in a negative sense.

Table 9:1 Source of elderly income

Source	Number
Agriculture	36
Property	8
Business	0
NRI Financing	5
Pension	101
Savings	19

Source: Primary data

10. Family Income of the Elderly

Many of the women do not have their own income to support their requirements. In this context, income level of family has an influence on quality of life of the elderly; monthly income of the family determines the economic status of elderly women also.

Table 10.1 Family income of the elderly

Level of Income	Number	Percentage
<10000	48	20
10000 -20000	72	30
20000-50000	58	24
50000-2.5 lakh	38	16
>2.5 lakh	24	10

Source: primary data

Out of 240 elderly women in the sample, 20 percent belongs to low class of income status that is, having 'monthly family income' of less than 10000. A major proportion of sample that is, 30 percent of total lies in the income class of 10000 to 20000. Around 24 percent of elderly women's family income comes in the class of 20000 to 50000. Another 16 percent holds monthly income in between 50000 and 2.5 lakh. Though the family income of the elderly women reflects their socio economic status, many report that actual picture is even grimmer. All through their life, many of these women had been living without any recorded income.

Though they are active in their household activities, they are not considered to have contributed anything to the family income pool because their activities are not treated as remunerative. Hence, in their old age, they have limited access to the income.

11. Asset Ownership

Table 11.1 Asset Ownership of Elderly

	No known assets		Owns land		Owns house		Jewellery		vehicles	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
married	39	43	43	47	27	30	27	30	15	17
widow	47	34	71	51	56	40	28	20	7	5

Source: primary data

Out of 240 elderly women in the sample 36 percent do not own any assets. Half of the widowed women as well as 47 percent of married women own landed property in their name. House ownership is enjoyed by 30 percent of married women and 40 percent of widowed women. But more widowed women own assets compared to married women because assets are generally owned by the husband but after his death they are passed on to his widow.

12. Dependence for Day to Day Activities

Vulnerability among older persons increases with the declining functional abilities. Activities of Daily Living (ADL) are the basic tasks of everyday life such as feeding, bathing, dressing, mobility, use of the toilet and continence and when older persons are not able to perform these activities, they require assistance. ADL limitations are indicative of the quality of life.

According to the 2011 census, the disability rate was 51.8 per 1,000 for the elderly and 84.1 per 1,000 for the 80-plus population as compared to 22.1 per 1,000 of the general population. 80-plus women have higher levels of disability as compared to elderly men indicating greater disadvantages. The sample data reveals that 18 percentage are not dependent in the study area, others need help for 'daily living activity'. About 46 percentages are partially dependent while 36 percentages are fully dependent. Occasionally individuals lose their complete sense of competence when they become dependent on others. This dependence on the elderly poses problems not only for themselves, but also for those whom they depend upon.

13. Morbidity Status

Age-related diseases are illnesses and conditions that occur more frequently in people as they get older. An attempt was made to assess different ailments of elderly women in the study area. Most of them are suffering from more than one disease like diabetes, BP, Cholesterol etc..

The table below shows that 53 percent of the sample population have the problem of blood pressure followed by 50 percent suffering from diabetes and 40 percent have the problem of cholesterol. 32 percent have the issue of arthritis while 12 percent have the major issue of cancer. 16 percent are affected by Cardiac related issues.

Table 13.1 Types of diseases affected

Disease	No. of Persons	Disease	No. of Persons
Diabetes	120	Rheumatism	77
Cholesterol	96	Cardiac related	38
Hypertension	127	Others	22
Cancer	30		

Source: primary data

14. Types of Treatment

The sample has internal variation regarding the preferences for the type of treatment that they opt for diseases. All the important streams of treatment such as allopathy, ayurveda, and homeopathy are opted for, though at varying degrees, by the elderly. Medical expenses occupy an important place in the overall quality of life of elderly. It is observed that facilities for treatment of the elderly are yet to be developed in the sense that they are treated along with normal patients and on an individual disease basis. Geriatric Hospitals or departments are yet to be developed even on a minimum scale. With an ageing population, and a medical system, that is in disarray, the outlook for proper medical treatment of the elderly looks dimmer and dimmer. Their economic resources being weak, and with many of them having little or no medical insurance, present even a dimmer picture.

Table 14.1 Preferred type of treatment

Types	No.	Types	No.
Allopathy Government	91	Ayurvedic	19
Allopathy private	72	Other systems	17
Private practitioners	41		

Source: primary data

Out of the sample, 38 percentage of the elderly women opt for allopathy hospitals under the government hospitals, while 46 percentage opt for private allopathy treatment. Though the private allopathy treatment is costlier than that of public sector hospitals, yet many prefer them because of the lack of facilities both in terms of quantity and quality in the government sector. Ayurvedic treatment is preferred by 8 percentage of elderly. Compared to ayurveda less number of people prefers other systems of health care.

15. Participation in the Decision Making Within the Family

Role relationship is major aspect which indicate position of women with regard to interactions within the family and is indirectly indicative of her quality of life. Role in decision making is directly related to the status and authority of the aged. An active participation in decision making gives elderly women a sense of importance in her family. Moreover, the level and frequency of the elderly women's consultation sought by her family members also provides her a sense of being accepted by her family members. In this context the study has enquired about whether any changes have been experienced by the elderly women with regard to the decision making power of the household. Aged persons who are retired employees and financially independent are consulted for taking any decision in the family. Feminization aspect also played a major role in decision making.

Table 15.1 No. of elderly having role in decision making

Income of Elderly	Very much	Good	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Nil	0	8	16	28	20
1000 -10000	23	32	40	32	17
>10000	12	8	4	0	0

Source: primary data

In the above table, it is very evident that above 50 percentage of the 'income less' elderly people have minimum role in decision making while income earners in between 1000 to 10000 have a fair part; above 50 percentage of the high income earners have been consulted for decision making.

16. Self Rated Health Among Elderly

According to WHO, mental health disorders account for 13 percent of the global burden of diseases and is particularly common among older adults. Self-rated health is an important overall indicator of health status. Mental health status also worsened with advancing age indicating higher mental health vulnerabilities among the oldest of old. Mental health issues were higher for women, especially those who were poor and less educated.

From these samples of size 240, it is obvious that self rated health is higher among the young old age category. 37 percent of elderly comes under the age category of 60-69 as well as 31 percent of elderly in the age group of 70-79 rated their health status as very much. But none of the people aged above eighty rated themselves as very much healthy. Out of the 240 samples, 33 percent of aged above eighty, 10 percent of elderly in the age group of 70-79 and 5 per cent of elderly in the age category of 60-69 rated themselves as not healthy. This variation in their self perception of health is due to many factors such as lesser quality of health care, extreme morbidity, over dependency on support equipments etc.

17. Quality of Life Among Elderly Women on the Basis of their Happiness/Enjoyment of their Life

Old age is a great time to sit back and enjoy your life. Enjoying your life is a significant contributor to healthy aging. Quality of life of elderly is very evident from their happiness level and how much they enjoy their life. This study tries to cross check the relation between level of happiness with the major variables such as ailments affected, asset ownership, income of elderly, age composition and role of decision making in their family.

Out of the total elderly sample, 23 percentage consider themselves as happy while 43 percentage seems to be in a moderate level of happiness. And 34 percentage lead an unhappy life. Now a days happiness is synonymously used for indicating the quality of life. That is why Happiness index has got that much popularity. Happiness is one's own perception towards their enjoyment of life in connection with their family, environment, living status, social status, financial status etc... So we consider happiness as a proxy for quality of life.

Several studies conducted by researchers showed that happy people were more robust and fit. It revealed that happy seniors had less trouble in getting up, dressing, or taking a shower, as against unhappy seniors who were twice as likely to develop diabetes, heart disease, cancer, and strokes. The enjoyment of life and general happiness are relevant determinants of mobility and future disability in seniors.

Regarding the type of ailments affected, 50 percent of the elderly sample having no specific diseases lead a happy life while 34 percent in moderate and 16 percent in unhappy mode. Only 16 percent of diabetic patients are happy and the rest of them belongs to an unhappy or moderate enjoyment in their life. The same pattern is followed in major diseases. Cancer patients showed a big inclination towards unhappy mode of living than other ailments. While assessing the proportion of diseases affected people and their happiness, there exists an inverse relation. This shows that physical well being of a person could influence the quality of life and their enjoyment in twilight period.

Table 17.1 Level of happiness with other variables

		Happy		moderate		unhappy	
No.of elderly		55		103		82	
As a percent of the total		23		43		34	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Ailments Affected	No specific one	5	50	3	34	2	16
	Diabetes	19	16	41	34	60	50
	cholesterol	12	12	36	38	48	50
	Hypertension	16	13	51	40	60	47
	Cancer	4	14	8	28	17	58
	Rheumatism	12	16	25	32	40	52
	Cardiac related	8	20	11	30	19	50
	Others	6	26	6	26	10	48
Asset Ownership	Nothing	15	18	23	27	48	55
	Owens land	47	41	56	49	11	10
	Owens house	40	48	36	43	7	9
	Jewellery	24	43	24	43	7	14
	Vehicles	11	50	11	50	0	0
Income	Nil	0	0	20	28	52	72
	1000-10000	43	30	76	53	25	17
	>10000	12	50	9	33	3	17
Age	60-69	35	25	64	46	41	29
	70-79	16	21	40	53	20	26
	>80	5	17	5	17	14	66

Source: primary data

Asset ownership acts as a true indicator in showing the happiness. Because asset ensures the position of one in one's own family. Majority of the assetless people feel themselves unhappy. Ownership of resources is also an indication of wealth, which has been shown to be associated with health and may also facilitate social participation. Availability of a car may make shopping for food, access to health care services and social activities easier. Housing tenure may be associated with type of neighborhood and to some extent with housing quality although much of the poorest housing lived in by older people is owner occupied or privately rented. Elderly who hold assets such as house, land, jewellery and vehicles enjoyed their life more than the assetless people. Elderly who hold any sort of asset enjoy their life and more than 75 percent of asset owners lead a moderate or high level of happiness.

Happiness of an elderly is influenced substantially by the level of income. 50 percent of the elderly having monthly income more than 10000 rated themselves as happy. 33 percent of the same income class rated their life as 'moderately happy' and rest 17 percent is unhappy. The reason cited being illness, dependency for day to day affairs or the occurrence of odd events in their personal life etc. 61 percent of the

no income people lead an unhappy life and approximately 11 percent of the samples enjoy their life without any income.

There is a significant difference in level of happiness with regard to the age composition of elderly. It is found that majority of the women who are the most enjoyed comes in 60-69 years age group. And the least enjoyed comes in >80 age group. 25 percent of the youngest old age group seems to be unhappy because of their of social status, ailments affected, lack of financial resources etc. The oldest old who are mostly physically dependent rated themselves as unhappy. Above 50 percent of the middle category (70-79) lead a moderate happiness succeeded by 26 percent of unhappiness and 21 percent live a happy life.

Thus quality of life of elderly women especially in rural regions like Pathanapuram is based on many factors. And this empirical study thrashes out different aspect of the phenomenon called Feminization of aging and its relation with other parameters. Health care and support received from the family members is also an important determinant of well-being during old age. Due to the lower rate of savings and lower economic security at oldage, elderly women are often faced with economic crisis when it comes to health care needs and expenses. Health care and support sought by the elderly women at this age almost doubles their dependency on the younger members of the family. Moreover, at times it places a huge pressure on the members of the family, especially when the family does not have sufficient financial and manpower resources to cope with the expenses and demands. In such cases the condition of the elderly women becomes the worst.

Conclusion

The study of ageing of elderly women in Kerala and their quality of life with special reference to Pathanapuram taluk throws light on many crucial issues. The factors like age group, source of income, family income, educational status, morbidity status, marital status, role in decision making and self rated health are found to have much impact on quality of life among elderly women. Marital status of the respondents shows that majority of the respondents were widows. This might be because of the better life span of women in Kerala. This is more explicit in the 80 plus age group. Regarding source of income, 42 percent of the respondents reported as having some sort of pensions from the Government. Though this number forms considerable amount of the sample, the amount that they receive in the form of pension is not sufficient to sustain them economically. It needs to be stressed that around 31 percent of the sample does not have any source of income. With regard to the ownership of assets, a significantly larger number of surveyed women do not own any assets in their name. This was found to be more prevalent among the married women. Widowed women were found to be much better placed compared to married elderly women in owning a house in their name.

Regarding the dependency on someone else for their day to day activities the study could find that, only a small percentage of the sample responded that they don't depend on others for their daily living. Majority of the aged women responded that they need help for their daily living. Around 46 percentage are partially dependent while 36 percentage are fully dependent. In the case of life style diseases more than half of the sample population were suffering from blood pressure followed by diabetes and cholesterol. Around 32 percent were having arthritis while 12 percent were suffering from cancer and around 16 percent were affected by Cardiac related issues. The study looked into the role enjoyed by the elderly women in making decision in their family. The role in the decision making was found to be linked with income and wealth. The survey found that 50 percentage of the incomeless elderly people had minimum role in decision making while those having even meagre income between 1000 to 10000 responded as having a fair role in the family's decision. Those who were categorised as high income earners have been found to be consulted in every decision making. Regarding the level of happiness, out of the total elderly women surveyed, 23 percentage consider themselves as happy while 43 percentage rated themselves as moderately happy. It should be stressed that around 34 percentage of respondents lead an unhappy life. Those elderly who holds the ownership of any

sort of asset were found to be enjoying their life better than those with little assets. About 61 percent of respondents with little or no income were found to be leading an unhappy life.

All these findings throw direct attention to the need for income, security and reforms of the social security measures for the aged women and the increased role of government and the society in taking care of them. The present study illustrates the need to formulate a complete health care programme for the aged women. Action should be taken to alleviate financial dependence, poor health and impaired functional status of the women. The public response to these issues should be created. The problems connected with aging which Kerala currently faces have, therefore, to be tackled as national problem and solutions thought of nationally.

Suggestions

The age structure of the population shows that elderly population has been increasing at a constant pace so as to turn the page of age pyramid in favour of the elderly and more specifically in terms of elderly women, while comparatively reducing the proportion of the 0-14 group. So it will be worthwhile to direct some of the resources from the department of family planning and primary education to the department of geriatrics. It will be in the interest of the welfare of the elderly women that the government, through Panchayath bodies, that effort needs to be taken so as to identify the needy elderly and divert resources to the social, material and medical needs of elderly. Public sector programmes providing primary healthcare and services for women are restricted to maternal and child health (MCH) and family planning. As the elderly suffer from chronic ailments, the type of care they require is different from primary healthcare. Serious research on different models of geriatric service delivery in the public sector is required to provide information on various aspects such as programme implementation, training and management requirements, resource needs, financing and reliability.

For a better care for the aged a multi pillar social security for the aged women should be formulated. Current health systems, both public and private, are geared more towards serving the adults and children than the elderly. This has been partly due to the thrust of public policy towards the younger age group. There is clear need for discussion on how best to address the health needs of the elderly given the existing health programmes. Since elderly women out-number their male counterparts in Kerala, 'women specific' welfare schemes can generate more welfare to the people. The increasing public health expenditure would make health insurance an effective mechanism for financing the healthcare needs of older persons. Health care providers should be concerned and should provide the proper intervention so as to alleviate the mental health problems among the elderly in communities. Palliative care schemes should be popularized and activated across the rural regions of our nation itself. Governmental and non Governmental organizations should focus on implementing the activities which can boost up the healthy aging.

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A Handbook on Decentralisation

B. Vivekanandan

**M.Kuttappan* (2017): Database for Decentralised Governance : *Maanas*,
pp.123, Index ₹ 130**

The author of this book under review, Dr.M.Kuttappan, is an accomplished administrator. He was the Director of the Department of Economics and Statistics, a member of the Kerala State Agricultural Prices Board, and of the Kerala State Statistical Commission. Therefore, the theme of this book, Database for Decentralised Governance, is close to his heart. He has written it with a conviction that it is imperative to create a statistical database in all local self-governing bodies in the country, for meaningful decentralised planning and governance, and that people, their elected representatives, and local government administrators should be made aware of the significance of having credible database locally with them.

Decentralisation of Governance and its modus operandi through enhanced empowerment of local self-government institutions, have been widely debated in India during the last several decades. The extent of devolution, and the nitty-gritty of the devolved administrative and financial set-up, have also been discussed widely in the country. Many national and state-level Commissions and Committees, headed by eminent personalities like Asoka Mehta, D.R.Gadgil, Balwant Rai, Hanumantha Rao, C.Rangarajan, and so on, have examined various aspects of this subject from time to time, and made recommendations on the issue. A new impetus to it came, following the enactment of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in 1993, which required the State governments to enact laws to empower Panchayats and Municipalities with authority and resources, to function as local self governments. That was done, and they were made units of local self-government for development, and for imparting welfare services to people. In this book, the author has given a graphic account of the trajectory of all these developments.

Similarly, the book gives a vivid account of the Statistical System in India and Kerala. It explains its present state of affairs from a historical perspective. Focusing on the pertinent national level structure, it gives accounts of the roles of Central Statistical Office, National Sample Survey Office, National Statistical Commission, the Computer Centre in the Cabinet Secretariate, and of the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta in it. It gives an account of the Kerala State Statistical System also, and explains how the Department of Economics and Statistics functions as a nodal agency for collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination of statistics to various sectors in Kerala.

In this book, Dr.Kuttappan's main focus is on the reliable statistical database, necessary for effective functioning of local self-governments in Kerala. Of course, a credible statistical database is necessary for decentralised planning for development under the local self-government. Indeed, successful performance of local governments depends upon credible well-laid plans prepared on the basis of authentic data. How to generate this reliable data for preparation of perspective plans for local development, the need to preserve this database in a retrievable manner, for preparation of long-term local development plan under the local self-government, and also as an instrument to measure the performance of the local government from time to time, are graphically explained in this book.

Since local self-government are expected to respond to the local needs, on the basis of resources available to them, for the preparation of credible local plans for development, and for the fixing up of priorities,

it is imperative to have credible database in all units of local self-government. That is important for achieving expected results from those plans. Since local situations and resource bases vary, local governments should have their own credible databanks for the preparation of their development plans for future. A faulty data used for the preparation of development plans would not yield the expected results. The author wants to convey this message to all concerned, including the elected representatives and administrators of the local self-governments, while underlining the need to build up credible database at every unit of local self-government.

Kerala Government gave a new impetus to local self-governments of the state, in 1996, when it earmarked 35 to 40 percent of the State's plan Fund to local self-government institutions, to implement projects formulated by them. This empowerment made local governments to assess the needs of local people, and to prepare feasible projects for meeting people's needs. In the opinion of the author, the development reports prepared by local governments, as a result, were very useful, though,

... from a professional point of view, the available data had some limitations and could be used only with considerable review and scrutiny. Unfortunately, after preparing the reports no attempts were made either by the elected representatives of the local bureaucracy to preserve the reports and data to improve the quality and to update them. The collected data sets are not maintained and updated periodically and as such cannot be retrieved and used easily.

Any information which is not reliable and cannot be retrieved easily is as good as non-existent. (p.78)

This is the state of database in local self-governments in Kerala.

The local governments have a poor record of preserving data for retrieval in future. This state of affairs of database in local self-governments in Kerala has been confirmed by an expert committee, headed by Prof.M.A.Oommen, which was appointed to evaluate Decentralised Planning and Development in Kerala. The Committee Report said that, the local self-governments in the State have a

..... poor track record in data compilation, documentation, analysis, application and in keeping data records. Data produced by one agency for one purpose at one point of time are not shared with any other agency/person. After use at that point of time, the existence of that data is ignored and lost in a few years. The same data/information is generated by another agency. Therefore, there is duplication of similar work. (pp. 80-1)

This observation of M.A.Oommen Committee also reveals the prevalent situation of the casual manner in which database is being handled by the local self-governments in Kerala.

This book conveys that the existing local level data is unsatisfactory and inadequate for the preparation of effective development plans by local self-governments. To overcome this difficulty, it suggests Census type data collection on all aspects of life in local self-government units. But, this is still not being done properly by the self-government units. In the words of the author: "Though several initiatives have been made by the central and state governments to build up a sound data base at LG level, even after two decades, there does not exist a proper methodology of the collection and maintenance of micro-level data even in Kerala which is the leader of decentralised governance and planning in India." (p.83)

In the book, the author gives a case study of the micro-level database of the Pallichal Panchayat, in Trivandrum district, to illustrate the strength and weakness of existing database of Panchayats in Kerala. In the data presented, inaccuracy and discrepancy have been found even in the total land area of the Panchayat, let alone regarding other factors. The case study reveals also the indiscipline prevalent in the Panchayat office, the indifference of elected members to study pertinent reports, and so on.

Keeping apart certain repetitions here and there this is a very useful handbook on database for decentralised governance, which contains a lot of pertinent information and valid proposals to make local self-government's functioning more effective and fruitful. Therefore, study of this important book is a must for all functionaries of local self-governments, at all levels, for successful delivery of expected results, from people's participation in planning and implementation of developmental projects, at local self-government level.

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A Handbook on Decentralisation

B. Vivekanandan

Financial liberalization and Capital Flows in Indian Economy- A Trend and Composition Analysis

Jiji Vijayan

After an era of Financial Repression Policies, gradual dismantling of capital controls started in the 1990s. With the Financial Liberalization Process which began in the 1990s, Indian economy was gradually transformed from a capital starved to a capital surplus economy. A change occurred in the trend, volume and composition of capital flows to Indian Economy in the Post Liberalization Era. While the Net Current Account of BOP reflect Net Real Flows, Net Capital Account represent Net Financial Flows to the economy. Post Financial Liberalization, the Net Capital Account Flows surpass Net Current Account Flows and the deficit in the Net Current account is balanced by surplus in the Net Capital Account to make Overall Balance of Payments Account in surplus or balance. The inflows and out flows of capital affect macroeconomic variables and have wide macroeconomic implications. The present study analyses the trend, changing composition of the different components of Net Capital Account for the period 1990Q2 to 2017Q1. From the analysis it was found that in the Post Liberalization Period all the components of Net Capital Flows except Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital exhibited a Positive Linear Trend and that Positive and Favourable changes occur in the Composition of Net Capital Flows.

Introduction

The Net Capital Flows to Indian Economy increased in size and volume with the liberalization of the financial sector and the gradual integration of domestic financial sector to international markets. A change occurred in the trend, volume and composition of capital flows to Indian Economy in the Post Liberalization era. Analyzing the Trend and Composition of Capital Flows is a prerequisite to understand whether Capital Flows are increasing or falling, stable or volatile or change in composition in the Post Reform Period.

Objective

To analyze the trend and changing composition of Net Capital Account Flows in Post liberalization era and to examine whether positive compositional shifts occurred in post liberalization era in Net capital Account of Indian Economy.

Methodology

For the Purpose of analysis Quarterly data on India's Overall Balance of Payments in Rupees Billion from various issues of Hand Book of Statistics on Indian Economy published annually by Reserve Bank of India is used. The months January-March is taken as quarter 1, April-June as quarter 2, July-September as quarter 3 and October to December as quarter 4. The Trend Analysis of Net Capital Account Flows and its components is done for the entire period of study (1990Q2-2017Q1). The Changing Composition of Net Capital Account Flows is analyzed by the Estimated Percentage Contribution of the different components to Net Capital Account. The Estimated Percentage Contribution was calculated from the Trend Line of Actual Percentage Contribution.

Capital flows in the post liberalization era

The Balance of Payments Account of India comprises of Net Current Account Flows, Net Capital Account Flows and Errors and Omissions. While the Net Current Account represents the real net flows of goods and services, the Net Capital Account represents five major financial flows in the Indian Economy namely Net

Foreign Investment, Net Loans, Banking Capital, Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital. Table 1 represents the year wise mean values of Net Capital Account Flows and its components from 1990-2017Q1.

Table 1 : Year wise mean values of India's Net Capital Account Flows

Year	Net Capital Account	Net Foreign Investment	Net Loans	Banking Capital	Rupee Debt Service	Other Capital
1990	30.67	0.47	22.33	6.67	-3.67	5.00
1991	18.48	0.25	20.50	-6.25	-6.50	10.25
1992	26.25	3.75	1.75	32.50	-6.50	-5.25
1993	53.25	14.75	15.25	19.25	-7.75	11.75
1994	82.50	50.25	22.00	5.25	-7.50	12.50
1995	31.25	29.25	17.75	0.75	-8.00	-8.50
1996	106.00	55.50	55.50	12.25	-7.25	-10.00
1997	87.25	55.00	44.25	-7.50	-6.75	2.25
1998	79.25	20.25	40.25	-7.25	-7.50	33.50
1999	107.50	47.50	17.50	46.25	-7.75	4.00
2000	115.50	60.25	71.50	-32.75	-6.75	23.25
2001	94.50	81.25	-20.50	31.50	-6.25	8.50
2002	145.25	60.75	-12.75	102.25	-5.75	0.75
2003	190.75	123.25	-58.50	103.50	-5.00	27.50
2004	251.25	142.50	56.50	20.00	-3.75	36.00
2005	276.50	185.00	86.25	44.00	-6.00	-32.75
2006	427.50	175.75	234.50	-2.25	-2.50	22.00
2007	965.25	418.25	379.00	78.75	-1.50	90.75
2008	346.75	116.50	214.75	50.50	-1.00	-34.00
2009	451.75	487.50	77.00	-5.50	-1.50	-105.75
2010	796.50	577.50	320.00	53.50	-1.00	-153.50
2011	683.75	317.75	259.50	143.75	-0.50	-36.75
2012	1144.75	598.00	332.50	299.50	-1.25	-84.00
2013	859.75	472.75	215.50	358.50	-1.00	-186.00
2014	1043.75	922.00	7.00	126.50	-1.50	-10.25
2015	1075.75	756.50	-28.75	340.75	-1.00	8.25
2016	495.25	581.25	-5.25	-211.50	-1.25	132.00
2017 Q1	696.00	1059.00	267.00	-874.00	-4.00	248.00
Mean	381.53	264.74	94.73	26.03	-4.31	0.34

Source: Author's Calculation

From the analysis of the year wise mean values and its components it was found that the mean value for Net Capital Account Flows for the entire period of study (1990Q2-2017Q1) was 381.53 rupees billion, while in the initial year of study, that is, in 1990 it was only meagre 30.67 rupees billion. The mean values of Net Capital Flows increased over the years and was 495.25 rupees billion in 2016. Among the components of Net Capital Account Flows the highest mean value for the entire period of study was for Net Foreign Investment Flows with a mean value of 264.74 rupees billion. Net Foreign Investment which was 0.47 rupees billion in 1990, rose over the years and registered a mean value of 581.25 rupees billion in 2016. This indicated the dominant role of Net Investment Flows in the Net Capital Flows in the post liberalization period. The second highest mean value for the entire period of study is for Net Loans which was 94.73 rupees billion followed by Banking Capital which was 26.03 rupees billion and Other Capital with a mean value of 0.34 rupees billion. The only component of Net Capital Flows with negative mean value for the entire period of study was Rupee Debt Service. From the analysis of year wise mean values of Net Capital Account, it was seen that Net Capital Flows remained positive for the entire period of study. This means that Net Capital Account was always in surplus for the period of study and the deficit in the Current Account of Balance of Payments was balanced by surplus in Capital Account to make Overall Balance of Payments in balance or surplus. Thus Post Liberalization, Indian Economy was gradually transformed from a capital starved economy to a capital surplus economy as there is a huge rise in Net Capital Account Flows since 2003.

Fig 1 Trend of Net Capital Account during 1990Q2-2017Q1

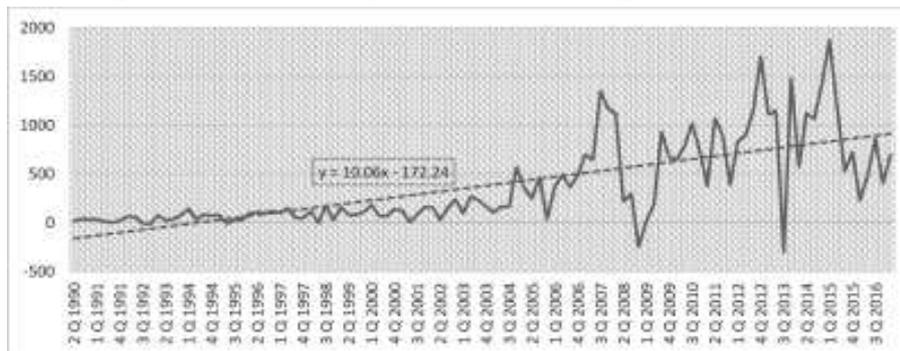


Fig 2 Trend of Net Foreign Investment during 1990Q2-2017Q1

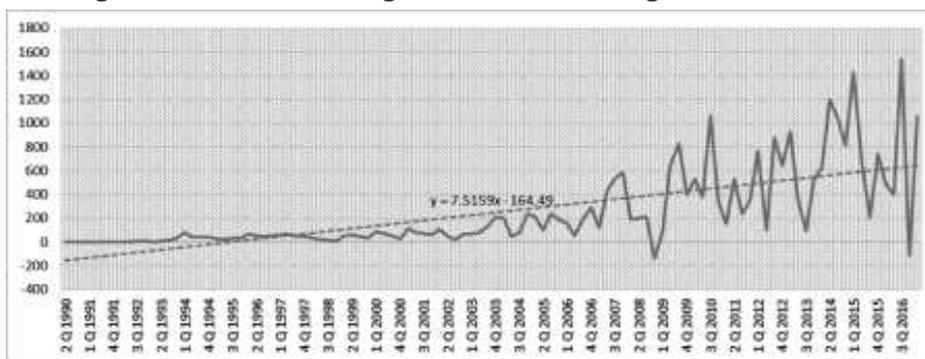


Fig 3 Trend of Net Loans during 1990Q2-2017Q1

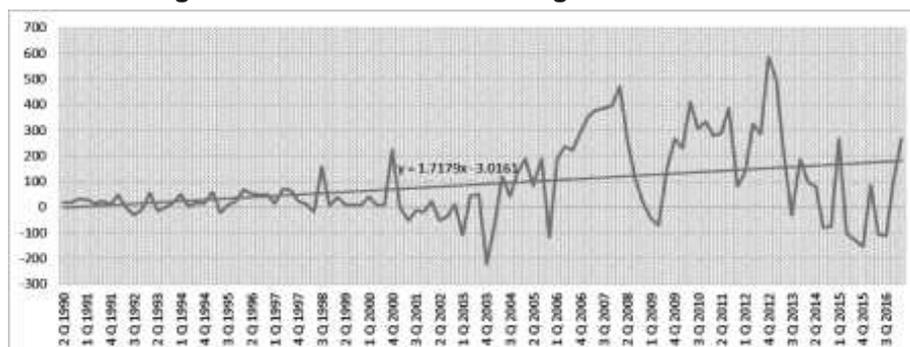
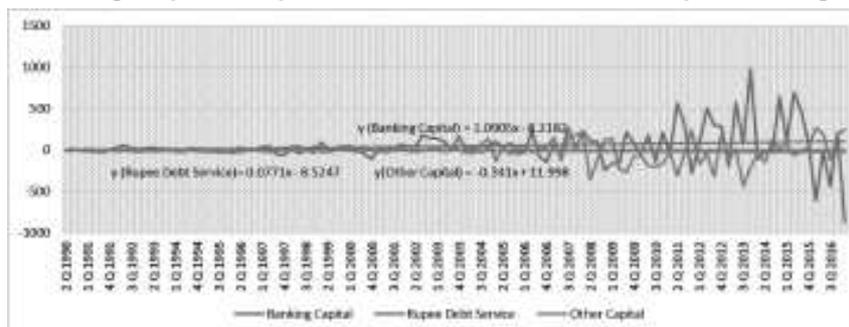


Fig 4 Trend of Banking Capital, Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital during 1990Q2-2017Q1



The trend of Net Capital Account and its components are depicted in figs1 to 4. Analyzing the trend of Net Capital Account Flows and its components it was found that Net Capital Account had a positive linear trend with a slope of 10.06. Its components Net Foreign Investment, Net Loans and Banking Capital also exhibited positive linear trend for the entire study period. The components with a negative linear trend were Rupee Debt Services and Other Capital with a slope of -0.0771 and -0.341 respectively. Among the components of Net Capital Account, the highest trend growth for the entire period of study was recorded by Net Foreign Investment with a slope of 7.5159 followed by Net Loans 1.7179 and Banking Capital 1.0905.

Components of Net Foreign Investment

The year wise mean values of the components of Net Foreign Investment are given in Table 2. Till 2000Q1 Net Foreign Investment included Net Foreign Investment in India and Abroad and Net Foreign Investment in India was further subdivided in to Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment. From 2000Q2 Net Foreign Investment is broadly divided in to Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment. Net Foreign Direct Investment is further subdivided in to Net Foreign Direct Investment in India and Abroad. Similarly Net Portfolio Investment is again subdivided in to Net Portfolio Investment in India and Abroad. From 2006Q2 FIIs (Foreign Institutional Investments) and GDRs/ADRs (Global Depository Receipts /American Depository Receipts) entered as new categories under Net Portfolio Investment in India. For analytical simplicity, Net Foreign Investment Abroad till 2000Q1 is divided equally and subsumed in Net Foreign Direct and Net Portfolio Investments.

Table 2 : Year wise mean values of the components of Net Foreign Investment

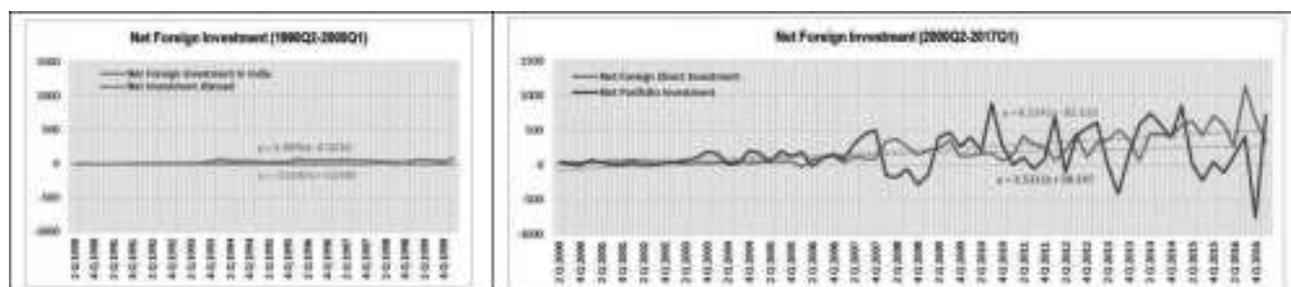
Year	Net Foreign Investment	Net Foreign Direct Investment	Net Portfolio investment
1990	0.47	0.47	0.00
1991	0.25	0.25	0.00
1992	3.76	1.75	2.01
1993	14.77	4.00	10.77
1994	50.08	7.42	42.67
1995	29.25	17.00	12.25
1996	55.50	21.38	34.13
1997	55.00	32.50	22.50
1998	20.25	26.63	-6.38
1999	47.50	22.88	24.63
2000	60.50	34.88	25.63
2001	81.25	48.00	33.25

2002	60.75	48.25	12.50
2003	123.25	28.75	94.50
2004	142.50	40.75	101.75
2005	185.00	51.25	133.75
2006	175.75	68.50	107.25
2007	418.25	84.00	334.25
2008	116.50	283.00	-166.50
2009	487.50	236.75	250.75
2010	577.50	130.25	447.25
2011	317.75	276.75	41.00
2012	598.00	209.75	388.25
2013	472.75	388.50	84.25
2014	922.00	347.75	574.25
2015	756.50	585.00	171.50
2016	581.25	662.00	-80.75
2017Q1	1059.00	335.00	724.00
Mean	264.74	142.62	122.12

Source: Author's Calculation

The year wise mean values of Net Foreign and Foreign Direct Investments increased over the years especially from 2003 and recorded a mean value of 662 rupees billion in 2016. Unlike the Net Foreign Direct Investment which was always positive for the entire study period, the Net Portfolio Investment recorded negative mean values in 1998, the year of East Asian Crisis, in 2008, the immediate aftermath of Global Financial Crisis and in 2016. It also recorded a low mean value of 41 rupees billion in 2011. From the mean values of Net Foreign Investment flows it can be said that Net Foreign Direct Investment was stable while Net Portfolio Investment Flows fluctuated.

Fig 5 Trend of the components of Net Foreign Investment during 1990Q2-2017Q1



The fig 5 represents the trend of the components of Net Foreign Investment in two sections. In the first section the trend of the components of Net Foreign Investment from 1990Q2 to 2000Q1 is plotted. From the fig it can be seen that Net Foreign Investment in India had linear positive trend with a slope of 1.4976. The Net Investment abroad had a negative linear trend with a slope of -0.0287. In the second section the trend of the components of Net Foreign Investment from 2000Q2 to 2017Q1 is plotted. From the fig it can be seen that Net Foreign Direct Investment had a positive linear trend with a slope of 8.5341 and Net Portfolio

Investment also had a positive linear trend with a slope of 3.5311 indicating that the trend growth of Net Foreign Direct Investment is greater than Net Portfolio Investment.

Components of Net Loans

The Net Loans comprises of Net External Assistance, Net Commercial Borrowings and Net Short Term Credit to India. Table 3 presents the year wise mean values of the components of Net Loans from 1990 to 2017Q1 in rupees billion. From the table it can be seen that Net External Assistance had been positive indicating a net inflow of capital, except for two years 2002 and 2003 of study period. The Mean Value for the initial year of study was 6.33 rupees billion and for the final year of study was 35.75 rupees billion. The Mean value for entire study period was positive and stood at 16.11. Net Commercial Borrowings stood at 10 billion rupees in the initial year of study. The Net Commercial Borrowings registered low mean values in 1991, 1992 and 1993 because of the Capital Adequacy requirements of Bank of International Settlements, uncertainty due to Gulf Crisis in International Markets and the low credit rating of India by rating agencies. But the situation improved in the subsequent years and the mean value for the entire period was positive and stood at 39.23 indicating a net inflow of capital over the study period. In the years 2001, 2002, 2003 Net Commercial Borrowings became negative because of re-financing of pre-payment of more expensive loans with relatively softer terms and an increase in amortization payments. The net commercial borrowings became negative in the last three years of study. Net Short Term Credit to India is another major component of Net Loans. This component registered the highest positive mean value of 39.39 rupees billion among the components of Net Loans for the entire study period followed by Net Commercial Borrowing with a mean value of 39.23 rupees billion and lastly Net External Assistance with a mean value of 16.11 rupees billion.

Table 3 : Year wise mean values of the components of Net Loans

Year	Net Loans	Net External Assistance	Net Commercial Borrowings	Net Short Term Credit to India
1990	22.33	6.33	10.00	6.00
1991	20.50	15.50	5.25	-0.08
1992	1.75	12.50	4.75	-15.25
1993	15.25	11.75	-0.50	4.00
1994	22.00	17.00	10.00	-5.00
1995	17.75	6.50	6.00	5.25
1996	55.50	13.50	41.50	0.50
1997	44.25	10.50	26.75	7.00
1998	40.25	6.50	47.00	-13.25
1999	17.50	11.25	1.50	4.75
2000	71.50	3.25	56.50	11.75
2001	-20.50	7.50	-15.00	-13.00
2002	-12.75	5.00	-22.50	4.75
2003	-58.50	-51.50	-40.75	33.75
2004	56.50	-3.50	37.25	22.75
2005	86.25	26.00	10.50	49.75
2006	234.50	18.25	151.50	64.75

2007	379.00	21.25	245.50	112.25
2008	214.75	27.50	130.75	56.50
2009	77.00	31.75	41.25	4.00
2010	320.00	59.50	102.75	157.75
2011	259.50	33.00	121.50	105.00
2012	332.50	10.00	86.75	235.75
2013	215.50	8.25	159.50	47.75
2014	7.00	29.25	88.50	-110.75
2015	-28.75	20.50	-21.25	-28.25
2016	-5.25	35.75	-127.50	86.50
2017Q1	267.00	58.00	-59.00	268.00
Mean	94.73	16.11	39.23	39.39

Source: Author's Calculation

Fig 6 Trend of Net External Assistance, Net Commercial Borrowings and Net Short Term Credit to India during 1990Q2-2017Q1

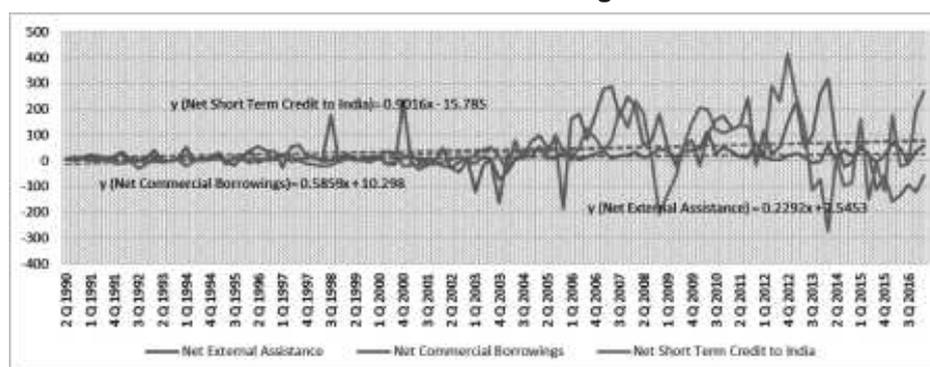


Fig 6 depicts the trend of the components of Net Loans during the study period. From the fig it can be seen that Net External Assistance, Net Commercial Borrowings and Net Short Term Credit to India had a positive linear trend with slopes 0.2292, 0.5859, 0.9016 respectively. Net Short Term Credit to India registered the highest rate of increase among the three components of Net Loans.

The behavior of the components of BOP is of strategic importance in policy making and has numerous and complex macro-economic implications. The rising trend and magnitude of Net Capital Account Flows and its components make the management of Capital Flows challenging. The volume of Net Capital Account flows can be considered as a De Facto Index of Capital account openness and increased integration of domestic economy with global financial markets. The dominance of the type of flows whether equity or debt flows can be used as an indicator of the level of development of financial markets, investor friendly domestic environment and resilience of the domestic economy. For the entire period of study the highest trend growth is recorded by Net Foreign Investment signifying the rising dominance and the shift in the dependence from debt and official flows to equity flows. Another significant aspect is the trend growth of Net Foreign Direct Investment greater than Net Portfolio Investment signifying the possible rise in productive capacity and technology transfer. In terms of volume the Investment component dominates the Net Capital Account. For the entire period of study the Net Capital Account has always been positive and a surplus. The deficit of Current Account financed by surplus Capital Account has to be reversed if Current Account is considered as representing the real competitiveness and strength of the economy.

Compositional Shifts in Capital Flows to Indian Economy in Post Liberalisation era

The complex nature of Net Capital Flows is a challenge to policy makers and requires a strategic approach for their effective management. There are Stable and Volatile Flows, Debt and Non Debt Creating Flows, Aid, Grants and Loan Flows. The Composition of Capital Flows changes positively with the increasing strength, development and vibrancy of the Economy. It can be said that Composition of Capital Flows indicates the strength and level of development of the domestic financial system and the confidence the investors have on the domestic economy.

Composition of Net Capital Account

Changes in the composition of Net Capital Account was studied by the estimated percentage contribution of its components. The estimated percentage was computed from the trend line of actual percentage contribution of the components of the Net Capital Account. For this purpose the trend equation of the actual percentage contribution of each variables were computed and using those trend equations the corresponding expected values were estimated. The expected percentage contribution of components eliminates the annual fluctuations and provide the variation in the composition from the perspective of their growth trend.

Table 4 presents the actual and estimated percentage contributions of components of Net Capital Account. In the initial year of study the actual contribution of the components of Net Capital Account, that is, the contributions of Net Foreign Investment, Net Loans, Banking Capital, Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital to Net Capital Account were 1.5, 72.8, 21.7, -12 and 16.3 respectively. The largest actual percentage contribution to Net Capital Account in 1990 came from Net Loans signifying the reliance of the economy on loan finance. The estimated percentage contribution in the initial year of study of Net Foreign Investment, Net Loans, Banking Capital, Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital to Net Capital Account were 23.8, 49.3, 33.2, -17.8 and 11.4 respectively. Over the years of the period of study the actual percentage contribution of Net Foreign Investment to Net Capital Account increased and became 117.4 in 2016 and 152.2 in 2017 Q1. The actual percentage contribution of Net Loans to Net Capital Account which was 72.8 in 1990 became -2.7 and -1.1 in 2015 and 2016 respectively signifying the transition from a debtor to a creditor economy. The estimated percentage contribution to the Net Capital Account of Net Foreign Investment, Net Loans, Banking Capital, Rupee Debt Service and Other Capital were 90.30, 14.10, -7.40, 4.20 and -1.10 respectively in 2016.

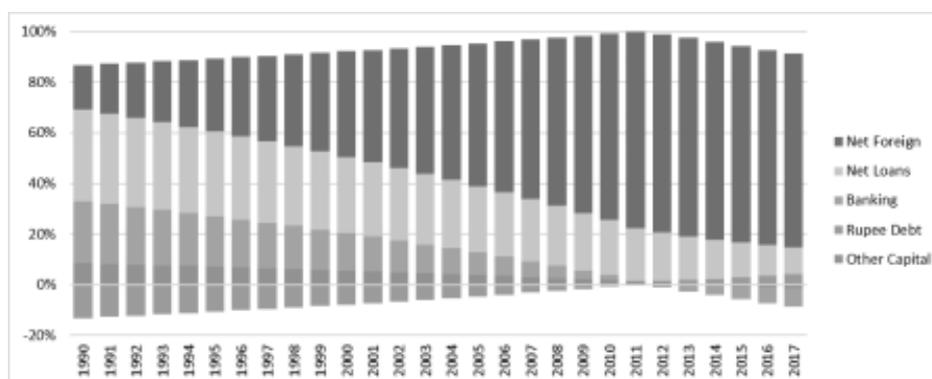
Table 4 : Actual and Estimated Percentage contribution of the components of Net Capital Account

Year	Net Capital Account	Net Foreign Investment		Net Loans		Banking Capital		Rupee Debt Service		Other Capital	
		Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated
1990	100	1.50	23.80	72.80	49.30	21.70	33.20	-12.00	-17.80	16.30	11.40
1991	100	1.40	26.40	111.00	47.90	-33.80	31.60	-35.20	-16.90	55.50	10.90
1992	100	14.30	28.90	6.70	46.60	123.80	30.00	-24.80	-16.10	-20.00	10.50
1993	100	27.70	31.50	28.60	45.20	36.20	28.50	-14.60	-15.20	22.10	10.00
1994	100	60.90	34.00	26.70	43.90	6.40	26.90	-9.10	-14.40	15.20	9.50
1995	100	93.60	36.60	56.80	42.50	2.40	25.40	-25.60	-13.60	-27.20	9.00
1996	100	52.40	39.20	52.40	41.20	11.60	23.80	-6.80	-12.70	-9.40	8.50
1997	100	63.00	41.70	50.70	39.80	-8.60	22.20	-7.70	-11.90	2.60	8.00
1998	100	25.60	44.30	50.80	38.40	-9.10	20.70	-9.50	-11.00	42.30	7.60
1999	100	44.20	46.80	16.30	37.10	43.00	19.10	-7.20	-10.20	3.70	7.10

2000	100	52.20	49.40	61.90	35.70	-28.40	17.60	-5.80	-9.30	20.10	6.60
2001	100	86.00	51.90	-21.70	34.40	33.30	16.00	-6.60	-8.50	9.00	6.10
2002	100	41.80	54.50	-8.80	33.00	70.40	14.40	-4.00	-7.60	0.50	5.60
2003	100	64.60	57.00	-30.70	31.70	54.30	12.90	-2.60	-6.80	14.40	5.10
2004	100	56.70	59.60	22.50	30.30	8.00	11.30	-1.50	-5.90	14.30	4.70
2005	100	66.90	62.20	31.20	29.00	15.90	9.80	-2.20	-5.10	-11.80	4.20
2006	100	41.10	64.70	54.90	27.60	-0.50	8.20	-0.60	-4.20	5.10	3.70
2007	100	43.30	67.30	39.30	26.20	8.20	6.70	-0.20	-3.40	9.40	3.20
2008	100	33.60	69.80	61.90	24.90	14.60	5.10	-0.30	-2.50	-9.80	2.70
2009	100	107.90	72.40	17.00	23.50	-1.20	3.50	-0.30	-1.70	-23.40	2.20
2010	100	72.50	74.90	40.20	22.20	6.70	2.00	-0.10	-0.90	-19.30	1.80
2011	100	46.50	77.50	38.00	20.80	21.00	0.40	-0.10	0.00	-5.40	1.30
2012	100	52.20	80.10	29.00	19.50	26.20	-1.10	-0.10	0.80	-7.30	0.80
2013	100	55.00	82.60	25.10	18.10	41.70	-2.70	-0.10	1.70	-21.60	0.30
2014	100	88.30	85.20	0.70	16.80	12.10	-4.30	-0.10	2.50	-1.00	-0.20
2015	100	70.30	87.70	-2.70	15.40	31.70	-5.80	-0.10	3.40	0.80	-0.70
2016	100	117.40	90.30	-1.10	14.10	-42.70	-7.40	-0.30	4.20	26.70	-1.10
2017Q1	100	152.20	92.80	38.40	12.70	-125.60	-8.90	-0.60	5.10	35.60	-1.60

Source: Author's Calculation

Fig 7 Estimated Percentage Contribution of the components of Net Capital Account



The fig 7 presents the estimated percentage contribution of the components of Net Capital Account .A compositional shift can be seen in fig 7 where the estimated percentage contribution of Net Foreign Investment to Net Capital Account in the initial year of study was less than 25% increasing to 90% in the final year of study. The estimated percentage contribution of Net Loans and Banking Capital to Net Capital Account had been falling during the study period. The estimated percentage contributions of the last two components of Net Capital Account was meagre during the study period.

Composition of Net Foreign Investment

The actual and estimated percentage contributions of the components of Net Foreign Investment are presented in Table 5. The actual percentage contribution of Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment to Net Foreign Investment in 1990 was 100 and 0 respectively. The estimated percentage contribution of these components in 1990 was calculated to be 57.78 and 42.23 respectively. The actual percentage

contribution of Net Foreign Direct Investment to Net Foreign Investment even though fluctuating remained positive during the entire study period. But the actual percentage contribution of Net Portfolio Investment to Net Foreign Investment was negative during 1998, in the aftermath of East Asian Crisis, and in 2008 in the aftermath of Global Financial Crisis and 2016. The actual percentage contribution of Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment in 2016 was 113.89 and -13.89 respectively. The corresponding estimated figures of Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment in 2016 was 65.51 and 34.49 respectively.

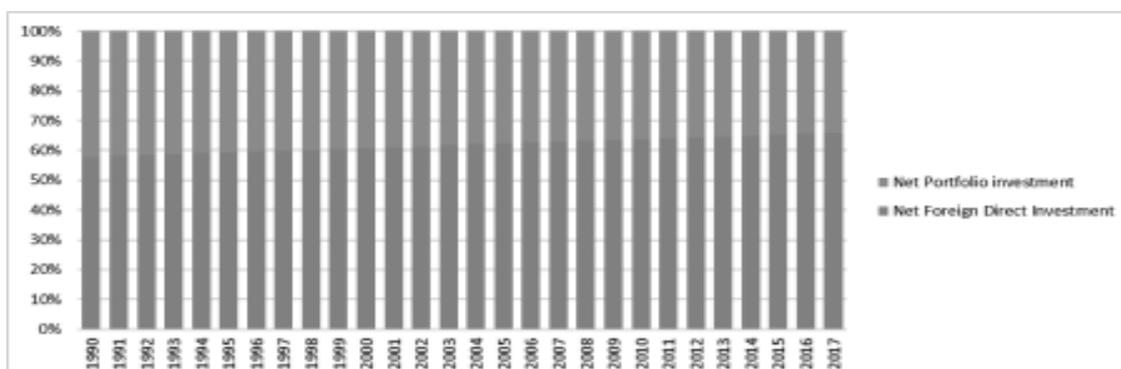
Table 5 : Actual and Estimated Percentage contribution of the components of Net Foreign Investment

Year	Net Foreign Investment	Net Foreign Direct Investment		Net Portfolio investment	
		Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated
1990	100.00	100.00	57.78	0.00	42.23
1991	100.00	92.59	58.08	7.41	41.93
1992	100.00	46.54	58.37	53.46	41.63
1993	100.00	27.08	58.67	72.92	41.33
1994	100.00	14.82	58.97	85.20	41.04
1995	100.00	58.12	59.27	41.88	40.74
1996	100.00	38.52	59.56	61.50	40.44
1997	100.00	59.09	59.86	40.91	40.14
1998	100.00	131.51	60.16	-31.51	39.85
1999	100.00	48.17	60.46	51.85	39.55
2000	100.00	57.64	60.75	42.36	39.25
2001	100.00	59.08	61.05	40.92	38.95
2002	100.00	79.42	61.35	20.58	38.65
2003	100.00	23.33	61.65	76.67	38.36
2004	100.00	28.60	61.94	71.40	38.06
2005	100.00	27.70	62.24	72.30	37.76
2006	100.00	38.98	62.54	61.02	37.46
2007	100.00	20.08	62.84	79.92	37.17
2008	100.00	242.92	63.13	-142.92	36.87
2009	100.00	48.56	63.43	51.44	36.57
2010	100.00	22.55	63.73	77.45	36.27
2011	100.00	87.10	64.02	12.90	35.98
2012	100.00	35.08	64.32	64.92	35.68
2013	100.00	82.18	64.62	17.82	35.38
2014	100.00	37.72	64.92	62.28	35.08
2015	100.00	77.33	65.21	22.67	34.78
2016	100.00	113.89	65.51	-13.89	34.49
2017Q1	100.00	31.63	65.81	68.37	34.19

Source: Author's Calculation

The fig 8 represents graphically the composition of Net Foreign Investment. From the fig it can be seen that Net Foreign Direct Investment is more dominant than Net Portfolio Investment in the composition of Net Foreign Investment.

Fig 8 Estimated Percentage Contribution of the components of Net Foreign Investment



Composition of Net Loans

The actual and estimated percentage contributions of the Net Loans are presented in Table 6. The actual percentage contribution of Net External Assistance in 1990 was 28.35, Net Commercial Borrowings 44.48 and Net Short Term Credit to India was 26.87. The actual percentage contribution of Net External Assistance fluctuated over the years and recorded maximum value in 1992, the year being crucial for Indian Economy. The Net Commercial Borrowings also recorded very high value of 271.43 in 1992. The Net External Assistance recorded lowest value in 2016 with a net outflow of -680.95. This is an indication of the gradual transformation of the economy from the net recipient of grants in aid and assistance to net provider of external assistance to the rest of the world. The actual percentage contribution of Net Commercial Borrowings recorded maximum value of 2428.57 in 2016. The Net Short Term Credit to India recorded highest actual percentage contribution of 98.26 in 2015 and lowest in 2016 with a value of -1647.62.

The Estimated Percentage Contribution of Net External Assistance to Net Loans is 153.12 in 1990 and decreased over the years and became 3.98 in 2007. In 2008 the estimated percentage contribution of Net External Assistance was -4.79 and became -74.69 in 2016. After 2008 the estimated percentage contribution of net external assistance was negative for the remaining years of study. On the other hand the estimated percentage contribution was negative for Net Commercial Borrowings from 1990 to 1994. After that the estimated percentage contribution of Net Commercial Borrowings steadily increased and was 460.69 in 2016. The percentage contribution of Net Short Term Credit to India to Net Loans was estimated to be 50.84 in 1990. The estimated contribution of the short term credit decreased and was negative after 1993. In 2016 it was estimated to be -286.28.

Table 6 : Actual and Estimated Percentage contribution of the components of Net Loans

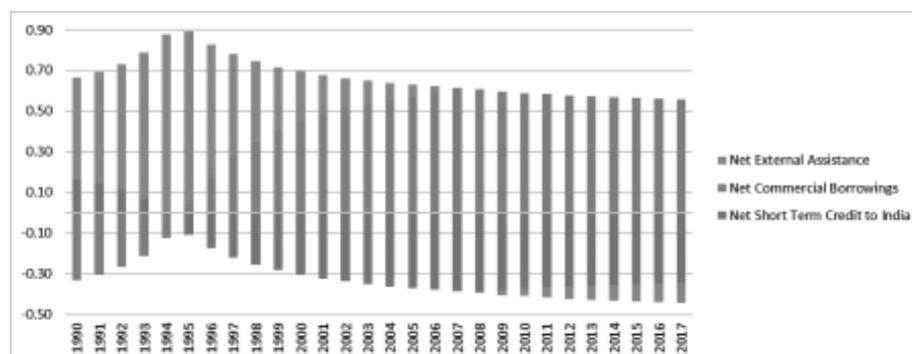
Year	Net Loans	Net External Assistance		Net Commercial Borrowing		Net Short Term Credit to India	
		Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated
1990	100	28.35	153.12	44.78	-102.18	26.87	50.84
1991	100	75.61	144.35	25.61	-80.53	-0.39	37.87
1992	100	714.29	135.58	271.43	-58.88	-871.43	24.91
1993	100	77.05	126.81	-3.28	-37.23	26.23	11.94
1994	100	77.27	118.03	45.45	-15.58	-22.73	-1.03
1995	100	36.62	109.26	33.8	6.07	29.58	-13.99

1996	100	24.32	100.49	74.77	27.72	0.9	-26.96
1997	100	23.73	91.71	60.45	49.37	15.82	-39.92
1998	100	16.15	82.94	116.77	71.01	-32.92	-52.89
1999	100	64.29	74.17	8.57	92.66	27.14	-65.86
2000	100	4.55	65.40	79.02	114.31	16.43	-78.82
2001	100	-36.59	56.62	73.17	135.96	63.41	-91.79
2002	100	-39.22	47.85	176.47	157.61	-37.25	-104.75
2003	100	88.03	39.08	69.66	179.26	-57.69	-117.72
2004	100	-6.19	30.30	65.93	200.91	40.27	-130.69
2005	100	30.14	21.53	12.17	222.56	57.68	-143.65
2006	100	7.78	12.76	64.61	244.20	27.61	-156.62
2007	100	5.61	3.98	64.78	265.85	29.62	-169.58
2008	100	12.81	-4.79	60.88	287.50	26.31	-182.55
2009	100	41.23	-13.56	53.57	309.15	5.19	-195.51
2010	100	18.59	-22.33	32.11	330.80	49.3	-208.48
2011	100	12.72	-31.11	46.82	352.45	40.46	-221.45
2012	100	3.01	-39.88	26.09	374.10	70.9	-234.41
2013	100	3.83	-48.65	74.01	395.75	22.16	-247.38
2014	100	417.86	-57.43	1264.29	417.39	-1582.14	-260.34
2015	100	-71.3	-66.20	73.91	439.04	98.26	-273.31
2016	100	-680.95	-74.97	2428.57	460.69	-1647.62	-286.28
2017Q1	100	21.72	-83.75	-22.1	482.34	100.37	-299.24

Source: Author's Calculation

The graphical representation of the estimated percentage contribution of the components of Net Loans in fig 9 shows that there is a compositional shift in Net Loans from aid and assistance in favour of Net Commercial Borrowings. This points to the increased resilience, credit worthiness and confidence of lenders on Indian Economy.

Fig 9 Estimated Percentage Contribution of the components of Net Loans



From the analysis of composition of Net Capital Account it can be seen that there is a compositional shift in Net Capital Flows to Indian Economy. There is a shift from Official Capital Flows, for example, Net External Assistance to Private Capital Flows which is indicated by the rise in the estimated percentage

contribution of Net Investment Flows especially Net Foreign Direct Investment and Net Portfolio Investment. There is also a shift from Debt Creating to Non Debt Creating and Equity Flows. Within Net Loans there is a compositional shift in favour of Net Commercial Borrowings and fall in Aid and Grants. This is indeed a Positive and Favourable Compositional Shift in Net Capital Flows for the Indian Economy.

Conclusion

In this paper the behaviour of Net Capital Flows in the post reform era was analysed for understanding the trend and changing composition of various kinds of Capital Flows to Indian Economy. It was found that despite the existence of soft capital controls and limited capital account convertibility, Net Capital Flows especially Net Foreign Direct Investment Flows had risen in volume and as a percentage of Net Capital Account Flows. Indian Economy so far did not experience any sudden surges and reversals of capital flows indicating the increased resilience, strength and robust regulatory system in place. A noteworthy aspect is that positive and favourable changes are also taking place in the composition of capital flows to Indian Economy.

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Community Policing In Tribal Areas in Kerala : Achievements & Challenges

Jose R.

Law enforcement in a democracy is a process by which public security is ensured by securing and enlisting the willing co-operation of the people who are the beneficiaries of such enforcement. The Janamaithri Sureksha Project, the community policing experiment of Kerala Police, was launched in 2008 with a view to ensure the participation of people in policing. The project was extended to 50 tribal police stations in 2013. The paper examines the impact of the scheme in tribal areas in terms of law and order, reporting of cases, crime clearance rates, police-public conflicts, citizen satisfaction and other aspects of policing.

Janamaithri Sureksha Project, the community policing experiment of Kerala Police, was launched in 2008 as a pilot project in 20 selected police stations across the State¹ and it was gradually extended to all the police stations in Kerala on 22.02.2017. Community policing, as an alternative policing strategy, revolves round the principle of proactive policing through people-friendly policing practices, community participation and problem-solving leading to crime prevention, maintenance of order and improvement in the overall quality of life in the neighbourhood. Community policing allows the law enforcement to get back to the principles upon which it was founded and to integrate itself into the fabric of the community so that the people and the police collaborate even before a serious problem arises². In its strategic dimension, it contributes to the individual, state and national health and as such reduces social pathology. Community policing provides decentralized, personalized police service to the community. It is not a tactic to be applied and then abandoned, but a new philosophy and organizational strategy that provides the flexibility to meet local needs and priorities as they change overtime³. Community policing, therefore, is a philosophy of policing based on the idea that if the police and the citizens in the community work together in creative ways to fight and prevent crime, then crime related problems of the community would be solved, fear of crime would be reduced, community residents would feel safer, and the physical conditions as well as quality of life in the community would be better. As Sparrow put it, "the concept of community policing envisages a police department striving for an absence of crime and disorder and concerned with and sensitive to the quality of life in the community"⁴. Here, the community is perceived as an agent and partner in promoting security rather than a passive audience. At the same time the police also must assume new roles and carry out their duties and responsibilities quite distinct from the traditional model of policing. In addition to law enforcers, they must serve as advisors, facilitators and supporters of new community-based initiatives. The police should develop a feeling that they are also part and parcel of the community, not separate from the community⁵.

The community policing project in the State was implemented with a three-fold objective of (a) prevention of crime, (b) building of healthy rapport between the police and the public and (c) to ensure better co-operation between the members of the locality on matters of security⁶. The project has a three - tier structure with the beat officers at the bottom, Janamaithri Sureksha Samithi in the middle and the District Advisory Samithi at the top⁷. The beat officer is a key functionary and plays a pivotal role in the implementation of the project. The Janamaithri Sureksha Samithi, constituted at the police station level by the District Police Chief, giving representation to all segments of the society, advises the police on the implementation of various projects under the banner of community policing⁸. The District Advisory Samithi, constituted at the District level, reviews the working of Janamaithri Sureksha Samithies at the police station level and issues proper guidance and direction for the effective implementation of the project⁹.

The Janamaithri Sureksha Project was implemented in 50 tribal police stations in the State in 2013¹⁰.

More than six years have lapsed since the implementation of the project and it is high-time to make an evaluation of the working of the scheme in tribal areas. Two police stations, Kumily in Idukki and Mundakkayam in Kottayam District were selected for the study. The majority of the people in both the police stations belong to the tribal community. The findings of the study are based on extensive field research carried out by the author with a structured questionnaire during the period 2011-2018. Besides eliciting data from eminent personalities through interviews and personal discussions, observation method was used to get a realistic picture of the working of the project. All the stakeholders of the project, viz, the Beat Officers, Assistant Beat Officers, Middle level Police Officers, Community Relations Officers, District Nodal Officers, District Police Chiefs, State Nodal Officer, Janamaithri Samithi members and the general public were consulted, interviewed and collected data for the study. Crime details from police stations, District Crime Records Bureau and State Crime Record Bureau were collected to make an analysis of crime trends before and after the implementation of the scheme.

Before making an assessment of the working of the project, it is desirable to have an idea about the tribal situation in the State.

Tribes in Kerala

Kerala has one percent of the total land area of India with a population of 3.33 crore, which is 3%, of the total population of India as per 2011 Census¹¹. Kerala holds a unique position in the tribal map of India. Most of the tribes in Kerala belong to the family group of Dravidians. Tribals in Kerala, commonly called 'adivasis', are the indigenous population found on the dense forest and mountains of Western Ghats mainly bordering the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu¹². Adivasi constitute only 1.1 % of the total population of the state. There are 36 tribal communities in Kerala and 'Paniya' tribe is the biggest tribe followed by 'Kurichiyans'. The 2011 Census Report records the overall tribal population in the state as 4, 84, 834 as against 3, 64, 139 in 2001. Every District in Kerala has some tribal population. However, the highest concentration of tribal population is seen in Wayanad District (37.36%) followed by Idukki (14%) and Palakkad (10.8%)¹³

Table No. 1: Distribution of tribal population in the Districts.

Sl. No	Name of the District	Percentage Distribution among the District	Percentage of total population
1	Kasaragod	8.33	2.52
2	Kannur	5.48	0.83
3	Wayanad	37.36	17.43
4	Kozhikode	1.63	0.21
5	Malappuram	3.36	0.34
6	Palakkad	10.89	1.52
7	Thrissur	1.33	0.16
8	Ernakulam	2.76	0.38
9	Idukki	14.00	4.51
10	Kottayam	5.04	0.94
11	Alappuzha	0.86	0.15
12	Pathanamthitta	1.80	0.53
13	Kollam	1.43	0.20
14	Thiruvananthapuram	5.74	0.65

Source: Government of India, Census of India, 2011

The tribal communities in Kerala have been historically marginalized and oppressed by various development factors and forces. The policies and schemes implemented by successive governments at the Centre and State have further worsened the situation. Their customary rights over natural resources such as forests, cultural identity and traditional knowledge including intellectual property rights, cultural heritage and traditional wisdom have been continuously at stake due to the interplay of various forces. But if one compares the tribes on the socio-economic or quality of life indicators, it is true that the tribal groups from Kerala will appear to be far better than those in many other States¹⁴. The literacy rate among the tribal population in Kerala is high both in the case of general (64.35%) and female (58.11%) population when compared to their counterparts at the national level. The sex ratio of the tribal communities is also favourable for women in Kerala where as that is not the case at the national level. At the national level, nearly half of the tribal population lives below poverty line where as in Kerala, the corresponding figures is only less than one-fourth. But when these figures are compared with the rest of the Kerala Society, it is interesting that they are left as the least developed within the state. One of the big criticisms against the Kerala model of development was that it was not inclusive to the Tribals¹⁵.

Table No. 2: Status of STs in India and Kerala.

Sl.No.	Items	India	Kerala
1	Population (in lakhs)	836	3.64
2	Percentage of total population	8.15	1.1
3	Decadal growth rate	23.30	13.75
4	Child population to the total population	18.43	13.70
5	Sex ratio	948	1027
6	Literacy rate (general)	47.08	64.35
7	Literacy rate (female)	34.75	58.11
8	Poverty as per (55 th round)	45.80	24.20
9	Percentage of population living in slums	2.40	0.20

Source: Government of India, Census of India, 2011

Crimes/atrocities against scheduled tribes are on the rise despite the enactment of special laws- Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. There are also laws for the protection of scheduled tribes but crimes against the tribals, especially against women and children continue to be very high. According to the National Crime Records Bureau, a total of 6,568 cases of atrocities against tribals were reported in the country during 2016 as compared to 6,276 cases in 2015, showing an increase of 8.5% over the year¹⁶. Also, a large number of crimes committed against scheduled tribes remain unreported because of their isolation and their reluctance due to fear and apathy of the enforcement machinery. The lengthy judicial process in the country is also not favourable to the tribals. A large number of tribal women face extreme forms of social exclusion and discrimination in the public sphere of life¹⁷. It is reported that tribal women in Wayanad are victims of sexual exploitation and physical harassment. Their innocence and simplicity have been misused by the mainstream community. Most of them are victims of direct sexual exploitation or false promise of marriage. All these resulted in growing number of unwed mothers among the tribes in Kerala. There are laws prohibiting the sale or transfer of tribal lands to non-tribes and the restoration of alienated tribal lands to the tribes. But the laws are either not properly implemented or they are manipulated to facilitate the transfer of tribal lands to non-tribes.

As a result of all these, there has been increasing unrest among the tribes in the recent past. Radical/ extremist movements began to take root in some parts of the tribal areas in the state, mainly due to the

dissatisfaction of the tribes to the government machinery. These organizations are spreading a feeling of hatred against the state. Some of the organizations have succeeded in winning the hearts of some tribal people. This should not be allowed to flourish and nipped in the bud. For this, the community policing movement can do a great deal by educating and occasionally visiting their houses and finding out remedies to their problems.

Working of Janamaithri Sureksha Project in Tribal Areas

There is difference of opinion among scholars about the impact of community policing in tribal areas. But most would agree that community policing, if properly implemented, improves the quality of engagement between the police and the community. It reduces the barriers that separate police from citizens. Thus, instead of measuring community policing with the yardstick of crime rates, it should be evaluated based on reductions in fear of crime, increased use of public space, increased police presence and greater reciprocity in police and community relations. Researchers and police administrators have increasingly used community surveys to measure citizen priorities, attitudes and values. These surveys certainly provide a means to identify what problems residents care about the most, what types of programmes they prefer and how they believe the police are performing. Likewise, in terms of measuring police attitudes, there is a growing body of research concerning officers' general attitude towards citizens, as well as their particular views regarding community policing. This line of research has worked to identify some of the factors associated with the acceptance of community policing activities in the beat area. This study provides survey data that enable direct comparison between citizens and police officers on the impact of Janamaithri policing in Kerala society.

(a) Impact on Law and Order

The efficiency of a law enforcement machinery is measured mainly by the absence of serious law and order issues in its area of operation. But effective law and order management requires the active co-operation and involvement of the public because many of the problems the world faces today are beyond the capacity of the police to handle single-handedly.

Table No.3 Law and Order Situation in the Station Limit

Law and Order	Frequency	Percent
Improved	13	81
Deteriorated	3	19
Total	16	100

Source: Field Study conducted by the author

Table No.3 shows the responses of beat officers on the impact of the project on law and order. Eighty one percent of them expressed the view that the law and order situation has improved much after the introduction of community policing. But 19% of them believed that the law and order situation has worsened after the implementation of the project. Similarly, 63% of middle level officers and 85% of Samithi members see a favourable impact on law and order in community-oriented policing. The District Police Chiefs and the District Nodal Officers also expressed the view that law and order issues had come down considerably after the introduction of the project. Seventy four percent of the general public also believed that law and order problems can be effectively tackled through community policing programmes. Similarly, 53% of the citizenry expressed the view that problems in their area had decreased, 20% see no change, 22% are not aware whether it increased or decreased and only 3% believed that issues had accelerated after the introduction of Janamaithri Sureksha Project. But there is a general agreement among all the stakeholders that there is a considerable increase in the presence of police in the Beat area. Moreover, 71% of the general public opined that they feel better safety under Janamaithri policing¹⁸. Ashad, former Circle Inspector of Police, Kumily, said that after the introduction of the project, there is significant increase in the number of calls from the public expressing satisfaction about the service rendered by the police.

(b) Impact on Crime Rates.

Crime rate is used by the media, elected representatives, political parties, the intelligentsia, the academics and others to measure the effectiveness of their police departments and the quality of life in neighbourhoods. James Wilson stated that “crime in street”¹⁹ is an issue of great importance and directly influences political decisions about policing styles. This limited measurement criteria have sustained a commitment to traditional police department practices and has hindered the implementation of community policing. There is strong evidence to show that community policing in tribal areas improves citizen satisfaction with police. Research support that it also decreases fear of crime among citizens. But its impact on aggregate crime trends is unconvincing and open to doubts. According to Greene, “community-oriented policing sometimes has a limited impact on crime”²⁰. But Zhao et al are of the view that the implementation of community policing in medium and large cities and towns contributed to significant reductions in both violent and property crimes²¹. In other words, the literature on the effectiveness of community policing on aggregate crime trends remains inconclusive.

Mundakkayam Police Station

Table No.4: Details of cases reported from 2011 to 2018.

Crime Heads	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016		2017		2018	
	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET
I. Property Offences																
Robbery	0	0	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total property offence	16	13	16	10	19	17	5	4	5	4	8	6	6	4	9	5
II. Offences Against Persons																
Murder	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Total offence against persons	145	145	174	173	128	128	94	89	86	76	79	80	44	40	43	43
III. Offences Against Women																
Rape	3	3	2	2	3	3	5	5	2	2	5	5	5	5	10	10
Total offence against women	54	54	46	46	37	37	31	31	14	14	39	39	24	23	36	36
IV. Offences Against Children																
Total offence against children	1	1	0	0	6	6	2	2	7	7	4	4	2	2	10	10
VI. Total Cases																
Total IPC Offences	339		388		337		316		261		225		222		286	
Total Suo - Motu and Special & Local Laws	424		614		758		1034		1227		928		1622		1434	
Other Cases	38		42		55		60		61		258		71		69	
GRAND TOTAL	801		1044		1150		1410		1549		1411		1915		1789	

Source: FIR Index, Mundakkayam Police Station, Kottayam, Kerala

Mundakkayam is a light police station in terms of law and order and reporting of cases. The total cases show an upward trend except in the years 2016 and 2018. A total of 801 cases were reported in 2011 followed

by 1044 in 2012, 1150 in 2013, 1410 in 2014, 1549 in 2015, 1411 in 2016, 1915 in 2017 and 1789 in 2018. The same pattern can be seen in Suo-motu and special and local laws. But large fluctuation is noticed in IPC offences with 339 cases in 2011 followed by 388 in 2012, 337 in 2013, 316 in 2014, 261 in 2015, 225 in 2016, 222 in 2017 and 286 in 2018. Reporting of property cases is very low. After 2013, the figure did not touch two digits. Offence against persons is very high in the beginning but after 2012 a gradual decline can be seen with 128 cases in 2013 to only 43 cases in 2018 under this category. Offence against women and children showed fluctuation.

The reporting of violent crimes like robbery, murder and rape is comparatively low in Mundakkayam. The total robbery cases reported in the police station during the period from 2011 to 2018 is only six. The station was free from robbery in 2011, 2015, 2017 and 2018. The total murder cases reported during the study period is five. But the reporting pattern of rape cases is different from robbery and murder. Rape cases are high in Mundakkayam compared to robbery and murder. A total of 35 cases were registered under the head during the period from 2011 to 2018. The reporting of cases under the head property offences, economic offences, offence against persons and women are high in 2011 and 2012, ie, period before the implementation of the project²².

Kumily Police Station

Table No. 5: Details of cases reported from 2011 to 2018.

Crime Heads	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016		2017		2018	
	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET	REP	DET
I. Property Offences																
Robbery	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total property offences	24	15	17	11	15	12	17	14	25	21	25	14	18	11	17	14
II. Offences Against Persons																
Murder	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total offence against persons	109	109	72	72	96	94	58	54	102	102	132	124	150	150	80	80
III. Offences Against Women																
Rape ²	2	4	4	0	0	3	3	8	8	5	5	6	6	7	7	
Total offence against women	40	40	29	29	38	38	33	33	37	37	38	38	34	34	52	52
IV. Offences Against Children																
Total offence against children	4	4	7	7	3	3	4	4	11	11	3	3	21	21	5	5
V. Total Cases																
Total IPC Offences	293	223	266	252	266	274	314	297								
Suo- Motu and Special & Local Laws	424	1037	1377	1426	418	767	457	230								
Other Cases	38	48	42	27	29	35	76	52								
GRAND TOTAL	755	1308	1685	1705	713	1076	847	579								

Source: FIR Index, Kumily Police Station, Iddukki, Kerala

The aggregate crime trend in the station is not constant. In 2011 a total of 755 cases were reported followed by 1308 in 2012, 1685 in 2013 and 1705 in 2014. After that there is a great fall in the reporting of cases and the total cases came down to 713 in 2015 but further rose to 1076 in 2016. After 2016, there is a gradual decline and only 847 cases were reported in 2017. The year 2018 saw the lowest number of cases ever reported during the study period. The fluctuation can be seen in IPC offences also. The special and local laws showed an upward trend from 2011 to 2014. There is a reduction of more than thousand cases in the category in 2015. In 2016, the total Suo motu cases was 767 followed by 457 in 2017. Like total cases, 2018 witnessed the lowest number of Suo-motu cases. The reporting of property cases is less throughout the period. But offences against persons including women showed comparatively higher reporting. Offence against children shows an increasing trend except in a few years.

Like Mundakkayam, the reporting of violent crimes like robbery and murder is low in Kumily. A total of five robbery and four murder cases were reported in the police station from 2011 to 2018. But the reporting of rape cases is moderately high with 35 cases during the study period. There is a slight reduction in the reporting of violent crimes except rape after the implementation of Janamaithri Sureksha Project²³.

(c) Crime Clearance Rate

As part of the community policing philosophy, the public continues to be recognized as the primary provider of information to the police. As the public-police relationship improves, the police will be in a better position to get more information from the public which will help not only to reduce crime but also to solve the crime. The community knows more about local and immediate crime risks. The police have the essential professional knowledge, because the police are the experts. However, the community should support the police with appropriate information to deal with crime and criminals²⁴. The beat officers have an important role to play in this respect. Their continuous interaction and rapport will naturally lead to better flow of information on crime and criminals in their beat area. Some scholars argue that close partnership might cause less crime and generate more positive results²⁵. According to Gultekin, there is a positive relationship between community partnership and crime clearance rates²⁶. It is believed that police agencies with a higher community partnership scale have higher total crime clearance rates.

Crime clearance rate is calculated by dividing the number of crimes that are “cleared” by the total number of crimes recorded. Clearance rates are used by various agencies as a measure to evaluate the performance of the police. A crime is considered to be solved or “cleared” when an offender has been arrested, charged with commission of offence and turned over to the court for prosecution.

The study examined the crime clearance rate of violent crimes, viz, robbery, murder and rape by comparing the reporting and detection pattern before and after the implementation of the Janamaithri Sureksha project. Two years prior to the implementation of the scheme was also taken to compare with the rest of the period. Data for this was collected directly from the police stations selected for the study.

Table No. 6: Violent crime clearance rate of Mundakkayam Police Station



Source: FIR Index of Mundakkayam Police Station, Kottayam, Kerala

Mundakkayam Police Station recorded six robbery, five murder and 35 rape cases during the period from 2011 to 2018. All the cases reported under the above three heads were cleared and the police station achieved hundred percent crime clearance rate. No difference can be seen in crime clearance rate before and after the implementation of the project.

Table No. 7: Violent crime clearance rate of Kumily Police Station



Source: FIR Index of Kumily Police Station, Iddukki, Kerala

The reporting of violent crimes in Kumily also follows the pattern of Mundakkayam Police Station. The police station reported five robbery, four murder and thirty-five rape cases during the period from 2011 to 2018. All the cases except one robbery case was detected. The robbery case which was not cleared was reported in 2011, ie, before the implementation of the Janamaithri Sureksha Project. It means that the crime clearance rate of robbery is higher in Kumily after the implementation of the project.

(d) Citizen - Satisfaction

There is difference of opinion among scholars about the impact of community policing on actual crime rate. But most scholars would agree that community policing, if properly implemented, improves the quality of engagement between the police and the community. More than 76% of police officers opined that both the people and police are affected by an optimistic transformation after the introduction of community - oriented policing. Police have shed their rude behaviour and filthy language and more and more people are co-operating with the police in various activities of the police. The middle-level police officers stated that more than 70% of the people are co-operating with the police as witnesses, arresting offenders etc. It is reaffirmed by beat officers and District Police Chiefs. More than 73% of the general public noticed favourable changes in the attitude of police towards public. The Janamaithri Sureksha Project has got the acceptance of the people of the area. Seventy one percent of the people like it and believed that it is an effective method to ensure safety and security of the neighbourhood. People like the presence of a beat officer in their area, presence of police have increased and they agreed that mere presence of a police man in the locality will reduce anti-social activities. They feel a sense of security on seeing a police man especially during night. Alexander Jacob, retired DGP, expressed the view that there is a favourable change in the attitude of people towards police and vice-versa after the implementation of the Janamaithri Sureksha Project in Kerala.

(e) Police - Public Conflict

Table No. 8 : Police - Public conflict

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Reduced	10	83
Increased	2	17
No Change	0	0
Total	12	100

Source: Field Study conducted by the author

One of the most remarkable achievements of Janamaithri Sureksha Project is that it has resulted in reduced police - public confrontations. Eighty three percent of the middle level officers stated that the project had reduced police-public conflicts. Only 17% of them did not agree with this. Eighty four percent of beat officers, 91% of Samithi members and all District police heads expressed the view that the community policing initiative of Kerala Police has resulted in fewer police-public confrontations²⁷. Sri. P.V Baby, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Attingal explained, "generally we deal with a crowd which is not familiar to us. After the implementation of the scheme police is able to identify some of the public in every locality even by their name. In an agitated mob, if we are able to identify and call some of them by name, then it is easy to tackle an agitation through mediation and other non-coercive methods".

(f) Constraints in the implementation of the project

The study found that inadequate strength, frequent transfer of community policing officers, unmanageable beat area, shortage of women police officers, hostile attitude of some of the middle level officers, inadequacy of vehicles, lack of funds, apathy of the public, lack of effective powers to the field level officers, insufficient training, suppression of reverse opinion, work-load of police personnel, unsuitable projects, absence of appreciation and rewards to field level functionaries, poor documentation, absence of monitoring mechanisms etc hamper the effective implementation of Janamaithri Sureksha Project in tribal areas. Community policing is a man-power intensive programme and it is very difficult to manage it with the present strength of the police personnel available in the police stations. The average tenure of a Station House Officer, an important functionary of the project, is below six months. Before familiarising the area and getting time to prepare plans suited for the station, most of them are transferred out. The beat officers were also transferred frequently and they were not given five years in one place in most of the cases. The size of the beat is too big to be managed effectively. Acute shortage of women police officers is noticed in all the selected police stations and the beat officers are reluctant to visit houses without their female counter-parts especially in houses where there were no male members. Still, there is a feeling among a sizeable section of middle level officers that community policing is something which is not needed in police. So, a very low priority is assigned to Janamaithri work. In the police stations where the project was started in the initial years, vehicles were given to all the beat officers. Now most of them patrol in the area in their own vehicles and they are not getting even fuel allowance. The lack of Janamaithri fund is a big handicap. The beat officers have to spend a lot of money for refreshment and stationeries in connection with convening of beat meetings, awareness programmes etc and it is revealed that they are spending from their own pockets. Non-co-operation of a section of people especially those from the upper strata of society also create problems. They are not ready to share information about their age, occupation, blood group, number of members in the family etc. The training imparted to the stakeholders are not up to the mark. Another finding is that reverse opinion is not tolerated in police. Superior officers show uneasiness in hearing criticisms from field level functionaries. Most of the beat officers see beat duty as an additional work and it has increased their work-load. This is mainly due to assigning of all the routine duties in addition to Janamaithri works. The study also showed that out of the programmes taken up and implemented under the banner of community-oriented policing, many of them had nothing to do with police work. Most of the projects are not suited for the tribal area. There are sincere and dedicated officers who do extra work to make the project a success. But they are not getting appreciation and reward for their works. Another area of concern is documentation. Record - keeping is very poor in the police stations. Another handicap is the absence of a Directorate on community policing to monitor the activities on a daily basis.

Conclusion

Thus, barriers and constraints in implementing community policing in tribal areas are numerous. Implementation is particularly challenging because of the peculiar nature of tribal community. Without understanding and respecting the culture, customs and traditions of tribal community, police cannot make any in-roads in the tribal settlements. The parameters adopted by the project do not work in tribal areas.

The project guidelines stipulate that a beat may consist of 500-1000 houses. But in tribal areas, it is very difficult for a beat officer to cover such a huge number because the density of houses is very low in these areas. Here, the ideal number is below 300 houses. It is also very difficult to collect information from the tribal people. They will not open up and speak in front of a stranger. So, building rapport with the tribal community is one of the first and foremost responsibilities of the beat officer. The beat officer should also have a basic idea about the life of the tribal community especially their customs and traditions. He has to spare more time to explain the aims and objectives of the project. The study revealed that representation of people from the tribal community is very low in Janamaithri Sureksha Samithi. Beat meetings are not regular and participation of people in these meetings are not on expected lines. A sizeable section of middle level police officers is not showing any interest in the project. The project did make a positive impact on the reporting of cases. As a result of frequent beat visits by beat officers and awareness classes, the sons of the soil began to report crimes against them to the police. As a result, there is an increase in the reporting of cases. The flow of information from the public to police has led to better crime clearance rate in the police stations selected for the study. The law and order situation in the tribal settlements improved and people began to feel a sense of security. The project had succeeded in creating a positive attitude of the people towards the law enforcement machinery in Kerala and an attitudinal change of the police personnel towards the tribal community. Clearly, in areas where the police organizations have adopted a more "social work" approach to developing partnerships with local residents, it appears that community support for regular policing efforts flows naturally. The indigenous people are peculiar in many respects and their way of life, customs, traditions and culture are in no way inferior to the main stream community and it is high time that we adopted a special community policing project for the sons of the soil.

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Fifty years of Naxalism: An Investigation of Popular Movement and Oral Narratives

Rajesh Prasad

This paper, through oral narratives, review of literature and using the metaphor of space, explores the role of mediating factors between popular movements and participation. The presence and the relationship of popular movements with the political groups, social communities and transnational networks create the enabling environment in which popular spaces may be enlarged. This paper will also map the network of cross-movement activism in young free India, and explores the relationship between position in the network and cognitive use of different injustice frames. However, on the other hand, this paper will also explore the rich potential of oral history for scholarship on the 1960s that has yet to be realized. Because as a documentation of memory that provides clues to subjectivity and consciousness, oral testimony could help illuminate movement, political culture, the experience of taking action, and the related evolution of individual and collective consciousness.

Strangely enough, the Naxalite movement in India neither seems to be dying out nor does it seem to be gaining strength and momentum exponentially. It seems to be falling in the pattern what Lenin called “one step backward two steps forward”. Yet it continues to pose the most serious internal security threat to the Indian state. According to a government estimate as many as 12,000 people have lost their lives in “Maoist violence” over the last two decades, including 2,700 personnel from the security forces. Home ministry officials say that currently 90 percent Maoist activity is limited to 35 districts, though they have a hold over pockets in 68 districts in 10 states.¹ In these fifty years, the event Naxalbari itself has been “mythologized as the fount from which Indian Maoism emerged”.² On May 24, 1967 an unarmed police party was attacked by armed peasants in North Bengal.³ That event has left a deep imprint on the Indian political history. With its overwhelming appeal among the oppressed, the dispossessed, the underprivileged, the poor and the downtrodden segments all over the country, the Naxalites claim succeeded in sensitizing and attracting vast sections of students and youth to the revolutionary movement. A large group of the masses and many communists in the existing parties looked upon the significant relevance of Naxalbari is not in relation to the extent of physical occupation of land by the revolutionary peasants, but in terms of the expectations it generated for the revolutionary reorganization of the popular people’s movement⁴ in India.

In India, a group of people believe that movement like Naxalism as the key factor in creating a political culture that can support democracy and further democratic politics. It is through this movement that political space available to the citizens can be expanded, bringing into the public realm and the concerns of everyday life. It is the political space that can not only support democracy, but will also allow greater participation. But how do Naxal movement create this ‘political space’? Which kind of their strategy may influence participation and have the potential to redefine development altogether? How does enlargement of political spaces provide possibilities for greater participation and democratisation?

It was claimed that Naxalites being a resisting force express voice of the people against the ruling authority. Movements contribute to ‘people’s praxis’, which is a process of building people’s power for development as an alternative to the existing dominant power, that is, the elite praxis⁵. It is this people’s power that strives to challenge the structures of power and domination that operate in society. Naxalites claim that they entail consciousness, awareness and opposition to these prevalent structures. Related to this idea, Frantz Fanon’s gave the distinction between ‘freedom from’ and ‘freedom to’ (1967) to understand

which movements may have the potential for democratization. While struggle 'for' power is necessarily a political struggle where antagonistic groups bargain for greater share of the power space ('freedom to'), struggles 'against' power structures strive for democratization and 'freedom from' power structures. Interestingly, unlike 'old' social movements, which were more class based, struggling 'for' power, the 'new' social movements demand democracy, recognition of identities, and look for alternatives to the conventional form of politics. Though the recent people's movements like Ambedkar or Dalit movement do not conform to the rules of conventional politics, it does not mean that these movements are apolitical. The inherent power in these movements, in any act of resistance to structures of power, opens up political 'spaces' of contention.

Political spaces of contention are what Andrea Cornwall calls 'popular spaces'. Popular spaces are 'those arenas in which people join together, often with others like them, in collective action, self-help initiatives or everyday sociality'⁶. Thus, popular spaces are spaces that people create for themselves. It is through these popular spaces that people can challenge the existing power structures, demand suitable legislations, and initiate transformation processes. Distinguished from popular spaces are 'invited spaces' which are 'mechanisms for enabling public engagement in governance' and may become an 'important vehicle through which development intervention can support more transformative participation'⁷. Invited spaces can be of different forms. They can be 'constructed opportunities for the people' or multi-stake holder institutions. By viewing participation as a spatial practice, Cornwall engages with the dynamics of power and difference within invited spaces.

The boundaries between popular and invited spaces are fluid. Popular spaces may also enhance the possibility of transformative participation in invited spaces. Thus, movements like Naxalism creates popular spaces, through which the quality of people's participation may be enhanced in invited spaces, and/or people's participation, may be influenced by challenging then existing structures of domination and initiating transformation processes. In fact, the association between Naxalites movement and participation can be understood by using the metaphor of space⁸; the conditions that enlarge or constrain popular spaces, and the contexts which offer scope for participation.

In the same context, the development of literatures related to people's movements like Naxalism are increasingly being viewed as beacons of hope especially when forces of globalization and mainstream development practices have created development refugees, environmental degradation, and economic and social inequality. Exclusion of the marginalized from the 'benefits' of so-called 'development' is considered to be the root problem of the development model. With inspirations from Paulo Freire's concept of 'conscientization'⁹ (1968), the idea of participation is viewed⁹ as a solution to the problem of exclusion of the marginalized. He said People's participation implies a bottom-up approach to development involving the 'people' in local governance and decision-making such that it empowers the marginal. It also entails a critical consciousness and awareness of the people regarding the structures of oppression. However, the implementation of participation sanitized it off the initial radical elements. Thus, engagements with problems with the notion and practice of participation have become prominent in this context.

By the 1980s the old social order in Bihar was on the verge of collapse. The old Brahmanical ideology was no longer sufficient to preserve the superior position of the upper castes¹⁰. This led to a naked power struggle, and in this the upper castes ruled the roost due to their better connections in the government and the police, thus marginalising not only the Lower castes but also the Other Backward Castes¹¹. There were various ways through which dominance was maintained and 'a common method of harassment was getting the lower castes implicated in the false arson or "theft with extortion" or dacoity cases in other districts'. Not only this, the upper castes also used musclemen to suppress the poor with the tacit support of the state.

In Bihar two types of struggles were going on by the late 1980s. Firstly a political struggle for the control of the state pits upper castes against the backward castes, and a socio-economic struggle of the landless lower castes against the land owning upper and backward castes¹². While the dominant group among the backward castes fought on mainstream political platforms, the poor who had no resources joined ultra-left

organisations like Naxalites. Naxalism provided these marginalised people a space from where they could challenge the supremacy of the upper castes. The Naxalite leaders were from all castes, though the majority were from Other Backward Castes. Since both the electoral and the radical struggles were against the upper castes, this helped the lower castes to unite against the common enemy. Radical organisations like the Naxals have always gone beyond the orthodox Maoist position because they have also been concerned about human dignity rather than only class inequality¹³.

The Naxalites believe that social change can be achieved only through armed struggle since democratic struggles have failed to achieve the desired results. They believe that the basic contradiction in society is that between the landed and the landless. The rise of Naxalism can be attributed to various factors, but the issue of wages and the dignity of the lower castes have played an important role. The exclusion of the lower castes from the establishment and humiliation associated with it has been the main reason for people joining Naxalism. An immediate consequence of the entry of the Naxalites was that the lower castes, who had already become independent economically, could now match the firepower of the upper castes. Till this happened, the lower castes had never thought that they could challenge the supremacy of the upper castes because they were marginalised in every sphere. But the support from Naxalites made it clear to them that the upper castes could no longer harm them and destroy their homes as in the past. Thus, this period saw the most intense struggle between the upper castes and lower castes, in a 'confrontation [that] represented a direct attack on the legitimacy of the traditional village system based on caste hierarchies. However, the biggest achievement of Naxalism was that it was able to arouse the passions of the Lower Castes against oppression. But when it came to administering justice, the Naxalites, while effective against the Lower Castes, were not so effective against the upper castes.

So, the movements like Naxalite movement are called as expressions of power and they are trying to seek autonomy from the state and also conventional political parties. It is in the context of discontent with not only the state but also political parties and traditional forms of opposition to the ruling elites that Naxalite movement and non-party political formations have emerged in recent times. Thus, the state becomes the focal point for social movements to vent dissatisfaction. The interesting relationship of state with social movements is that state is not only the 'enemy', but also the 'saviour'. Movements challenge the structures of oppression and demand necessary changes in the form of legislation. Not only are movements exterior to the bureaucracy of the state, but they also demand inclusion and justice. It is this dual relationship of the state with the social movement that indicates the important role of the state.

On the other side political parties represent the conventional form of politics which is more of a supremacy and power game. It is the disillusionment with conventional politics that people's movements have emerged to redefine politics and development and to enhance participation and democracy. Movements have complex relationship with political parties. In local struggles, a tension exists between local parties and social movements. On the one hand, movements try to remain autonomous and free from conventional politics; on the other hand, movements often need to utilise the channel of political parties to have access to authorities. Local leaders of political parties of the opposition often attempt to co-opt local struggles for their benefit, that is, to prove the incapability of the ruling party. In such a situation, movements often get engulfed in the trap of conventional politics. In this context, Ruth Correa Leith Cardoso says that

"...survival in this web of local politics has prompted demand-oriented community groups to act pragmatically and make use of their most effective contacts, on one hand, and, on the other, to adopt an ideological stance that constantly reaffirms the popular sector's autonomy from both the parties and the state¹⁴".

Globalization improved forms and possibilities of communication across borders. Transnational networks linking movements and people across regions, communities and countries have emerged. But, with neoliberal globalization, developing countries like India are still facing similar problems with regard to land acquisition, corporatization of seeds and mining industries, privatization of health and education sectors, etc. Now, the

nexus of the state and political parties with multinationals and corporate power has resulted in increasing corporate control over resources of developing countries. This has created dissenting voices on similar issues spanning not only north Indian regions, but across the country. The commonality of the problems and issues has brought several groups of people together: social activists, radical left organizations, and Naxal movement leaders. Several of these activists have participated in issues regarding price inflation, poverty, political and social atrocities, against caste violence, unemployment, minimum wages, education and basic health guarantee etc. These activists act as pressure groups against the hegemonic regional and global forces and contribute to enabling environment for local movements, especially by providing 'expert', 'professional', and 'technical' knowledge. It is through these networks that a consolidation of dissenting voices across country is possible. Thus, these networks provide the impetus, support, and resources for domestic movements and strengthen popular spaces.

The rich and resourceful people of Indian society are generally condemning Naxalites. Apart from the activists of some human rights organizations, other people who are seriously working in the rural area, despite their disagreement with Naxalites, they appreciate them. Usually the state is anti-Naxalite, though, sometimes they depend on the police and the armed forces to deal with Naxalites by treating it as a problem of law and order and sometimes they constitute socio-economic policy and programme to deal with them as a problem related to social development.

Then the question is how Naxalites are still alive and growing? Who are their supporters and helpers, and why? Which sections of the society Naxalites come from? Why could not state control eliminate them? These questions are sensitive and need to be looked at. In the era of globalization, people consider Naxalism as an alternative ideology and even more relevant and probable than before. Naxalism is still alive because it cares to the needs of those special areas of our society, which others are not able to fulfil. These are the areas of Dalits and Adivasis and such other poor caste groups. Naxalites have protected them; particularly protected their women from violence and exploitation of the state and local dominated castes.

However, in these areas of society, not only Naxalites are engaged with Dalits-tribals and other poor sections, but the history of working Christian missionaries, Gandhians, Ambedkarites and Buddhist organizations among the Dalits and tribals. In the last few years, many non-governmental voluntary organizations (NGOs) have also spread their network in these areas of the society. When all these types of rehabilitative groups go to work among Dalits and Tribals, they have to face the violence of the police or local dominant forces of the state, but they cannot answer it. These people themselves do not believe in a violent way nor do they have any preparation to counter such violence. Therefore, when the havoc of such violence breaks on them, they run away from there and take refuge to media, human rights organizations or courts for their protection. Most of them also fail in their movement and leave them after frustration. Some of them nurture a little distance from the Naxalites, and respect them, because they themselves see that poor people cannot be easily oppressed or humiliated in the Naxalite prone areas.

However, when we see the study of radical left movements like Naxalism in India by scholars, it has increasingly been featured by oral history. Some of these have been academic and non-academic projects set up by left organizations or by well-wishers among their supporters, such as few projects in India that aim to record interviews with members of the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) and People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR). The declared purpose of these has been either to preserve a certain kind of knowledge or culture before it is lost, or to record accounts of the abuses that led to political violence-'life under Caste and class oppression', as one project puts it in its list of interview topics. In these contexts, oral history is a form either of urgent cultural rescue or of political activism, in both cases carried out by non-specialists. The interviewer is not seen as needing any expertise, training, background knowledge or language skills, and will often be an upper caste influential individual from a privileged class, or a social activist who probably has never been to Naxal affected area, questioning Dalits and Tribals from Naxal affected area through a translator. Those Dalits and Tribals will in these cases be asked to speak about their loss, abuse

or reasons for distress. However, the use of oral history in India is scant and the pace of scholarship is slow; where the use of oral history is rich, as in the study of the civil rights movement, the literature is particularly dynamic.

However, the rich potential of oral history for scholarship on the radical movements in India of 1960s has yet to be realized. This is puzzling, as oral memoirs would seem a natural tool for historians of radical and social movements of the recent past. As a documentation of memory that provides clues to subjectivity and consciousness, oral testimony could help to illuminate movement, political culture, the experience of taking-action, and the related evolution of individual and collective consciousness. It could reveal the roots of activism in pre-existing networks and traditions, the links between various radical movements of the 1960s like Naxalism, and the relationship between local and national developments. It could help us to understand how Naxalites made sense of a chaotic swirl of fast-paced events. It could enable us to compare the perspectives of Naxalites and their opponents, movement leaders and the rank and file, the most committed and those who took part sporadically, those who joined and those who observed from the side-lines. Moreover, as a mediation of the present and the past, it could provide clues to the legacy of the movements, how Naxalites of all sorts have continued to use the 1960s as a totem, a cultural reference point for ongoing analysis of Indian society. Yet, despite the availability of thousands of witnesses and participants who possess rich and vivid memories, despite the erratic quality of social movements and organizational records, despite the growing use of oral history by social historians focusing on other periods, many scholars agree that the creation and analysis of oral testimony on the radical movements of the 1960s is proceeding slowly.

Beyond various difficulties of creating a body of oral testimony, the intellectual challenge of using oral memoirs skilfully is to raise and address important analytical questions. The complexity of Naxalite movement history is the interrelationship of movements, the variety of local experience, the impact of 1960s activism on the thinking of different social groups, and the relationship of the 1960s to the popular cultural narrative of radical left history- that got lost. The failure to use oral testimony more creatively contributed to this broader problem. Rather than raising intriguing questions about consciousness, context, and change, the books of the late 1980s often presented closed narratives in which the story was familiar and the answers known. This message of closure may have contributed to the lack of vitality observable in the field today.

The vitality of the oral history-based scholarly literature on Naxalite movement of the 1960s throws into relief the comparative weakness of the literature on other movements of the period. Scholarship on the student movement, the anti-war movement, the counterculture, and the women's movement has proceeded slowly for several years. Most studies of those movements maintain a national and organizational focus; few examine particular communities or events. And partly as a result, the use of oral testimony has also declined¹⁵.

But there are key exceptions to this trend. Oral testimony is providing invaluable clues to the changing ways that social activists, academicians and others understood the world and their place in it. Linking the personal and the political, oral memoirs reveal the relationship between the stated positions of movement organizations, activists' individual beliefs, experiences, and actions. Examining oral memoirs together with individual and organizational documentary records, scholars are giving voice to the tumultuous diversity that gave their vitality to Naxalite movement of the sixties.

Oral historians have focused on one side of a movement like Naxalism, usually the activists. The integration of new perspectives through oral testimony will advance our understanding. No movement operated in a vacuum. On both the local and national levels, activists and their antagonists (including national policy makers, state and local officials, business leaders, college administrators, and the police) engaged in elaborate dances of confrontation and compromise; exploring how all groups understood the process and how their understandings evolved should be highly productive. Equally valuable (and till now even rarer) would be interviews that uncover how the non-activist public understood and responded to Naxalites and upper caste militia confrontations. This side of movement history is crucial to an analysis of the patterns of movement

success and failure. Though, oral testimony can also help scholars to trace the linkages among movements, revealing how activists shifted from one to another and drew lessons and inspiration across movement lines.

So, the oral history-based scholarship on the radical left movement has demonstrated productive ways of using oral testimony to deepen our understanding of recent Naxalite and other social movements. These kinds of scholarship has revealed the value of oral testimony in helping scholars explore movement culture, examine individual and collective consciousness, and illuminate a movement's deepest cultural roots. It has also shown how oral memoirs can enrich community studies and help scholars move beyond familiar accounts featuring well-known movement leaders. If scholars studying other movements integrate such approaches, we may then see new vitality in these fields. If such a renewal occurs, oral memoirs may yet help us to consider how the claimed revolutionary experience (and the exchange and adaptation that took place as activists migrated to new issues) shaped the political culture of other contemporary movements, helping to build their energy, to drive their development, and to make the sixties one of the most striking periods of hope and failure in the long history of Indian democratic radicalism.

Notes and References

1. *The Times of India*, 10 July 2017
2. Dhara Tushar, *On the 50th Anniversary of Naxalbari, A Former Naxalite Reflects*, News18.com, 26 May 2017, 9:18 PM.
3. According to Abhijit Charu Majumdar, this is how Naxalbari movement had originated, [http://thewire.in/156766/Charu and Son: Revisiting the Legacy of a Revolutionary Father 50 Years After Naxalbari](http://thewire.in/156766/Charu-and-Son-Visiting-the-Legacy-of-a-Revolutionary-Father-50-Years-After-Naxalbari), 19 July 2017, 5:26 PM
4. The term people's movement implies a movement that is spear headed by the people as against any political parties, religious groups, or any groups, where people define the kind of development, where people are their own agents of change unlike bureaucratized organizations, where people challenge the structures of oppression, and where people create a political space for themselves. People's participation here implies not the participation of people in the movements, but how people's participation or empowerment can be achieved through social movements in reality. The crucial question here is how and under what circumstances people's movements are associated with people's participation? This paper attempts to address this question through a review and analysis of the major debates and theories on development and social movements.
5. Mohammed, Rafi, 'Freire and experiments in conscientization in a Bangladesh village', *Economic and political weekly*, vol. 38 (37), 2003, p. 3909.
6. Andrea Cornwall, 'Spaces for transformation? Reflections on issues of power and difference in participation in development', in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds.): *Participation: From tyranny to transformation*, London and New York: Zed Books, 2004, page -75-92,
7. *Ibid*
8. The metaphor of space has been argued here that some social movements create a popular space, which is influenced by unique socio-political conditions of the movement and contextual factors like presence and the relationship of social movements with the state, political parties, support groups, and transnational networks. These contextual factors may enlarge the popular space and consequently enable social movements to achieve participation or enhance the quality of participation in invited spaces.
9. Freire (1968) viewed society as composed of two groups: the oppressor and the oppressed. The domination of the oppressed by the oppressor is carried out by keeping the oppressed submerged in a situation in which they are not equipped to know and respond critically to the realities of the world and identify the structures of oppression. Using the example of education, Freire argues that the 'culture

of silence' can be broken by a process of dialogue between the oppressor and the oppressed resulting in an action-reflection-action process, that is, praxis. People's praxis can be achieved by releasing creative energies of the disadvantaged/marginalised. It is this process of recognising realities critically that Freire calls 'conscientization'

10. As Francine Frankel has written, the upper castes "clung to power through corruption and coercion. But no other ideology or social class was in a position to fill the authority vacuum created. The upper backward castes in general, and Yadavas in particular, could not be the successors of the upper castes: their low status in the traditional ritual hierarchy made it impossible for them to legitimately claim elite caste privilege", 1989, p.12
11. Till the 1980s the upper castes were dominating the scene. There was a small segment of the SCs and lower OBCs who were trying to get included in the system. They were always at the receiving end. These people are the sympathiser of Naxalism and most vocal supporters of Laloo Yadav
12. A Kohli (1990): *Democracy and Discontent; India's Growing Crisis of Governability*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 2071
13. AN Das (1992): *The Republic of Bihar*, Penguin Books
14. Ruth Correa Leite Cardoso (1992): 'Popular movements in the context of the consolidation of democracy in Brazil' in Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez (eds.): *The making of social movements in Latin America: Identity, strategy and democracy*. Boulder, Oxford: West view Press, pp. 291-303
15. Beyond the social movement, scholars have only begun using oral testimony for in-depth examinations of local activism. PUDR examines the history faculty and graduate students at the University of Wisconsin, but his work does not attempt a history of 1960s activism in Bihar, India. See PUDR report on CPI (ML) After Bathe - Civil Rights Situation in Central Bihar after the Lakshmanpur Bathe Massacre, PUDR, 1997.

Revisiting India's Biodiversity Landscape in the Context of the Divya Pharmacy Judgement: Issues and Challenges

Raju Narayana Swamy

An outcome of the Biological Diversity Act is that foreigners now need permission from the National Biodiversity Authority (NBA) before accessing any biological resources located within India for the purpose of 'research' or 'commercial utilization' or 'bio-survey' or 'bio-utilization'. But Indians can access any biological resources located within India after a mere intimation to the State Biodiversity Board (SBB). This is subject to the clause that the result of any research by Indians on such biological material cannot be transferred to foreigners without prior approval of the NBA. The distinction between permission required by Indians vis-a-vis foreigners is the crux of the legislation and presupposes that Indians will be fair and just in their dealings with other fellow Indians. It is in this context that the judgement dated 21.12.2018 of the Uttarakhand High Court in Divya Pharmacy vs. Union of India and others (W.P.No. 3437/2016) is to be viewed.

Background

The Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) reversed a previously well accepted norm of international law that considered all biological resources to be 'the common heritage of mankind. In fact, CBD commits its 196th nation parties to conserve biological diversity, use its components sustainably and share fairly and equitably benefits from utilisation of genetic resources. The resulting national legislations vary greatly - from being extremely prohibitive of research to a very few that are relatively enabling such as Costa Rica and South Africa. In 2002, the Indian Parliament enacted the Biological Diversity Act (BD Act) implementing as a national law the provisions of the CBD. Then came the Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetics Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their utilization which was finalised on October 29, 2010 in Nagoya, Japan and came into effect in 2014. The Preamble of Nagoya Protocol recognised the importance of promoting equity and fair less in negotiations and mutually agreed terms between providers and users of genetic resources. Article 5 in particular described "fair and equitable benefit sharing". However, it remains a ground reality that overall, examples of financially significant Access and Benefit Sharing (ABF) Agreements circle even today. Most mentioned cases are marginal agreements for the use of plant extracts for treatment of bone fracture as is traditional in Cook Islands, the failed Merck-INBio initiative in Costa Rica and the now discredited case of the "Indian Ginstng". A survey of mostly megadiverse countries having functional ABS legislation show that very few commercial agreements have been concluded in this direction (2.05/year/country) (Prathapan. K., et.al., 2018).

An outcome of the BD Act is that foreigners now need permission from the National Biodiversity Authority (NBA) before accessing any biological resources located within India for the purpose of 'research' or 'commercial utilization' or 'bio-survey' or 'bio-utilization'. But Indians can access any biological resources located within India after a mere intimation to the State Biodiversity Board(SBB). This is subject to the clause that the result of any research by Indians on such biological material cannot be transferred to foreigners without prior approval of the NBA. The distinction between permission required by Indians vis-a-vis foreigners is the crux of the legislation and presupposes that Indians will be fair and just in their dealings with other fellow Indians.

It is in this context that the judgement dated 21.12.2018 of the Uttarakhand High Court in Divya

Pharmacy vs. Union of India and others (W.P.No. 3437/2016) is to be viewed. The petitioner in this case (who was a manufacturer of Ayurveda medicines nutraceutical products at Haridwar) was aggrieved by the demand raised by Uttarakhand Biodiversity Board (UBB) under the head Fair and Equitable Benefit Sharing (FEBS). The argument of the petitioner was that for an Indian entity the provision is given in Section 7 of the Act which speaks of 'prior intimation' - that to not to NBA but to the SBB - and logically therefore there is no question of any contribution under FEBS as such a contribution comes only from those who require prior approvals of NBA. FEBS, according to them, was only for foreigners and the statute is clear about it. The Court observed that what is FEBS cannot be looked through the narrow confines of the definition clause alone and that the concept of FEBS has to be appreciated from the broad parameters of the scheme of the Act and the long history of the movement for conservation together with our international commitment in the form of treaties to which India is a signatory. It was therefore held that SBB has got powers to demand FEBS from the petitioner in view of its statutory function given u/s 7 r/w Section 23 of the Act and that the NBA has got powers to frame necessary regulations in view of Section 21 of the Act.

A Journey from Stockholm to Johannesburg

The Divya Pharmacy judgement should be read in the backdrop of the efforts of the world community for a sustainable biodiversity system as mentioned therein which dates back to the Stockholm Conference of 1972. The Stockholm Manifesto recognised that earth's resources are finite and that there is an urgent need to safeguard them. Twenty years later, the UN Convention of Rio de Janeiro was signed, the Preamble of which recognised "the close and traditional dependents of many indigenous and local communities... on biological resources and the desirability of sharing equitably benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge". Art. 8 talks of in-situ conservation and Art. 15 deals with access to genetic resources. In 2002, the world community again took stock of the movement, this time at Johannesburg, South Africa. The resultant Declaration on Sustainable Development, though technically not a treaty, is an important milestone. It is worth mentioning here that at Johannesburg the vital role of indigenous people was re emphasized. In the same year the Indian Parliament in recognition of its international commitment enacted the BD Act with three basic objectives: conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components and fair equitable sharing of benefits arising out of the use of bio resources.

Legal Provisions and the Landmark Judgement

The persons who require prior approval of NBA are defined in Section 3 of the BD Act as:

"a. A person who is not a citizen of India

b. A citizen of India who is a non-resident

c. A body corporate, association or organization: 1. Not incorporated or registered in India or 2. Incorporated or registered in India under any law for the time being in force which has any non-Indian participation in its share capital or management". Thus prior approval of NBA is mandatory for person/entities who have a foreign element. Moreover, FEBS is defined u/s 2(g) of the Act as "sharing of benefits as determined by the NBA u/s 21". Section 21, it must be mentioned here, is meant only for foreign entities and not for a purely Indian company.

For an Indian entity the relevant section is Section 7 which states that:

"No person who is a citizen of India or a body corporate, association or organization which is registered in India shall obtain any biological resource for commercial utilization.... except after giving prior intimation to the SBB".

It is also mentioned in the said section that the provisions there of shall not apply to the local people and communities of the area including growers and cultivators of biodiversity and vaidas and hakims who have been practising indigenous medicines. Thus if we look at the Act literally, there is no provision therein where a contribution in the form of fee/monitory contribution is required to be given by an Indian entity. To

put it a bit differently FEBS is only for foreigners. However, this contention has to be seen within the overall perspective and framework of the Act, one of whose three major objectives is FEBS, giving rights to the rival argument that if a distinction is made between a foreign entity and an Indian entity in this respect, it would be against the spirit of international treaties and conventions to which India is a signatory. Perhaps a wiser interpretation would be that the regulation and control as far as an Indian entity is concerned is given to SBB and that FEBS can be imposed by SBB as one of its regulatory functions under Section 23(b) of the BD Act which reads as follows:

“regulate by granting of approvals or otherwise request for commercial utilisation or bio-survey and bio-utilisation of any biological resource by Indians”. Needless to say, regulation by imposition of fee is an accepted form of regulatory mechanism which negates the argument apparent from the literal reading of the statute that SBB has no control over an Indian entity. This has to be read with Section 24(2)-

“on receipt of an intimation under subsection (1), the SBB may in consultation with the local bodies.... prohibit or restrict any such activity if it is of opinion that such activity is detrimental or contrary to the objectives of conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity or equitable sharing of benefits...”.

Mention must also be made of Section 32 which provides for constitution of State Biodiversity Fund where inter alia all sums received by SBB of such other sources have to be kept. Thus a holistic reading of the Act would show that SBB is not expected to be a passive agency and that in the concept of FEBS no distinction is to be made between a foreign entity and an Indian enterprise - the only distinction being the proviso to Section 7 (viz) exception for locals, vaidas and hakims. It was this interpretation - and in particular the realisation that FEBS refers to the concern of legislators for benefits accruing to local and indigenous communities in return for parting traditional knowledge irrespective of who the beneficiary may be, foreign entity or Indian company- that prompted the court to deliver the DivyaPharmacy judgment.

The court was also swayed by the importance of international treaties and conventions ‘including CBD’ emphasised by Art. 51(c) of the Constitution - The Directive Principle of State Policy. This article (as noted by the apex court in National Legal Services Authority vs. Union of India) had to be read along with Art. 253 of the Constitution. If Parliament has made any legislation which is in conflict with international law then Indian Courts are bound to give effect to Indian law rather than international law. But in the absence of contrary limitation, courts in India would respect the rules of international law. As noted by the Supreme Court in Commissioner of Customs vs. G. M. Export, in a situation wherein India is a signatory to an international treaty and a statute is made to enforce a treaty obligation and if there been any difference between the language of first statute and a corresponding provision of the treaty, the statutory language should be construed in the same sense as that of the treaty. Thus the High Court of Uttarakhand felt that the ambiguities in the national statute have to be seen in the light of Reo and Nagoya and that a purposive rather than literal interpretation has to be made especially since the legislation is a socio-economic beneficial one. In particular, the court noted that FEBS as outlined in the Nagoya Protocol makes no distinction between Indian and foreign entities and delivered the judgement which has long term effect in the Indian Biodiversity landscape. The Court also proceeded to give the following illustration in the judgements - “In Uttarakhand there is a herb or biological resource found in the high mountains called Yarsagumba. Its local name is Keera Jadi, which is said to be an effective remedy for various ailments. It is also known as the Himalayan Viagra. The local and indigenous communities in Uttarakhand who reside in the high Himalayas and are mainly tribals are the traditional pickers of this biological resource. Through ages this knowledge is preserved and passed on to the next generation. The knowledge as to when and in which season to find the herb, its character, distinguished qualities, smell, colour are all part of this traditional knowledge. This knowledge may not strictly qualify as an intellectual property right of these communities but nevertheless is a property right now recognised for the first time by the 2002 Act as FEBS. Can it be said that Parliament on the one hand recognised this valuable right of the local communities but will still fail to protect it from an Indian entity?”.

The Cure that Kills

The judgement as expected evoked different reactions in various quarters. Alarm signals has been raised linking the situation to already prevailing arguments that CBD is a “cure that kills” because it has made biodiversity research quite complicated. The scientific fraternity finds it adding fuel to fire into already prevailing scenario wherein talent and resource trapped Indian research institutes find it tougher to collaborate with their foreign counterpart. They point out that the judgement is by no means an isolated event and must be read with other threats such as the one that confronted the scientific collaboration between the University of Agricultural Sciences (UAS), the US AID, Cornell University and Mahyco, an Indian seed company with foreign shareholding. In the said case the research project being undertaken by the UAS was the result of a bilateral agreement between GOI and the Government of US to infuse advance technology into Indian Agriculture to spur a green revolution. This was to be done through a PPP model. But UAS has allegedly failed to have the project approved by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India - a failure which according to a green NGO was in breach of the BD Act. On a petition by the NGO, the NBA initiated criminal prosecution of the academics to sign the tri partite agreement. While academicians were already aghast at the chilling effect that criminal prosecutions of this nature can have on research institutions throughout the length and breadth of the country, Divya Pharmacy episode has raised more eyebrows. Critics argue that these facts must be read in the backdrop of the reality that even for India based research projects without foreign involvement, NBA has a say in benefit sharing at the stage of filing a patent application. All these, according to them pose obstacles to commercialisation of research.

Adv. Sunitha Sridharan, a leading counsel in the field, has talked about a large number of businesses which are facing unjustified legal threats from SBBs. In one case there was apparently a raid on the premises of a company by forest officers who man the Board despite the reality that law does not give them power to carry out raids for offences under BD Act. Surprisingly the list of companies at the receiving end include herbal product industry, paper manufacturers and alcohol industry - strange indeed as BD Act applies only in cases where a company researches on a bio resource to make a value added product and not in cases such as making beer out of barley. In an absurd case in Madhya Pradesh, it was argued that coal would count as a bio resource and that proceeds of coal mining would be subject to benefit sharing under BD Act.

The Road Ahead

The need of the hour is to fine tune the Act in the light of recent development so that the legal curtain that has fallen between scientist and biodiversity/national policy making bodies can be raised, thereby balancing regulation with the need for innovation. Not-for-profit research is to be differentiated from commercial research leading to proprietary rights. NBA must be debureaucratized to achieve its solemn objective. A package of legal measures should be brought in, to shake off the shackles of lethargy that have fallen upon the organisation.

In complaint with the judgement of the Uttarakhand High Court, we must ensure that Indian entities are also brought within the ambit of FEBS. If action is not so taken, it will be a continuation of the extirpation, enslavement and entombments in minds of aboriginal population, the conquest and looting of the East Indies and the turning of Africa into a warren for the hunting of black-skins that signalled the “rosy dawn” of the era of capitalistic production. Denial of FEBS would amount to forcibly expropriating indigenous communities from the soil driving them from their homes, turning them into vagabonds and then whipping, branding and torturing them by laws grotesquely terrible into the discipline necessary to turn them into slaves of the modern era. It will be a repetition of history wherein the British felt justified in robbing land from the savages and then creating a legislation to legalise the robbery - claiming that the conquest and substituent conversion of wild land- the haunt of wolfs, bears and more savage men into farms-marked the march of civilization. Worse, it will be modern colonisation - a continuation of putting farming systems in place to cover the tables of distance consumers - from tea and sugar cane through cotton and eucalyptus to kiwi fruits and king prawns. Plundering bio-resources that would be processed and sold back to natives at a higher price in the form of pharma

drugs - whether done by foreign companies or Indian entities-can only be considered as a vestige of colonialism.

ABS and the Questions Raised

Needless to say, when indigenous entities are also brought within the ambit of benefit sharing, we must answer moral, ethical and legal question. Some of them have been outlined by Prashanth Reddy and Malathi in their classic article in the backdrop of the well-known KaniArogyapacha story.

1. Should the scientists at the TBGRI have secured informed consent from the Kani before researching the arogyapacha plant and sharing the results because it was the Kani who had identified to the TBGRI the properties of the berries and the arogyapacha plant as the source of the berries themselves? (Prashant Reddy and Malathi Lakshmikumar, 2015).

2. Who deserved to benefit from the commercialization of arogyapacha? Was it the Kani, who had initially identified the beneficial properties, or should it have been the scientists at the TBGRI who spent 8 years isolating the active compounds, or should it have been the company that took on the risk of investing in the manufacturing and marketing of the product?(Prashant Reddy and Malathi Lakshmikumar, 2015).

3. Ideally, all three parties (the tribe, the scientists, and the company) who contributed to the process should benefit from the profits. But how do you decide how profits should be shared? The key to any fair negotiation is for all parties to the negotiation to have the right to refuse the deal. The scientists and the company can walk away from the deal if they do not like the terms, but do the Kani have any power to deny a deal when they do not own the biological material and when the biological material is sourced from a plant grown on government land?(Prashant Reddy and MalathiLakshmikumar, 2015).

4. What if the Kani denied permission for commercialization of the TGBRI's product? Should the TBGRI have walked away or should it have gone ahead by itself? (Prashant Reddy and Malathi Lakshmikumar, 2015).

5. For how long should the company and the TBGRI be required to pay royalties to the Kani? Should the royalties be payable in perpetuity? Patents, after all, exist only for 20 years. (Prashant Reddy and Malathi Lakshmikumar, 2015).

6. What if there is a disagreement within the Kani on whether to share knowledge with the TBGRI, or alternatively, what if there is a dispute within the Kani on how to use the royalties? Should the law respect the internal dispute mechanism of the tribe or should the Kani be subjected to normal civil procedure? The issues posed above are complex and raise several moral, ethical, and legal questions. Keeping these issues in mind, we discuss below the dilemma in creating a legal framework to protect TK (Prashant Reddy and Malathi Lakshmikumar, 2015).

Conclusion

The answer to these questions should be accompanied by statutory guidance on the issue of equitable benefit sharing: (a) What percentage of the royalties would be deemed fair and equitable for the Kani's Traditional Knowledge pertaining to the Arogyapacha plant? (b) How could the Kani have reached a mutually beneficial deal when they did not have the power to walk out of a deal that was not in their interest (ibid.).

Similar to water falls of Marx', biodiversity and traditional knowledge are not found all over. They are also not replicable. The capitalist model create crisis and repeated cycles of exploitation. Any attempt at remodelling the biodiversity landscape of this country must take into account these ground realities and should imbibe the spirit of the Divya pharmacy judgement. Otherwise the national biodiversity law will continue to be a nightmare and arguments for taking it off the statute books will gain increased momentum.

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Structure of Non - Food Consumption Expenditure And its Adequacy and Accessibility Among the Agricultural Labourers: A Case Study of Kollam District in Kerala

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Consumption, the use of final goods and services by households to satisfy human wants, is a major development driver of any economy. The level of consumption determines not only the welfare of individuals but also the growth and development of the entire nation. Present study aims at analysing the non-food consumption of agricultural labourers and its adequacy and accessibility. Empirical analysis reveals that the non-food consumption of the agricultural labourers is still very low and they depend on the public sector for meeting educational and medical needs, which have now become unavoidable non-food items. The adequacy and accessibility of non-food items among the agricultural labourers is also an important issue. Besides, the existence of inequality in consumption expenditure within the group warrants a multi-pronged approach.

Introduction

Consumption is considered as a central activity in modern society, as it is unavoidable for the survival of human beings. India, a rapidly progressing country where low infrastructural growth coupled with high population growth has made the lives of many poor people extremely difficult. (PravakarSahoo, 2009)The standard of living of a household is determined by the consumption pattern and the quality of the consumption basket which clearly shows the level of welfare of the household. Food consumption pattern of households can be considered as an important barometer of individual wellbeing and welfare in any society. Human life is ultimately nourished and sustained by the consumption of goods and services (Vaidya Nathan, 1985; Reddy 2004). Consumption undoubtedly contributes to human development when it expands the capabilities and enhances the lives of people without adversely affecting the well-being of others.

One major category of people whose food and non-food consumption standards remain poor as compared to others is agricultural labourers. An equally important aspect of consumption is the adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles, which are significant in determining the standard of living.

Agricultural labour force of a country is different from its labour force in other sectors. They are the most unorganised and dispersed stratum of the country's labour force. They are usually the most unskilled category of workers and hence have no bargaining power to exercise in the labour market. As a result of their low bargaining capacity, their wages are found to be the lowest among the working category. They are comparatively an easily available factor of production and most of the countries do not face the problem of scarcity of agricultural labour, except a few.

The present study analyses the issues of pattern, adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles among the agricultural labourers in Kerala with special reference to Kollam district. The factors which identified for connecting the adequacy and accessibility are the social status of households, the income level and employment diversification. The paper has three parts. The first part summarises the major objectives and methodology of the study. The second part gives the level and pattern of consumption of non-food expenditure. This section also gives the level of dependency of people on public and private outlet for non-food articles, the level of adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles and intra group inequality of consumption expenditure followed by the concluding part.

Part: 1

1.1 Objectives

The following are the important objectives of the study.

- (i) To analyse the status of non-food consumption among agriculture labourers in Kerala
- (ii) To evaluate the adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles among agriculture labourers
- (iii) To examine the role of socio-economic factors in determining the level of adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles.
- (iv) To study the intra group inequality in non-food consumption expenditure among agricultural labourers.

1.2 Methodology

The study uses both primary and secondary data to analyse various objectives. The secondary sources particularly information gathered from various NSSO household consumption expenditure reports are used for identifying the overall consumption standards of agricultural labourers at the national and state level. The determinants of the consumption status of agricultural labourers and other related issues are studied with the help of primary data collected from the selected district of Kerala. The number of agricultural labourers per sq.km is used as a critical variable for the selection of a sample district for collecting primary data. Out of the districts which have a density of agricultural labourers greater than the state average, a district was randomly selected. The district selected for the purpose is Kollam. By using the criteria of precision and confidence level, 450 sample agricultural labourers are selected. A structured interview schedule was used for elicited information about consumption and related factors. Out of sample households, the number of SC/ST, OBC and General category households are 83, 147 and 220 respectively.

In this article the author attempt to analyse the adequacy and accessibility of non-food articles of agricultural labourers by using adequacy and accessibility indices. Before preparing the concerned indices, scores representing adequacy of quantity, quality and accessibility are prepared. The adequacy and accessibility scores are then converted into a normative index using the following formula -

$$(\text{Actual value} - \text{Minimum value}) / (\text{Maximum value} - \text{Minimum value})$$

The values of the index thus calculated lie between the minimum of zero and the maximum of one.

1.3 Review on determinants of consumption expenditure

There exists a number of studies related with consumption expenditure and its dimensions. Several studies on consumption and consumption pattern have been undertaken in India and in various parts of the world. Some of these studies are purely theoretical and some others are empirical. Empirical studies in India are mostly based on NSS data and concentrated on broad commodity groups like cereals, pulses; edible oils other food and non-food items.

A large number of theoretical proposition or hypothesis on consumption have been put in empirical evaluation over many decades. The important theoretical proposition put in to empirical verification are: the Keynesian consumption hypothesis (1936), Duesnberry's relative income hypothesis(1949), Friedman's permanent income hypothesis (1957), Modigliani's life time hypothesis (1954), Random Walk hypothesis of Hall (1978), the normal income hypothesis of Farrel, the growth hypothesis of Modigliani and Brumberg (1954). In addition to the empirical verification of the above hypothesis, a large number of case studies on consumption expenditure have been conducted at the global, national and local level. The inferences from these empirical surveys provide valid insights for policy decision making.

Amarjit Singh and Haramol Singh (1971) analysed the changing consumption pattern in Punjab. At the same time, the increasing disparity in consumption expenditure among households in India was studied by Satya Paul (1988). The volatility of farm income and its impact on consumption expenditure and other economic activities are studied by Gordon L. Carriker, Allen M. Featherstone, and Ted C. Schroeder (Jan., 1993). The

inelastic nature of consumption expenditure of farmworkers is an interesting inference derived from the study of Shenggen Fan, Eric J. Wailes and Gail L. Cramer (1995). The consumption expenditure showed significant differentials not only between the groups (rural vs. urban) but also within the group in India. This was highlighted in the study of Dr K.T. Geetha (2011) and G S Chatterjee (1976). Shubhashis Gangopadhyay and WilimaWadhwa(2004) evaluated the changes in consumption pattern of households on the basis of NSS consumption expenditure data during 1983 to 1999-00.

The above empirical reviews highlight that the consumption expenditure of the marginalised groups such as agricultural labourers are determined not only by income but also various other socio-economic factors including employment diversification.

Part: 2

2.1 Consumption status of agricultural labourers: National and state level comparison

Kerala shows a higher level of consumption as compared to rest of India at an absolute level as well as in its growth rate over the period 1999 and 2012. While the average MPCE increased by 3.44 times in India between 1999 (55th round) and 2012 (68th round of NSSO household consumption expenditure survey), it increased to 3.66 times in Kerala. This is in line with the consumption growth and consumerism experienced in Kerala. However, the relative status in consumption expenditure of various social and occupational groups in Kerala is not different from All India figures. It is found that the consumption expenditure is the lowest among agricultural labourers both in India as well as in Kerala.

2.2 Average MPCE (in Rs) by household type - Kerala and India

At the national level, among rural households, those belonging to the occupational group 'others' and 'agricultural labourers' experienced the highest and lowest average MPCE respectively. In urban India, average MPCE was the highest for household type 'others' and was the lowest for casual labour households.

Table 1 Average MPCE (Rs.) by household type for each sector

Average MPCE (Rs.) by household type India and Kerala (55 th to 68 th round)									
	Type of HH	55th round (1999-00)		61st round (2004-05)		66 th round (2009-10)		68th round (2011-12)	
		India	Kerala	India	Kerala	India	Kerala	India	Kerala
Rural	Self-employed in non-agriculture	502	800	604.14	1134.28	1111	1896	1509	2932
	Agri.Labour	386	570	415.65	690.77	828	1402	1159	1933
	Other labour	483	656	519.81	792.81	968	1454	1238	2081
	Self-employed in agri.	520	925	583.81	1296.53	1102	2407	1436	2989
	Reg. wage / salary earning							2002	3029
	Other	652	1016	818.19	1307.72	1557	2287	1893	3569
	All types	486	766	558.78	1013.15	1054	1835	1430	2669
Urban	Self-employed	813	950	982.35	1455.9	1806	2462	2415	3798
	Regular wage salary earning	981	1129	1212.66	1513.65	2326	3068	3062	3815
	Casual labour.	541	653	579.63	830.91	1090	1477	1514	2076
	Other	1031	1258	1444.97	1430.2	3012	3143	3734	4309
	All types	855	932	1052.36	1290.89	1984	2413	2630	3408

Source: NSSO Household consumption expenditure survey 55, 61,66 and 68th rounds, GOI

Growth rate of MPCE with respect to various household groups indicate the trend and extent of inequality among occupational groups. This can be done with the help of Table 1. As far as rural India is concerned, self-employed in agriculture and agricultural labour shows the highest relative change over the concerned period. Both these sections shows a growth of 300.60 and 300.26 percent respectively in the average MPCE. Meanwhile, other labour experiences the lowest growth in this category over the period of time and is below the national average growth of 294.24 percent.

The table reveals that in rural Kerala, occupational group 'Others' had the highest MPCE in the 55th, 61st and 68th round. At the same time in the 66th round, the highest MPCE is experienced by the household type self-employed in agriculture. Agricultural labour had the lowest MPCE in all four rounds. In urban Kerala, 'others' had the highest MPCE in the 55th, 61st and 68th rounds and the lowest MPCE is for the casual labour in all the four rounds.

In rural India, in the 68th round, the highest MPCE is experienced by the household group 'regular wage-salary earning', and the lowest MPCE is experienced by the occupational group 'agricultural labour'. The lower group's MPCE is just 57.89 percent of the MPCE of the highest household group. Similarly, in the case of urban India, highest MPCE is for others and lowest MPCE is for the casual labour. This implies the occupational group 'Others' had MPCE which is 146.53 percent higher than that of the lower group. It is inferred from the above analysis that in urban India, inequality in consumption expenditure is considerably higher than in rural India.

In rural Kerala, the highest MPCE (68th round) is for 'others', and the lowest MPCE is for agricultural labourers. In urban Kerala, the highest MPCE is for the occupational group 'others' and the lowest for casual labour. It is noted that both in rural India and in rural Kerala, the lowest MPCE is the agricultural labourers among the type of households. It is clear from the above analysis that, like in urban India, there exists a considerably higher level of inequality in rural and urban Kerala. However, the inequality in rural Kerala is less than that of rural India. The situation of agricultural labourers, who are considered as the marginalised income class, is similar to the social groups SC and ST. Average MPCE, both at national and at the state level shows that they are the lowest consumption group. Rural agricultural labourers, who receive low income had low consumption expenditure in all the four rounds which exhibits their low standard of living compared to other occupational groups.

2.3 Non-food consumption expenditure of the sample households

Consumption Expenditure on non-food items is a major component of consumption expenditure. At higher levels of income, it accounts for a major share of expenditure of a person. The important items of non-food expenditure include clothing, entertainment, education, health, rent, transportation expenses, etc.

2.3.1 Non-food Consumption Expenditure among agricultural labourers (social groups)

Table 6.18 shows the pattern of expenditure incurred on various non-food items by the households belonging to various social groups. The average monthly expenditure on non-food items is Rs 4044.75/. Among the social groups, the highest spending is made by people belonging to the General Community (Rs 4265.28) followed by OBC (Rs 4027.31). The lowest spending is from the part of the SC/ST community (Rs 3491.12). This difference in non-food expenditure between social groups is statistically very significant as revealed from the significant value of F-ratio.

Table 6.18 Average monthly Non-food consumption expenditure of sample households by social groups (in Rs)

Non-food items	SC/ST	OBC	General	Total	F-ratio	DF	Sig.
Clothing and bedding	249.74 (7.15)	280.53 (6.97)	290.09 (6.80)	279.52 (6.91)	4.11	2 and 447	0.017*
Entertainment	130.89 (3.75)	136.27 (3.39)	145.85 (3.42)	139.96 (3.46)	1.559	2 and 447	0.211
Education	463.17 (13.27)	619.61 (14.53)	715.35 (17.78)	622.03 (15.38)	2.218	2 and 447	0.11
Medical	326.51 (9.35)	327.64 (8.14)	425.44 (9.97)	375.25 (9.28)	5.341	2 and 447	0.005*
Cooking Fuel and lighting	134.35 (3.85)	159.18 (3.96)	167.94 (3.94)	158.89 (3.93)	9.91	2 and 447	0.00*
Conveyance	418.20 (11.98)	387.04 (9.61)	444.98 (10.43)	421.11 (1041)	0.248	4 and 447	0.781
Toilet articles	143.16 (4.10)	162.75 (4.04)	161.56 (3.79)	158.56 (3.92)	6.644	2 and 447	0.001*
House rent	100.36 (2.87)	101.54 (2.52)	125.18 (2.93)	112.88 (2.79)	0.116	2 and 447	0.891
Electricity	147.42 (4.22)	167.18 (4.15)	178.58 (4.19)	169.11 (4.18)	11.26	2 and 447	0.000*
Footwear	110.69 (3.17)	125.31 (3.11)	124.29 (2.91)	122.12 (3.02)	6.69	2 and 447	0.001*
Taxes and cesses	98.87 (2.83)	104.79 (2.60)	102.56 (2.40)	102.61 (2.54)	1.129	2 and 447	0.324
Cigarette and tobacco	69.23 (1.98)	50.33 (1.25)	62.87 (1.47)	59.95 (1.48)	2.15	2 and 447	0.118
Diesel/petrol	73.70 (2.11)	148.47 (3.69)	184.00 (4.31)	152.05 (3.76)	6.80	3 and 447	0.001*
House or other maintenance cost	528.45 (15.14)	504.52 (12.53)	540.99 (12.68)	526.76 (13.03)	2.91	2 and 447	0.055
Newspaper	41.29 (1.18)	68.23 (1.70)	64.07 (1.50)	61.23 (1.51)	3.305	5 and 447	0.038*
Telephone	229.61 (6.58)	252.03 (6.26)	269.15 (6.31)	256.26 (6.34)	2.348	6 and 447	0.097
Other consumer services, and durables	328.97 (9.42)	338.06 (8.39)	370.69 (8.69)	352.34 (8.71)	1.349	8 and 447	0.26
Total	3491.12	4027.31	4265.28	4044.75	6.66	9 and 447	0.001*

Note 1:*** Significant at 5% level

2: Figures in the bracket show the percentage

Source: Primary data

The Table also highlights the itemwise pattern of non-food expenditure. Among the non-food items, the highest spending is on education services, followed by house maintenance and medical services. Education and medical services account for a significant share of expenditure on non-food items. For most of the items, the amount spent by the General category is higher than that of OBC and SC/ST categories. SC/ST households spend the lowest amount for all items as compared to other social groups. With respect to clothing, medical service, cooking gas, toilet articles, transport services, electricity and newspaper, the difference in expenditure among social groups is statistically very significant. In spite of low income and expenditure of SC/ST, they set apart a significant portion of expenditure on the essential items such as education and medical services.

2.3.2 Non-food consumption expenditure of agricultural labourers (income groups)

The relationship between income and monthly expenditure on non-food items is given in Table 6.19. It is natural that as income increases, the consumption expenditure also increases. The non-food consumption of higher-income groups is significantly greater than that of the lower-income groups. Also, this variation of expenditure among income groups is also visible in the case of individual items also. Except for medical expenses and house rent, the expenditure difference between income groups is statistically significant as shown by the significant F-ratio as given in the Table. This may be due to the fact that these two items are income inelastic and have a positive value even at very low levels of income.

Table 6.19 Average monthly non-food consumption expenditure of sample households and classification of household income (in Rs)

Non-food items	Classification of household income					ANOVA result		
	monthly income below Rs.15000	income between Rs15000 & Rs 20000	income between Rs 20000 & Rs 25000	income above Rs 25000 Percent	Total	F	DF	Sig.
Clothing and bedding	209.05 (7.18)	258.79 (7.09)	294.68 (6.19)	349.96 (7.06)	278.11 (6.91)	44.32	3 and 447	0.00*
Entertainment	100.33 (3.44)	124.25 (3.40)	149.52 (3.14)	183.42 (3.70)	139.38 (3.46)	35.01	3 and 447	0.00*
Education	356.11 (12.24)	527.57 (14.46)	807.47 (16.95)	827.04 (16.68)	622.03 (15.37)	7.74	3 and 447	0.00*
Medical	337.42 (11.60)	354.09 (9.70)	453.63 (9.52)	380.11 (7.67)	375.25 (9.28)	2.30	3 and 447	0.076
Cooking Fuel and lighting	139.37 (4.79)	144.12 (3.94)	173.30 (3.64)	181.51 (3.67)	158.89 (3.93)	15.67	3 and 447	0.00*
Conveyance	329.03 (11.31)	387.19 (10.61)	531.59 (11.15)	464.68 (9.37)	421.11 (10.41)	3.97	3 and 447	0.00*
Toilet articles	122.07 (4.19)	155.62 (4.26)	171.63 (3.60)	184.02 (3.71)	158.56 (3.92)	60.28	3 and 447	0.00*
House rent	107.04 (3.68)	108.64 (2.98)	195.08 (4.09)	71.16 (1.44)	112.88 (2.79)	0.92	3 and 447	0.434
Electricity	141.88 (4.87)	155.09 (4.25)	178.30 (3.74)	200.65 (4.05)	169.11 (4.18)	36.05	3 and 447	0.00*
Footwear	88.04 (3.02)	114.31 (3.14)	129.93 (2.72)	153.84 (3.10)	122.12 (3.02)	208.21	3 and 447	0.00*

Taxes and cesses	98.75 (3.39)	97.17 (2.67)	100.25 (2.10)	112.91 (2.28)	102.61 (2.53)	8.34	3 and 447	0.00*
Cigarette and tobacco	41.13 (1.41)	67.56 (1.85)	56.68 (1.19)	69.88 (1.41)	59.95 (1.48)	3.82	3 and 447	0.01*
Diesel/petrol	72.98 (2.51)	52.32 (1.43)	169.62 (3.56)	310.17 (6.25)	152.05 (3.75)	39.64	3 and 447	0.00*
House or other maintenance cost	389.19 (13.38)	499.41 (13.68)	614.70 (12.90)	615.63 (12.42)	526.77 (13.02)	5.49	3 and 447	0.001
Newspaper	24.18 (0.83)	45.40 (1.24)	71.40 (1.50)	102.27 (2.06)	61.23 (1.51)	24.46	3 and 447	0.00*
Telephone	172.52 (5.93)	221.80 (6.08)	270.51 (5.68)	353.06 (7.12)	256.26 (6.34)	43.61	3 and 447	0.00*
Other consumer services and durables	286.60 (9.85)	336.12 (9.21)	396.02 (8.31)	396.99 (8.01)	352.34 (8.71)	7.22	3 and 447	0.00*
Total	2908.56	3649.45	4764.31	4957.31	4044.75	48.80	3 and 447	0.00*

Note:** Significant at 5% level,

2. Figures in the bracket show the percentage

Source: Primary data

2.3.3 Employment sources and Non-food consumption expenditure

The number of sources of income also influences the non-food consumption expenditure of the sample households. The sample population with a single source of income has a comparatively lower level of consumption compared to those with multiple sources of employment for earning income. Table 6.20, shows that expenditure on almost all items is higher for those households who have multiple sources of income. The average monthly non-food consumption expenditure for the single employment household category is Rs 3702.73, while it is Rs 4169.12/- for the multiple employment group. The difference in expenditure between these groups is statistically significant as shown by the significant value of the F-test as given in the Table.

Table 6.20 Average monthly non-food consumption expenditure of sample households and number of employment sources (in Rs)

Non-food items	Number of employment sources		Total	ANOVA results		
	Single employment	Multiple employment	F	DF	Sig.	
Clothing and bedding	248.33(6.71)	290.77(6.97)	279.52(6.91)	13.38	1 and 447	0.00*
Entertainment	121.84(3.29)	146.55(3.52)	139.96(3.46)	10.35	2 and 447	0.001*
Education	712.57(19.24)	589.11(14.13)	622.03(15.38)	1.76	3 and 447	0.186
Medical	342.06(9.24)	387.32(9.29)	375.25(9.28)	1.75	4 and 447	0.187
Cooking Fuel and lighting	136.83(3.70)	166.90(4.00)	158.89(3.93)	23.42	5 and 447	0.00*
Conveyance	383.49(10.35)	434.80(10.43)	421.12(10.41)	2.13	6 and 447	0.145
Toilet articles	144.54(3.90)	163.65(3.93)	158.56(3.93)	17.83	7 and 447	0.000*
House rent	39.67(1.07)	139.50(3.35)	112.88(2.79)	3.14	8 and 447	0.077
Electricity	138.79(3.75)	180.13(4.32)	169.11(4.18)	62.04	9 and 447	0.000*

Footwear	107.63(2.91)	127.38(3.06)	122.12(3.02)	36.17	10 and 447	0.000*
Taxes and cesses	96.94(2.62)	104.67(2.51)	102.61(2.54)	6.45	11 and 447	0.011*
Cigarette and tobacco	55.03(1.49)	61.74(1.48)	59.95(1.48)	0.75	12 and 447	0.387
Diesel/petrol	103.09(2.78)	169.85(4.07)	152.05(3.76)	7.16	13 and 447	0.008*
House or other maintenance cost	529.78(14.30)	525.67(12.61)	526.76(13.02)	0.01	14 and 447	0.937
Newspaper	43.52(1.18)	67.67(1.62)	61.23(1.51)	8.13	15 and 447	0.005*
Telephone	207.64(5.61)	273.94(6.57)	256.26(6.34)	19.15	16 and 447	0.000*
Other consumer services and durables	293.05(7.91)	373.89(8.97)	352.34(8.71)	14.59	18 and 447	0.03*
Total	3702.73	4169.13	4044.75	6.96	19 and 447	0.009*

Note 1: ** Significant at 5% level,

2. Figures in the bracket show the percentage.

Source: Primary data

The general trend of the higher level of non-food consumption expenditure among the multiple employment categories as compared to the single employment group is equally applicable for the individual items also. In the case of clothing, entertainment, transport, toilet articles, electricity, footwear, taxes and levies, diesel/petrol, and newspaper the differences in expenditure between these groups are statistically significant. At the same time, such differences in monthly expenditure are not found in most essential service items such as education and medical health. Since these services are not only essential but also unavoidable, the higher expenditure on these items by a single employment group relative to their income creates an extra burden to them which unfavourably affect their standard of living.

2.4 Adequacy and accessibility of non-food items

Adequacy of non-food consumption is also a prerequisite for maintaining a decent living standard. After meeting the food consumption requisites, consumers are eager to have non-food comforts and luxuries for making life easier and effortless. Since the selected households find it very difficult to gauge the difference in quality adequacy of non-food items, in the present analysis only the adequacy of quantity is taken into account. The non-food expenditure on items such as clothing, education, health, cooking fuel, toilet articles, and electricity is used for assessing the adequacy and accessibility of non-food items. Table 6.21 shows that the majority of sample households are not getting an adequate quantity of the selected non-food items. Also, the households find it difficult to access these items.

Table 6.21 Adequacy and accessibility of non-food items by sample households

Non-food items	Adequacy in quantity				Accessibility		
	Not Adequate	Less adequate	Adequate	Very adequate	Difficult	Less easily	Easily
Clothing and bedding	79 (17.56)	282 (62.66)	72 (16)	17 (3.77)	127 (28.22)	289 (64.22)	34 (7.56)
Education	52 (11.56)	135 (30)	217 (48.22)	48 (10.67)	236 (52.44)	146 (32.44)	68 (15.11)
Medical	68 (15.11)	172 (38.22)	186 (41.33)	24 (5.33)	213 (47.33)	193 (42.88)	44 (9.78)

Cooking fuel and lighting	102 (22.67)	135 (30.00)	178 (939.55)	35 (7.77)	147 (32.67)	249 (55.33)	54 (12.00)
Toilet articles	97 (21.56)	214 (47.55)	124 (27.56)	15 (3.33)	94 (20.87)	250 (55.56)	106 (23.56)
Electricity	68 (15.11)	228 (50.67)	146 (32.44)	8 (1.78)	19 (4.22)	126 (28.00)	305 (67.78)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages. Source: Primary data

The adequacy and accessibility of non-food items are evaluated by preparing a mean score for the selected items. The scores are converted into a normative index value for getting an idea about the relative position of each household. Two scores and their corresponding index values are prepared. The prepared scores represent the adequacy of quantity and accessibility of non-food items. The procedure for calculating these scores and indices are explained in the methodology part of this paper.

2.4.1 Index of adequacy and accessibility of non-food items (social groups)

Table 6.22 shows the derived index of adequacy of quantity and accessibility of non-food items among the social groups. The mean score is less than two for adequacy and accessibility which indicates that the households are, in general, not satisfied with the availability of these non-food items. Compared to the adequacy, the households have a higher accessibility level of these items. The values of these indices are not uniform across various social groups. The relative position of each household belonging to various communities is shown by the mean value of the index.

Table 6.22 Index of adequacy and accessibility of non-food items of sample households - social groups

Social groups	Quantity adequacy		Accessibility	
	Mean score	Mean index	Mean score	Mean index
SC/ST	1.1586	0.4391	1.4414	0.5165
OBC	1.1916	0.4611	1.5676	0.6006
General	1.2326	0.4884	1.5902	0.6157
Total	1.2056	0.4704	1.5553	0.5924
ANOVA results for adequacy of non-food items (quantity) and social groups: F ratio 1.898, DF 2 and 447 sig 0.151				
ANOVA results for accessibility of non-food items and social groups: F ratio 8.733, DF 2 and 447 sig 0.000*				

Note:** Significance at 5% level

Source: Primary data

Though at a marginal level, the values of these indices are lower among SC/ST groups as compared to the OBC and General community, it implies that among the social groups, the position of SC/ST community with respect to adequacy and accessibility of non-food items are relatively lower than other groups. However, as the value of F-statistics show, the differences in adequacy in the quantity and quality of non-food items among social groups are not significant. It shows that all social groups within the agriculture labouring classes enjoy an almost uniform status in adequacy with respect to non-food items. At the same time, the difference in accessibility index among social groups is statistically significant. It denotes that as compared to SC/ST households, the households belonging to OBC and General Community enjoy a greater level of accessibility of these non-food items.

2.4.2 Index of adequacy and accessibility of non-food items (income groups)

Table 6.23 shows the adequacy and accessibility of non-food items among various income groups. As revealed by Table 6.23, in general, the status in adequacy and accessibility of non-food items increases as the income of household increases.

Table 6.23 Index of adequacy and accessibility of non-food items of sample households - income groups

Income group	Quantity adequacy		Accessibility	
	Mean score	Mean index	Mean score	Mean index
Monthly income below Rs15000	1.1235	0.4156	1.5877	0.6140
Monthly income between Rs15000 and Rs 20000	1.1980	0.4653	1.5401	0.5823
Monthly income between Rs 20000 and Rs 25000	1.1833	0.4556	1.5638	0.5981
Monthly income above Rs 25000	1.2959	0.5306	1.5388	0.5814
Total	1.2056	0.4704	1.5553	0.5924
ANOVA result for adequacy of non-food items (quantity) and classification of household income: F ratio 6.414, DF 3 and 446, sig. 0.000*				
ANOVA result for accessibility of nonfood items and classification of household income: F ratio 0.760, DF 3 and 446, sig. 0.517				

Note:*** Significance at 5% level

Source: Primary data

With respect to the values of indices relating to the adequacy of quantity and accessibility, the lowest income group suffers the most when compared with higher income groups. However, except for adequacy of the quantity of non-food items, such differences in the values of indices are not statistically significant among various income groups. It is obvious that the differences in income do not deter a person from either getting non-food items in sufficient quantity or accessing these items.

2.4.3 Adequacy and accessibility of non-food items and number of sources of employment

Multiple employment sources give more secured income for the agricultural labourers as they are unemployed during the off-seasons - between the sowing and harvesting interval. In these periods, other sources of employment act as a smoother of income. Therefore, the number of sources of employment may influence the adequacy and accessibility of non-food items. Table 6.24 shows the indices of adequacy and accessibility among various types of employment groups.

As shown in the Table, the adequacy of quantity and accessibility of non-food items are greater among the multiple employment group as compared to the single employment group. It shows that multiple employment groups could able to smoothen the fluctuation of income ably and which enable them to get the non-food items adequately. The difference in quantity adequacy among different employment groups is statistically significant as revealed from the significant value of F-statistics as given in the Table. However, with respect to accessibility, the differences among income groups are not statistically significant.

Table 6.24 Index of adequacy and accessibility of non-food items of sample households - number of sources of employment

Number of employment source	Quantity adequacy		Accessibility	
	Mean score	Mean index	Mean index	Mean score
Single employment	1.1347	0.4231	1.5525	0.5906
Multiple employment	1.2313	0.4875	1.5564	0.5931
Total	1.2056	0.4704	1.5553	0.5924
ANOVA results for adequacy of non-food items (quantity) and number of employment source: F ratio 8.483, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.004*				
ANOVA result for accessibility of non-food items and number of employment source: F ratio 0.016, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.899				

Note:*** Significance at 5% level Source: Primary data

2.5 Dependence on public and private outlet for non-food items: education and health services

Among the non-food items, two important items which are supplied by both public and private sectors are education and health services. These items are taken as representative non-food items for assessing household's preference for the public and private sector. Table 6.25 shows the level of dependence of sample households on the public and private sector for these items among various social groups. The following Table 6.25 shows that all social groups depend on the public sector for education services. In the case of education, 59.3% and 6.2% of SC/ST community depend on public sector partially and fully respectively. In the case of OBC, these percentages are 78.3% and 2.8% respectively. For General community, it is 66.1% and 6.4% respectively. As compared to OBC, the dependence of SC/ST on the public sector for education is higher. But at the same time, it is lower than the dependency level of the General community. In the case of dependence on the private sector for education, it is higher for General community followed by OBC and SC/ST. Only 8.3% of SC/ST fully depend on the private sector for education, while the same figure for OBC and General community are 10.20% and 20.45% respectively. The Chi-square test statistics is highly significant for dependence on public and private sector for education service among the social groups. It implies that the higher dependence of SC/ST on the public sector for education is significantly greater than the dependence by OBC and General Community households. In the case of private-sector dependence, the level of dependence of SC/ST and OBC is significantly lower than that of General community.

Table 6.25 Dependence of sample households on public and private institutions for education and health (in Percentage)

Social group	Education						Health service					
	Public			Private			Public			Private		
	Nil	Partial	Full	Nil	Partial	Full	Nil	Partial	Full	Nil	Partial	Full
SC/ST	34.60	59.30	6.20	27.70	63.87	8.43	0	97.60	2.40	.00	96.40	3.60
OBC	18.90	78.30	2.80	9.50	80.30	10.20	0	100.00	.00	.70	98.00	1.40
General	27.50	66.10	6.40	15.90	84.10	20.45	0	97.70	2.30	.90	97.70	1.40
Total	26.00	68.80	5.20	16.00	69.20	14.80	0	98.40	1.60	.70	97.60	1.80
Chi square value for dependence on public education 10.82, df 3 and sig 0.029												
Chi square value for dependence on private education 13.05, df 3 and sig 0.001*												
Chi square value for dependence on government sector for medical service 3.457, df 2 sig 0.178												
Chi square value for dependence on private sector for medical service 2.69, df 4 sig 0.610												

Note:*** Significance at 5% level Source: Primary data

In the case of health services, all social groups depend on both the public and private sectors. While 2.4% of SC/ST households fully depending on the public sector for health services, it is zero for OBC and 2.4% for General Community. As the value of Chi-square test statistics is not significant, it highlights that there is no significant difference in the dependence of people belonging to various social groups on the public and private sector for availing health services. It again implies that all sections of people depend highly on both public and private sector for getting medical services.

2.5.1 Dependency index for non-food items: education and health

Table 6.26 shows the mean score and the corresponding index of dependence for education and health services on public and private sector among various social groups. In general, the value of dependence on the public sector is higher than in the private sector. It implies that dependence on the public sector for education and medical services is higher than dependence on the private sector. Within the social group, public dependence is higher among SC/ST as compared to the OBC and General community. The significance of F-statistics shows that the difference in dependence on the public sector within the social groups is statistically significant. In the case of dependence on the private sector, it is higher among General and OBC households as compared to SC/ST. Also, as the value of F-statistics shows, this difference among social groups is statistically highly significant.

Table 6.26 Index of Dependence on Public and private sectors for education and health by social groups

Social group	Public sector dependence		Private sector dependence	
	Mean score	Mean Index	Mean score	Mean Index
SC/ST	1.2603	0.4619	0.8404	0.3594
OBC	1.2500	0.4541	0.9313	0.5066
General	1.1627	0.3887	0.9381	0.5175
Total	1.2389	0.4458	0.9178	0.4848
ANOVA results for dependency for public sector for selected non-food items: F ratio 6.174, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.002*				
ANOVA results for dependency for private sector for selected non-food items: F ratio 32.10, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.000*				

Note:** Significant at 5% level Source: primary data

Table 6.27 shows the indices of dependency on public and private sector by various income groups for education and health services. Compared to the higher income people, the people belonging to the lower income group depend more on the public sector for getting these services. However, such differences in dependency on the public sector for non-food services among income groups is not statistically significant. Also, the difference in dependency on the private sector among income groups is not statistically significant. In general, the income difference does not affect the dependency level of people either for public sector or private sector.

Table 6.27 Index of Dependence on Public and private sectors for education and health by Income groups

Classification of monthly income group	Public sector dependence		Private sector dependence	
	Mean score	Mean Index	Mean score	Mean Index
Monthly income below Rs15000	1.2700	0.4691	0.9274	0.5004
Income between Rs15000 & Rs 20000	1.2275	0.4373	0.9074	0.4679

Income between Rs 20000 & Rs 25000	1.2224	0.4334	0.9262	0.4983
Income above Rs 25000	1.2349	0.4428	0.9154	0.4808
Total	1.2389	0.4458	0.9178	0.4848
ANOVA results for dependency for public sector for selected non-food items:F ratio 0.974, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.405				
ANOVA results for dependency for private sector for selected non-food items:F ratio 0.942, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.420				

Note:** Significant at 5% level Source: Primary data

Table 6.28 shows the level of dependency on public and private sectors for education and medical services by various employment groups such as single and multiple employment. The single employment group depends more on the public sector for these items as compared to households with multiple employment. The reverse is true for dependence on the private sector. However, these differences are not significant statistically as shown by the F-ratio which implies that employment diversification does not make any differences in the level of their dependence on either public or private sector for the selected non-food items.

Table 6.28 Index of Dependence on Public and private sectors for education and health by employment status

Employment group	Public sector dependence		Private sector dependence	
	Mean score	Mean Index	Mean score	Mean Index
Single	1.2553	0.4581	0.9167	0.4829
Multiple	1.2329	0.4414	0.9210	0.4900
Total	1.2389	0.4458	0.9178	0.4848
ANOVA results for dependency for public sector for selected non-food items, F ratio 0.883, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.348				
ANOVA results for dependency for private sector for selected non-food items, F ratio 0.152, Df 2 and 447, sig 0.697				

Source: Primary data

2.6 Inequality in non-food consumption expenditure

As agricultural labourers are socially and economically deprived and marginalised in society, they have homogenous characteristics in many respects. However, a number of socio-economic factors differentiate people within the same marginalised section such as agriculture labourers. These factors create a wedge in socio-economic status within the concerned group. Among the various aspects of consumption expenditure, its inequality status is an important aspect that is influenced by various socio-economic factors. The value of the Gini coefficient is used for evaluating the existing inequality in consumption expenditure on food articles among various groups within the agriculture labouring class.

Table 8 Inequality in non-food consumption expenditure: Value of Gini Coefficient

Indicators	Status	Gini coefficient
Monthly income	Low	0.2137
	High	0.1843
Employment	Single	0.274
	Multiple	0.202
Social group	SC/ST	0.2603
	OBC	0.1946
	General	0.2223

Source: Primary Data

Table 8 gives the value of the Gini coefficient for consumption expenditure on non-food items among various groups of agriculture labourers. The factors considered for evaluating inequality are the monthly income, employment status and social group. It shows that inequality is high among the low income group as compared to the high-income group. Within the social groups, inequality is highest among the SC/ST agricultural labour households. Inequality is lowest among the OBC followed by the General category. Also, within the employment groups, inequality is high among the single employment category of households. It is found that the existing socio-economic factors determines the inequality status in consumption expenditure of agricultural labourers. Thus, SC/ST households with single employment and low income, not only suffers from a lower level of non-food consumption expenditure, but also experience a higher level of inequality.

Part 3

Conclusion

It can be concluded that, agricultural labourers, one of the marginalised sections in Kerala suffer from very low levels of non-food consumption and they depend on the public outlets for maintaining this low levels of consumption. It is also found that monthly income, employment and social groups influence non-food consumption of these marginalised sections. There exists low accessibility and inadequacy both in quantity and quality of non-food consumption along with wide disparities. Thus, a multi-pronged approach is required to tackle this issue of low consumption expenditure and intra group inequality in the consumption of non-food articles among agricultural labourers.

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Children with Special Needs and the RTE in Kerala: Issues and Challenges

Vidya Nair

Inclusive education and the integration of children with special needs with other children have been prioritized in the Right to Education Act (2009) as well as the Kerala Right to Education Rules (2011). The rules specify aids and incentives, facilities as well as specially trained teachers to assist their educational development. The paper analyses the extent to which these provisions have been implemented in Kerala and the practical difficulties in catering to their needs.

Introduction

One of the most marginalised sections in society are children with disabilities. They are unable to realize their right to education as they face discrimination on a daily basis in the form of negative attitudes, lack of adequate policies and legislation. According to estimates quoted by a UNICEF study there are at least 93 million children with disabilities in the world (<http://www.unicef.org>disabilities>).

To ensure that all children enjoy basic human rights without discrimination, disability inclusion needs to be mainstreamed in all policies and plans. Education systems should promote inclusion by ensuring the presence, participation and achievement of all children, including children with disabilities(<http://www.globalpartnership.org/focusareas/children-with-disabilities>).

The Right of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 in Article 2(m) states that ‘inclusive education means a system of education wherein students with or without disability learn together and the system of teaching and learning is suitably adapted to meet the learning needs of different types of students with disability.’

Article 2(s) in the Act states that “a person with disability means a person with long term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairment which in interaction with barriers, hinders his full and effective participation in society equally with others” (GoI: 2016). The Right to Education (RTE) (Amendment) Act 2012, states that a child with severe disabilities include children with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple disabilities.

All children including children with special educational needs have a right to an education which is appropriate to their needs. Education should enable all children, in line with their abilities to live full, independent lives. The objectives of the study therefore are to assess the extent to which the RTE provisions pertaining to Children with Special Needs (CWSN) have been implemented in Kerala and to identify the issues and challenges in implementing these provisions.

Methodology

The study is interdisciplinary in nature and involves both qualitative as well as quantitative analysis of data. The universe of study comprises three districts in Kerala namely, Thiruvananthapuram, Palakkad and Kasaragod. Three sets of structured questionnaires were used to gather relevant data pertaining to the RTE from 242 Principals, school teachers and parents of children studying in 25 Government, aided and unaided schools in these districts. The software ‘R’ was used to process data from the field and results have been tabulated and presented in the study. Further, separate open-ended interview schedules were administered to the members of the civil society and bureaucrats which elicited significant information pertaining to the RTE and CWSN which supplemented and reinforced the data gathered through the field survey.

The ensuing sections discuss the provisions of the RTE with special reference to CWSN followed by

analysis of its implementation in Kerala based on a field study in three districts viz., Thiruvananthapuram, Palakkad and Kasaragod.

The RTE in Kerala and CWSN

The Kerala Right to Education Rules (2011) stipulates detailed provisions for CWSN in articles 6(7) (8), 7 (1)(f), 7 (3) a-g. They are as follows:

Article 7 (3) states that “the Government shall-

- (a) Ensure that children with disabilities have access to free education till they attain the age of 18 years and shall promote their integration in the regular schools;
- (b) Equip and upgrade the existing Special Schools for children with severe disabilities and provide them with residential facilities in appropriate locations;
- (c) Provide vocational training to all children with disabilities;
- (d) Provide special teaching/learning material and improved assistive devices and all such items that are necessary to give a child with disability equal opportunities in education;
- (e) Provide health care for the child with disabilities at the school level;
- (f) Formulate a restructured and relevant curriculum for children with various categories of disabilities;
- (g) Develop appropriate systems for their continuous and comprehensive evaluation.”

Article 7(1)(f) states that the “Government shall- impart quality education to children with disabilities by providing facilities for pre-service and in-service training for teachers through a specially designed training course in consultation with the national institutions in this field”.

Article 6(7) states that “in respect of children with disability, which prevent them from accessing the school, the Government or the local authority shall make appropriate and safe transportation arrangements to enable them to attend school and complete elementary education” (GoK: 2011, 9,11-12)

The RTE Act 2009 was amended in 2012 based on the representations from minority institutions and from organizations that work for the welfare of the disabled children. As a result, the provisions of the RTE were weakened. The RTE (Amendment) Act 2012, in Section 3 includes children with disabilities in the ‘definition of child belonging to disadvantaged group’, however, in section 4 (3) provides that children with multiple disabilities and those with severe disabilities have the right to opt for home-based education. This option of home-based schooling in fact goes against the principle of inclusive education (GoI: 2012, 1-2). Home based schooling may have a negative or even regressive impact on teacher’s attitudes as the responsibility to address different learning needs is passed to special educators in charge of home-based education. This will mean moving away from the principles of non-discrimination and inclusion (Ahuja: 2012, 14). The amendment therefore has significantly diluted the provisions of the Act.

According to the 19th Joint Review Mission (JRM) report of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan which is the prime vehicle for implementing the RTE in Kerala (SSA: 2014) out of a child population of 53, 40,868, the number of CSWN identified were 1, 78,201(3.3%), of which 100% are enrolled or receive alternative services. It is reported that 1284 CWSN receive services in 49 Autism centres. However, children with other disabilities are not getting a similar level of attention. As per the report, resource teachers have received various types of training for their work with CWSN, though, such training does not always meet the needs of the teachers as it is not systematic.

CWSN and the RTE in Kerala: Issues and Challenges

Special consideration is given under the RTE for CWSN in order to ensure that they have free access to education until the age of 18. Government has laid down important directives for the provision of special

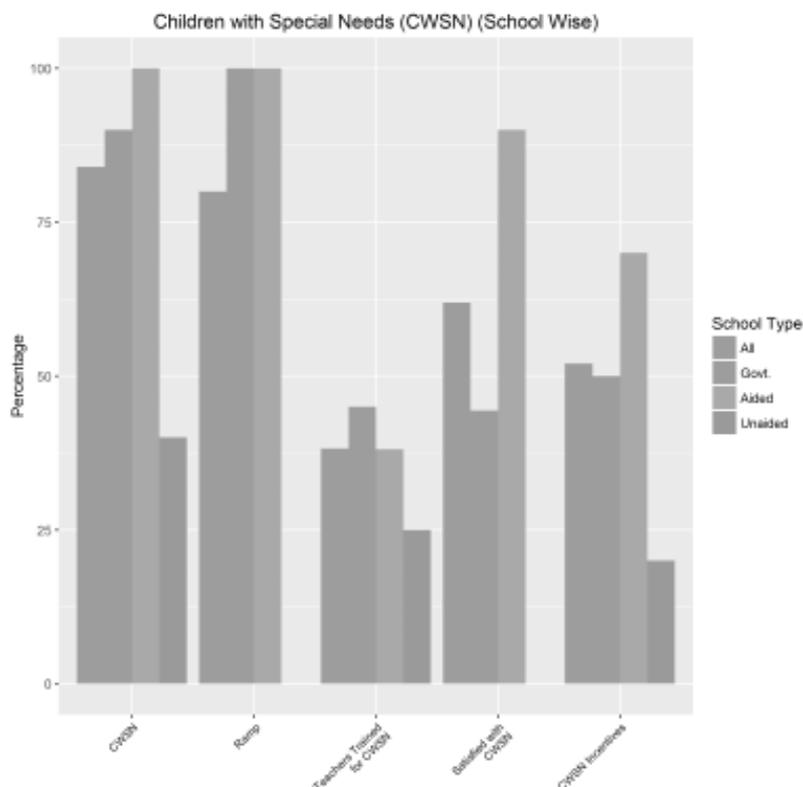
teaching learning material, assistive devices and in-service training for teachers in order to impart quality education to children with disabilities. Fourteen children with disabilities were identified through the survey. Out of them, half were children with learning disabilities, some had physical disabilities and a few had mental disabilities. A few children with serious health problems were also identified. Details regarding the facilities, academic performance, and incentives for CWSN in the schools surveyed in the three districts are discussed below.

Table 1 : Children with Special Needs (CWSN) Facilities, Performance and Incentives (%)

Type of School	CWSN		Ramp		Teachers Trained for CWSN		Satisfied with CWSN Performance		CWSN Incentives	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
All	84	16	80	20	38.2	61.8	61.9	38.1	52	48
Govt.	90	10	100	0	45	55	44.4	55.6	50	50
Aided	100	0	100	0	38.1	61.9	90	10	70	30
Unaided	40	60	0	100	25	75	0	100	20	80
Thiruvananthapuram	87.5	12.5	87.5	12.5	48.4	51.6	71.4	28.6	50	50
Kasaragod	88.9	11.1	77.8	22.2	27.8	72.2	62.5	37.5	44.4	55.6
Palakkad	75	25	75	25	40	60	50	50	62.5	37.5

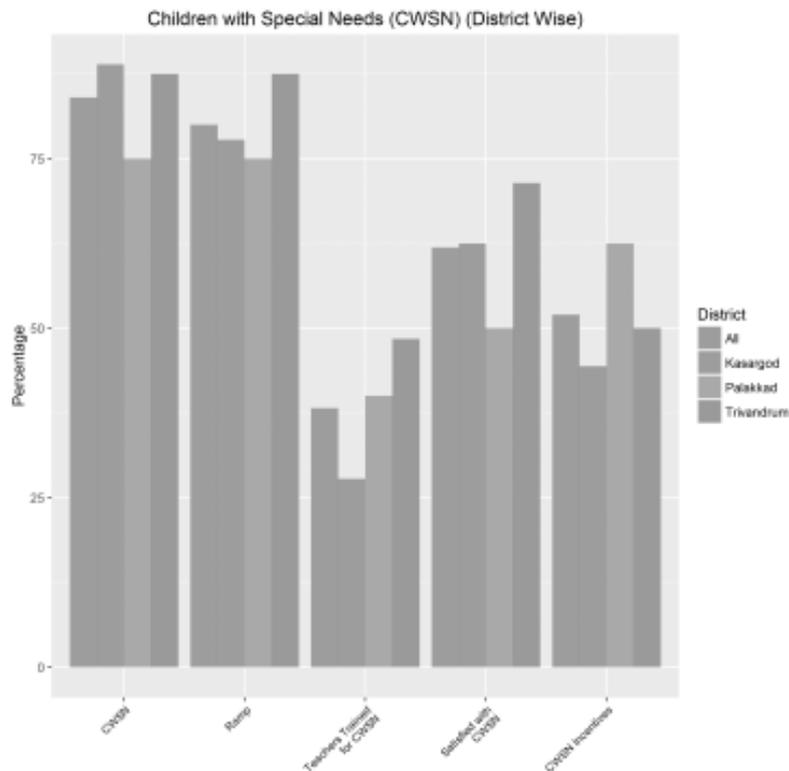
Source: The Survey

Figure 1



Source: The Survey

Figure 2



Source: The Survey

In Government and aided schools, ramps have been provided for CWSN. In unaided schools, only 60% Principals stated that there were CWSN in their schools and 100% stated that there are no ramps in their institutions. Regarding teachers trained for CWSN, the overall picture is only 38.2%, with unaided at the lowest (25%). This reflects the scant attention paid to this aspect so far. Among the districts, only 27.8% teachers got training in Kasaragod with Thiruvananthapuram claiming 48.4% and Palakkad claimed 40%. Level of satisfaction with CWSN performance is low (44.4%) in Government schools, whereas, in unaided schools the dissatisfaction is 100%. Incentives are provided in aided schools quite well (70%), with Government schools showing 50% and unaided schools giving scant attention to the needs of children with special needs. Among the districts, Palakkad is far behind the other two districts.

In order to improve the academic performance of CWSN many schools offer incentives in the form of scholarships. However, in spite of several incentives available, many Principals state that there are difficulties in integrating CWSN with other children. Shortage of CWSN trained teachers is the main reason. There are problems in co-scholastic areas too as often these children are unable to mingle with other children and do not participate in group activities as a result of which they feel left out and isolated. Many schools reported that mentally retarded children are difficult to control and often they disturb and misbehave with other children and vice-versa. Teachers do not have sufficient time to integrate CWSN with normal children as the syllabus is vast. Sufficient materials and aids are also not available for CWSN. A common complaint by the Principals was that trained teachers from Block Resource Centres (BRC) do not come regularly to the schools. Some CWSN study at home and come to school only to write exams. Teachers at times go to their house to help. This practice however, is against the Government policy of inclusive education. In many schools, Principals have made repeated requests to the Government for special needs of teachers but to no avail.

According to Shobha Koshy, Chairperson, State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (SCPCR) the methodologies for identifying CWSN in Kerala are primitive; as a result, there is rampant abuse of 40% Mentally Retarded Certificates. Parents take certificates for children to pass and get a job. It has become a

means to get a scribe and pass. Teacher availability for CWSN is very poor. Cluster teachers go to more than one school. The mainstream teachers are not trained. Education is not geared to suit the needs of such children (Koshy: 2015). The syllabus needs to be remodelled for CWSN, according to other bureaucrats (Jacob: 2015, Rajesh: 2015), in the field of education. Unfortunately, they note that there is a tendency to be liberal with CWSN. There needs to be Minimum Levels for Learning (MLL) for CWSN too but it has not been formulated yet. There are individual differences between a child who is mentally challenged and the one who is hearing impaired and both cannot be equated. MLL needs to be developed in such cases. Vocational training should be given to them. Special teaching learning methods needs to be developed. Major investments are needed in this regard. A student from one of the prestigious colleges in Kerala (Murari: 2015) was of the opinion that courses and training should be provided to such students so as to improve the skills they have. Activities should be carried out which would improve their confidence level. Students should be allowed to interact with disabled students as much as possible. Peer training is important. According to Dr. M.K.C. Nair, Vice Chancellor, Kerala University of Health Sciences (Nair: 2015), special education is actually not provided in most schools. There is a lack of comprehensive education about how to train these students. Some social awareness has come today however, individual improvement according to him is negligible. A child with autism needs special care. Their rehabilitation is a necessity. Today in Kerala, a non-medico work force trains these students. The Government is not taking the services from medicos. A via media between medicos and resource persons is needed. A team approach is needed where medicos can diagnose cause and resource persons can rehabilitate. Finally, the Government should ensure that the laws pertaining to CWSN are being followed. Society tends to be callous in this regard and the Government needs to enforce these laws.

Major Findings of the Study

Little attention is paid to children with special needs (CWSN) in unaided schools. None of the unaided schools surveyed had ramp facilities and 75% of teachers in these schools were not trained to deal with CWSN. The dissatisfaction with academic performance of CWSN was also maximum in unaided and very few (20%) unaided schools provide incentives for CWSN. Government schools are lagging behind aided schools in providing incentives and in satisfaction with performance of CWSN. Teachers trained to cater for CWSN are far less at 38.2%. Government school teachers are slightly better off in this regard at 45% followed by aided schools at 38.1% and unaided at only 25%. Thiruvananthapuram is better placed at 48.4%, followed by Palakkad 40% and Kasaragod is worst off with only 27.8% teachers trained for CWSN.

Conclusion

It is evident that the implementation of RTE rules pertaining to CWSN in Kerala is fraught with difficulties and inadequacies. There is a lack of clear methodology in identifying CWSN, a syllabus specifically remodelled for these children needs to be prepared. Teachers and Principals face practical problems in integrating these children with others due to student misbehavior and lack of trained teachers. The study reveals that more facilities need to be provided for CWSN and specially trained teachers need to be appointed for the same. Services of trained psychologists specially to cater to the needs of CWSN should be available in all schools.

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Patronage and Legitimacy in the Political Culture of Medieval Bengal

Aniket Tathagata Chettry

The paper begins by identifying patronage and legitimacy as a central element of political culture, and aims to understand the interaction that existed between these two components. For this purpose, the paper takes up two literary texts, the Chandimangal of Mukunda Chakraborty and the Annadamangal of Bharatchandra Roy. Both these texts belonged to the Bengali textual tradition of Mangalkavyas. It is through a critical examination of the biographical accounts of the authors of these two texts, does this paper try to understand the manner in which patronage and legitimacy operated within the political culture of Medieval Bengal. The paper attempts to highlight the centrality of zamindars as important sites of patronage within the intellectual world of Medieval Bengal. The patronage of the zamindars made it possible for scholars like Bharatchandra and Mukunda to pursue their literary skills without having to worry about subsistence. However, acts of patronage were never unilateral and there was an element of reciprocity attached to them. A careful investigation of the two texts in focus shows that the authors were constantly trying to reinforce the status and authority of their patrons through their narratives. This indicates that the patronage provided to such authors was primarily aimed at employing skilled people who could formulate strategies for legitimizing and consolidating their patrons' political authority.

Introduction

This paper attempts to examine the inter-linkages between patronage and legitimacy within the political culture of *Rarh* Bengal. Political culture refers to a set of beliefs and practices through which authority is expressed, practised and debated. One of the key elements influencing the articulation and maintenance of authority is the distribution of patronage. The first section of the paper explores the notion of patronage in medieval Bengal bringing to the forefront two crucial questions. The first of these involves determining who were the people giving patronage, while the second seeks to ascertain an important reason as to why patronage was given- the issue of legitimacy. The paper tries to provide answers to both these questions by examining two prominent *Mangalkavya* texts and their authors - the *Chandimangal* of Mukunda Chakraborty and the *Annadamangal* of Bharatchandra Roy.

Bengal produced an extraordinary corpus of narrative poetry in Bengali called *Mangalkavyas*, written in what has been described as 'middle Bengali' (Chattopadhyay 1979: 55). These texts extol deities like *Chandi*, *Manasa*, *Sitala*, *Annada* to name a few. These texts were immensely popular in the Bengali countryside for over three centuries; from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The popularity of these texts stems from their performative aspect, as *Mangalkavya* recitations often accompanied the performance of rituals, though separate gatherings were also held in villages where they were sung and acted out in front of a village audience. The *Mangalkavyas* thus has a textual as well as a performative dimension to them. In this paper, two of the most celebrated *Mangalkavyas*, the *Chandimangal* of Mukunda Chakraborty and the *Annadamangal* of Bharatchandra Roy will be examined for a closer understanding of the issues revolving around the notion of patronage in medieval Bengal.

It is important to keep in mind that both these authors penned their texts in two different time periods, while Mukunda composed his work in the late sixteenth century, Bharatchandra drafted his text in the mid-eighteenth century. A critical examination of the biographical accounts of Mukunda and Bharatchandra reveal

that both these scholars left their homes in order to secure a better life for themselves; their travails only ending when they were able to get patronage from the *zamindars* of Arrah and Nadia respectively. The paper emphasizes the centrality of patrons and patronage in a scholar's pursuit of a successful literary career. In this context, their accounts also reveal that the main source of patronage for a large section of men of letters and scholars in Bengal were the *zamindars*. The extension of patronage was tempered by the expectation of reciprocity. The donor always anticipated something in return, which could be spiritual grace, reciprocal presents or simply acts of loyalty of the recipient. In the case of Mukunda and Bharatchandra, their patrons relied on the literary skills of these scholars to formulate new strategies aimed at legitimising and consolidating their own political authority. Thus, both Mukunda and Bharatchandra made constant attempts to reinforce the status and authority of their patrons in their narratives indicating that requirements of legitimacy were closely linked to issues of patronage; a theme which will be discussed in some details in the concluding section of this paper.

1. Patronage in the Political Culture of Rarh Bengal

Political culture can be understood as a set of discourses or symbolic practices through which individuals and groups can express, negotiate and implement their authority (Brint 1991:25). The examination of the political culture of medieval Bengal involves studying a wide spectrum of beliefs and practices prevalent in the region through which political authority was articulated, consolidated and maintained. Most Hindu and Islamic normative texts viewed acts of patronage as vital for the articulation and maintenance of political authority¹. Distribution of patronage tied the patron and client in an asymmetrical relationship, wherein the recipient was subordinate to the donor. In such a situation, the munificence of the patron bound the recipient into accepting the former's authority. In this manner, patronage allowed for the clear articulation of the patron's political authority (Appadurai 1976: 187-213). Therefore, patronage is considered an important element of political culture.

The most important source of patronage in pre-modern India was the king. Throughout the course of Indian history, there are numerous instances of the emperor providing patronage (Kumar 1997: 329-338). Emperors were known for patronizing scholars, artists, members of theological classes and religious institutions. Many even made deputations expressing their desire to receive the emperor's patronage. Since patronage was central to articulation of political authority, every member of the ruling class viewed this as an opportunity to strengthen their political bonds. Thus, the emperor was not the only source of patronage in the pre-modern period. Other members of the ruling elite, especially the ministers and nobles replicated the networks of patronage generated at the court and often extended it to areas and spheres further away from the centre to maintain their authority. This helped in creating a complex network of client-patron relations throughout pre-colonial India (Ali 2004: 101-103). The political culture found in Bengal fits seamlessly into this framework. Patronage was an important component of the political obligation of the ruling classes of medieval Bengal. During the Mughal period, several Mughal *Mansabdars* deputed in the region were known for their largesse. Patronage in the region was not solely limited to these state officials. *Zamindars* played a pivotal role in extending patronage at the local level, and were considered to be one of the most important sources of patronage in this region.

The *zamindars* were known for their patronage of scholars and poets. The region even witnessed *zamindars* vying with each other to attract poets and scholars of repute to their respective courts. Patronage offered by the *Zamindars* was not restricted to men of letters. Patronage in the form of land was also provided to religious institutions and their personnel. For instance, many *zamindars* gave *Debottar* grants to temples while revenue free grants called *brahmottars* were provided to Brahmins (Wink 1986: 227-228). Classical Hindu sources treated patronage to Brahmins and temples as necessary to maintain the *dharmic* order and for the general well-being of society. Thus, grants to temples and Brahmins were commonplace, since most *zamindars* used these acts of patronage in order to portray themselves as preservers of the *Dharmic* order and thereby legitimize their position in rural society. However, the linking of patronage with political power

meant that most *Rajas* wished to exercise their authority over a diverse subject population and not simply over a Hindu clientele. They thus endeavored to also extend patronage to religious institutions and personnel belonging to other faiths as well. Thus, the *Raja* of Burdwan, for example, conferred land upon a Sufi *pir* in Kalyanpur in present day Howrah; in another instance the Muslim *Raja* of Birbhum donated 360 *bighas* of land to maintain the seat of a descendent of one of Chaitanya's twelve companions (McLane 1992: 99).

The act of giving patronage was moulded by expectations of reciprocity wherein the donor anticipated something in return. This also applied to the *zamindars* of *Rarh* Bengal. In most cases, *zamindars* patronized religious institutions and personnel in order to establish a tacit alliance with these spiritual elements, whereby, in return for land and other gifts, the latter would legitimize the authority of these local elites (Stein 1960: 163-176). Patronage to scholars and men of letters were also linked to the idea of legitimization of political authority as subsequent case studies of Mukunda Chakroborty and Bharatchandra Roy Gunakar would demonstrate. On the other hand, the presence of the *Zamindars* across *Rarh* Bengal as sites of patronage provided an attractive opening for many scholars and poets. These men could now conceive of moving out of their homes and immediate vicinity, and seek patronage at the court of some of these territorial magnates and thereby build a successful scholarly career for themselves.

It is in this context that the frontier character of Bengal becomes noteworthy (Eaton 1993: 2). The porous and fluid character of the frontier ensured that there were no restrictions that could potentially hinder the mobility of men in their pursuit of a lucrative patron and patronage within and across the frontier zone. The open frontier ensured ample scope for movement of people without any deterrents. This encouraged scholars and the religious clergy to constantly keep moving to different areas of Bengal in order to take advantage of the multiple avenues of patronage. Mobility in the pre-modern world had its own risks but the advantages associated with mobility out-weighed its cons. Thus, people, although cognizant of the hazards were becoming increasingly mobile and moving to new areas. They took with them their ideas and artifacts, thus making the frontier zone a 'contact zone' where diverse religious ideas, cultural practices could interact with each other (Perlman 1985: Intro). The next section will take up the personal accounts of two famous Mangalkavya poets- Mukunda and Bharatchandra and use them to elaborate upon the issues of patronage and mobility within *Rarh* Bengal.

1.1 Issues of Patronage and Legitimacy: A Case Study of Mukunda's Chandimangal

Mukunda Chakroborty has been immortalized in the history of Bengali literature for his piece de resistance, the *Chandimangal*. This text is regarded to be one of the most influential texts to be composed in Bengali during the medieval period. Mukunda, in the introductory passages of this text gives elaborate biographical details. Analyzing these details reveals that the pursuit of a successful literary and scholarly career in pre-modern *Rarh* Bengal was dependent upon obtaining patronage from the various *Zamindars* of the region.

Mukunda lived in the village of *Damunya* located in Salimabad, corresponding to modern day Burdwan in *Rarh* Bengal. His family had lived here for 6-7 generations tilling land. Mukunda wrote that a temple dedicated to *Shiva* was established in the village of *Damunya*, by an individual known as Dhus Dutta. Nothing more is known of him from Mukunda's accounts. Later, the local land magnate Hari Nandi invited a Brahmin by the name of Madhan Ojha to *Damunya* to officiate as a priest in this temple. Madan Ojha was given a land grant by Hari Nandi as remuneration for his role as the priest in the temple. Mukunda traced his lineage to Madhab Ojha and his sons (Sarkar 1975: 3-4). Mukunda mentions that his grandfather Jagannath Mishra was a priest at the local *Chakraditya* temple at *Damunya*. Furthermore, one of Mukunda's ancestors was patronized by the local landed elite through a grant of land. Hence, the very account of the settlement of Mukunda's family in the village of *Damunya* is centered on an act of patronage.

Madhab Ojha's descendents remained in *Damunya* till the time of Mukunda. According to Mukunda's narrative, a particular Mohammad Sharif, received the *Khillat* and became the '*Dihidar*' of the region during

the governorship of Man Singh in Bengal. He appointed a particular *Rayzada* as his '*Wazir*'. The presiding of this duo over the administration of the region marked the beginning of a period of tyranny for the people of this village. Through over assessment, they increased the revenue burden on the peasants substantially, while also levying arbitrary exactions and cesses on them. All of this compounded the misery of the people. To meet these demands, people had no option but to turn to local moneylenders who charged very high rates of interest on loans. Caught in the quagmire of indebtedness, people were compelled to sell their cows and paddy at half rates. Thus, the plight of the people in the village of *Damunya* worsened, and it is in such a situation that Mukunda felt he had no other option but to flee with his family from the village (Sen 2007: 6). Mukunda's long association with the village of *Damunya* was severed due to the predatory activities of the local Mughal officials. After leaving *Damunya*, Mukunda lived a peripatetic lifestyle for a period of time, moving from one village to another. This had its own risks, from the possibility of being robbed by brigands to running out of food and other essentials. In Mukunda's case, he was robbed by someone he referred to as Rup Ray, and at one point he had nothing to feed his children or himself with. Mukunda's account gives a list of the villages in the present Burdwan-Midnapur axis that he crossed, thus locating his journeys very clearly within the geographical region of *Rarh* Bengal.

Mukunda's wanderings finally came to an end when he reached the court of the *Zamindar* of *Arrah*, where he was fortunate enough to receive the patronage of the *Zamindar*. The Brahmin *Zamindars* of *Arrah* were located in the Midnapore region of *Rarh* Bengal and they patronized Mukunda. Mukunda states in his account that it was the *Zamindar* Raghunath Roy who gave him land and other material wealth, thereby settling him in the village of *Arrah*. Going by Mukunda's account it was Raghunath Roy who commissioned him to compose the famed text *Chandimangal*.

Two themes stand out prominently in this narrative provided by Mukunda. Firstly, his account points to the easy mobility within this zone of *Rarh* Bengal. The moment Mukunda felt an economic insecurity in his village, he could immediately leave *Damunya*. There was no restrictions whatsoever impeding the mobility of people. Secondly and more importantly, this narrative also highlights the importance of *zamindars* as sources of local patronage in *Rarh* region to scholars and poets like Mukunda. It was this kind of patronage provided by *Zamindars* which contributed in sustaining the learned sections of society, allowing them to indulge in their literary and scholarly pursuits. If the *Zamindars* had not been patrons of learning, it would have been very difficult for a learned individual like Mukunda to produce a text like the *Chandimangal*, while also fulfilling his aspirations for a better livelihood. An associated question to address, however, would be the motive behind patronizing such literati as harbored by the *zamindars*. Was it merely charity or did it in some way enhance the political authority of the patrons themselves? The key to answering this question rests in the further assessment of Mukunda's work.

Mukunda's *Chandimangal* is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the story of the hunter *Kalketu* while the latter part revolves around the merchant *Dhanpati*. The purpose of these stories was to provide a narrative explaining how the worship of the Goddess *Chandi* was established on Earth. Though all *Mangalkavyas* extol some deity or the other, Mukunda's text attempted to go beyond this normative framework. Interspersed throughout Mukunda's work were certain quartets, which constantly glorified and extolled his benefactor Raghunath Roy. An example of such a quartet being:

'Raja Raghunath, Guney Abodat,
Rasik Majhe Sujan.
Tar Sabhasad, Rachi Charu Pad,
Shri Kabikankan Gan' (Sen 2007: 46).

A translation of the above lines would be as follows:

"Raja Raghunath who was the embodiment of all virtues, the one with refined taste, in his court Shri Kabikankan composed the following verses for singing".

Lines of a similar nature are found throughout Mukunda's work, where Raghunath Roy is portrayed as an embodiment of the best of all virtues. Thus, there is a constant idealization of Raghunath Roy and his family in Mukunda's work. They were regarded as the paradigms of an ideal and virtuous rulership. Such a memory of the ruling-house of *Arrah* definitely stemmed from the generous patronage that the author received here.

Mukunda's *Chandimangal* had a performative dimension to it; this implies that the text was regularly performed. It is quite natural that the text must have been performed in the court of Raghunath Roy, amidst his courtiers and subjects. The popularity of the text meant that its performances also proliferated into several villages in the region. The presence of encomiums throughout the narrative ensured that whenever the text was performed, the virtuousness and blessed nature of Raghunath Roy's rule was reinforced. Such an image would significantly help in legitimizing the authority of Mukunda's patron amongst his subjects. Thus, it seems that the patronage to men of letters like Mukunda was important to the *Zamindar* class as it presented them with an opportunity to use the literary skills of such scholars for legitimizing their own political authority. The next section considers the career of another great litterateur of pre-modern Bengal: Bharatchandra Roy, to further refine this discussion surrounding patronage and legitimacy.

1.2 Analysing the Annadamangal: An Eighteenth Century Narrative

Bharatchandra Roy was the author of the *Annadamangal*. This text was composed in the mid eighteenth century, around the year 1754. The text is dedicated to the Goddess Annada and tells the story of the establishment of her worship on earth. Like in the case of Mukunda, Bharatchandra's career followed a similar trajectory reaffirming how the pursuit of a successful literary career in medieval Bengal was dependent on patronage and the important role of *Zamindars* in distributing such patronage. Bharatchandra's father held landed estates in the region of Bhurisrestha, close to modern day Howrah. Bharatchandra was born into an affluent family but the family estate was seized due to the expansionary policies of the neighboring zamindar of Burdwan. The policy of appeasement followed by the *Nawabs* towards some of the zamindaris of Bengal, like that of Burdwan, meant these zamindaris were given a great deal of autonomy and a free reign to follow expansionary policies. Zamindaris like that of Burdwan made significant territorial acquisitions during the course of the eighteenth century by swallowing up a number of smaller estates in their expansionary bid; the *Nawabs*, true to their appeasement policies turned a blind eye to such predatory actions (Calkins 1970: 799-806). Bharatchandra's family lost their patrimonial estates around Bhurisreshta to the Burdwan *Zamindars* at around the same time and it is possible that Bharatchandra's estate was a casualty of this collusion between the Burdwan *Zamindars* and the *Nawabs*. This led to a decline in the family fortune and Bharatchandra's family had to face considerable economic difficulty.

As a result of this hardship, Bharatchandra left his home in search of a better career, which he felt was the only way to alleviate his family's distress. He worked under a Maratha official in Cuttack named Shivbhatta for a brief period of time. Subsequently, he found work as a *diwan* under Indranarayan Chaudhury, a rich merchant in Chandannagore. It is here that he also served the French factors stationed in the region. Indranarayan Chaudhury, aware of Bharatchandra's literary skills, recommended him to the court of *Raja* Krishnachandra Roy of Nadia. Krishnachandra was one of the foremost *Zamindars* of *Rarh* Bengal, recognized for his patronage towards scholars and other such learned men. Krishnachandra was impressed by Bharatchandra's skills and soon appointed him as the court poet. Bharatchandra was even bestowed with *ijaradari* rights over a place called *Mulajod* to take care of his financial needs. Once his economic position was secured, courtesy the patronage received from Krishnachandra Roy himself, Bharatchandra could devote his entire time to his literary pursuit. It was at the court of Krishnachandra that Bharatchandra produced his magnum-opus : the *Annadamangal* (Basu 1974: 1-11). Bharatchandra's movements from Bhurisreshta across Cuttack to Chandannagore and eventual settling down at Nadia displayed the ease with which mobility took place within and across the frontier zone of Bengal. Bharatchandra had the experience of working with diverse people ranging from Maratha officials to wealthy merchants who colluded with the French factors. However,

it was only the patronage from the *Zamindar* of Nadia which could provide him with the desired financial and economic stability that allowed him to completely immerse himself in his literary pursuits.

Bharatchandra wrote during a period marked by the weakening of Mughal authority and the rise of new successor polities. Bengal itself had seen a successor state crafted under Murshid Quli Khan which was autonomous for practically all purposes. The period of rule of the *Nawabs* of Bengal was fraught with difficulties such as succession conflicts, political coups, destructive raids and armed rebellions. To deal with these crises, the *Nawabs* required considerable financial resources. To obtain such resources and maintain their authority, the *Nawabs* often exerted great financial pressure on the various *zamindars*. The *zamindars* were not always successful in meeting the demands of the *Nawabs*, but failure often resulted in dire punishments being meted out. Many *Zamindars*, including Bharatchandra's own patron Krishnachandra of Nadia, had to face imprisonment on failing to meet the financial needs of the *Nawabs* (Sarkar Jadunath 1952: 114). The imprisonment of Krishnachandra by the erstwhile *Nawab* Alivardi Khan was a huge affront to the prestige of the Nadia Raj, which saw itself as one of the leading zamindari families of the entire region of Bengal. This was a body blow to their standing in society. In such a situation, the onus seemed to be on the Nadia Raj to reinforce their status as an illustrious ruling group in eighteenth century Bengali society. Viewed in this context, the extension of patronage to learned scholars like Bharatchandra by the landed elites proved to be of paramount importance.

Bharatchandra's narrative begins with the imprisonment of Raja Krishnachandra Roy by Alivardi Khan for his failure to meet a financial demand of 12 lakh rupees made by the *Nawab*. During the king's confinement in the prison, the Goddess *Annada* appears in his dream asking him to worship her on the 8th night of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*. Furthermore, she commanded the *Raja* to ensure that a text dedicated to her was composed by the court poet Bharatchandra. The Goddess mentioned that she would also appear in Bharatchandra's dream and reveal the narrative of the text to him. According to the narrative, *Raja* Krishnachandra on being released obeyed the command of the Goddess and commissioned Bharatchandra to compose the *Annadamangal* in her glory (Curley 2008: 205).

According to France Bhattacharya, Mangalkavyas traditionally began with announcements of future developments surrounding the deity. It is quite unusual for texts in this genre to begin by assigning a key position to the patron of the poet (Bhattacharya 2011: 217-219). This was a stylistic innovation brought about by Bharatchandra to reaffirm Krishnachandra's centrality within the narrative. The entire text was an attempt by Bharatchandra to proclaim his patron's authority within the political landscape of eighteenth century Bengal. The initial verses encapsulate within them the mood of the text, wherein Bharatchandra seeks to eulogize his patron. Krishnachandra is referred to as '*Deviputra*' (progeny of the Goddess), '*Dayamay*' (the generous one), '*Dharmachandra*' (upholder of Dharma), and many other such titles. Bharatchandra even compares Krishnachandra to *Indra*, who is regarded as the king of all Gods. The reference to *Indra* is repetitive, and Krishnachandra's court is compared to the celestial court of *Indra* (Bandopadhyay and Das 2012: 18-36).

Throughout the narrative, Bharatchandra attempted to glorify Krishnachandra's entire lineage. Bharatchandra's text is divided into three sections, and the third section focusses on the founder of this lineage, a certain Bhabananda Mazumdar. According to the poet, Bhabananda was the son of the God *Kubera*, *Nalakubera*, who had been cursed by *Annada* and sent to earth to spread her worship. Here *Nalakubera* was born as Bhabananda. (Bandopadhyay and Das 2012: 205:211). Thus, the lineage was attributed with divine origin. Undoubtedly, the patron of Bharatchandra who was a descendent of the same lineage would embody the best of virtues. The *Annadamangal* idealized Krishnachandra and the entire Nadia *Raj*. They were portrayed as possessing the best of qualities and divinely ordained to rule. Such a portrayal of Krishnachandra and his entire lineage was part of Bharatchandra's attempt to present the Nadia *Raj* as superior to all other ruling houses across Bengal. Therefore, Bharatchandra's *Annadamangal* was not a simple eulogy to the Goddess *Annada*. Rather, this text was an attempt to reinforce the status and authority of Krishnachandra and the Nadia *Raj* within the political geography of eighteenth century Bengal. Thus, a careful

scrutiny of Mukunda and Bharatchandra's work reveal that the patronage of scholars and intellectuals by *Zamindars* was essential as it ensured that the *Zamindars* had at their disposal skilled individuals who could devise strategies for legitimizing and consolidating their patrons' political authority.

Conclusion

A study of the political culture of medieval Bengal clearly indicates the centrality of *Zamindars* as sources of patronage. They patronized diverse sections from religious institutions and personnel to scholars and men of letters. Infact, throughout Bengal, scholars and men of letters, like Mukunda and Bharatchandra, were completely dependent on such patronage to pursue a successful literary career. Thus, *Zamindars* and their courts emerged as important attractions for people who sought patronage for their literary and scholarly skills. In this context, the porous and fluid frontier zones of *Rarh* played a very important role. It is their fluidity which ensured that people could easily move anywhere within and across the frontier seeking patronage. There were no restrictions whatsoever and this is what made it possible for scholars such as Bharatchandra to move from Bhurishreshta to Cuttack to Nadia, till he found the patronage he desired. The patronage of scholars by *Zamindars* ensured that they had around them men whose literary skills could be relied upon to formulate strategies for legitimizing their authority. Thus, Mukunda and Bharatchandra attempt to reinforce the authority and superiority of their respective patrons through their texts. It can be concluded that the distribution of patronage was very closely linked to issues of legitimacy throughout medieval Bengal .

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Remembering A Legacy

Viswamangalam Sundaresan (2020): *C. Achutha Menon Jeevitha Chitrangal (Biography)*, Mal., C. Achutha Menon Foundation, Thiruvananthapuram, pp.463, ₹ 550/-

B. Vivekanandan

The book under review is an authentic biography of C. Achutha Menon, former Chief Minister of Kerala, written by Professor Viswamangalam Sundaresan. Its publication now marks the grand finale of a task initiated by K.V. Surendranath, founder Secretary of the Achutha Menon Foundation, some years ago. After the premature death of Surendranath, the Foundation entrusted the task to Professor Sundaresan, who has completed the biography now.

This biography has a 432-page text, set in 46 Chapters, and a 31-page album of 67 selected photographs, encapsulating the 6-decades long eventful political life of Achutha Menon, and the institutions he had thoughtfully established as pillars of Kerala's development as a modern state, when he steered the state, for seven years, as Chief Minister between 1969 and 1977.

The biography carries a scintillating 'Foreword' by Shri. Kanam Rajendran, the State Secretary of the Communist Party of India (CPI), who enjoys the public esteem in the state as an erudite, cultured and responsible politician of our times. His 'Foreword' gives a bird's eye view of the activities of the CPI in Kerala, and the contributions of Achutha Menon in it, and also to the state, as Kerala's Chief Minister.

The book contains also a concise history of the Achutha Menon Foundation, by its founding member, and the present Secretary, Shri. N. Shanmughom Pillai.

For writing this biography, Professor Sundaresan has used extensively Shri. Achutha Menon's own writings, and notings in his diary, which underlines the authenticity of facts contained in this narrative. Being a prolific writer, Achutha Menon wrote extensively about his experiences from his childhood. But the period about which he did not pen down much, was about the period of his Chief Ministership of Kerala. Publishers who tried to persuade him to write an autobiography, even by offering him hefty royalty sum in advance, had failed. It is not fair to fathom the reasons. The legendary V.K. Krishna Menon, also did the same thing. When Professor M.S. Rajan, my Professor, and Director of the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, met V.K. Krishna Menon, at his residence at 19 Teen Murti Marg in New Delhi, and pleaded with him to write his autobiography, along with an offer of a permanent Stenographer attached to him, exclusively for the purpose, Krishna Menon refused Rajan's appeal, by saying that "let all the secrets get buried with me". Rajan returned deeply disappointed. As a result, the posterity has lost a mine of valuable information about the invaluable role Krishna Menon played in London during the freedom struggle, and subsequently as part of the government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. One cannot guess whether similar constraints were there in Achutha Menon's refusal to record, in an autobiography, the inside happenings during his Chief Ministership, when his erstwhile comrades in the undivided communist movement, the CPI(M), were hyperactive, with determination, not to let him function peacefully as Chief Minister. However, being a prolific writer, if he wanted, he could have written his autobiography since, after retirement as Chief Minister in 1977, at the age of 64, he still had 14 years at his disposal for doing it. But, many others have written about this period, which became useful for the biographer Sundaresan.

In the biography, the author gives the family background, and the growing up, of Achutha Menon, and his early involvement in public issues, when he was a student. He explains how Achutha Menon entered politics in 1937, as a member of the Congress Socialist Party, various situations through which his politics evolved since 1937, and how he became part of the Communist movement. Though a law graduate, who began his practice as a professional lawyer, soon he found that his personal ethics was in conflict with that profession. So he left it, and got more involved in the Trade Union and Kisan Movements, which gave him considerable satisfaction. In the Kisan movement, he worked for the ending of the Zamindari System.

The author gives an account of two imprisonments Achutha Menon had undergone during the pre-independence period. His first arrest was in 1940 and spent one year in Viyyur Central Jail. He spent another year in the same Jail in 1942.

The biography gives a graphic account of Achutha Menon's life in underground, following the ban of the Communist Party in the context of the Party's Calcutta Thesis, with several touching episodes. Though he was personally opposed to the Calcutta Thesis, he went along with the majority in the party. In all, he spent about 3 to 4 years in the hide-outs.

Achutha Menon grew up as a socially conscious person, opposing unacceptable social evils prevalent at that time. The author cites Achutha Menon's writings on social reforms to illustrate how progressive he was in his basic approach.

Achutha Menon was a literary critique. He was an accomplished writer, and a voracious reader, who liked prose and poetry alike. He translated two famous books into Malayalam - H .G. Well's *Short History of the World*, and Golden Child's *Man Makes Himself*. He wrote extensively on several subjects and published many books and articles. He was a playwright too. His writings revealed his humanism, intolerance to cruelty, support to people in distress, a mentality to fight for justice and equality, and the lustre of a compassionate and ethical mind. Humanism runs through all his words and deeds. Indeed, through his literary contributions, he earned a respectable position in the Malayalam literary world.

Achutha Menon acquired the national stature for his vision, administrative ability, his image as a communist who imbibed, and practiced, Gandhian values, and also as a politician of highest honesty and integrity in personal and public life. He was unselfish, and worked hard with smileless devotion. He was a fearless communist, who was critical of the Soviet Union's interventions in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. On the Hungary issue, he even contemplated about resigning from the Party in protest. He was a broad minded democrat, who recognised the right of others to dissent.

In this biography, the most interesting, and informative, section is the one composed of 10 Chapters - Chapters 27 to 36 - which narrates Achutha Menon's contribution as Kerala's Chief Minister (pp. 234-326). It reveals the perspective with which Achutha Menon laid the foundation of modern Kerala, and how he rose to the level of an erudite statesman *par excellence*. He was Chief Minister of Kerala from 1 November 1969 to 22 March 1977. That was the most creative period in Kerala history, despite the continuous, determined, disruptive activities of the CPI(M) in the state. He implemented Land Reforms, and established a large number of institutions of Science and technology in various sectors of development, paying more attention to the R&D element, with a view to taking Kerala, in due course, to the top among the Indian States. A detailed account of the Achutha Menon Government's activities in this regard is explained in these ten Chapters. Significantly, his Government was the first one in India which declared a Science and Technology Policy for a state. These measures speak volumes about Achutha Menon - the visionary.

The biographer has listed the names of 54 new institutions Achutha Menon had established in the state during a short span, of 7 years of his government. Among these notable new institutions are: The Sri Chitra Centre for Medical Sciences and Technology; Kerala State Electronics Development Corporation (KELTRON); Kerala Agro-Machinery Corporation; Kerala Agricultural University, Cochin University of Science

and Technology, Kerala Forest Development Corporation; Kerala Forest Research Institute; Centre for Development Studies; State Planning Board, Kerala State Housing Board; Kerala State Film Development Corporation; Centre for Earth Science Studies; *Oushadhi*; Kerala State Drugs and Pharmaceuticals; Kerala Metals and Minerals; Textiles Corporation; Kerala State Construction Corporation Ltd; Kerala State Fisheries Development Corporation; Small-Scale Industries Development Corporation, Kerala (SIDCO); and so on. Today they stand out as the pillars of development of modern Kerala. Not only that he established them, but he took pains also to reach out to get talented people to head them. Dr K.N. Raj, Dr M.S. Valiathan, Dr. K. P.P. Nambiar, and numerous others were brought by him to Kerala to head these institutions. This impressive record, and the vision behind it, made Achutha Menon, the best Chief Minister Kerala ever had.

Achutha Menon was a man of compassion, moved by the pathos of the poor and deprived sections in society. The first hand knowledge he gained, from his hide outs in poor people's homes, regarding the pitiable conditions in poor households in the state, left a deep imprint on him that, in and out of power, he passionately stood by the poor, and fought for justice for them. The biographer cites innumerable pertinent instances. Achutha Menon was a Gandhian Communist. He was a non-violent revolutionary, who imbibed the Gandhian spirit of simple living, and voluntary limitation of one's own wants, to be honest and ethically strong in personal and public life. He was unostentatious in his way of life. He was a teetotaler who liked simple vegetarian food. The biographer illustrates it, by citing many features of his, and his family's, simple way of living, in and out of power, which gave him enormous strength to fight for justice in society and governance. By practicing austerity, Achutha Menon limited his own wants to save money not to increase his bank balances but to quietly help the needy, and the poor, in his own way. Indeed, he had a list of poor comrades, to whom he sent a slice of his honest income, every month, to help them. As a result, he had little savings, despite his occupying high positions. His transparent honesty and integrity was another pertinent factor. In this context, I am reminded of a question posed by Pattom Thanu Pillai, who had a special liking for Achutha Menon, to his assistant and biographer, T. Kumaran Thampi, regarding his bank balance after his return to Trivandrum in 1968, on completion of his term as the Governor of Punjab and Andhra Pradesh. Looking at his updated Passbook, on 29 August 1968, Pattom asked Thampi: "Three times Chief Minister, and five-and-a-half years as a Governor, how much is there in my Passbook Tampi? Thirty-eight rupees only?" That was nearly the position of Achutha Menon too - indicating his high moral standards and transparent honesty and integrity. Such sterling personalities were Kerala's Chief Ministers in the past. Gandhian influence in them was so patent. Keeping in line with Gandhiji's practice, Achutha Menon used mainly Post Cards for writing letters.

The biography makes it explicit that Achutha Menon was a great commoner. Even after holding high positions in life, he kept his feet firmly on the soil. This is evident from the fact that even after retirement from Chief Ministership, he did not desire to own a private car for himself. That was his choice, and conscious decision, which he made clear to friends who suggested him to build a carport in his house 'Saketham' at Thrichur. That was his attitude towards material comforts. As a former Chief Minister, he proudly travelled by public transport buses and trains. That was the height of his mental elevation. After retirement, he used to go to attend public meetings at Trissur Thekkinkadu Maidan, as an ordinary listener, at times by sitting on the ground.

To narrate Achutha Menon's engagements during his last 14 years' retired life, the biographer relied mainly on the notings in Achutha Menon's diary, and on articles which he published. Indeed, he was very active during his retirement. Apart from reading and writing, he showed active interest in the activities of various cultural organisations.

This biography brings out clearly that Achutha Menon was an outstanding statesman, and humanist. There was a human touch in all his actions in various fields. His activities were service oriented. He never misused his position for personal gains. He had superb leadership qualities. As a leader, he was highly cultured, in words and deeds, who knew how to respect his political opponent.

The work he had done, and the contribution he had made, as Chief Minister, in a short span of seven years, would astonish anyone on the vision gone in behind them, and their, range and impact. In a broad sense, he had shown, all through, the trait of a Philosopher King, in Plato's *The Republic*.

This biography of C. Achutha Menon, which focuses on different facets of his life and career, despite some avoidable repetitions, is a well-produced impressive volume, which anyone would love to keep in one's personal collections as a reference book to draw inspiration from it for doing dedicated public service. Reading it is a must for all budding political and social activists, and others too, in the country. In writing this biography, Professor Sundaresan has done a commendable work, and, by publishing it in an impressive manner, the Achutha Menon Foundation has added a golden feather to its cap.

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Indian Economy through COVID-19 and After

Mary George

It is good that India aspires to reach Atmanirbhar Bharat with a 5 trillion economy by 2025. Such aspirations should envision a society that cherishes science and technology and knowledge, enshrines equity, justice and decentralised governance and respects our natural heritage. We should ensure health care as basic human right and earth-care as a collective right. Excessive encroachment on nature is the basic cause of the advent of the pandemic. As long as abuse of nature continues with unabashed greed of mankind more furious pathogens will emerge and threaten the very existence of humans.

The motto *Atmanirbhar Bharat* can work as a talisman provided it is supported by right type of fiscal and monetary policies synchronised with huge investments in health, education, research and development (R&D) and physical infrastructure. Nehruvian era nurtured a self-reliance model, and had provided a strong industrial foundation. But the public sector units did not perform as expected. The liberalisation, privatization and globalization period also failed to bring in latest technologies. "The Key Problem of self-reliance is therefore neither external finance nor domestic off-shore manufacturing but resolute indigenous endeavour including R&D"¹. The re-emphasis on self-reliance assumes importance in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Soumya Swaminathan, (WHO) observes that "the world is watching how this COVID-19 virus is behaving and mutating. While Ebola kills two-third of the people it infects, COVID-19 has the ability to infect larger numbers"², To check the spread of the pandemic the country went for a lockdown. Amartya Sen observed that "it is very important for any initiative whether it is lockdown or not, in connection with COVID-19 or any other pandemic, to have a consultation with the people, with the unions and so on. Instead of that, we had a unilateral lockdown with a four-hour notice." He compared it to the actions of war time Napoleon³. Sudden lockdown threw millions of migrant workers on to the street.

COVID-19 Linked Economic Packages

On March 26, 2020 the first lockdown package of 1.75 crore was rolled out. It aimed at free supply of 5kg wheat or rice and 1kg of preferred pulses every month to 80 crore poor people for three months. There was also an increase in Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Program (MGNREP) wages to Rs.202 a day from Rs.182 for 13.62 crore families. Another provision was to give Rs. 500 per month to 20.4 crore Jan Dhan Women Account holders for three months. Another decision was to give an Ex-gratia of Rs.1000 to 3 crore senior citizens, disabled and widows among the poor. The package also included payment of Rs.2000 each to 8.7 crore farmers in the first week of April under the existing PM Kissan Yojana, Insurance cover of Rs.50 Lakh per person for doctors and Medical Workers fighting COVID-19, providing free cylinders to 8.3 crore below the poverty line families for three months, crediting 24% of the monthly wages to the PF accounts of Wage earners below Rs.15,000 per month in business having less than 100 workers and the direction to the State Governments to use the construction workers welfare fund to give relief to 3.5 crore registered workers. The first package announced amounts to 0.8% of the GDP of India 2019-2020.

Though the second package claims to be of Rs.20 lakh crore or 10% of GDP, actual direct cash transfer comes only to 3.2 lakh crore. This is 1.42% of the GDP of budget 2020-21 (2,24,89,420 crore Budget estimate of GDP). Thus package 1 and 2 together spends only 2.2% of the GDP in terms of direct money transfer. A notable significance of this package is the stepping up of the borrowing capacity of states from 3% of GSDP to 5% of GSDP, though on certain conditions which infringes upon the federal principles. When borrowing capacity of the states raised from 3% of GSDP to 5%, states would get an additional amount of 4.5 lakh crore. However conditions on additional borrowings are on the one side, against the principles of federalism

while on the other side it will safeguard the fund from pilfering. Also conditions are conditioned. From 3% to 3.5% of the fund is unconditional. From 3.5% to 4.5% is to achieve one nation one ration card, power sector reforms of local self-governments, speed up economic reforms, and improve ease of doing business. Among the above mentioned four if any three are achieved, then the last 0.5% maybe used unquestioned.

Job loss, Migrant Workers and Social Security

The IMF reported that 40 crore of people lost their jobs in India. Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy in April, reported that over 122 million people lost their jobs. Around 75% of them were small trades and wage labourers. Most of the self employed were out of the survey coverage. According to the survey when cities found unemployment rate of 30% rural sides have only 20.1% thanks to agriculture which was only partially affected by the lockdown. Among the States, Tamil Nadu was the worst hit. Kerala had the lowest labour participation rate in April 2020.

Most of the migrant workers, scared of the pandemic and careful of the kith and kin, were running home, when the lockdown was declared over night. Only, after losing 254 lives across the country that the Supreme Court interfered in the plight of the migrant workers.

MGNREGP is a first time of defence of the poor anywhere to avert poverty. There has been 40,000 crore increase in the MGNREGP funding in the second stimulus package. Budget provision of 69,000 crore and 40,000 crore together will not be sufficient to provide 100 days of employment. Overall, 7.6 crore families hold active job cards under MGNREGP. Now 8 crore migrant work seekers are also allowed to hold job cards. In 2019-20, 5.5 crore families found work under the scheme, but allotted fund was over by October 2019.. Digitalisation of ration card with the "One nation one ration card" agenda, if pursued properly by state governments, it could benefit the migrant workers and their families. 83% of the work of National portability of ration card will be over by August 2020 and 100% by March 2021 according to Finance Ministry source.

The women folk of the country also had to bear the brunt of the pandemic. Madura Swaminathan on the basis of a study by Foundation for Agrarian studies (FAS), observes that the "reduced income and tightening budgets will have long-term effect on women's physical and mental health. The already high levels of malnutrition among rural women are likely to be exacerbated as households cope with reduced food intake"⁴.

International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention, 2000 had mandated certain norms for the security of labourers across the world. In India, except in Kerala, daily wages are shamefully low. The Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of service) Act 1979 is largely a regulatory law failing to incorporate Welfare Rights of the Migrant Labourers. Building and other construction workers (Regulation of Employment and conditions of Services) Act (1996) should be integrated into 1979 Act.

MSME Sector

The announcement of Rs. 3 lakh crore emergency working capital facility for businesses, especially MSME's was welcomed. In order to infuse capital to MSME's, Government will start a Corpus Fund of Rs. 10,000 crore. This fund will be leveraged to raise Rs. 50,000 crore which will be used to support MSME's in desperate need of equity through 'daughter funds' of the main fund of funds. The aim is to expand size and capacity of the MSMEs with equity and help them get listed on the stock exchanges. Right now, there are around 45 lakh MSMEs which would get the benefit of the package.

MSMEs hereafter, will be defined not based on their size of investment alone, but also on their turnover. Further, the distinction between manufacturing and services units has been eliminated. Henceforth, a unit with up to Rs. 1 crore investment and Rs. 5 crore turn over will qualify as a micro unit, investment up to 10 crore and turn over upto Rs. 50 crore will qualify as a small unit and investment up to Rs. 20 crore and turnover up to Rs. 100 crore, will qualify as medium enterprise. This re-definition was welcomed by the MSME spoke persons. Similarly, the automatic loan of Rs. 3 lakh crore without any collateral will help them a come back with added technology, skill and vision to capture new markets with new products. Any how landslide changes in MSME sector is needed if *Atmairbhar Bharat* is to be achieved.

Agriculture

The stimulus package announced, if implemented honestly, will open up a new chapter in agriculture. The package will empower farmers, strengthen agro-based food processing linkages and enable demand-driven value added agriculture. Reforms, declared will encourage investments in food processing to cater to the post-pandemic food pattern and preferences. Infrastructure investments especially farm gate infrastructure will significantly contribute towards mitigating post-harvest losses and wastages by giving a fillip to scientific storage facilities and also help the small farmers earn additional income by way of competitive value chain of agro-based innovative products.

Essential Commodities Act 1955 would be Amended to deregulate six categories of agricultural food products, as part of agricultural market reforms, which is long overdue. The items are cereals, pulses, edible oils, oil seeds, potato and onion. Stock limits on these commodities will not be imposed except in times of national calamity or a famine, and will not be imposed at all on food processors or value chain participants. Exporters will also be exempted.

Agricultural policy 2016 aimed at reaching 'one nation one agricultural market' through the introduction of e-NAM (electronic national agricultural marketing). Huge investments in post harvest infrastructure are needed to reach this goal. Stimulus package has provided 1.5 lakh crore to build farm-gate infrastructure and support logistic needs for fish workers, live stock farmers, vegetable growers, beekeepers and related activities. If barrier free interstate trading and e-trading are introduced a producer can sell his produce to any buyer anywhere in the country. Quality stipulations and grading go with e-NAM. Hence growers get better price, and buyers get standard products at reasonably lower price as middle men are absent.

It is expected that amendment of ECA would bring more private investment in warehousing and post harvest infrastructure including processors, mills and cold chain storage. This will help farmers to wait to sell their produce until favourable market prices emerge.

Packages through NABARD

A special drive to provide concessional credit of Rs. 2 lakh crore to 25 million farmers under the kisan credit card is on. Formation of an Animal Husbandry Infrastructure Development Fund with Rs. 15,000 crore and Agricultural Infrastructural Fund with Rs. 1 lakh crore with credit guarantee support to lending institutions and interest subvention to beneficiaries will help augment investment in milk processing and post-harvest infrastructure at the farm gate. For crop loan requirement NABARD extended additional refinance support to Regional Rural Banks (RRB) and Co-operative Banks and is expected to benefit 3 crore farmers. Further, Farmer Producer's Organisations (FPO's) started taking shape. In each FBO, 80% to 90% members are with small holdings. About 7,000 FPOs exist in the country. Social capital building, availability of professional manpower in rural areas and collateral free credit support on affordable terms are major challenges in promoting FPOs. Before July, 2020 NABKISAN Finance Ltd., extended collateral free loans of Rs. 250 crore to 550 FPOs. Over 50 FPOs were given loans during lockdown. NABARD has created NABKISAN Finance Ltd, to support private markets. If market reforms enable private markets, e-trading as part of e-NAM would be introduced, with a view to making agriculture internationally competitive.

India is the third largest producer of agriculture by value, second largest producer of milk and rank one in production of fruits and vegetables. But India's processing value addition is less than 10% of produce, while for more developed economies, this is 100% to 300%. When Indian agriculture employs 48% of its labour force, low value addition means low agricultural labour productivity and that agriculture is still in the rudimentary stages of growth. The country should focus on sustainable yield improvements through scientific farming practices, use of technology, cold chain infrastructure, supply aggregation platforms for storage, logistics and better price discovery, and set up integrated Agricultural Export Mission to scale up food processing and exports to increase value addition from 10% to 50%. There should also be innovative marketing techniques

Industry

There is criticism that stimulus package of 20 lakh crore is revolving around large corporate and long-term reform measures. A number of measures are taken to improve ease of doing business further. Pending reform measures under consideration are: The personal Data Protection Bill (PDPB), The e-commerce policy and The Information Technology Act Amendment. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in its latest World Investment Report (July, 2020) projects that FDI to developing Asian economies could drop by as much as 45%. Digital services is the sector which would out grow and this trend gives immense hope to India.

Manufacturing Activity Under Pandemic

Economic slowdown dragged by the poor performance of the core sector was gathering momentum from 2018-19 onwards. Under pandemic, most of the core sectors paralysed. Since large part of the economy is shuttered, output in the eight core industries declined in May 2020 by 23.4%. Steel and cement were the worst hit, slumping 48.4% and 22.2% respectively as construction and infrastructure sectors remained totally stalled. Refinery products, with the largest weight in the Price Index with 28% contracted to 21.3%. Coal production declined by 14% and electricity 15.6%. Only fertilizer industry could improve its output by 7.5% thanks to the better performance of agricultural sector. This highlights one thing that demand is the major driving force for the survival of the economy. Demand here means consumption demand plus investment demand. Slowly consumption multiplier works on the one side and investment multiplies on the other and helps the economy to take an upturn.

Purchasing Managers Index survey July-2 reports that India's manufacturing activity contracted continuously for the last three months due to 3 months of lockdown. Nikkei Manufacturing Purchasing Managers Index compiled by IHS Markit was 30.8 in May. It rose to 47.2 in June, still below the 50 mark separating growth from contraction. According to Eliot Kerr an economist at IHS Markit "April - June period was the worst quarterly performance since the PMI survey began in March 2005.

Move toward Self-reliant Industry

Prime Minister of India started his term of office with a bold statement with five Ts - Technology, Training, Trade, Tourism and Tradition. But the country could not make much headway. Growth of technology depends on investment in research and development (R&D). When developed economies and China spends 3% to 5% of their GDP for R&D and provide technology and policy support to private sector R&D development India spends around 1% of GDP on R&D. State funded R&D including in basic research by PSUs and research institutions and Universities needs to be scaled up significantly. Upgraded and reoriented PSUs would also be crucial, given their distinctive place in the ecosystem. Private sector delivery oriented R&D could also be supported, linked to meaningful participation in manufacturing at appropriate levels of the supply chain.

Therefore, it is ridiculous to think that we will get superior technology with foreign direct investment. India has vast potential to develop its own brands in global food chain. A range of our agro-based industries can obtain 'GI' tag and can make its presence felt in the global food market. India's organic wealth and its variety is splendid. Take the case of coconut. More than 40 products may be turned out from it, most of which are exportable. Jackfruit is just another example. Cancer cure and diabetic cure are possible with it, medical world holds. Cur cumin, tapioca, sweet potato, honey, a range of medicinal plants and a series of other organic raw materials and products are to be mentioned. India is a yoga and ayurveda hub, wellness tourism has its own market, domestic and global.

Service Sector

According to the latest PMI survey in July, service sector contraction continues in the fourth month too. The IHS Markit India Services Business Activity Index was at 33.7 in June, up from 12.6 recorded in May. According to IHS economist Hayes "the country is gripped in an unprecedented economic down turn

which is certainly going to spill over into the second half of their year unless the infection rate can be brought under control”⁵. During lockdown, working from home was put in practice by almost all IT sector companies while exports declined of all sectors, India continued its IT product exports. The industry aims at making the value creation of IT industry at 1 lakh crore dollar by 2025-26. The Indian Railway Catering and Tourism Corporation, which has been making profits always, fear that “due to lockdown, the revenue and profitability are likely to be affected adversely for the April-May 2020 quarter”. Similarly CRISIL rating on the basis of an analysis of 60 apparel retailers, representing a third of the sectors revenue, revealed that the revenue of the organised apparel retail sector is expected to plummet 30-35% this fiscal due to temporary store closures, restricted mobility due to the lockdown and low income visibility for consumers.

Google has an investment programme of 70,000 crore in the digital zone of India. It has projects like (a) providing training to MSMEs to shift to digital technology and (b) training to 10 lakh teachers to empower them to teach online.

In addition to such direct investment, Google uses JIO-platform for additional investment worth 33,737 crore. In JIO-Google collaboration entry level smart phone is ready for consumers. JIO-Google alliance opens up new vistas in the digital horizon of India which will enthuse many new start-ups.

Trade

Merchandise trade came to a near halt in the first quarters of their fiscal year. The decline in merchandise trade has been mainly due to the ongoing global slowdown which got aggravated by the COVID-19 crisis. The latter resulted in large scale disruptions in supply chains and demand resulting in cancellation of orders. Exporting units, mainly in the engineering sectors, are largely MSMEs. Engineering Export promotion council demanded that all dues and refunds package under stimulus scheme should be immediately released to enable exporters to tide over this unprecedented crisis. Apart from iron ore, and drugs and pharmaceuticals which register a growth of 17.5% and 0.25% respectively, another item which recorded growth was rice. All other commodities registered negative growth in April 2020 vis-a-vis April 2019. Under the 3 lakh crore Emergency Credit Line Guarantee Scheme (ECLGS) for the MSME sector, Rs. 16,031.39 crore has been disbursed by public sector banks alone till June 12, 2020.

The merchandise trade deficit for April 2020 was estimated at 6.76 billion as against the deficit 15.33 billion in April 2019. Taking merchandise and services together, overall trade surplus for April 2020 is estimated at \$ 0.16 billion as compared to the deficit of \$8.67 billion in April 2019. This trade surplus in 2020 April is due to the unflinching IT business of the country on the one side and drastic decline in import of oil and gold on the other side according to the Ministry of commerce.

Infrastructure upgradation and digitisation measures are aimed at reducing logistic costs of export import (Exim) procedures. These measures have improved the trade ecosystem and India’s rank in ‘ease of doing trade’ improved to 68 in 2020. The port ecosystem has yet to make a leap in trade facilitation measures to expedite the movement, release and clearance of goods which need standardisation and co-ordination of process across ports. This need to move to a paperless trade ecosystem which means digital platforms⁶.

India, in addition to improving existing facilities, also upholds *Atmanirbar Bharat* concept and hence a lawyer Divya Jyothi went to the Supreme Court asking the Honourable Court to give direction to the Government to introduce law, necessitating e-commerce sites to display the country of origin of products advertised and sold on their platforms for customers to make an “informed decision”. At the back ground of this petition, lies the ban of 59 Chinese apps from Indian electronic market as a punishment of their vandalism in Galvan area and dumping of Chinese electronic goods into Indian markets through regular and illegal trade routes.

History of modern trade relations of India informs us that U.S is India’s best trade partner. It is to U.S we export more and it is with U.S that we always enjoy trade surplus. When U.S is the single largest buyer from India, India is the largest buyer from China with whom we have had huge trade deficit although out.

China dominates international trade through dumping, legal and illegal measures. Recent endangered U.S. - China trade relations give India opportunities to further strengthen our trade ties with U.S through give and take policies.

India wants Trump to relook at tariff policies on steel, aluminium and agricultural product exports to U.S. In turn Trump wants Indian market to get open with lesser tariffs, to American dairy and agricultural products, medical devices and a cut in ICT import tariffs. The U.S also has concerns with India's digital trade policies like foreign direct investment (FDI) in commerce, data localisation etc. India is planning to open its market for U.S dairy products to India through a quota system in return for "concessions" to Indian generic drugs in the U.S.

Environmental Changes and the Pandemic

Human encroachment on nature is the basic cause of the advent of the pandemic. As long as abuse of nature continues, more furious pathogens will emerge and threaten the very existence of humans. Science provide that corona virus out break comes from the animal world. It is human activity that enabled the virus to jump to people. Specialists warn that if the attitude towards the environment remains unchanged, many other pandemics of this nature will follow. As per UNEP the emergence of zoonotic diseases is often associated with environmental changes or ecological disturbances, such as agricultural intensification and human settlement, or encroachments into forests and other habitats (UNEP report). A key area of concern in the poor countries is deforestation to make way for agriculture and intensive livestock farming. Our data on environment and natural calamities are with imperfections. Most of it is 'cooked data'. Disasters push people into poverty. It is from Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen that we came to know that Bengal Famine of 1943-44 took away 3.5 million lives. Chitrangad etal (2020) found that global pandemics' vulnerabilities lie not just in the absence of equitable access to food, healthcare and housing but go to the heart of global development models that sacrifice environmental resilience for limited economic growth and wealth accumulation. The accelerating destruction of wild habitats, forests and diversified food systems for urbanization, mining and industry means pathogens which were once largely confined to animals and plants in the wild are now better positioned to infect humans⁷. Pandemic has accounted for health crisis and economic losses for the government. However it has not taught any lesson to the Government, is clear from the policies, recently, pursued by the Ministry of Environment.

Stock Market Bubbles

Professional stock broker-turned economist Keynes (1935) compared stock market to a Casino (a gambling house) and its activities and indices, according to him, cannot be taken as the barometer of the performance of an economy. To quote Keynes "Speculator may do no harm as bubbles on a steady stream of enterprise. But the position is serious when enterprises become the bubbles on a whirlpool of speculation. When the capital development of a country becomes a by-product of the activities of a casino the job is likely to be all-done". (The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, John Maynard Keynes, Macmillan, Papermac P.159). But stock market indices are considered as vital indicators of economic performance of countries by analysts across the world. Because of the fear of the economic impact of COVID-19 every stock market indices fell.

The 9th of March, 2020 saw the Indian stock market taking a steep fall when it plunged 23.89%. The sensx lost a whopping 1,941.67 points, or 5.17% to close at 35,634.95- with all its 30 constituents ending the day with huge losses. The broader Nifty plunged 538 points, 4.90%, to close at 10,451.45. This huge stock market meltdown, was triggered, at the global level by corona virus pandemic on the one hand and a free fall in crude oil pries to \$ 27 per barrel on the other. In India, the declining value of rupee against dollar was yet another reason for the fall in the stock market indices. The value of rupee was volatile between 73.8 and 74.9.

However, buying by Domestic Institutional Investors (DIIs), which include banks, insurance companies,

mutual funds and domestic financial institutions has been acting as a strong counter force to the selling by foreign investors. Influence of stimulus package raised the stock prices of energy infrastructure and financial sector.

A Trend of Stagflation

The Pandemic hit economy is now hit by inflation better say stagflation. Stagflation is an unhappy combination of price inflation, high unemployment and low economic growth. Stagflation is regarded as an indication of the failure Keynesian - style demand management and led to a call for income policies, including tax-based income policy. When demand remains sluggish, if prices rise, fiscal policies capable of clearing the supply bottle necks are needed. Central Statistical Office reported retail inflation of 6.1% in June 2020. At the same time SBI's analysis agency 'Eco wrap' reported retail inflation rate at 6.98%. 'Eco wrap' also suggested to Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MOSPI) that it should take into account online prices of products, while computing online inflation because online business flourishes at a higher rate than the ordinary. During the period of unlockdown, lockdown also continue in very many pockets of the country. Meanwhile prices are surging as a part of the retailer tactics. Analysis of The Hindu data team based on the statistics provided by MOSPI found that in urban areas, meat and fish (18.7%), fuel and light (0.2%) and milk (8.3%) were dearer. Fruits (-0.4%) and vegetables (-2.7%) recorded deflation. The study found, both in rural and urban areas unlike in December 19 / January 2020 vegetables did not contribute to inflation. In fact, they moderated the price rice. In rural areas, as per the study, pulses (16.1%), meat and fish (14.9%), milk (86%), cereals (6.5%) and Transport (6.7%) were dearer. Fruits recorded deflation (-1%) and vegetables (4.6%) suffered relatively minimal inflation. But the case is different in July 2020, when a definite visible price in staple vegetables is reported. This is in spite of good monsoon and a beautiful harvest. Retailers of fruits, vegetables and grains are exploring ways to insulate their business financially from the weak deemed. Researcher IHS Markit's latest (July 2020) India business outlook survey released on Monday gives a picture of sentiments having turned negative in June for the first time in the 11 years since it began polling business in the country. The survey shows that while employers set out jobs to cope with faltering demand, companies also plan to raise selling prices over the next 12 months to protect profitability. The recent sustained increase in fuel prices is expected to raise transport costs and therefore, prices of each and every item, to cause a more than proportionate sustained increase in prices of every kind of goods and services. At present inflation is above the RBI's 6% target upper bound fixed way back when Sri Regharam Rajan was the RBI Governor. Supply and demand management through fiscal and monetary policies should be accompanied by legal action and rigorous punishment to those who create artificial scarcity and charge profiteering prices from consumers in a low economic activity period.

Role of Reserve Bank of India (RBI)

In the pandemic devastated economy, RBI took up the promotional and social justice role with insight and responsibility. In the fight against the pandemic, lockdown was announced on March 25. Monetary Policy Committee after a meeting on 27th March, announced repo rate cut from 5.15% to 4.40% on 28th march with a view to pump in liquidity through banking institutions. In addition, cash reserve ratio (CRR is reserves to be kept in the RBI by commercial banks against their deposits) was reduced from 4% to 3%, thus releasing 1.37 lakh crore additional cash with the banking system. But these monetary policy measures could not kick start the economy. Therefore, in May,2020, repo rate was further slashed to 4%.

RBI, on July 1, 2020, announced its decision that SBI CAP unit would set up a special purpose vehicle to assist Non-Bank Financial Companies and Housing Finance Companies (HFCs) to improve their liquidity following the centre's approval of a Special Liquidity Scheme (SLS) for the purpose. Liquidity assistance is conditional to avoid systemic risks to financial sector.

Accordindg to Micheal Deba Patra, Deputy Governor RBI's "monetary policy can inspire confidence among households and businesses to break the vortex of public preferences for deposits over spending and bank's

aversion to lend and invest. Also it is important to nurture the green shoots in agriculture and allied activities”⁸. Therefore, RBI had deployed several conventional and unconventional tools to restore orderly conditions in financial market. Despite the increase in government borrowings and the significant loss of revenue due to the lockdown, the government securities (G-secs) market remained resilient and stable owing to targeted interventions by the RBI comprising Long Term Repo Operations (LTROs), Outright Open Market Operations (OMO), purchases and Operation Twists (RBI Bulletin). On June 30, 2020 RBI scheduled Operation Twist which was primarily aimed at managing yields. The move will help soften the yield on long tenure bonds and help the government in borrowing funds at a lower rate. The RBI will make Open Market Purchase of variety long tenure bonds maturing in 2027, 2029, 2031 and 2033. Instead, it will make open market sale of four securities, two of them maturing in the year 2021 and two of them in 2022.

On July 25, 2020 RBI came out with its apprehensions of steep increase in non-performing assets. In March 2020, NPA was 8.5% which is expected to worsen to 14.7% if the pandemic lasts longer and if its impact on the economy is very severe. Bank credit, which was 6.1% in the first half of 2019-20, slid down further to 5.9% by March 2020. Under a severely stressed scenario, RBI hypothesise that GDP would contract 8.9% in FY 21.

Table : Overall Stimulus Provided by Atmanirbhar Bharat Package

SI.No.	ITEM	Rs. Crore
1	Part 1	5,94,550
2	Part 2	3,10,000
3	Part 3	1,50,000
4	Part 4 and 5	48,100
	Sub Total	11,02,650
5	Earlier measures including PMGKP	1,92,800
6	RBI Measures (Actual)	8,01,603
	Sub Total	9,94,403
	Grand Total	20,97,053

Source: Ministry of Finance, Govt. Of India, 2020.

In the table above row-6 represents the share of stimulus package extended through bank loans and advances. On June 11, RBI reported that bank loans contract again as business remains moribund. Since business activity failed to pickup even when the country started gradually to exit from lockdown, bank loans had been contracting for the fourth straight week. RBI data highlighted that bank credit contracted by Rs. 28,683 crore for the fortnight ended May, 22. During this period deposits also shrank by Rs. 19,843 crore after surging by a massive Rs. 1.27 lakh crore in the previous fortnight. Roubini (2010) observed that when economic activity is more or less paralysed, investors shun risky assets, seeking liquid and safe assets like cash and government bonds. People hoard cash and refuse to lend it which only exacerbates the liquidity crunch.”⁹

Gross Domestic Product Under Pandemic and After

Deepak Nayyar (2011) points out that “growth matters because it is cumulative. If GDP growth, in real terms, is 3.5 per cent per annum income doubles over twenty years. If it is 5% per annum, income doubles over fourteen years, if it is 7% per annum income doubles over ten years and if it is 10% per annum income doubles over seven years”¹⁰. India had a phase of growth with 3.5% per annum from 1950 to 1980. But from the structural break of around 1980s (of course, some say from 1990-91, with liberalisation, privatisation

and globalisation) annual GDP growth improved and even reached 9 percent. But now the pandemic hit Indian economy is in deep trouble. On July 25, 2020 the RBI came out with the latest available growth report which said that “under a severely stressed scenario, GDP would contract 8.9% in FY 21”¹¹.

The GDP growth estimates for the January-March quarter and the full fiscal year reflects the impact of the public health crisis and the lockdown, which, started from March 25. The National Statistical Office's estimates of the fourth quarter, and fiscal 2019-20 shows that the growth slumped to 3.1 and 4.2 respectively, the slowest pace in 11 years. Gross Value Added (GVA) numbers for the first three quarters have been revised significantly downwards, shows that the economic malaise was deep and wide spread even before the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in India. Four of the eight core industry sectors (coal, crude oil, natural gas, petroleum refinery Products, fertilizers, steel, cement and electricity) that together comprise lion's share of GVA, are now revealed to be performing far worse than was reported earlier. Manufacturing shrank by 1.4% in the fourth quarter, construction 2.2%, service sectors (trade, transport and communications) 1.6% and financial, real estate and professional services by 4%. The picture becomes worse when the industry's report of May 2020 came. According to the Ministry of Commerce, Output in the eight core industries that represent 40% of the Index of Industrial Production (IIP) contracted by an alarming 38% in April, whereas merchandise exports shrank 60%. Steel and cement were the worst hit slumping 48.4% and 22% respectively and refining products contracted 21.3%. The imperative of the time is a massive fiscal stimulus as advocated by Lord Keynes.

Rating agencies are creating scare about deficit financing. In fact, without resorting to printing new currency, through 'discretionary fiscal stimulus' channel, government can have hold over more resources to spend. “Under discretionary fiscal stimulus, the Central Bank funds the Government by buying Treasury Bills. When the government spends the money thus came into its account, there is an increase in 'base money', that is currency plus bank reserves. So, Yes, monetisation results in an expansion of money supply. But that is not the same as printing new currency notes¹².” Open Market Operation is an important method resorted to by Central Banks all over the world to lend to governments. Later, when inflatory symptoms appear, through Open Market Sale of securities Central Banks mop up surplus money in the system.

The speed of economic revival will depend on how long it will take to revive economic activities and the volume of stimulus through public spending the government is able to provide. It now appears that the lockdown will be lifted in stages and the recovery procedure will be prolonged. Govinda Rao (2020) observed that “The country is literally placed in financing a war-like situation and the government will have to postpone the fiscal consolidation process for the present, loosen its purse strings and finance its deficits substantially through monetisation. This is also the time for the government to announce relaxation in the states' fiscal deficit limit to make them effective participants in the struggle”¹³.

GST revenue collection

Economic slowdown in India has not been a COVID-19 driven one. It had its roots in demonetisation of 86.4% of currency in November, 8th 2016 and in the unprepared introduction of GST on July 1st, 2017. By 2019, with 45 years' highest unemployment rate of 6.1% (CSO), and 73 years' worst liquidity crisis (vice Chairman NITI Aayog), economic slowdown was getting the magnitude of a recession. Pandemic has only made the depression deeper. Economic scenario was not congenial to mobilise revenues expected in the Budget 2020-21. Following table tells the story:

Table : Central Government's Goods & Services Tax Revenue Collection (April 2019–JUNE 2020)

Month	GST Revenue	Percentage charge over the previous month (Rs in crore)
April 2019	1,13,865	
May 2019	1,00,000	-12.176
June 2019	1,00,000	0%
July 2019	1,03,000	3%
August 2019	98,000	-4.85%
September 2019	91,000	-7.1%
October 2019	96,000	-5.49%
November 2019	1,00,000	4.17%
December 2019	1,01,000	1.0%
January 2020	1,10,818	9.72%
February 2020	1,05,000	5.25%
March 2020	98,000	-6.67
April 2020	32,294	-67.04%
May 2020	62,000	+99.9%
June 2020	90,917	+46.64%
July 2020	87.422	-3.84%

Source : Ministry of Finance, GOI

Table above gives a very clear picture of the pattern of revenue growth in 2019-2020. This drastic decline and fluctuations in revenue collections disempowered the Central and the state governments in their fight against the pandemic.

Because of the shortfall in revenue collection at the centre and states, instead of constant requests and even intimidation by the states, the centre could not devolve GST compensation to states on time. In 2019-20, GST compensation cess collection fell short of 42% of the target. Therefore, the final instalment of GST compensation which was due on March 2020, was disbursed on July 28, 2020. This instalment amounting to Rs. 13,806 crore was made up by balance of cess from previous years, plus a transfer from the Consolidated Fund of India. In the first quarter of 2020-21 GST collection fell 41%, which means compensation payment will get delayed in the fiscal year 2020-21 too. [The GST regime, introduced in 2017, promised that the Centre would pay states full revenue loss compensation for the first five years, calculated using 2015-16 as the base year, assuming a 14% annual growth rate in state's revenue.] Domestic Rating Agency, ICRA, has revised its forecasts for the country's GDP by a sharp 25% in the first quarter of financial year 2021 and a shallow recovery in the subsequent quarters, with a contraction of 12.4% in the second quarter, and a milder 2.3% in the third quarter, followed by a growth of 1.3% in the fourth quarter of financial year 2021. In the present acute economic crisis situation, the revival of the economy is very scorching. Liquid, direct investment is needed in every sector to lubricate and ignite every sector of the economy.

Because of the pandemic induced expenditure, within the April-May period of two months, fiscal deficit reached 58.6% of the Budget 2020-21 target (BE) 3.5%. In 2019-20 while budget estimate of fiscal deficit was 3.3% of GDP, the actual was 4.6%.

India's external debt stood at \$558.5 billion in March, an increase of \$ 15.4 billion compared with the

previous period (RBI). Of the total debt, commercial borrowings with 39.4% ranked one, followed by non-resident deposits at 23.4% and short-term trade credit at 18.2%. Debt service (repayment of Principal and interest) increased marginally from 6.4% to 6.5% in March 2020 compared to March 2019.

Sectors to Re-vitalize the Economy

It seems that the government has identified certain sectors which would ignite the economy such as infrastructure, farm sector, renewable, information and communication technology (ICT)-start-ups and value supply chains. In addition to the above five, the Prime Minister also emphasized the importance of Artificial intelligence / Machine Learning and Data Science.

Trade Deficit

India recorded a current account surplus of \$ 0.6 billion, or 0.1% GDP, for the January March quarter, against a deficit of \$ 4.6 billion or 0.7% of GDP a year ago. The current surplus in the March quarter was on account of a lower trade deficit at \$ 35 billion (Thanks mainly to decline in Petroleum and gold import decline) and a sharp rise in net invisibles receipts at \$ 35.6 billion as compared with the previous year. The net services receipts increased to \$22 billion in March quarter as against \$ 21.3 billion (previous year) due to a rise in net earnings from computer and travel services, on a year on year basis. Private transfer receipts, mainly representing remittances by Indian's employed overseas, increased 14.8%.

Conclusion

It is good that India aspires to reach *Atmanirbhar Bharat* with a 5 trillion economy by 2025. Such aspirations should envision a society that cherishes science and technology and knowledge, enshrines equity, justice and decentralised governance and respects our natural heritage. We should ensure health care as basic human right and earth-care as a collective right. Excessive encroachment on nature is the basic cause of the advent of the pandemic. As long as abuse of nature continues with unabashed greed of mankind more furious pathogens will emerge and threaten the very existence of humans. Noam Chomsky observes that "we are ultimately going to recover from the pandemic at terrible cost, but we will never recover from the melting of polar ice sheets and other consequences of global warming, which are going to have a hideous effect on the world".¹⁴

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Cross-Border Geographical Indications-An Analysis Based on two Case Studies: Indo-Pak and Indo-Bangladesh

Raju Narayana Swamy

Cross Border GI has been defined as “a GI which originates from an area that covers regions, territory or locality of two or more countries where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the goods is essentially attributable to its geographical origin extending over those countries”. Though the majority of GIs are essentially located within the territory of a state, there are also a number of GI products across the world that have originated from the territory of two or more countries. A classic instance is Basmati rice- a product originating from both India and Pakistan. There are other examples too-for instance Irish Whiskey and Ouzo. The latter, it needs to be mentioned here, comes from both Greece and Cyprus. Needless to say, the recognition and enforcement of shared GIs across borders should claim more attention due to its economic attractions in a multilateral trading system.

The Background

A geographical indication(GI) is a sign used on goods that have a specific geographical origin and possess qualities, reputation or characteristics that are essentially attributable to that place of origin¹. To put it a bit differently, GI is a category of IPRs with collective ownership. The special characteristics, quality or reputation may be due to natural factors (raw material, soil, regional climate, temperature, moisture etc) or the method of manufacture or preparation of the product (such as traditional production methods) or other human factors (such as concentration of similar business in the same region). Aranmula Kannadi², Kancheepuram Silk Saree, Pochampallylkat, Darjeeling Tea and Balaramapuram Handloom are classic examples. Varanasi, it must be mentioned here, has emerged as a confluence of products protected by GIs with five GI registrations assigned to this region alone³, the most important of which is Banarasi silk sarees. However, Surat made synthetic sarees and Chinese made sarees are regularly passed off as Banarasi products in different markets across India, much to the chagrin of the genuine Banarasi saree producers.

In the ‘natural chaos’ of asymmetrical information, GIs can help restore the symmetry thereof by offering consumers additional information on the product’s quality and reputation so that they are not adversely placed against the producers⁴. In his model on reputation, Shapiro suggested that reputation operates as a signalling device which transmits information about a certain quality to the consumers thereby reducing the consumer’s search costs⁵. The operation of GIs is quite similar. In fact, surveys conducted by UNCTAD among EU consumers show that for GI-registered agricultural products, consumers are willing to pay a premium of upto 10 to 15% whereas for non-agricultural products, the premium could range between 5 to 10 percent⁶.

Appellations of Origin and Indications of Source

Prior to the conclusion of the TRIPS Agreement, products having a link to their place of origin were known by different terminologies such as appellations of origin, indications of source and designations of geographical origin. Appellations of origin, for instance, have been defined in the Lisbon Agreement (Article 2(1)) to mean:

“the geographical denomination of a country, region or locality which serves to designate a product originating therein, the quality or characteristics of which are due exclusively or essentially to the geographical environment, including natural and human factors”.

Thus an appellation of origin is a special category of GIs⁷. The basic difference between the two terminologies is that appellation of origin implies a stronger link with the place of origin. Examples of appellations of origin are Champagne and Tequila. The former indicates a special kind of sparkling wine originating in Champagne region of France. As regards the latter, which owes its origin to Mexico, there are federal regulations in place which govern specific details before it can be labelled as Tequila⁸.

As regards indication of source, WIPO defines it as

“an indication referring to a country (or to a place in that country) as being the country or place of origin of a product”.

Unlike GI, an indication of source does not imply the presence of any special quality, reputation or characteristic of the product essentially attributable to its place of origin.

GI Protection under TRIPS

Article 22 of the TRIPs Agreement provides a definition of GIs. Article 22.2 provides that WTO members “shall provide the legal means for interested parties to prevent

a. The use of any means in the designation or presentation of a good that indicates or suggests that the good in question originates in a geographical area other than the true place of origin in a manner which misleads the public as to the geographical origin of the good.

b. any use which constitutes an act of unfair competition...”.

Thus the use of a GI which does not mislead the public as to its true origin is not an infringement of the TRIPS Agreement. This is one of the key differences between the TRIPS protection given to all goods and the special protection given to wines and spirits. In fact, Art. 23 & 24 provide broader protection for GIs for wines and spirits than for other products. Special mention must be made here of the TRIPS requirement of home protection (Art. 24.9) which categorically states that

“there shall be no obligation under this Agreement to protect GIs which are not or cease to be protected in their country of origin or which have fallen into disuse in that country”.

It is worth mentioning here that the TRIPS-mandated GI regime suffers from some inherent limitations including the extended protection for only selected GIs and difficulties of obtaining protection in foreign jurisdictions⁹.

The Indian Scenario

In India, GI protection is available through a *sui generis* system operationalized through the Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act of 1999 (which came into force on 15th September 2003) and the Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Rules of 2002. The Intellectual Property Office in Chennai is in charge of GI Registry in India.

Indian GI Act specifies the goods to be either agricultural goods or natural goods or manufactured goods that can qualify as a GI. Further in the Indian Act if a producer applies for a GI for a manufactured good, he/she must make sure that at least one of the activities of production, processing or preparation of the good must take place in the territory. In that sense, the GI Act is more restrictive than the TRIPS definition. But under the Act, names that do not denote the name of a country or region or locality can still be considered for registration as long as they relate to a specific geographical area and are used in relation to goods originating from that region, providing a leeway for extending protection to Alphonso mangoes and Basmati rice.

Various stages of filing and granting of GIs have been prescribed by the Registry. In the first step, the producers' organization or a collective body of producers (like the Tea Board of India) has to file an application in the prescribed form. The details that need to be provided in the application include: the class of goods,

the territory (including certified copies of the map thereof), particulars of appearance, details of producers, affidavit of how the applicant claims to represent the interest, special human skill involved if any, number of producers and particulars of inspection structure to regulate the use of GI.

The application will be examined by experts appointed by the GI Registry. If accepted, the application will be advertised in the GI journal for public scrutiny. But if the application is objected to by experts, a hearing will take place. After advertisement in the GI journal, if no objections are received from any public organization or individual, then it is deemed as accepted to be awarded GI certification. However, if any individual or producer organization or NGO objects the validity and genuineness of the GI, a hearing takes place and if allowed, the application goes for acceptance and registration certificate is issued. It also needs to be mentioned here that the Indian GI Act (Section 32) specifically bars the jurisdiction of civil courts in this regard.

The Pakistani and Bangladeshi Scenarios

Pakistan has afforded protection of GIs through trade mark law- namely, Trade Mark Ordinance 2001 implemented through Trade Mark Rules 2004. In fact, the definition of GI of Pakistan is in conformity with TRIPS and could designate goods and services. The Trade Mark Ordinance of Pakistan defines goods broadly to include anything subject to trade, manufacture or commerce. However, the Pakistani legal regime is silent on protection of homonymous indications (those which may be similar in terms of spelling or pronunciation but differ in their meaning and designate goods originating from different countries). This is in contrast with the Indian Act which under Section 10 deals with registration of homonymous GIs and stipulates to consider the practical question to differentiate them to ensure equitable treatment of producers of the goods concerned and avoiding confusion in the market.

In Pakistan, the application for registration of GIs is to be filed with the Registrar of Trademarks along with the regulations governing the use of the mark, specifying the persons authorized to use the mark, conditions for membership of the association, conditions for use of the mark and any sanctions against misuse in the case of a collective mark. The regulations are to be approved by the Registrar taking into account compliance with the requirements to be furnished along with the application and that they are not contrary to public policy or morality. If all the requirements are met, the application would be accepted.

Bangladesh, by contrast, has enacted a *sui generis* GI legislation namely the Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act 2013 which provides a registration system for some of its reputed local and indigenous products. However, GI registration is not compulsory. The Bangladeshi GI Act also provides equal protection for foreign GIs which are designated as such in the official notifications by the Government. The Act recognizes the concept of homonymous GIs. Section 28(d) also provides that “a registered GI shall be infringed by a person if he, not being an authorized user thereof... uses any other GI to such goods not originating in the place indicated by such other GI or uses other GI to such goods even indicating the true origin of such goods or uses of other GI to such goods in translation of the true origin or accompanied by expressions such as kind, style, imitation or the like...”. Section 21 of the Act specifies that registration of trade marks can be opposed if it can be shown that the trade mark contains or consists of a GI.

Cross Border GIs

Cross Border GI (also called trans-border GI) has been defined as “a GI which originates from an area that covers regions, territory or locality of two or more countries where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin extending over those countries¹⁰⁹”. Though the majority of GIs are essentially located within the territory of a state, there are also a number of GI products across the world that have originated from the territory of two or more countries. A classic instance is Basmati rice- a product originating from both India and Pakistan. There are other examples too-for instance Irish Whiskey and Ouzo. The latter, it needs to be mentioned here, comes from both Greece and Cyprus. Needless to say, the recognition and enforcement of shared GIs across borders should claim more attention due to its economic attractions in a multilateral trading system.

TRIPS and Cross-Border GIs

TRIPS does not explicitly prohibit the protection of cross-border GIs. But it remains silent as to the way out for the determination of the precise geographical origin of a GI where two or more countries have competing claims. In such a situation, member countries may depend on historical and geographical evidence, objective legal requirements and shared cultural understandings to substantiate their claims over GIs across borders¹¹. Further, except for a few legislative provisions in the EU to protect cross border GIs which provide for transborder GI registration for agricultural products, foodstuffs and wines (but not for spirits), international practices in this regard are quite heterogeneous. Classic examples of first EU legislations are Regulation 1151/12 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21st November 2012 on Quality Schemes for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs as well as Regulation 479/2008 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29th April 2008 on the Common Organization of the Market in Wine. In the EU case several groups within different territories may lodge a joint application within the EU centralized system.

Mention must also be made here of Art 24.1 of the Swakopmund Protocol on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Folklore within the Framework of the ARIPO (African Regional Intellectual Property Organization) adopted by the Diplomatic Conference at Swakopmund (Namibia) which read as follows: "Eligible foreign holders of traditional knowledge and expressions of folklore shall enjoy benefits of protection to the same level as holders of traditional knowledge and expressions of folklore who are the nationals of the country of protection". This Article can no doubt be extended to trans-border GI protection.

The manner in which WOOLMARK is protected can also be a leading light in this regard. The said mark is a certification mark collectively shared by the Wool Boards of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Uruguay. These respective Boards have set up a common Secretariat called the International Wool Secretariat which in turn has established a company called IWS Nominee Company Ltd which is responsible for protection of the WOOLMARK name and logo against all acts of infringement. Nevertheless, while drawing lessons from this example, one must not forget the basic and fundamental differences between a private right (certification mark) and the public element (rights of a GI).

The Geneva Act of the Lisbon Agreement on Appellations of Origin and GIs which was adopted in 2015 extends the Lisbon system of appellations of origin to GIs and such protection extends further over transborder geographical areas of origin. Article 5.4 of the Act lays down the procedure for joint application in the case of a trans-border geographical area. This paves the way for a single registration of cross-border GI. But it is only a humble beginning.

Cross-Border Protection of GIs and the GI- Trademark Imbroglio

Ensuring cross-border protection of GIs in countries where the same GI is protected as a trademark poses insurmountable difficulties. This is amply born out from the Canadian case of Scotch Whisky Association vs. Glenora Distillers International Ltd. ((2008) 65CPR (4th) 441) where the Scotch Whisky Association filed a statement of opposition against the application by Glenora Distillers to register the trade mark GLEN BRETON for single malt whisky in Canada, contending that the word GLEN is of Scottish origin and when used with whisky would connote the Scotch Whisky-a registered GI in Canada. On appeal to the Federal Court, the opposition to the registration succeeded. In the light of the above jurisprudence, resolution of conflicts between trademark protection and GI protection in the cross border market place is crucial¹².

The India-Bangladesh Trans-Border GI Issues: From Jamdani Sarees to NakshkanthaQuilt

Bangladesh feels that some of its GI products which they assert are culturally and geographically associated with that country, are exclusively claimed by India through registering them under the Indian *sui generis* system. Jamdani sarees, Fazil mangoes and Nakshkantha (embroidered quilt) are classic examples. Jamdani, it must be mentioned here, is the first ever GI product registered in Bangladesh¹³. The ire of Bangladesh is that due to its *sui generis* registration system being in a nascent stage as well as due to the

absence of a universal policy regime to ensure trans-border GI protection, the trading interests of that LDC (Least Developed Country) are being seriously undermined. In fact the procedure prescribed at present (i.e.) separate registration in both countries under respective domestic law resulting in separate GIs- Indian Jamdani and Bangladeshi Jamdani for instance- is cumbersome and may make the GI product semi generic in other countries leading to losing protection in those countries¹⁴. The situation is all the more complicated as the laws of both India and Bangladesh recognize the concept of homonymous GIs.

The Indo-Pak Issues: Basmati and Beyond

The trans-border GI issues between India and Pakistan largely revolve around Basmati whose regulatory landscape is incidentally complicated by patents, trademarks and brands. Both India and Pakistan have been aware of the need for joint registration of Basmati rice to protect it from foreign conglomerates, but to date they have failed to arrive at any consensus in this regard. Basmati, it needs to be mentioned here, is distinguished by the grain's tall and slender shape, tapering at both ends but not bulging at the belly and its distinct aroma, which is said to be a complex effect of over 40 compounds and not only 2-acetyl-pyrroline. The chalkiness of the grain is also a distinguishing characteristic, as its elongation on cooking to almost double its length, with the width remaining the same. The traditional Basmati growing areas in India are in the sub-Himalayas and particular tracts of the Indo-Gangetic plain in the states of Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarkhand and the Union Territory of J&K. In terms of area, Haryana is leading accounting for 44% of the area under Basmati followed by UP (28%), Punjab (22%), J&K (5%) and Uttarkhand (under 1%). Two-thirds of the annual production is exported.

The Indo-Pak joint efforts vis-à-vis Basmati date back to 2005 when the Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry wrote to his counterpart in Pakistan proposing mechanisms to hold consultations. In 2006, a joint study group was constituted and meetings between representative trade bodies from both the countries took place. In the November 2008 meeting in Islamabad both groups agreed to deem 2009 as Year of Basmati as a means to emphasize efforts towards joint registration. However, there have been contrasting movements too-namely efforts to acquire independent rights. Thus in India in 2004, a NGO filed an application at the GI Registry whereas in Pakistan an application was filed in December 2005 by the Basmati Growers Association. APEDA (which has now been empowered to register Basmati as a GI) filed opposition proceedings in Pakistan's Sindh High Court.

Suggestions have been galore- from forming a company with participation from Indian and Pakistani entities to a Joint Commission of India and Pakistan on Basmati¹⁵. Mention must also be made here of the basic differences between the Indian legal regime and the Pakistani framework. In India, any association of persons or producers or any organization or authority established by any law which represents the interest of the producers of the concerned goods can apply for GI registration. By contrast, Pakistan follows the trademark route and hence private entities can acquire rights in Basmati in that country leading to a tussle between different representative bodies. What is needed is going beyond these two frameworks and empowering the farmers who toil and moil in the field. Added to these the complications of generating the technical content of the GI or as Vidal terms creating a "Basmatisthan"¹⁶ and the complexities of an exercise that involves negotiating multitude of interests, nay drawing out shared understandings on attributes, specifications and geography of cultivation amidst the politics of a trans-border reality will unfold.

Conclusion

Cross-border GI protection requires maintaining an appropriate balance between national sovereignty-based policy considerations and a non-discriminatory approach with regard to foreign right holders. It also needs amendment of the domestic legislation and a more uniform, consistent and flexible enforcement system. We have miles to go towards such a framework which can only be achieved through shared understanding between neighbouring countries, mutual consultation and consensus to enable maximum protection for GIs across borders. To put it a bit differently, we have to tide over the legal vacuum in trans-border GI protection

through bilateral, plurilateral or regional arrangements, nay inter-governmental bodies or joint commissions which can only be arrived at through political initiatives accompanied by the administrative will to execute. Till then, cross-border GI protection will at best remain to be a premise on paper.

Notes

1. <http://www.wipo.int/geo-indications/en/> Accessed on 1st June 2020.
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11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
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14. Dwijen, Rangnekar & Sanjay Kumar (2010), 'Another Look at Basmati: Genericity and the Problems of a Transborder GI', *The Journal of World Intellectual Property*, Vol 3(2).
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To be or Not to be a Hindu, is the only question? Reading two Popular 'Engagements': Why I am a Hindu and Why I am not a Hindu

Gopakumaran Nair N.

*The conflict between a religious apologists' view on religion and an opposing preferably atheistic argument for years has been the hot topic for debates and dissertations. With a huge majority of people following religion and considering it as part of their personal identity, it suffices to say that the argument in favour of a religious perspective finds much traction. But the fact remains that the opposing argument raises many valid points which the former is not able to answer satisfactorily. In *Why I Am a Hindu*, Shashi Tharoor, one of India's finest public intellectuals, discusses one of the world's oldest religions. Another book that will be debated along with it is, *Why I Am not a Hindu* by Kancha Ilaiah. The former highlights the open ground of Hindu ideology, while the latter is concerned with the barriers in Hindu religion.*

Gandhi in *Young India* (1924) wrote that it is the good fortune or the misfortune of Hinduism that it has no official creed. If I were asked to define the Hindu creed I would simply say: "search after Truth through nonviolent means. A man may not believe in God and still he may call himself a Hindu". (*Young India* 24 April 1924)

The attempt to define Hinduism is probably the most difficult task and the sheer dimensions of this cluster of traditions points to the challenges at hand. Considering the diversity of belief and practice, it is certainly the richest and most complex. The term denotes such striking variety of beliefs, practices and historical trajectories. As argued elsewhere it ranges from claiming that Hinduism in a unified, coherent field of doctrine and practice to claiming it is a fiction, a colonial construction based on the miscategorization of indigenous cultural forms (Flood :2003;.2).

It was the Persians who began to use the term Hindu to refer to the people who lived near the River region and later they modified it to denote the non-Muslims. Fifteenth century Kashmiri Saiva historian, Srivara used the term Hindu to differentiate Muslims and Non-Muslims. It goes without saying that its diversity, complexity and richness makes possible wide variety of interpretations.

In the book *Why I Am a Hindu*, Shashi Tharoor undertakes a serious discussion of the essence of one of the world's oldest religions. Starting with a close examination of his own belief in Hinduism, he talks about the great souls of Hinduism, Adi Shankara, Patanjali, Ramanuja, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and many others who made major contributions to the essence of Hinduism. He delves deep into Hinduism's most important schools of thought such as the *Advaita Vedanta*. He explains, in easily accessible language, important aspects and concepts of Hindu philosophy like *Purusharthas* and *Bhakti*, masterfully summarizes the lessons of the 'Gita' and Vivekananda's ecumenism and explores with sympathy the 'Hinduism of habit' practiced by ordinary believers. He looks at the myriad manifestations of political Hinduism in the modern era, including violence committed in the name of the faith by right-wing organizations and their adherents. He analyses Hindutva, explains its rise and dwells at length on the philosophy of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, its most significant ideologue. He is unsparing in his criticism of extremist 'bhakts' and unequivocal

in his belief that everything that makes India a great and distinctive culture and country will be imperilled if religious 'fundamentalists' are allowed to take the upper hand. However, he also makes the point that it is precisely because Hindus form the majority that India has survived as a plural, secular democracy. A book that will be read and debated now and in the future, *Why I Am a Hindu* (2018) is a revelatory and original masterwork. In this manifesto for the downtrodden, the author examines the socio-economic and cultural differences between the dalit-bahujans (the majority, the so called low castes) and other Hindus in the context of childhood, family life, market relations, Gods and Goddesses, death and, not least, Hindutva (ideology of the Hindu right).

In the book under discussion, Ilaiah categorically rejects his official status as a Hindu, in the wake of the renewed upsurge of Hindu nationalism of the early nineties which led to meteoric rise of the Hindu extremist right-wing, which rejects the secular constitution of India for "Hindutva" - a term which signifies a broad acceptance of a common Indian culture on the moderate side or a strict enforcement of the Vedic religion as state religion on the fanatic side. What Ilaiah is worried about is the induction of millions of people under the Hindu wing, who were miserable outcastes in its original implementation - by stressing the pluses of a pluralistic culture, the hindutva is trying to recruit people to what essentially is a fascist agenda. To counter this, he presents arguments why most of the former untouchables and the majority of the *Sudras* (the lowest rung of the four-caste system - the servant class), whom he clubs together as *Dalitbahujans*, should not consider themselves as Hindus.

Kancha Ilaiah writes with passionate anger, laced with sarcasm, on the situation in India today. He looks at the socio-economic and cultural differences between the *Dalitbahujans* and *Hindus* in the contexts of childhood, family life, market relations, power relations, Gods and Goddesses, death and, not least, Hindutva. Synthesizing many of the ideas of Bahujans, he presents their vision of a more just society. Ilaiah does not believe in the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas* and all that goes by the name of Hindu Scriptures, and therefore in *Avatars* and *Rebirth*. He does not believe in the *Varnasrama dharma* and *Varnavyavasta* in the sense in which it is explained in the *Dharmasatras* like *Manusmriti* or in the so called Vedic sense. He has no belief in the Hindu taboo of not eating beef. He has no belief in idol-worship.

The Essence of Hinduism in "*Why I am A Hindu*"

"Why I Am..." is a title format that has been used by numerous writers. *Why I Am Not A Communist*, by Karel Èapek (1924), *Why I Am Not A Christian*, an essay by Bertrand Russell (1927), *Why I Am Still A Christian*, by Hans Küng (1987) and *Why I Am Not A Muslim*, by Ibn Warraq (1995) are well known globally. Closer home, one has Bhagat Singh's *Why I Am An Atheist* (1930), and the explosive *Why I Am Not A Hindu* by Kancha Ilaiah (1995). In fact, the title of Tharoor's book seems like a purposeful inversion of the last one, and consequently perhaps, even of the subject.

The 302-page book is divided into three parts. Part one explores Hinduism through *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, anecdotes and practices that stress on the religion's accepting and tolerating nature. The first section offers a brief history of Hinduism. The first chapter is titled "My Hinduism", presented in what can be called the Devdutt Pattanaik mode. It is a clever and necessary disclaimer underscoring subjectivity - especially useful for times when religious sentiments are easily hurt. Tharoor acquaints us with the kind of Hinduism he was raised with, and, along with a sprinkling of anecdotes, gives an overview of the religion.

He also writes about what Hinduism means to him - his explorations and tribulations. It's not all paeans, though. In his book, Tharoor writes, 'Hinduism has not one sacred book, but several, both complementary and contradictory to each other.' And this is illustrated by him referring to *Manusmriti* as "bloodcurdlingly misogynistic" before quickly moving on to remind that this is also the religion where women have been regaled as *ardhangini* (equal to a man), warriors and scholars. He also writes about the religion's most prevailing problem - the caste system. It's not a one-sided approach, the book touches upon the factors worth celebrating as well as facets and customs that ought to be questioned.

While the first part is a fairly good walk into Hinduism, it is the second part that deals with the Indian political landscape. It traces how Hindutva was used for political strides in the post 1980s. While examining various instances of violence caused in the name of religion and devotion he unsparingly criticises the extremist fringes. But never wavers from the crux that it is precisely because non-Abrahamic (religions whose followers who don't follow prophet Abraham and his descendants or a religious book) Hinduism forms the majority that India has survived as a plural, secular democracy.

In the first part of the work, Tharoor takes us for a leisurely walk through the thickets of Hinduism. He begins with the Vedas, guides us through myths and popular practices, elaborates the thoughts of prominent expounders, and tells us about his own devotion. In the second part, he chronicles the making of Hindutva. He concludes that Hindutva as politics simply does not cohere to the precepts of Hinduism.

The problem, as Tharoor himself accepts, is that Hinduism is composed of many and often incompatible strands. It is therefore difficult to find an authentic and authoritative tradition that can hold up a mirror to Hindutva. What is regarded as a dominant tradition, the Vedanta - highly metaphysical, Brahmanical and Sanskritised - was constructed by colonialists.

Privileging neither classical Hinduism (Santanis) nor doctrinal Hinduism (Manuvadis), and also rejecting orientalist imagery of exotic and erotic Hinduism, Tharoor explores a uniquely home-grown idea of 'Hinduism of habit' practised by ordinary believers (Astika) and non-believers (Nastika). Before one decides to quarrel with Tharoor's addictive post-molecular, neo-Vedantic interpretation of popular Hinduism, consider this when he says: "As a Hindu I can claim adherence to a religion without an established church or priestly papacy, a religion whose rituals and customs I am free to reject, a religion that does not oblige me to demonstrate my faith by any visible sign, by subsuming my identity in any collectivity, not even by a specific day or time or frequency of worship. There is no Hindu Pope, no Hindu Vatican, no Hindu catechism, not even a Hindu Sunday...Our gods crowd the streets, smile or frown on us from the skies, as intimate and personal as the towels in which we wrap ourselves after a bath". With oratorical flourish, something he claims to have borrowed from Swami Vivekananda during his formative years, Tharoor, rather instinctively, defends non-elitist and non-Sanskritised Hinduism. Though the text resembles multiple streams of rivers flowing unsheathed and unbridled into the fathomless sacred ocean, for the benefit of the literati and bibliophiles, it has been arranged in three sections, like improvised cadenzas in a musical performance. And Tharoor runs up and down his scales in virtuoso patterns, weaving a magical web of tellings and re-tellings of Hinduism. The first section, "My Hinduism", explores Hinduism's major philosophical schools, tenets and great souls of Hinduism such as Adi Shankara, Patanjali, Ramanuja, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and the teachings of Bhakti - poets and social reformers. While explaining major concepts of Hindu philosophy like the *Purusharthas* and lessons of *Gita* and Vivekananda's ecumenism, Tharoor is unsparing of the horrendous caste practices in Hindu society. Following both Gandhi and Ambedkar, he attempts to relegitimise unclean, untouchable Hindus and delegitimise clean, touchable Hindus.

As Orientalists, colonial administrators and intellectuals in Western universities set about translating, codifying and reducing a complex philosophic system to manageable proportions, one witnessed the creation of a homogenised Hinduism. This was upheld by nationalists as the anchor of an Indian identity. Such is the power of intellectual colonialism! In the process, a highly textualised Hinduism was abstracted from the social context as well as from contestations. Philosopher J.N. Mohanty suggests that the wisdom of the *Vedas* was constantly challenged both by supporters and opponents of the philosophy. The main division was between philosophical schools that believed in the *Vedas*, and those that did not: the *Sramanic* tradition. Within the *Vedic* tradition one can discern considerable self-criticism. For instance, *Samkhya* philosophy, that belonged originally to the *Vedic* tradition, developed a strong strain of atheism and naturalism. This is paid scant attention. Also excluded from metaphysical conceptualisations of Hinduism is the heretical materialist school of Charvaka philosophy that nurtures a robust anti-Vedic materialism. Other sceptics refused to accept the claim that the *Vedas* code absolute knowledge. The construction of a hegemonic tradition has spectacularly marginalised

critical philosophies within and outside Hinduism. For instance, Tharoor reiterates Vivekananda's thesis that Buddhism completed the work of the Vedantic tradition. But Vivekananda's thesis neatly flattened out the challenge that Buddhism had posed to Brahmanical power, the monarchical state, ritualism, and caste discrimination. It simply assimilated Buddhism into Hinduism. The exclusion of critical and rational philosophies from Hinduism gives us cause for thought. If a rational, materialistic, empiricist and sceptical philosophical school such as Charvaka had been given prominence in the forging of a Hindu tradition, perhaps India would have escaped being slotted into the spiritual versus materialist dichotomy. India with all its material inequities, communalism and casteism has been stereotyped as exotic and other-worldly. This has not helped us forge an equitable future. Till today our society fails to accept the enormity of rampant inequities, fascinated as we are with the metaphysical spirit.

Unapologetically writing about his faith and reconfirming his atavistic allegiance to Wikipedia-like Hinduism despite egregious flaws in some of its practices, Tharoor confesses at the very outset of the book that "I am a believer. And I am happy to describe myself as believing Hindu: not just because it is the faith into which I was born, but for a string of other reasons" that include cultural moorings, intellectual fit and liberal temperaments, among others. He also contends that his claims of being a Hindu are mediated by political contestations and experiences of being called 'anti-Hindu' by Hindutva forces whom Bakunin would have called 'the epidemic of our age'.

Tharoor crowds the first section of the book with details and anecdotes to illustrate the tolerant and accepting nature of Hinduism - including sections from the *Upanishads* and an account of Swami Vivekananda's speech at the Parliament of the World's Religions in 1893; still, he declines to address, a feature distinguishing Hindu from western thought, which has some bearing on Hindu/Indian attitudes. If one were to look at the term 'materialist' under both systems, one finds that where it signifies belief in an external world in western thought, which can be understood and/or speculated about, 'materialism' in the Hindu sense (as exemplified by the *Charvakas*) is more a way of life akin to hedonism. This suggests that rather than gaining knowledge of the world perceived by the senses, Hinduism is essentially about how to live one's life, i.e: it is inward rather than outward looking.

It is not surprising that the precise point at which Tharoor's defence of Hinduism weakens, is when he tackles caste discrimination. He resolves the dilemma by suggesting that oppression is not sanctioned by sacred texts, and that educated Indians know better than to practise caste discrimination. Yet today, our tolerant and inclusive Hindu silently watches the public humiliation of vulnerable sections of our own people. The privileging of a highly metaphysical tradition as the public philosophy of India has led us away from acknowledgement of social oppressions and power. Will it be able to critique Hindutva?

When he speaks of the pre-classical Hinduism, he is careful to say Hinduism descended to *Charvaka* materialism and *Sankhya* dualism. Of the six main schools of *Astika* Hindu philosophy that accepts the provenance of *Vedas*, at least three are agnostic or atheistic, so the word choice of descending to *Sankhya* dualism is amusing. A major part of *Gita* is based on Sankhya. He is silent about the strong *Nastika* streams of Hindu philosophy and even Buddhism and Jainism just get a passing mention. As a matter of fact, when he talks about the *gurus* of modern era, he says some *gurus* can perform mystical and magical feats beyond rational explanation without naming any. His sarcasm is directed against only convicted *babas* or *babas* that his middle-class constituency would be uncomfortable with, like the *baba* who gives blessing by asking his devotees to grasp his male member. He is careful to avoid any references to *babas* and godwomen who have millions of followers and sprawling business empires for fear of offending potential vote banks.

Tharoor avoids mentioning Aryan migration theory that is once again in news now with the latest developments in genetics and DNA, but carefully speculates about the roots of Hinduism in Indus Valley Civilisation. He does not take a stand like the Hindu Right that places *Rig Veda* in Indus period or their detractors that vouch for Aryan invasion theory. He is equally abstruse when talking about casteism and mouths the usual homilies about how great the *Varna* system was and how ugly the caste system became as the time

progressed. He puts forward the clichéd argument of the conservative apologists of any religion that all the demerits and evil of their religion are the faults of the wrong interpretation of their otherwise perfect holy books. He finds a bunch of evil people who are not true followers of religion to explain away uncomfortable things. Tharoor mimics the conservative Right who have irrational pride in everything that is Hindu when he selectively quotes *Manusmriti* and *Rig Veda* to prove the exalted status of women of ancient India, forgetting that the Leftist critics who nurture an illogical hatred of anything related to Hindus also quote from the same books to prove how oppressed Indian women were.

Shashi Tharoor then also goes on to state what he perceives to be the difference between the hindutva and Hinduism. "Hindutva is a political ideology. It isn't really about religion. They've simply chosen to hang that political ideology on a hook that they have hammered into the wall of religion". Tharoor thinks scholars will have to rely more and more on their integrity, on their ability into looking at facts. Changing history is not just bad history; it's also a denial of the past. One cannot wish away one's past. Everyone suddenly needs to prove his or her nationalism these days. Tharoor quotes with reference to Vivekananda and he defines Hinduism inclusively, as well as his nationalism.

Kancha Ilaiah's Critique

On the other hand when we consider the real gist of Kancha Ilaiah's arguments as presented in his book, we can list out these major points: Hindus (comprising *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Baniyas*) and *Dalitbahujans* (*Sudras* and the so-called 'Untouchables') are two totally different communities, having nothing in common with each other. However, historically Hindus have managed to incorporate *Dalits* into their world view at a very low level, not even allowing them the common human dignities - a position the *Dalits* seems to have largely accepted till recently.

Hindu family and social systems are rigidly patriarchal with women having no voice or power, while *Dalit* systems are more democratic. The Hindu religion comprises mostly patriarchal gods, whose exploits mainly describe acts of violence against *Dalits*. The *Dalit* deities (goddesses mostly), in contrast, are more earth-bound and benign.

Post-independence, *Brahmins* and other upper-castes have retained power because of the educational advantage they wielded: the system is skewed in their favour. Even the communist revolutions have been hijacked by *Brahmins*. More and more *Sudras* have become 'Neo-Kshatriyas' (i.e. gained political power - in traditional Hindu system, the *Kshatriyas* were the rulers), and they have moved more into the Hindu fold than out of it. Even the urbanised *Dalits* have started adopting Hindu lifestyles.

From the study of both the arguments as presented by these authors one can find a vast digression in the basic definition on what it means to be a Hindu, the real gist of Hinduism and the huge amount of fluctuations and variations as experienced by different people practicing different forms of Hinduism throughout the demographic and geographic expanse of the country. What is clear to us is the fact that Hinduism is an umbrella term for many different forms of faiths and religious practices which have been derived from more or less similar sources. Tharoor observes:

And yet, Hinduism is a civilization, not a dogma. There is no such thing as Hindu heresy. Hinduism is a faith that allows each believer to stretch his or her imagination to a personal notion of the creative godhead of divinity. Hinduism is also a fate that uniquely does not have any notion of heresy in it : you cannot be a hindu heretic because there is no standard set of dogmas from which you can deviate that make you a heretic. Indeed, not even what one might think of as the most basic tenet of any religion - a belief in the existence of God - is a pre-requisite in Hinduism. As I have noted, an important branch of hindu philosophy, the *Charvaka* school, goes so far as to embrace atheism within the hindu philosophical framework.

But in Kancha Ilaiah's book, one sees a stark contradiction to the statements made by Tharoor. The real face of the Hinduism practiced in certain areas of India. Kancha Ilaiah writes about the evils of the caste

system and how the *dalitbahujans* have been cast apart as 'untouchables'. This caste system has been derived from vedic rules of Hinduism. Proponents of the caste system justify the system stating their vedic origins in *Why I am Not A Hindu* .

Among all these castes what was unknown was reading the book, going to the temple, chanting prayers or doing the *sandhyaavandanam* (evening worship). The *Bhagavad Gita* is said to be a Hindu religious text. But that book was not supposed to enter our homes. Not only that, the Hindu religion and its *Brahmin* wisdom prohibited literacy to all of us. Till modern education and Ambedkar's theory of reservation created a small educated section among these castes, letter-learning was literally prohibited. This was a sure way of not letting the religious text enter our lives. In addition even the idol or *moorthy*, *priest* or *pujari*-centred temple was prohibited to the young, the adult and the old from the *Dalitbahujan* castes. Today, though some 'lower' castes are allowed into temples they can never relate to that God or Goddess.

One sees here that though Tharoor argues for the inclusiveness of Hinduism, it is apparent that this inclusive tendency has manipulative overtones which result in people like dalitbahujans with their own notions of religion and its practices being relegated to the lowest rung of vedic Hinduism thus demolishing the individual identities.

There is also the fact that these people were not even considered as hindus and were restricted access to majority of the temples with almost a pseudo-heretical outburst and retaliation against those who even tried. Taking this fact into account the contradictory nature of Tharoor's statement that Hinduism is devoid of heresy is exposed.

Moreover, Tharoor does not give a satisfactory explanation to the caste problem which was in essence propagated by the practised model of Hinduism in many part of the country. When asked about the same question in an interview by Preeti Zachariah in *The Hindu*, Tharoor quoted:

... that is something that I respect and I have written about in the book. I argue that while you find Hindu texts that seem to endorse caste system, you also find texts that reject it unequivocally. I have provided several examples in my book of teachings that reject caste. If you as a hindu choose to ignore those and choose to practise the teachings of Manu, or whatever, by being casteist, that is your choice. Don't blame Hinduism for it.

In Ilaiah's book, he argues that Hinduism, with its focus on upper caste gods, values, and culture, is a patriarchal and fascist religion and world view. Furthermore, Hinduism should be considered the sole preserve of the upper castes - despite efforts by the Hindu right to draw the *Dalitbahujan* masses into the Hindu fold (in a subservient position of course) to increase their numbers and gain unity and strength in the fight against Muslims and Christians. Ilaiah identifies the Hindus as the ancestors of the *Aryan* tribes who were supposed to have invaded the subcontinent from the north a few thousand years ago, and the *Dalitbahujans* as the ancestors of the indigenous peoples of the subcontinent prior to the Aryan invasion. He even attempts to explain Hindu gender bias by proffering literary evidence saying that all women, including Brahmin women, were treated in the same demeaning way because they were seen to share the same genealogical origins; because most of the ancient *Aryan* invaders were men and that they must have married the native *Sudra-Dravid* women resulting in liaison with such women and the possibility of them being treated as the equivalent to *Sudra* slaves.

Ilaiah here criticizes both the left and right ideologies for subscribing to the brahmanical thought process and churning out their digressive opinions on the basis of the same. He laments over how a separate *Dalit* culture and consciousness was disregarded and completely forgotten. Kancha Ilaiah says that:

"The *purohits* praised the *Puranas* and the Communist and rationalist writers wrote critiques of these Puranas. But nobody thought that we too have a soul and that soul needs to be talked about. Nobody thought that there are Pochamma, Maisamma and Potaraju who need to be talked about too. Even the Communists

and rationalists spoke and wrote in the language of the *purohit* himself. Their culture was basically Sanskritized; we were not part of that culture. For good or ill, no one talked about us. They never realized that our language is also a language, that it is understood by one and all in our communities; not to forget the fact that these communities are not small in number; they are made up of lakhs and crores whereas the Hindu 'upper' castes are few in number. If our parents had been conscious about the conspiracy of this silent violence, they would have simply inhaled all the Hindus as *nasham* (like they usually inhale tobacco powder). What was arrested and what was stifled was that consciousness. The consciousness of 'us' and of 'our' culture was never allowed to exercise our minds".

The representation of what it means to be a hindu as is represented through Tharoor's work can be seen as a religious apologist's view trying to sanctify his religion via trying to cleverly construe the lies and defects under a banner of cherry-picked truths. Though Kancha Ilaiah's work can be seen as a slightly extremist view from the dalit's side of perspective, it also brings about the major bad points in practiced mainstream Hinduism. Shashi Tharoor cleverly distinguishes his views from the extremist tendency of Hindutva.

Inferences

An analysis of the two books reveals that the two authors describe the two side of a belief system and at the same time put forth their own concepts. The interesting fact is that these books have almost similar title but concentrates on different subjects. When Tharoor discusses the merits of hindu religion , Ilaiah describes his bad experiences in being a *dalit* from birth. Ilaiah starts his book by saying that:

I was not born a Hindu for the simple reason that my parents did not know that they were Hindus. This does not mean that I was born as a Muslim, a Christian, Buddhist, a Sikh or a Parsee, my illiterate parents, who lived in a remote South Indian village, did not know that they belonged to any religion at all.

'Hinduism' accommodates contradictory beliefs and even unbelief and the first viable definition of the notion that offers itself is that 'Hindus' are all those who live in the designated space, Romila Thapar being one of the first to mention geographical variety in one of her writings, and who do not exclude themselves on account of dogmas - like Judaism, Islam and Christianity. But that would still leave out people not attached to the space and there are Hindus elsewhere. It would hence seem that, since the Hindu 'religion' makes no demands of faith or knowledge of scripture, anyone who calls himself/herself Hindu with or without an idea of what the term means is justly 'Hindu'. This logic may seem facetious but it nonetheless suggests a way forward for India, beset as it is by discord. Instead of making all Indians define themselves through a single religion, would it not help to allow every person a secondary affiliation (even atheism) and would this not go some distance in reducing religious conflict? A Muslim agnostic seems less threatening to a Hindu just as a Hindu admirer of Jesus seems more benign to a non-Hindu. In Japan, people can be both Buddhists and Shintoists and India could follow the model.

A religious dogma is thrust down but it offers a proposition about the world, how it came into being and the relationship between man and the material universe that leads to inquiry and the different disciplines - ranging from theoretical physics to the law. The absence of dogma in Hindu belief is laudable but that (arguably) leaves it too indefinite to force an inquiry into the material world and engender the more solid disciplines. No heresies are recognised in Hinduism, but it may be recognition of the heresy that necessitates a Galileo. Here is Dr S Radhakrishnan on God in his book as quoted by Tharoor in his official website : "*God is more than the law that commands, the judge that condemns, the love that constrains, the father to whom we owe our being, or the mother with whom is bound up all that we can hope for or aspire to.*" My argument here is that the proposition is so all-encompassing that it leads to no further inquiry. It disallows heresies since there is nothing in it that one might oppose or subvert.

That a third of Tharoor's book should be given to the deplorable aspects of Hindutva politics is disappointing but not unexpected - since he is trying essentially to reclaim Hinduism for the liberals. But an issue is this: since there is no way of persuading the rabid member of a Hindu lynch mob into becoming a

well-meaning liberal through rational argument in English, why should a writer like Tharoor discuss it intellectually? It should be noted here that the government is not faulted directly by Tharoor. The government has not pushed a Hindutva agenda demonstrably and its culpability (which is not small) rests only on its not ensuring law and order adequately in places like Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan, and not taking the cow issue to its only viable conclusion - which is to *not* ban beef anywhere. In other words, Hindutva as it is emerging today is not an intellectual problem but a law and order one. This being the case, the only purpose of Tharoor's last two sections can be to demarcate his own identity as a liberal Hindu. The emphasis in the book's title is apparently on the 'I' and not on the term 'Hindu'.

On the other hand the parts in which Ilaiah describes his childhood experiences in *Why I am not a Hindu*, are true to the word and is a great read as one personally saw these instances in childhood. Although one might criticize the author's extrapolations or interpretations of history, the central theme of the book still makes sense. The style is aggressive and one can see the author trying to provide causal explanations in a naive manner, yet one can see there's some (if not a lot of) truth to the points he makes. And there's a huge left leaning rhetoric in the arguments or in the way of looking at daily lives, yet the reader need not be distracted.

And certainly, there are Hindus who would like to agree with Kancha Ilaiah's anti-Brahmanical assertion that "the *Dalit-bahujans* of India never heard the word 'Hindu' - not as a word, nor as the name of a culture, nor as the name of the religion". One knows that most *Dalits* speak up and some even change the religion they were born into. It is also known that *Bhils*, *Mundas* and *Santhals* have their own tellings of the Ramayana. Through most of its long history, India has been a diverse, pluralist and tolerant civilisation, one wonders whether it can be called a Hindu civilisation.

Shashi Tharoor's *Why I am a Hindu* is a well-written but a vain attempt at trying to sanctify Hinduism. If some might argue that this book will serve as deterrent to Hindutva ideology, they are mistaken, for the Hindutva brand of politics does not concern itself with validating and studying the history and theological differences in Hinduism! And Ilaiah's points, albeit slightly extremist remain unanswered thus prompting the statement that the term 'Hindu' will continue to remain shrouded in mystery and a topic of debate for posterity!

As Nagaraj argues, "The radical passion of Ilaiah's book and the political energy of the *Dalit-Bahujan* movement sustain each other, but this is also one of the major weaknesses of Ilaiah's intellectual project. For he has swallowed, with a great deal of conscious courage, the ideological slogans of the *Dalit-Bahujans* as unalloyed truth". (Nagaraj :174)

It seems Ilaiah has imbibed the notion of a binary opposition between cultures of *Brahmins* and *Dalits* uncritically. As a result he failed to make sense of the the great battles of transformation that these two cultural realms have experienced. The cultural transactions were so complex that such creative cross-cultural and multi-dimensional processes precisely produced great stirrdes in Indian History. To say the least it was not an one way traffic.

Ilaiah's reading of Hindu literature is pathetic as the following statement reveals, "While *Vaishnavism* became an increasingly fundamentalist *Brahmanism*, *Shaivism* became a liberal school of Hinduism." Such shallow understanding only would help to build a politically satisfying myth-making.

As Nagaraj observes, Ilaiah failed to make sense of two important aspects of *DalitBahujan* unity: first the caste basis of capitalism in India: and second, the caste basis of modern science and technology.

The Irony is that Ilaiah stays a Hindu throughout the book, though by default (Nagaraj:180). Ilaiah says, "Therefore, I am not a Hindu by conviction, though I am a Hindu by birth" (?).

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Education and Socialisation of Tribes in Andaman and Nicobar Islands

S.S. Sreekumar

Education has been responsible for developing modern attitudes towards socio-economic life and raise the standard of life of the Nicobarese Tribes. To obtain the real benefits of formal education, it is necessary to adapt the system to local needs and to supplement classroom teaching with specialized coaching. In sports, local skills relating to archery, canoeing and athletics can be promoted. Efforts also have to be made to preserve and promote their art and culture. There is an urgent need to reassess the existing system and to promote indigenous skills, particularly for fishing and bamboo cultivation. It is imperative for policy framers and administrators to realize that primitive tribes of Andaman and Nicobar islands are unique. They must be allowed to decide for themselves - if they wish to integrate with the mainstream, and if so, at what pace.

Social development deals with freedom of thought and speech, freedom to participate in decision making and freedom to work without social bondage. It also demands equality of opportunity, i.e. equal access to economic, social, political and cultural opportunities, to all citizens. The role of social variables in fostering development has recently received much attention in the development literature.

Development presupposes a process of innovation in which new technologies will be generated and new input and output mixes will emerge¹. In sociological terms, it implies that major social and structural change will occur involving a process of institutional transformation in sectors that are only peripherally linked to the core of the economy.

Conceptual Framework

As development proceeds, educational institutions, both formal and informal undergo a corresponding shift in function. Within the so called traditional societies, education is concerned with the transformation of received knowledge, the maintenance of broad societal consensus, and the perpetuation of existing patterns of social differentiation. These functions do not disappear as development continues but the balance shifts towards the utilization of educational institutions as agencies in the selection and allocation of individuals and groups to various economic roles and positions within the social structure. Thus education becomes an independent variable in the process of social change. Literature reveals that substantial differences in educational development cannot be explained primarily in terms of state initiatives but are to be seen largely as a result of a rise in public demand stemming from changes in the economic environment and the emergence of more complex and interrelated national occupational structures².

In the two decades after the Second World War a climate of optimism concerning the putative economic benefits of educational investment led to massive expansion of educational provisions in both the developed and the less developed nations. Integral to the most expansionary policies was the notion that development not only involved rises in GNP per capita but that increased educational opportunities defined at that period largely in terms of access and continuance in schooling. Although regional or ethnic inequalities persist in muted form in developed nations, the inequality of opportunity issue in them tended to focus on the relation between educational achievement and social background. In all societies, it was anticipated that educational expansion would eradicate disparities ultimately stemming from the social background of students³. Research on what education actually does to people to make them more productive has centered principally around the socio- psychological studies of McClelland and Inkeles. Their research suggests that education may

operate through a transformation of values and attitudes that have direct implication for development. McClelland has attempted to show that historically periods of development have been associated with a rise in the need for achievement among populations. He argued, on the basis of limited evidence, that a rise in the need for achievement can be obtained through educational means thereby stimulating economic development⁴. In a closely related tradition, Inkeles and others have suggested on the basis of substantial cross-national evidence that the emergence of "structural modernity" is associated with an individual's attitudinal correlate, viz. the "modernity syndrome." Individual modernity scores are raised through experience in modern work situations but level of formal education is everywhere the strongest predictor of such scores⁵.

Education is understood to be a crucial factor in at least five distinct ways. First, education has been looked upon as an act of learning leading to personal growth and self development, which has an intrinsic value. Secondly, education enables one to participate in a number of other valuable activities like playing sports, reading, participating in local forums of discussions etc. Thirdly, education makes one more socially aware and politically assertive. An educated person is more aware of his / her social needs and political rights and asserts for them both on an individual level and at the collective level which strengthens democratic practice. Fourth, education makes a lasting impact on social processes and enables one to fight against oppressive socio-cultural practices. Fifth, greater literacy and educational empowerment enables emancipation of the marginalized section of society by accommodating them in the mainstream⁶. Thus, education is a tool for the empowerment of weaker and downtrodden sections.

The value of basic education as a tool of social affirmation appears to be well seized by the people. Common finding of village studies and household surveys is that education is widely prescribed by members of socially or economically disadvantaged groups as the most promising means of upward mobility of their children. An educated person is better equipped to overcome vulnerability and marginalization in modern society, and it is in that sense that education has considerable empowerment value despite all the shortcomings of the present schooling system. Education is key to human development. Human development approach to education brings together the production and distribution of communities as well as expansion and use of human capabilities. As stated by Amartya Sen, human development programmes should aim at maximizing the release of human potential and create conditions to enable individuals to exercise their choices⁷.

The concept '*socialisation*' can be viewed as an interactive social process through which individual acquires social identities and internalizes the social values and roles. Socialization concerns itself with the orientation of individuals towards objects and could be studied in the mass, the elite, the deviant groups and social movements. If their attitudes, orientations and values change through time they bring about a change in their common human nature, i.e. culture. Since the individual is continually being influenced in the shaping of his political attitudes, orientations and values, the process of socialisation goes throughout his life. The family, the school, the peer groups, experiences during employment, mass media serve as major agents in the process of socialization.

Constitutional Provisions

The development of tribal communities is one special aspect of the general process in our national economy. Their socio-economic conditions are somewhat different from the general socio-economic situation of the country. Keeping this in view the framers of the Constitution enacted suitable provisions to ensure that no abstract principle comes in the way of their development. Article 46 of the Constitution which forms part of the Directive Principles of State Policy says that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, shall protect them from all forms of exploitations⁸. This article forms the basis of policy formulation regarding tribal development. The tribal areas can be declared as Scheduled Areas. The executive has been given special powers for the scheduled areas.

Administrative machinery relating to welfare of the tribes is dealt with in Article 244 and Fifth Schedule

of the Constitution⁹. Section 4 of the Fifth Schedule deals with the provisions for a Tribal Advisory Council¹⁰. It shall be the duty of the Tribal Advisory Council to advise on such matters relating to the welfare and advancement of Scheduled Tribes. According to Article 339 of the Constitution of India, the President may at any time and shall at the expiry of every ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, can appoint a Commission to report on the administration of scheduled areas and welfare of scheduled tribes in the state¹¹. For planned development of tribes, there is a need for resources. This is guaranteed by Article 275 of the Constitution¹².

Profile of the Study Area: The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

The Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands is cut off from mainland by vast stretches of sea. Andaman and Nicobar Islands is situated in the Bay of Bengal between 6° to 14° north latitude and 92° and 94° east longitude. There are two groups of Islands i.e. Andaman and Nicobar separated by 10° channel which is about 144 kms. wide and 400 fathoms deep. The total geographical area of Andaman and Nicobar Islands is 8249 sq. kms. The geographical area of Andamans is 6408 sq. km. and that of Nicobar is 1841 sq.kms¹³. These islands represent the South East Frontier of India being close to Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. The Union Territory consists of more than 306 named and unnamed Islands and 260 named and unnamed rocks. However, only 36 islands are inhabited. Of these 24 are located in Andaman District and 12 in Nicobar District.

At present there are three revenue districts, i.e. South Andaman District, North and Middle Andaman District and Nicobar District. Nicobar District is mostly inhabited by tribes and is declared as tribal area. There are seven tehsils and 547 revenue villages¹⁴.

The *population* of these islands can be classified into two categories, the aborigines and immigrants. As per 2011 census the total population of the Islands comes to 3,80,581 and of which 2,02,871 are males and remaining 1,77,710 females recording a growth rate of 6.86 per cent. The sex ratio of the islands is 876. The density of population is 46. The literacy rate registered in this UT is 86.6 per cent (male literacy is 90.3 per cent and female literacy 82.4 per cent)¹⁵.

Bulk of the population of the islands are non- aborigines, which can be categorized into three streams. First, the descendents of convicts from India and Myanmar (Burma) who immigrated to Islands before 1942 popularly known as local borns. This category includes:

- i. the Moplahs who settled down in South Andaman after Mopalah Rebellion in 1920, in erstwhile Malabar area in Kerala,
- ii. the Karens tribe from Burma who migrated in 1925.
- iii. the Bhatias a group of permanent settlers; and
- iv. Some families reached here from Pakistan and Nepal.

Second category includes the refugees and repatriates resettled and rehabilitated in various islands and generally called as settlers. Vast majority of this population is from East Bengal. They are living in rural area of South, Middle and North Andaman. The settlers from Travancore-Cochin and Madras and evacuees from Burma have also been rehabilitated in the rural areas. Third category consists of the voluntary migrant population from mainland India who came here seeking employment in government service, merchants and their employees from mainland, and labourers (brought mainly from the Plateau of Chota Nagpur in Bihar). People of this category are known as mainlanders. Majority of the Tamil, Telugu and Malayalee population come in this category. Hindi speaking population excluding the local borns also come in this group.

Five linguistic groups constitute majority of this non- aboriginal population of the Islands. Bengali speaking people form the largest group, followed by Tamils, Hindustanis, Telugus and Malayalees. These five groups constitute 80.78 percent of the non-aboriginal population. Besides these five major linguistic groups,

there are persons speaking Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi, Oriya, Kannada, Nepali and other languages. They constitute 9.87 percent of total population. The Nicobari language is spoken by the Nicobarese, the largest tribal group of the islands.

Before 1858, the Andaman and Nicobar islands were inhabited by autochthons only and with the founding of penal settlement at Port Blair after Indian Mutiny, non-autochthons came to inhabit the islands.

The Andaman archipelago is home to *four negrito tribes* - the Great Andamanese, the Jarawa, the Onge and the Sentinelese. At least two of these four tribes - the Jarawa and the Sentinelese - continue to be hunter-gatherers and are among the most isolated communities. They lead a nomadic life and depend on resources available within their reserve. The Nicobar groups of islands are home to two *tribes of Indo-Mangloid origins*. The Shompens who live along the coasts and deep inside the forests of Great Nicobar are hunter-gatherers. The Nicobarese are presently the largest tribal group inhabiting these islands. Unlike the other tribal groups, Nicobarese have much more contact with the outside world. This is the only tribal group of the islands whose population has shown a consistent growth. The following table shows the population of Tribal Communities.

Table 1 : Tribal Population of Andaman and Nicobar Islands

	Census Year						
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<u>Andaman Islands</u>							
Andamanese	23	19	24	26	45	43	55
Onges	(150)	129	112	97	95	96	101
Sentinelese	-	(50)	NE	NE	(100)	(39)	50
Jarawas	(50)	(500)	NE	NE	(100)	(39)	383
<u>Nicobar Islands</u>							
Nicobarese	11902	13903	17874	21984	26000	28653	27722
Shompens	(20)	71	92	223	250	398	219
Total	12145	14672	18102	22361	26770	29469	28530

N.E. : Not Enumerated

Note: Figures in Brackets are estimated

N.A. : Not Available

Source: *Andaman and Nicobar Administration, Basic Statistics, 2005-2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Andaman and Nicobar Administration, Port Blair, 2007, p.No. 23.*

The population of tribes has shown a decline from 29469 in 2001 to 28530 as per 2011 census, registering a decrease of 3.19 per cent. The population of tribes comes to 7.5 per cent of the total population¹⁶.

Out of these six tribal communities except Nicobarese, all five have been identified as *particularly vulnerable tribal groups*. This study is specifically related to Nicobarese. Here it is pointed out that the achievements in education has been mainly confined to the Nicobarese. In the case of other five tribes, if any education has to be provided, it should be in their natural surroundings and in their own language.

Education among Tribes

Formal education in the Nicobar islands began with the efforts of Vedappan Solomaon, a Catechist and School master. The early education was confined to religious instructions and its sole aim was the conversion of islanders to Christianity. Every church opened had a school '*vernacular school*' attached to it. These schools played a significant role in the spread of Christianity in the Nicobar islands. It was only after independence that concerted efforts were made to spread formal education by the local administration, i.e.,

by the Andaman and Nicobar Administration in the Nicobar group of islands. By 1980, there were seven government Junior Basic Schools, two Senior Basic Schools, two High Schools and one Senior Secondary School functioning in Car Nicobar. The local administration also took steps to have non-formal education centres. Besides this, the Social Welfare Advisory Board initiated to start Mahila Mondals. Each Mahila Mandal has been entrusted with the duty of conducting various training such as handicrafts, cane and bamboo work, plastic work, embroidery work, etc. The following table shows the number of educational institutions in tribal area.

Table 2: Educational Institutions in Tribal area

Sl.No.	School Type	South Andaman District	North & Middle Andaman District	Nicobar District	Total
1.	Pre- Primary	-	-	-	-
2.	Primary	No	0	32	32
3.	Middle	1	1	9	11
4.	Secondary	No	No	10	10
5.	Senior Secondary	No	No	5	5
6.	Ashram Schools	-	-	2	2
	Total	1	1	58	60

Source: Directorate of Education, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Port Blair. Impact of education among Tribes

The spread of education in tribal areas has shown remarkable impact in the socio-economic life of the tribes. Formal education has changed their life style. Education has brought closer contact with educated non tribals. As a result of the interaction with the non tribes, they slowly learnt social manners and norms applicable to modern society. They learnt courteous behavior which helped them to mingle with others in the society. The spread of education among tribes had impact on changing their dress pattern. They began to wear modern dress, females began wearing fashionable ornaments and many changed their hair style. The educated tribes began to use modern furniture - at least a table and few chairs to receive guests. Education is responsible for changing the food habits. Instead of using traditional earthen pots brought from Chowra island (an island in the Nicobar group of islands), they now use utensils made of aluminum. Those who can afford, use steel vessels. Earlier, they used to take bath on village wells. Today, the educated use pucca bath rooms and latrines constructed by the Community Development Block in the Nicobar district.

Another impact of education on their social life is that they could learn hospitable manners, and social etiquettes. They now know how to entertain guests, the formal manners to be followed for meeting an official in their office, punctuality and to work regularly. Yet another impact of education is that it helped to change some of their age old traditions based on superstitions. However, they have retained some of them which are having social values. Educated persons among tribes have realized the importance of family planning. Many are coming forward for vasectomy and tubectomy. Education has influenced the age of marriage of tribal youths. Among the Nicobarese, the custom was that the girls marry at about sixteen years and boys twenty. Now with the spread of education, many girls and boys of the above the age are engaged in studies. So, naturally they marry late. One noteworthy feature is that educated tribes do not want to marry from non tribals. The spread of education has impact on their social aspirations. Majority of parents from tribal communities do not want their wards to follow the traditional occupations. Youths from tribal community also do not want to follow their parental occupation.

Impact on Economic Life

The Nicobarese tribes mainly depend upon coconut and arecnut for their income. A person having

large cultivation of coconut and arecnut and in possession of pigs is considered a rich man in society. In the past barter system was prevalent among the nicobarese. The traders used to purchase from them copra and betelnuts and in return sold their consumable goods. Taking undue advantage of the illiteracy among tribes, the unscrupulous traders made huge profits. After 1948, a number of cooperative marketing societies were set up and barter system was given up. In 1980, the fifteen Cooperative Societies formed themselves into a Central –Co-Operative Society. Education among the tribes has been responsible for the change in their traditional occupations. Earlier, almost all tribes used to work in plantations, making copra, extracting oil out of copra, basket and mat making, fishing, pig-hunting and looking after livestock. Educated boys and girls do not want to adopt their traditional occupations. They rather feel that it is below their dignity to take a job which requires manual labour. Many educated youths have joined government service. Many tribes are learning modern techniques of raising plantations and looking after their livelihood.

With the spread of education, tribal communities are becoming more politically conscious. In place of traditional leaders such as captain (of villages) and Chief Captain (of the island) new educated political leaders are emerging. Such leaders are nominated as members of two Advisory Committees for Andaman and Nicobar islands. One is Chief Commissioner’s Advisory Committee and the other is Home Ministry’s Advisory Committee. Regarding this it is relevant to quote the words of T.N. Pandit. “The trend towards higher education is increasing with better facilities and opportunities being provided by the government. This will, in due course, give rise to an educated elite that would in proper time become the political elite and may supplant the traditional leadership”¹⁷.

In sum, it can be observed that the spread of education, contact with the non tribals, especially officers and teachers of education department, visits to mainland for excursions, playing tournaments and witnessing Republic Day Parades, have broadened the minds of the Nicobarese tribes. As a result of education, they have abandoned their old and evil practices. However, they retained the good values of their culture.

Thus, education has been responsible for developing modern attitudes towards socio-economic life and raise their standard of living.

Observations

1. In spite of access to education, it is observed that the dropout phenomena persists in tribal areas.

Table No.3 : Dropout in Tribal Area

Stage	2006 – 07			2007 - 08			2008 - 09		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	7.34	Nil	2.98	18.38	25.79	22.24	18.06	27.34	22.65
Middle	11.58	1.39	7.15	26.77	26.09	26.47	0	0	0
Secondary	32.12	32.03	32.07	8.11	8.04	8.08	16.10	10.27	13.33
Sr.Secondary	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.97	0	0

Source: Directorate of Education, Andaman and Nicobar Administration, Port Blair.

1. While the schools in tribal areas have been upgraded, science as a subject has not been promoted along with the promotion of English as the medium of instruction. Hence, many students could not receive education of their choice.
2. The practice of ‘compulsory passing’ upto eighth standard affects the quality of education.
3. The educated youth find it difficult to get employment suited to their educational qualifications.

Suggestions

1. The tribal population is showing a declining trend. This is primarily due to recurring diseases. Effective steps are needed for health care.
2. Another concern of the tribes is the influx of non-tribes. Influx not only leads to gradual impoverishment and reduced availability of resources, it also disturbs the social fabric of tribal societies. Measures should be taken to prevent this.
3. Effective measures have to be taken by the department of education to stop the increasing number of drop out from schools.
4. Since majority of the students lack an academic environment at home, class room teaching has to be strongly supplemented with specialized coaching.
5. Opening of informal education and adult education centers suiting their life style is needed.
6. Special attention should be given to vocational training to enhance productivity.
7. The tribes should be empowered through counseling , training and affirmative action to ensure that they are part of the mainstream.
8. Starting Self Help Groups (SHG's) will enable the tribal women to get socially mobilised. Exposure to the outside world is also possible through SHG's. Research studies reveal that these groups funded by NABARD and Nationalised Banks have been working effectively in the South Andaman district. Hence, this can be experimented in the tribal area also.
9. Transportation and inter-island connectivity are serious concerns for the tribes of Nicobar islands. There is an urgent need to increase the connectivity - between different islands and between Nicobar and Port Blair. This will increase the access of tribes to health, education and livelihood resources.

Concluding Observations

To obtain the real benefits of formal education, it is necessary to adapt the system to local needs and to supplement classroom teaching with specialized coaching. In sports, local skills relating to archery, canoeing and athletics can be promoted. Efforts also have to be made to preserve and promote their art and culture. There is an urgent need to reassess the existing system and to promote indigenous skills, particularly for fishing and bamboo cultivation. It is imperative for policy framers and administrators to realize that primitive tribes of Andaman and Nicobar islands are unique. They must be allowed to decide for themselves - if they wish to integrate with the mainstream, and if so, at what pace.

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Growth and Performance of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises in Kerala

Sanoop S.

Micro Small and Medium Enterprises play a vital role in generating employment opportunities. Kerala has comparatively high share of MSME's in the country. Kerala, with its outstanding connectivity, communication network, accessibility of highly qualified human resources and relatively good industrial infrastructure, is ideally suited to the growth of MSMEs. The fragmented nature of the land banks available in Kerala is not conducive to the establishment of large-scale industries, and the state government is trying to resolve this challenge by using such fragmented land to fuel MSME growth in the state. The MSME sector contributes to the industrialization of rural and backward areas and provides jobs for young and economically marginalized groups such as SC, ST, women and people with disabilities. The sector shall contribute to the socio-economic growth of the State. The MSME sector of Kerala has constantly registered higher growth rate compared to other sub sectors in the industrial sector. There must be a detailed survey and research to identify the growth and performance of MSMEs so that a rapid growth can be attained in the Kerala economy.

Introduction

Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSME's) can play a crucial role in promoting equitable development and fostering small-scale innovation. The MSME sector in India is diverse in terms of size, level of technology used and products. There are 346,12 lakh units spread across the country, employing 805,24 lakh workers. MSME contributes 37.5 per cent of the country's GDP. The sector has an enormous potential to address structural problems such as unemployment and regional and intersectoral imbalances. In view of their comparatively low capital costs and their forward backward linkages with other sectors, small and medium-sized enterprises can play a crucial role in building a diversified manufacturing sector. Kerala is a small state which accounts for only 1.2 per cent of the total geographical area of the country, but accommodates 3.1 per cent of its population. The MSME sector help in industrialisation of rural and backward areas, targeting various social groups like SC, ST, Women, Youth, Physically Handicapped etc. thereby, reducing social/regional imbalances, assuring more equitable distribution of income and wealth. This sector contributes enormously to the socio-economic development of the State. In the Annual Budget 2018-19, an amount of Rs.160.01 crore was provided under the MSME Sector. Due importance was given to gender budgeting. Two new schemes for MSMEs, State Sponsored Cluster Development Programme (SSCDP) and Revival of MSMEs with Stressed Assets have been taken up in the year 2018-19. The State Government has also introduced the 'New Industrial Policy' for the ease of doing business in Kerala. The Directorate of Industries and Commerce (DIC) acts as a facilitator for the growth of the MSME and traditional industrial sectors in Kerala.

Udyog Aadhar Memorandum (UAM)

Under the UAM scheme, which was notified in September 2015 under section 8 of the MSME Development Act 2006, MSME entrepreneurs need to file an online entrepreneurs' memorandum to instantly get a unique Udyog Aadhaar Number (UAN).

Kerala MSME Geoportal-Vyavasaya Jalakam

Micro, Small and Medium enterprises play a significant role in the sustainable growth of the state industrial sector. They produce value-added products from locally available raw materials with low investment, especially in rural areas. In order to implement effectively the various schemes for the creation of MSME's, it is necessary to establish a detailed database of all enterprises in the state. Field officers of the Department of Industry could visit units for liaisoning and hand holding along with data collection. For successful liaisoning and intervention, the Department of State Industries has developed a mobile application framework that would facilitate the collection of unit data with spatial coordinates. Via this application, Industries Extension Officers may collect and upload more than 100 details of the units, including the sector to which the unit belongs, the products produced, the number of employees, the financial health of the unit and its position on the map with the help of GPS. The mobile application created for this purpose will be used for data collection by field officers. The entrepreneur could also self-declare the details of the unit by visiting the website of the department. A state-wide industrial data store is then mapped on a geo-portal with these data, which will aid the formulation of the program, statistics on industrial promotional facilities available in the state, including estates, incubation centres, traditional sector (handloom / coir / handicraft) skills availability, cluster growth, etc. Actually, more than one lakh unit has been registered under the 'Vyavasayalakam' database.

Employment Exchange for Industries: To facilitate match between prospective job seekers and employers an employment exchange for industries was launched on June 15, 2015 in line with Digital India. More than 3.42 lakh job seekers have been registered on the portal as on December 30, 2015.

Frame work for Revival and Rehabilitation of MSME's: Under this frame work, which was notified in May 2015, banks have to constitute a committee for Distressed MSME enterprises at zonal or district level to prepare a Corrective Action Plan (CAP) for these units.

My MSME: This is a web-based application platform that helps the enterprise to take advantage of various government schemes. This module was launched by the Office of the Commissioner for Development (MSME). It has also been transformed to a mobile app.

MSME-SAMPARK: This digital platform, launched in June 2018, allows interaction between job seekers and recruiters (MSMEs). As on March 31, 2019 a total of 35,819 job seekers and 5060 recruiters were registered on the SAMPARK portal, and 2124 jobs were offered through this portal.

Capacity Building Programme

The programme seeks to boost entrepreneurial / industrial growth and skills development programmes for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises. Under the scheme, an outlay of Rs. 8 crore was made in 2017-18, and the following programmes were introduced

- i. Two websites www.keralasme.org and www.keralasme.com have been developed to access national and international markets.
- ii. For easy issuance of license and clearances in relation to industrialisation, awareness programmes have been conducted for LGs.

Departmental Interventions on Rebuild Flood Affected MSME's

In order to rebuild flood affected MSMEs, two new schemes, namely, 'Assistance to Rebuild Flood affected MSMEs' and 'Interest Subvention to Flood affected MSME Units' were introduced in 2019-20. Also, to rebuild cashew factories/units a new scheme, 'Revival of small and medium scale cashew factories/units in rebuilding lost livelihoods' was also introduced. Industries and Commerce Department in association with IT mission conducted a mobile application survey across the flood affected areas, including MSMEs and shops. As per the survey, a loss of Rs. 2,040 crore has been assessed for 5,355 MSMEs and 16,061 shops across Kerala. Under the Ujeevana revival scheme as on July 15, 2019 loans amounting to Rs. 96.76 crore

have been sanctioned by the banks for restructuring units (Source: Directorate of Industries and Commerce, Government of Kerala).

Review of Literature

Schmitz.H (1995) observed that, the contribution made by Micro Small and Medium Enterprises in Indonesia and many other countries was very high. So, it was necessary for the government to continue empowering and developing the enterprise. In carrying out its business results, MSME faced a range of challenges, one of which was the marketing problem. Marketing problems require government intervention to resolve them. In order to support the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises, the Government may implement different policies at the central and regional level, as illustrated in the form of legislation and government regulations. He argued that there were several ways to measure the success of the government's role in supporting small and medium-sized enterprises.

Deshmukh S.G., et al. (2010) evaluated the impact of globalization on SSIs, identified the barriers and constraints faced by SSI. The study recommended that there was a need for simplified legal and regulatory framework, good governance, sufficient access to credit and finance, need of sufficient infrastructure and a competitive environment.

Subrahmanya M. B. (2005) emphasizes that Micro Small and Medium Enterprises need to improve their international competitiveness, particularly in terms of Research & Development, improved quality control, and skills. He also argued that governments should promote the development of local parts and supplier industries. That was likely to be an effective strategy to expand the domestic content of Multinational Company operating in a country. The development networks of domestic suppliers, along with access to and availability of finance are critical.

Objectives of the Study are as follows

- i. To analyse the present status of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises in Kerala,
- ii. To evaluate the growth and productivity of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises, and
- iii. To analyse the prospectus of MSME'S in the development of Kerala's economy

Database and Methodology

Data used in the study are secondary in nature and mostly collected from the Annual Reports published by the Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, journals, reports, economic reviews, websites and from the authorised sources such as: Directorate of industries and commerce, Government of Kerala, Department of Economics & Statistics, Government of Kerala, Department of industries and commerce, Government of Kerala, State planning board, Government of Kerala and Small Scale industries development Corporation, Kerala.

Four parameters namely No. of units, gross-output, employment and investment have been used for performance analysis of MSME's.

Analysis and Interpretation

Growth of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME's) in Kerala

Table 1 : Year-wise details of new MSME units started in Kerala under each subsector

Sl. No.	Name of subsector	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	Total
1	Agro and Food-based	2388	2395	2553	2712	1238	11286
2	Textiles and Garments 1	1910	1695	1947	1858	898	8308
3	General /mechanical/ light Engineering	2003	1606	2001	1533	621	7764
4	Service Activities	3134	3057	3679	3259	2009	15138
5	Wood Products	891	775	871	644	280	3461
6	Cement Products	385	344	469	329	141	1668
7	Printing and Allied	366	322	392	348	162	1590
8	Paper Products	190	158	163	192	80	783
9	Information Technology	349	263	316	294	116	1338
10	Others	4243	3098	3077	2657	1251	14326
	Total	15859	13713	15468	13826	6796	65662

Source: Directorate of Industries and Commerce, Government of Kerala

Inference: Table 1 shows the year wise/subsector wise details of MSME units started from 2015-16 to 2019-20. The pattern of growth of sub-sector wise MSME units over the last four years shows a steady increase in the number of agro-and food-based MSME units from 2388 units in 2015-16 to 2712 units in 2018-19 (an increase of 13 per cent). The number of service-related MSME units rose from 3,134 in 2015-16 to 3,259 in 2018-19 (3.85 per cent increase). Based on above details, it is observed that, nearly one third of the units started every year are in "others" category.

Performance in terms of Employment and Productivity

Table 2 : Investment, Production & Employment in MSME sector

Year	No. of registered MSME units	Total Investment (lakh)	Value of goods and services produced (lakh)	Employment Provided (Nos)
2007-08	10757	205198.6	878959.83	107165
2008-09	15541	144349.62	573368.79	106159
2009-10	10956	136003.27	2479321.96	80020
2010-11	11089	240193.41	8353150.28	83648
2011-12	11071	180436.95	697837.46	79015
2012-13	13551	197912.28	700712.08	86431
2013-14	14997	222412.30	1425141.4	87789
2014-15	15455	238794.75	711975.39	83500

Source: Economic Review (2015), State Planning Board, Government of Kerala

Inference: Table 2 highlights Investment, Production & Employment in MSME sector from 2007-08 to 2014-15. The number of MSME units has steadily been increasing at a rate of 12.04% on an average during the period 2011-12 to 2014-15 and the total number of units registered as on 2014-15 was 15455 as against 14997 in 2013-14. There has been increase in employment generation for the period from 2011-12 to 2013-14. But the employment generated has decreased by 4.88% in 2014-15. This trend shows that the MSME sector in the State is more capital intensive rather than labour intensive. The investment in the sector during the period from 2011-12 to 2014-15 has increased on an average by 9.8%. During 2014-15, the investment went up by 7.37% than that of the previous year. The trends show that there was a significant increase in investment during 2013-14, i.e. by 12.38% as against 2012-13. But the value of production shows an enormous increase of 25% during 2013-14 and employment generation shows an increase of 1.6%, against the previous year. The value of production and employment generation were at their peak during 2013-14. This is an outcome of the 'self-employment generation' and 'entrepreneur support' programmes/schemes initiated in 2012-13 by the State Government with keen focus on enhancing entrepreneurship opportunities and awareness among young skilled generation of the State, in addition to the self-employment schemes of the Central Government such as PMEGP, SFURTI etc.

Table 3 : District wise details of MSME units started in Kerala during 2018-19

SI No	District	No of MSME units started	Total Investment (crores)	Employment generated (Nos)
1	Thiruvananthapuram	1429	103.18	5359
2	Kollam	950	105.17	3515
3	Pathanamthitta	711	75.39	2511
4	Alappuzha	1055	107.89	3283
5	Kottayam	782	59.59	2546
6	Idukki	322	27.58	1020
7	Ernakulam	1531	150.27	6132
8	Thrissur	1676	95.92	4691
9	Palakkad	1991	211.36	7183
10	Malappuram	1036	103.02	4196
11	Kozhikode	1195	184.14	4597
12	Wayanad	244	14.85	546
13	Kannur	681	57.90	2549
14	Kasaragod	223	25.68	940
Total		13823	1321.94	49068

Source: Directorate of Industries and Commerce, Government of Kerala

Inference: Table 3 highlights that 13,826 new MSME units (which was 12% less than in 2017-18) began operations in Kerala in 2018-19, with a total investment of 1,321,94 crore and 49,068 employees. The highest number of new units started in Palakkad with 1,991 numbers generating 7,183 jobs, followed by Thrissur with 1,676 new MSME units generating 4,691 jobs and Ernakulam with 1,531 MSME units with 6,132 jobs. Kasaragod had the lowest number with 223 new MSME units, generating employment for 940 people.

Industrial Financing in MSME Sector

State Level Bankers' Committee (SLBC)

Table 3.9 : Outstanding advances to MSME's by Commercial Banks in Kerala

(¹ crore)

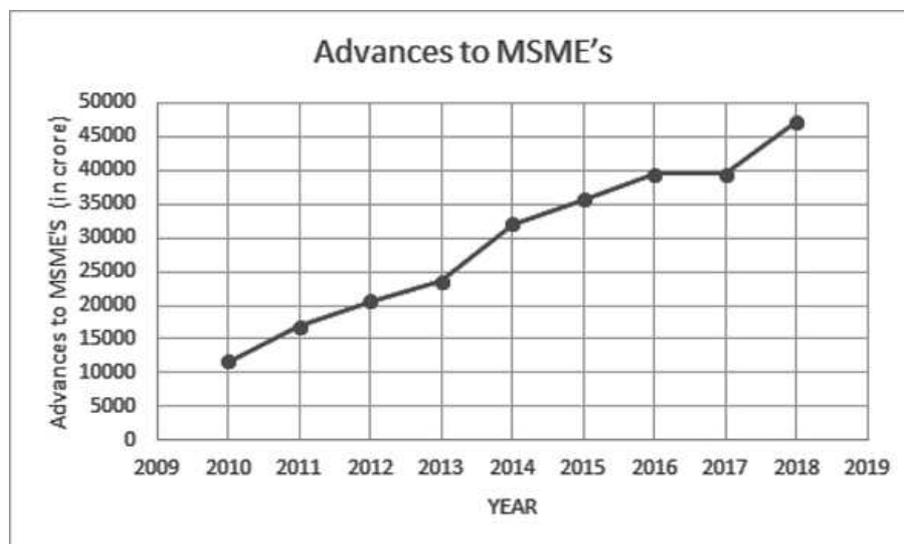
SI No	Year	Advances to MSME's
1	2010	11759
2	2011	16894
3	2012	20593
4	2013	23563
5	2014	32069
6	2015	35730
7	2016	39463
8	2017	39408
9	2018	47201

Source: State Level Bankers Committee (SLBC)

The outstanding flow of credit to the MSME sector in the year 2018 was ¹ 47,201 crore, an increase of 19.77 per cent, compared to ¹ 39,408 crore in 2017.

Figure 1

Outstanding advances to MSME's by Commercial Banks in Kerala



The Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI)

The Government encourages SIDBI to refinance credit institutions, which provide unsecured loans, at reasonable interest rates, to borrowers based on their transaction history. Till March 31, 2019, aggregate loans of ¹ 6,672 Cr had been sanctioned to 3,489 MSMEs (Working Report, SIDBI 2019).

Issues and Challenges of Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME'S) in Kerala

The sector's contribution to the economy is currently constrained by several challenges affecting the sector's growth, such as

(i) Policy and institutional interventions: Formulation of targeted policies in the areas of infrastructure growth, modernisation, technology adoption, backward and forward linkage, reduction of credit shortages and timely payments to MSME's.

(ii) Accelerating growth and enabling formalisation: Innovative business concepts need to be nurtured and promoted and transformed into businesses, thereby establishing a favourable eco-system for small and medium-sized businesses. It can be accomplished by funding from business growth and incubation centres. The usage and reach of different schemes, including credit funding schemes, has been limited for a variety of reasons. Promoting formalization and digitisation among small and medium-sized enterprises and encouraging them to register in UAM remained a challenge.

(iii) Addressing infrastructural bottlenecks: Inadequate supply of basic facilities, such as warehouses, tool rooms, product testing labs, energy, rural broadband and innovation hubs, is acting as a barrier to the growth of the industry. Only a few MSME clusters have provided good network facilities.

(iv) Facilitating access to credit and risk capital: Owing to their informal nature, MSME's do not have access to formal sources of credit. Banks face difficulties in determining the credit risk of small and medium-sized businesses due to lack of financial details. Very few small and medium-sized companies are able to raise equity and venture capital funding.

(v) Enabling market linkage and tie-ups with public procurement platforms: MSME's are faced with the twin problem of restricted access to quality raw materials and the demand for finished goods. Tie-ups with public sector units will help them expand.

Suggestions for Improvement

The present study proposes the following suggestions for the growth and development of the MSME's in Kerala:

1. Mutual Supply of Technologies: A number of appropriate technologies for the MSME sector have developed in various sectors. While each MSME has its areas of strengths and weaknesses, therefore, it would be mutually valuable if already developed technologies made available to each other. A comprehensive list of all sorts of technologies should be prepared and made available accordingly.

2. An Effective Monitoring Mechanism: Creation of credit rating facilities, adoption of standards for quality and environmental management, promotion of MSME brands and development of appropriate capital markets may improve the situation.

3. Constitution of a Panel of Consultants: For the purpose of technological advancement and guidance, a panel of experts and consultants should be prepared, to help the MSME's within the region for the effective transaction of the available technologies. The constitution of panel of these consultants could be nature wise of the activities of MSME. At the time of constitution of panel of experts, there should be inclusion of the owners of different sectors of MSME'S.

4. Training and Development, Awareness Programmes: Training and development programmes should be conducted by the District Industries Centre (DIC). The currently running programmes are not so effective and sufficient. One of the important reasons for slow intake in the utilization of schemes is the lack of knowledge about schemes and their likely benefits. The current knowledge dissemination system is limited in its outreach. There is a need to develop a better communication strategy and use of new age media tools.

Conclusion

MSME's have huge potential in addressing structural problems such as unemployment and regional imbalances. Given their comparatively low cost and their forward-backward linkages with other sectors, MSME's play a vital role in building a diversified manufacturing sector. At the national level, this sector has performed extremely well and enabled our country to attain industrial amplification and diversification. But, when analysing

the situation of Kerala, it can be noted that the amount of investment and the value of production has increased but, employment and the number of enterprises showed a marginal decline. The total number of Micro, small and medium enterprises does not show a real progress. If the potential of MSME's is properly harnessed, it can help in accelerating the pace of socio-economic development and balanced regional growth apart from creation of employment opportunities. It is very essential to develop the industrial sector by enhancing the socio-economic development of Kerala mainly through the development of the MSME sector.

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Historicizing Epidemics: Gleanings from the Past

Saurav Kumar Rai

The present article focuses on the historicity of epidemics with special reference to enhanced mobility and inter-connectedness in the age of colonialism. By looking at some major epidemics of world history, it argues that although any epidemic begins as a biological phenomenon, it soon turns into political, social and economic phenomena. In other words, if one wants to make sense of an epidemic its wider socio-political and economic implications have to be taken into account. While arguing so this article glances through major literary interventions on epidemics as well which provide a holistic understanding of epidemic like situation. In fact, literature allows us to look into the life of ordinary people and socio-cultural and emotional crises faced by them during epidemics. Furthermore, the present article also attempts to touch upon some of the key lessons which one can draw in the present context from the historical experience of fighting against epidemics.

The recent outbreak of corona pandemic has suddenly brought some major epidemics of human history into limelight. Some of the most talked upon epidemics in this regard are Black Death of fourteenth century Europe, smallpox and plague epidemics of sixteenth and seventeenth century American continents, bubonic plague outbreak of 1890s in the Indian subcontinent and Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 among others. These epidemics left an indelible mark on human civilization. As the present article shows these epidemics exposed the vulnerability of human existence facilitating landmark transformations in economy, society and politics. The literature around these epidemics also delineates human helplessness and consequent rupture of faith on state. At the same time history is also replete with instances where epidemics and consequent atmosphere of helplessness resulted into greater control by the state over the subject population. In other words, these epidemics essentially churned the entire society, economy and politics of their time of occurrence thereby leading to changed post-epidemic scenario worth noticing.

Glimpses of Major Epidemics in History

History of mankind is replete with frequent outbreak of epidemics. One can trace them as early as in Greco-Roman civilization where the Plague of Athens (429-426 BC), Antonine Plague (165-180 AD) and Plague of Justinian (541-542 AD) afflicted a large number of people. In the Middle Ages it is the Black Death of fourteenth century Europe which serves as major reference point in history of Europe. It was a plague epidemic which ravaged almost one-third to more than half of the European population. Black Death resulted into tremendous decline in the number of working hands or serfs (bonded labours) in Europe. Owing to this, the bargaining power of the serfs suddenly increased as they were now less in numbers and high in demands. Consequently, feudal lords had to grant various concessions to these serfs which in due course of time led to their greater freedom in the form of wage labourers. In England, it initiated the enclosure movement as the lords evicted the erstwhile bonded labours from their land and turned them into wage labourers on bigger enclosed farms. It laid the foundations of primitive capitalist accumulation in England. On the other hand, in France, small peasant landholdings appeared wherein erstwhile serfs turned into independent peasants. Thus, the plague epidemic of fourteenth century Europe made the serf based feudal mode of production untenable and gave way to wage labourer oriented capitalist mode of production.

Nevertheless, as there is general consensus among historians that the capitalist mode of production in order to fulfill two of its fundamental requirements viz. cheap supply of raw materials and market of finished products launched the era of colonialism in due course of time. Subsequently, colonialism added wings to epidemics thereby altering their basic nature. Firstly, the colonial mobility imparted swiftness to the spread of

any epidemic disease thereby turning them into pandemic. Secondly, owing to the colonial inter-connectedness of different regions and continents of the world, diseases which were hitherto endemic to a particular region started finding new terrains for their spread. Thus, colonialism not only raised the status of erstwhile endemic diseases to the level of epidemic, but it also broadened the horizon of epidemic transforming them into pandemic. It is in this context that a medical historian goes on to characterize colonialism as 'literally a health hazard' [Denoon 1989: 52].

One of the earliest regions which faced the wrath of epidemic due to colonialism was the American continents. Along with the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors several diseases like plague, small pox, measles, etc. also reached to the American continents. As the natives of America did not have any clue of these diseases they died in large numbers in sixteenth and seventeenth century due to frequently occurring plague and small pox epidemics in these newly found continents. Motolinia, a member of the first group of Franciscans to land in Mexico in 1524, described the spread of smallpox, which was brought by one of Panfilo de Narvaez's soldiers, in following tragic words: 'As the Indians did not know the remedy for the disease and were very much in the habit of bathing frequently, whether well or ill, and continued to do so even when suffering from smallpox, *they died in heaps, like bedbugs*. Many others died of starvation, because, as they were all taken sick at once, they could not care for each other, nor was there anyone to give them bread or anything else.' Interestingly, Motolinia in his book *Historia* considered such a tragic occurrence a divine intervention to chastise the land of barbarians [Todorov 1992: 136]. In fact, scholars like Francis Parkman have even reported the possibility of colonial weaponizing of epidemics like that of small pox against the native Americans by the European colonizers. However, this fact needs to be investigated further before arguing conclusively.

Moving to the Indian context, first major instance of outbreak of an epidemic in colonial India was that of cholera outbreak of first half of nineteenth century. Cholera which was hitherto endemic to eastern India turned into a pandemic under the aegis of British colonialism. The whole world witnessed three major waves of cholera pandemic in quick succession. In fact, the second wave of cholera pandemic (1826-37) engulfed various countries of western Asia, Europe, the American continents as well as China and Japan. Further, the third wave of cholera pandemic (1846-60) in England eventually prompted the passage of the landmark Public Health Act and the Nuisances Removal Act in 1848. It launched a new era of 'sanitary regimes' to curb the spread of epidemics.

The aforesaid 'sanitary regime' was introduced in India as well following the transfer of powers from the East India Company to the British crown in the aftermath of 1857 uprisings. The colonial sanitary regime in India introduced far-reaching changes in the city landscape having lasting impact on the Indian populace, on their lifestyle and on their dwelling places [Oldenburg 1984]. Tremendous stereotyping was carried out regarding the sanitary habits, cleanliness and dwelling places of the Indians in the post-1857 period which, in turn, paved the way for racial division of space as well.

The aforementioned colonial sanitary regime reached new heights during the bubonic plague epidemic of 1890s in India. The plague which was brought from Hong Kong to Colombo to Bombay via the colonial trading route created havoc in British India. The colonial sanitary regime responded to it by introducing severe measures to restrict its spread. However, as Anil Kumar remarks that the anti-plague campaign of the time 'was directed more against the natives than the plague bacillus' [Kumar 1998: 197]. The Epidemic Diseases Act, which was passed in February 1897 in the wake of outbreak of plague, gave draconian powers to the colonial government. While introducing the Epidemic Diseases Bill in the Council of the Governor-General of India in Calcutta for 'better prevention of the spread of dangerous epidemic diseases' John Woodburn, the council member who introduced it, himself considered the powers mentioned in it as 'extraordinary' but 'necessary'. Woodburn emphasised that people must 'trust the discretion of the executive in grave and critical circumstances.'

This Act empowered the colonial authorities to detain the plague suspects, destroy or demolish infected property and dwellings, prohibit fairs and pilgrimages and examine the passengers at will. In this regard,

particularly emotive was the issue of the 'check-up' of Indian women at railway stations and public places. It was soon translated by the Hindu and the Muslim elites alike as colonial interference in the 'private sphere' and an attempt to 'dishonour' Indian women. In fact, the Plague Riot of Kanpur in April 1900 was fuelled largely by the rhetoric around the issue of women's 'honour'. This rhetoric brought together various sections of Hindu society together to 'safeguard' the 'honour' of Indian women. As Charu Gupta puts it, 'interference with women's bodies was effectively used to give an emotive appeal to anger against plague orders, linked as it was to honour, *pardah*, domestic privacy, public examination, and forcible removal to segregation camps and hospitals' [Gupta 2001: 191-92].

Likewise gender, caste and class issues also put the colonial authorities in difficult situations while carrying out the provisions of the Epidemic Diseases Act. In this regard, a report published in *The British Medical Journal* on November 28, 1896, while discussing the riots caused in Bombay because of government policies of quarantine noted that many people belonging to upper caste or class requested evasion from being quarantined with low caste or class people. In other words, upper caste or class people demanded special considerations under the Epidemic Diseases Act in accordance with their 'caste' prejudices. The report suggested that a sensible way out of this difficulty was to throw the responsibility on the particular caste or class demanding special consideration to carry out their own expense for such modifications (such as a separate isolation cell or quarantine at home) as they wish.

Nevertheless, as argued above, the anti-plague measures adopted by the colonial sanitary regime bred severe discontent. Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote continuously against such measures in his newspapers 'Maharatta' and 'Kesari'. It is often alleged that inspired by Tilak's writings Chapekar brothers eventually assassinated W.C. Rand, Plague Commissioner of Poona, who had become quite notorious for his anti-plague measures. In fact, Tilak was also charged with sedition by the colonial government for his aforesaid writings.

The next major epidemic which India faced was the Spanish influenza of 1918. It came to India through the returning Indian soldiers from the First World War. It was first reported in Bombay but it soon spread throughout India. Millions of Indians succumbed to this pandemic including the family members of Mahatma Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Suryakant Tripathi Nirala. Once again it exposed the claims of colonial 'civilizing mission' as poor health infrastructure and lack of basic facilities led to humongous number of deaths in India. In fact, the British India witnessed the largest number of deaths throughout the world because of Spanish influenza. This, in turn, facilitated nationalist resistance against the colonial regime.

Epidemics through Literature

There is a famous axiom that 'a single death is tragedy, but a million deaths are statistics'. This stands particularly true in the case of epidemics. The official records and archives filled with data fail to provide the socio-cultural and emotional quotient of an epidemic. In this regard, a turn towards literature becomes significant. There are ample of literary works which provide glimpses of hardships faced by the common people emotionally and culturally during epidemics. The best specimen of such epidemics-oriented literature is undoubtedly Albert Camus' *The Plague* (1947). Considered mainly an existentialist classic, *The Plague* has been written in allegorical fashion which depicts the powerlessness of the individuals and high-handedness of the state during epidemic like situation. Another novel written by Gabriel Gracia Marquez titled *Love in the Time of Cholera* (1985) explores death and decay as well as love against the backdrop of recurring civil wars and cholera epidemics.

There are scattered references of epidemics like cholera, plague and influenza in the Hindustani literature as well. Phanishwar Nath Renu's short story '*Pahalwan ki Dholak*' (1944) depicts the gloomy winter night in the countryside during the outbreak of cholera epidemic. Premchand's short stories '*Doodh ka Daam*' and '*Idgah*' have references of plague and cholera respectively. In a similar vein, Master Bhagwan Das in his story '*Plague ki Chudail*' (1902) explores various dimensions of fear psychosis which prevailed among the populace of Allahabad during the plague epidemic of late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Suryakant Tripathi Nirala's memoir *Kulli Bhat* (translated into English as *A Life Misspent*) portrays the gory scenes during the outbreak of Spanish influenza in India. In this memoir written in 1938, Nirala recalls that how the Ganga river was laden with human corpses during the Spanish flu epidemic. Nirala had lost almost his entire family including his wife, elder brother and uncle in this epidemic. He wrote 'This was the strangest time in my life...My family disappeared in the blink of an eye. All our sharecroppers and labourers died, the four who worked for my cousin, as well as the two who worked for me. My cousin's eldest son was fifteen years old, my young daughter a year old. In whichever direction I turned, I saw darkness' [Nirala 2018]. Similarly, Rajinder Singh Bedi in his Urdu short story '*Quarantine*' depicts the life inside the quarantine shelters that came into existence in India during the plague epidemics. These shelters were mostly seen as 'hell' by the subject Indian population and as per Bedi they feared being sent to these quarantine shelters more than the actual disease.

There is literature in other Indian languages as well which explicitly capture various moments of epidemics. Fakir Mohan Senapati, who is often described as father of Odia literature, depicts the outbreak of extremely virulent cholera epidemic in the first ever short story published in Odia titled '*Rebatī*' (1898). It is the story of a young girl's desire for education in the backdrop of a conservative Odia society in a backward village hit by cholera epidemic. Similarly, famed novelist of Malayalam language George Verghese Kakkanadan in his novel *Vasoori* (1968) captures the reactions of a hamlet in Kerala following the outbreak of smallpox.

Making Sense of an Epidemic and the Present Context

A cursory glance over the history of epidemics and the literature around it along with the present corona pandemic categorically suggests that any epidemic begins as a biological phenomenon, but it soon turns into political, social and economic phenomena. In other words, one cannot make sense of an epidemic merely as spread of a disease caused by certain micro organism; rather one has to essentially look at it from political, social and economic angle as well.

Any epidemic creates widespread economic distress to an extent that it may facilitate transition from one mode of production to another. It was most evident in the case of Black Death or plague epidemic of fourteenth century Europe as discussed above. Scholars are predicting profound economic changes in the aftermath of corona pandemic as well. It has been argued that corona pandemic would certainly restrict the limits of globalized economy, even if it would not reverse it altogether. The worst hit sector of economy would be that of tourism. Also, the extended period of lockdowns in the wake of corona pandemic has distressed the economy of several nations severely. Experts are suggesting worldwide collapse of many companies due to ensuing economic recession and consequent loss of jobs and unemployment. The workers of unorganized sectors of economy have already been facing severe hardships due to incumbent crisis. All this may lead to far-reaching changes in present mode of production.

An epidemic also initiates major political changes. In fact, epidemics like Plague of Justinian fatally weakened the mighty Byzantine Empire (Eastern Roman Empire) leading to its eventual collapse. More recently, the bubonic plague epidemic of 1890s and influenza epidemic of 1918 in the Indian subcontinent gave fillip to nationalist movement in India. In fact, as argued by medical historian David Arnold, these epidemics were used by the colonial Indian government as opportunities to restrict the political mobility of Indians and suppress their nationalist sentiments [Arnold 1993]. However, this in turn further conflagrated nationalist awakening.

Here scholars like Yuval Noah Harari has recently discussed about the impending political changes in the post-corona pandemic era as well. According to Harari, the corona pandemic may precipitate stricter political surveillance and greater control of the state over its citizens in future. In his recent essay in *Financial Times*, he writes 'Many short-term emergency measures will become a fixture of life. That is the nature of emergencies. They fast-forward historical processes. Decisions that in normal times could take years of deliberation are passed in a matter of hours. Immature and even dangerous technologies are pressed into service, because the risks of doing nothing are bigger' [Harari 2020]. He further argues that nationalist isolation would also increase in post-corona era.

Coming to the social dimensions of an epidemic, witch-hunting and scapegoating of particular sections of the society in the context of epidemic is a historical truth. It happened in the era of Black Death as well when the Jews were particularly held responsible for deliberately spreading plague in Europe. In this regard, the English historian Simon Schama writes that 'If scapegoating was always going to be a predictable response of plague-beleaguered powers, the inevitable target of blame was the Jews. At the time of the Black Death, they were accused in some places of poisoning wells; in others it was said that they had introduced the disease out of sheer malevolence towards Christians' [Schama 2020].

In a similar fashion, the colonial Indian state always blamed the 'dirty' and 'unhygienic' living habits of Indians as the primary reason behind spread of epidemics. Later on, the 'enlightened' Indian middle class and intelligentsia tried to shift this blame to their fellow countrymen belonging to lower castes and class. The poor quarters of a locality were particularly looked as the storehouse of diseases. In fact, in the middle class/upper caste imagination, out of several other essentialized characterization of a particular caste, sanitary sense became one of the characters on the basis of which a particular caste could be identified. Incidentally, lower castes and classes were indifferently seen as having unclean, insanitary, infectious and dirty habits providing the perfect breeding ground for epidemics to spread.

The aforesaid kind of scapegoating can also be seen in the wake of corona pandemic. At the global level, the Americans are constantly trying to shift the blame of it to the Chinese people by calling Covid-19 as 'Chinese virus' and subsequent rebuttal of it by the Chinese government. This is, in fact, part and parcel of the global power politics between the USA and China. Similarly, in the Indian context attempts have been made by certain groups to communalize the spread of corona pandemic in the country. The opportunity for this was provided by irresponsible behavior of a faction of religious leaders of a particular religious minority which was appropriated quickly by the antagonistic groups.

Concluding Remarks

The discussion above emphatically shows that epidemics are undoubtedly major milestones of human history. They are not just limited to personal tragedies and demographic changes, rather they escalate major changes in society, economy and politics. One may argue that the time preceding an epidemic and the time which follows it never remains the same. In fact, many a time epidemics revolutionize the entire economic and political scenario leading to far-reaching changes. Hence, as far as the present crisis of corona pandemic is concerned one can only wait and watch what transformations (which, in turn, are inevitable) it brings in near future.

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Role of Civil Society in India

Sreelekha R.G.

The social capital theory advocated by Robert Putnam and others revealed that, network of civic engagement, like the neighbourhood associations, choral societies, co-operative sports clubs, and mass-based parties represent horizontal interaction and these network of civic engagement are an essential form of social capital, which foster robust norms of reciprocity, social trust and co-operation. The civil society encompasses many sorts of actors like academic institutions, business forums, clan and kinship circles, consumer advocates, development cooperation initiatives, environmental movements, ethnic lobbies, foundations, human rights promoters, labour unions, local community groups, relief organisations, peace movements, professional bodies, initiative for good governance, religious institutions, think tanks, women's networks, youth associations and more. Joining and participating in such voluntary organizations is essential for constructing social capital and training individuals with the skills and values of citizenship and which in turn helped to deepen democracy and make the rulers accountable to the common people. The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 introduces the theoretical framework, reviewing the conceptualizations of civil society by prominent scholars. Section 2 discusses the nature and role of civil society associations both in the pre-independence and post-independence India followed by concluding part.

Rule of law, constitutionalism, political and civil liberties, a free media, un-coerced associational life, and a vigilant civil society formed essential prerequisites of democracy and citizenship rights. To quote NeeraChandhoke:

The civil society argument has now been around for about 25 years. The problems of the world remain as intractable, even as the numbers of agents who seek to negotiate the ills of the human condition have expanded exponentially. In popular imagination, the state still seems to occupy a central position. And it is clear that there are certain problems that only the state can resolve, and should be resolving. Is it time that we begin to reconsider the role of civil society? Is it time to once again put civil society in its place (2009:13).

While discussing the relevance of civil society in the present scenario, NeeraChandhoke further points out, "Social associations are of value for many reasons; because they encourage citizens to participate in the making of a critical political and public discourses and enable collective action that seeks to engage with the state. Participation contributes to the making of not only informed public opinion, but also informed and democratically aware citizens who are conscious of their right to participate in the political process. More significantly, participative associations have the potential of limiting the power of elected representatives and holding them accountable" (2012:43).

Theoretical Foundation of Civil Society

According to Antony McGrew, "Civil society refers to those agencies, institutions, movements, cultural forces and social relationships which are both privately and voluntarily organized and which are not directly controlled by the state. In simple terms, civil society refers to the realm of private power and private organizations whereas the state is the realm of public power and public organizations"(1998:69). The civil society encompasses many sorts of actors like academic institutions, business forums, clan and kinship circles, consumer advocates, development cooperation initiatives, environmental movements, ethnic lobbies,

foundations, human rights promoters, labour unions, local community groups, relief organisations, peace movements, professional bodies, religious institutions, think tanks, women's networks, youth associations and more. In particular, this conception of civil society stretches much wider than formally organised, officially registered and professionally administered 'NGOs'. Civil society exists whenever and wherever voluntary associations - of whatever kind - try deliberately to mould the governing rules of society (Scholte 2001:6). Thus, civil society refers to not only institutions but agencies, movements, cultural forces and social relationship which are privately and voluntarily organized and which are not directly controlled by state. Civil society in concrete way includes household religious group, trade unions, private company, political parties, humanitarian organisations, the women movement, environment group and parent teacher associations.

The genealogy of the concept of civil society can be located in the larger philosophical domains, especially in the Western political philosophy of Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci. Hobbes and Locke emphasized the primacy of civil society in order to get out of the 'state of nature', though they differed fundamentally with regard to the role of civil society in creating a better social order. However, Hegel located civil society somewhere between the family on the one hand and the state on the other. Marx equated civil society with bourgeois society. And, for Gramsci, civil society comprises of ideological/cultural relations, which will lead to the creation of what Gramsci calls 'hegemony'. On the other hand, in the Marxist perspective, civil society becomes the site of class inequality (rich-poor, bourgeoisie-proletariat) and the consequent exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie in terms of their labour power and wages (Lahiry 2005:31).

There are many liberal theories regarding the concept of civil society. The liberalism considers that civil society is based on the basic premise that citizens should be able to freely choose and pursue their individual life projects. It is connected to the existence of a vibrant set of groups and organizations independent of the state. These associations constitute arenas in which individuals can express and pursue different interests, identities and aspirations. They also serve to preserve a robust sphere of liberty free of the state: associations operate as centres of power that compete with the state and that enable their members to critically debate and engage with the initiatives of the state (Bignami 2016:327).

The social capital theory advocated by Robert Putnam and others revealed that, joining and participating in voluntary organizations is essential for constructing social capital and training individuals in the skills and values of citizenship. Likewise, thinkers in the multiculturalist tradition typically advocate allocating legal responsibilities and public funds to civil society organizations (CSOs) to engage in governance activities, such as the distribution of social services and the regulation of family life. Cosmopolitan theories argued that the accelerating globalization of markets has led to profound social injustice, which the political elites and international technocrats that dominate international politics and organizations have been either unwilling or unable to address. A global society, in which citizens come to identify with one another based on their shared circumstances of poverty, environmental depredations, and other forms of injustice, is necessary to tame globalization and ensure that the forces of globalization are harnessed to the advantage of ordinary people. The advocates of effective governance theories held the view that civil society actors possessed highly technical and specialized forms of knowledge, that are essential for solving the problems addressed by government. The government also seek support from non-state actors including voluntary organisations for financing and implementing effective public policies (Bignami 2016) .

The Marxian theories are highly critical of the liberal notion of civil society and they consider the civil society merely another extension of the state, controlled by the bourgeois class and so exploitative and oppressive against the working class. For Marx, civil society is the ensemble of relations embedded in the market; and the agency that defines its character is the bourgeoisie. The individual who remains out of the political society never gets access to the state structure and is therefore bound to live in his civil society, which has not been transformed into an egalitarian form. It is a sphere where greed, egoism, selfishness and exploitation continue to govern the life of the individual. According to Marx, when the state itself is unable to look after the deprived and deprived individuals, it is quite illogical and illusory to think that communal

participation through civil society can really bring any benefit to them. It is only the bourgeoisie who reaps the benefits (Dash 2001:249). Keeping in view, Chandhoke (1995:161-62) writes:

For the Marxists, the liberal conceptualisation of civil society as a sphere of rights, legitimises the domination of the capitalist classes. Civil society, in the Marxist perspective, is the arena for selfish competition, wage-linked exploitation, and class inequality. Marxist theory has consequently seen civil society as the sphere for the buying, selling and reproduction of labour power. The State, in this perspective, by maintaining the fiction of equal rights and freedom, actually guarantees the depredation and moral squalor of civil society.... Liberals concentrate on the oppressions of the state, but they do not inquire into the oppressions of civil society. And the Marxist concentration upon the oppressions of this sphere has led them to neglect any analysis of the institutions and values of civil society.

Civil Society in Pre Independence India

Thousands of years of Indian history confirms that we had civil society right from the Vedic period. Vedic hymns describe egalitarian and democratic norms of their society. There existed some people's assemblies like *Vidatha* (general meeting of whole community), *Sabha* (a body of village elders) and *Samiti* was a general assembly in which all the members of the community participated (Mishra 2002). Popular mobilization within the Indian civil society was evident already in the colonial period. Numerous religious reform movements were formed throughout the 19th century, some of them with social and political issues on their agendas. While some were influenced by Christianity, others saw the spread of foreign religions as an affront to Hindu culture. The BrahmoSamaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society and the AryaSamaj, had similar features as the other reform movements, e.g. the renunciation of idolatry and polytheism, as well as urging for a unification of all Hindus, but it differed through its aggressive nationalism. All these organizations emphasized Hindu unity, played an important role in the freedom movement, and strengthened Indian civil society. The national resistance movement, spearheaded by the Indian National Congress (INC), became the main source of civil society activity in early 20th century British India. Partly outside of the INC also other forms of social movements gained in strength during the first half of the 20th century (Singh 2012:72).

Civil Society in Post Independent India

In post independent India, the development of civil society is closely linked with human rights movements. The first phase of Human Rights Movements was traced back to the year 1970 when Citizen for Democracy (CFD), an organization on non-party basis was formed in the year 1974. The objective was to ensure the independence and autonomy of various institutions such as judiciary, press, bureaucracy, Election Commission etc. After the promulgation of emergency the movement got a setback but in 1976, People's Union of Civil Liberties (PUCL) was constituted. The objective was to restore the rights curtailed during emergency; to punish those who were responsible for excesses and to safeguard against taking recourse to emergency provisions in future (Gudavarthy 2008:33) .

The next phase of Human Rights Movement took shape during post emergency period when Congress Government under Mrs. Gandhi won the election and formed the government. The Government at that time had taken up steps, in accordance with its political ideology for a strong centre and indulged in weakening various institutions of democracy including the judiciary (Gupta 2011:364). To control many terrorists, separatist and insurgent movements, the Government used the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in Assam, promulgated the National Security Act (also amended it) to suit conditions and used the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act in Punjab & Andhra Pradesh. These political developments were responsible for a change in the stance of civil society's thinking to shift to - the democratic rights phase, during the 1980, thus clearly indicating a 'new framework of new state vs civil society (Gudavarthy 2008:36). The civil society at the national level and also such international organizations as the Amnesty International criticized the functioning of the Government of India and other State Governments which compelled the Government of India to establish the institution of National Human Rights Commission in India (Gupta 2011:367-68). This

was also the period when many social movements emerged and developed such as women's, Dalit, regional, minority and environmental movements, apart from the Naxalite and nationality struggles, human rights organizations began to gradually extend their scope to protect the rights of the activities of these movements as well as their political concern (Gudavarthy 2008:42).

During this time, the concept of civil society is closely related to the concept of good governance. The right to information Act (2005) was a landmark legislation, which emerged from the domain of civil society, demanding transparency and accountability. It empowers any citizen to ask for information from any public authority. Similarly, the concept of good governance depends upon a strong civil society participation in public affairs. With the 73rd and 74th amendment of the Constitution, a strong civil society has been formed at the village, block, civil sub division and right up to the district levels. Moreover, the civil society movement that forced parliament to accommodate Gandhian activist Anna Hazare's demand for tougher anti-corruption legislation is being seen as a new force impacting Indian politics (Singh 2012:75).

During this time professional and well-funded NGOs brought a qualitatively different way of doing things. They adopted campaigns rather than social movements, lobbying government officials and the media rather than politicising citizens, reliance on networks rather than civic activism, and a high degree of dependence on the judiciary rather than direct action (Chandhoke 2012:43). Though court interventions have helped campaigns to achieve their goals, the social movements that demand a radical restructuring of power relations in the country have just not fetched the required response from the judiciary. This is most evident in the case of the Narmada Bachao Andolan, a movement that has concentrated on the plight of the thousands of people who have been displaced by the building of the gigantic Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) on the river Narmada in western India which displaced more than 44,000 families in three states. In 2000, the Supreme Court permitted raising the height of the SSP to 90 metres. The ruling not only resulted in the displacement of more families, but also was a serious setback to one of the most spectacular movements (Chandhoke 2007). However, these organisations are not in a position to summon up the kind of resources and implement policies that are required to emancipate citizens from poverty and deprivation. It is only the state that can do so through widening the tax net and through monitoring the collection of revenues; NGOs can hardly implement schemes of redistributive justice that involve transferring of resources from the better-off to the worse-off sections of society. More significantly, most NGOs concentrate on either one or a cluster of immediate issues, leaving the big issues untouched - the huge inequalities of resources in the country, for instance (Chandhoke 2007:186).

Challenges of Indian Civil Society

In contrast to the Western experience, in India the interest in civil society comes from the state's inability to deliver the fruits of technology and modernization to the average citizen. A majority of Indians have experienced only the downside of technology, while the state calmly abets the aggrandizement of elite. Civil society in India, according to some experts, resides along the poor and the downtrodden (Gupta 1997:305). Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes underperform the rest of society across human development indicators, including education attainment and access to digital technologies (Human Development Report 2019:56). As Anirudh Krishna points out in his analysis of the life stories of 35,000 households in India, Kenya, Peru, Uganda and North Carolina (United States), many low-income individuals are just one illness away from poverty (Krishna 2010). To quote Prakash Gupta (2011:372-373):

The civil society in India is faced with numerous challenges. A few challenges have international linkages, the others have social and economic controversies and inconsistencies while a few others have country specific cultural and conventional biases. For instance, the problem of Kashmir, the terrorist and Maoist spread, north east insurgency and such related issues have divided the *social society* into various groups. It has international repercussions too. Then there are issues related to the poor and their livelihood and tackling the same through government, public private partnership and through corporate responsibilities. The other dominant challenges are rampant corruption in public life,

proliferation of corruption in judiciary, media and army, non-transparency and monopoly of Supreme Court in higher judicial appointments, crime by higher ups and specific cases of corporate negligence leading to loss of life etc. There are some other burning economic and social issues namely: land exit policy propagated to facilitate the creation of special economic zones and acquisition of land there to; setting up of mining projects, industrial units in tribal and other areas directly connected with issues of livelihood of poor and marginalized groups. The cultural cum social issues of 'honour killings' are supported by a faction of civil society which has sharply divided the civil society and even has the silent support of vote hungry political parties. These internal conflicts within the social society poses great challenge to establish a just social and economic order based on human rights and fundamental freedoms. Whereas political and civil rights are adjudicated by courts of law, it is a bit difficult to always ensure the applicability of ESCRs (Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

While pointing out the limitations of civil society organisations in India, Neera Chandhoke (2012:45) argues that:

Compared to the grand revolutionary imaginaries of an earlier era, the demands of civil society campaigns are practically tame, limited as they are by the boundaries of what is politically permissible and feasible. They do not demand ruptures in the system, all that they urge is that social issues be regarded as of some import and something be done about them. Perhaps campaigns for the efficient delivery of social goods belong to a post-ideological era - an era where the state is no longer seen as the object of political contestation, but as a provider of social goods. And the citizen is seen as the consumer of agendas formed elsewhere, not as the maker of his or her own history. And this is the problem with the current *avatar* of civil society in the country. When politics is reduced to the provision of 100 days of work, what is missed out is the right to work per se, when the government wants to dish out cash instead of strengthening the school system and the health system, what is missed out is that it is defaulting on its duties.

Conclusion

The civil society *organizations* are expected to encourage citizen's participation in *the political process* and thereby limiting the arbitrary exercise of power by the state and make the representative accountable to the people especially the *marginalized* sections of the society. At present civil society in India is reluctant to raise *an issue that is* uncomfortable for the government or they become partners of government. This situation leads to the de politicisation of civil society. Moreover, civil society tries to project issues which *get* media attention and ignores the existence of *socio-economic* issues like poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. It will question the very existence of civil society in India.

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GANDHI: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

Anand Gokani

Gandhi : Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow is an enigmatic, thought-provoking issue. This has been addressed time and again and the focus has always been on the deeds that exemplify Gandhi in the era he lived in. His deeds were relevant then in the context of those days. Today has a different context and different issues confront us. The big question here is..... Is the Gandhi of yore relevant in the present context? It is a paradox that cannot be resolved unless we address this issue in a different manner, a different perspective, an out-of-the-box approach. The question raised in the title evokes deep reflection on... 'Who is Gandhi'? ... and, 'What is Gandhi'? It urges us to inquire as to what is the relevance of the answers to these questions in today's context nearly a hundred years later. Any answer to these questions will and must open a Pandora's box of issues that are closely knit to the Man that was Gandhi and the Sentiment that is Gandhi.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, India's greatest leader, the Father of the Nation, the Man who singularly, using the principles of Non-violence and Satyagraha, backed by an inspired group of dedicated nationalists, humbled the British Empire and won for us freedom from British subjugation and rule, is today a topic of intense deliberation. Many questions are raised about Gandhi and the ism. To mention a few, Are Gandhian methods practicable in today's political-socio scenario? If alive what would Gandhi have done to solve today's problems? and Is Gandhi relevant in modern times?

Gandhi : Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow is an enigmatic, thought-provoking issue. This has been addressed time and again and the focus has always been on the deeds that exemplify Gandhi in the era he lived in. His deeds were relevant then in the context of those days. Today has a different context and different issues confront us. The big question here is..... Is the Gandhi of yore relevant in the present context? It is a paradox that cannot be resolved unless we address this issue in a different manner, a different perspective, an out-of-the-box approach. The question raised in the title evokes deep reflection on... 'Who is Gandhi'? ... and, 'What is Gandhi'? It urges us to inquire as to what is the relevance of the answers to these questions in today's context nearly a hundred years later. Any answer to these questions will and must open a Pandora's box of issues that are closely knit to the Man that was Gandhi and the Sentiment that is Gandhi.

Gandhi- The Man

Let's first look at the Man that was Gandhi. He was born in a well-to-do family in Porbandar in 1869. As a *young boy*, he manifested the same curiosity, the same mischief, the same innocence displayed by any other boy of his age. He was prone to the same fallibilities, the same frailties and fears, the same spirit of adventure which led him to discover life from his own little perspective.

As he grew older into *adolescence and youth*, the teachings of his parents, family and teachers bore fruit, and he began to blossom into an intelligent and enterprising young man. His childhood fantasies, innocence, carefree spirit gave way to a maturity, a sense of self-worth and a clear thought process which would later be his greatest assets in the prowess he made as an adult in the shaping of a magnificent chapter in history. Influenced by both, his family and his teachers, he developed strong values, principles and ethics. The distinction between right and wrong was crystal clear and absolutely, uncompromisingly unambiguous.

The Transformation

His educational journey was remarkable in keeping with those times when formal education was not

insisted upon. After graduating as a lawyer he decided to leave the shores of the country to pursue further study in Britain. He proceeded to England and adopted the British culture and lifestyle till the conclusion of his studies. On his return to India, he started the practice of the Law and very soon this sent him overseas to South Africa where circumstances and politico-social events would change his life and its course forever. On one occasion, he was travelling in the first class compartment of a train and, despite having a valid ticket, was physically thrown out by a white-skinned ticket checker in an act of blatant racialism. He suffered intense anguish and humiliation on being treated so adversely and unfairly. This incident at Pietermaritzburg, turned an ordinary young lawyer into a rebel with a cause and much later, into a Mahatma or Great Soul.

Gandhi- Average or Brilliant ?

A cursory look at Gandhi's life reveals him to be no different from an average, intelligent professional. He had the same physical attributes, the same enthusiasm, the same ambition and the same energy as any one of us. Yet...!

Yet there is a difference. An insulting, humiliating, demeaning incident at a public place in a foreign land may have shattered any person forever, forcing him to retreat and maybe leave the land never to come back. However, history is testimony to a different fate for the Mahatma-in-the-making. Gandhi fell as any human would, but he rose from the floor, resolute, determined and a transformed person. Maybe anger, or humiliation, or hurt or a mix of all these emotions made him completely metamorphose into a man obsessed with obtaining justice for the ills perpetrated not only on him but on Mankind in general. A situation, coupled with a temperament which was upright, honest, and self righteous and virtues of patience, persistence and perseverance for a cause close to the heart, brought out the best from the Man that was Gandhi. An ordinary Man who did extra-ordinary things with extra-ordinary results.

The Man or the Sentiment?

Every year, year after year, we celebrate Gandhi Jayanti, his birth anniversary, and remember him, and we pay homage to his memory on his Death Anniversary. Why do we do this? Why is it that, so many years after his departure from this world, people still venerate him and remember him with love, respect and adulation? Is it Gandhi the Man that is being remembered or is it Gandhi the Sentiment that people remember? What is Gandhi the Sentiment?

Gandhi the Sentiment is not a singular, it is a plural multiple. 'Sentiment' is all the qualities that he exemplified, he stood for, he manifested and he propagated. It is the qualities that Gandhi stood for that make people venerate him, love him, adulate and idolise him...not only in India, but in the entire world. It is with this deep feeling of awe that Albert Einstein proclaimed, '*Generations to come, it may well be, will scarce believe that such a man as this one ever in flesh and blood walked upon this Earth*' and his words are proving to be prophetic. On every anniversary when people stop to pay their respects, they are actually paying respect to those qualities that he embodied. He is the visible symbol of those eternal values and principles which are as old as the mountains.

Timeless Traits

In order to understand this concept we must trace the genealogy of these values, ethics and principles. Around the year 800 B.C. the *Upanishads* and the *Vedas* were being written by the learned intelligentsia of that time. These books were essentially the guides to the Art of Living and Life. Years of experience moulded meticulously into wisdom culminated in the writing of these books. In these books was written whatever the *Rishis* or the *Munis* felt would be useful to the laity to lead a good, healthy, useful life. However, till people could read Sanskrit or had teachers to whom they would listen to, they benefitted with the words written in these tomes. Gradually, with the passage of time, and the degeneration of education, the teachings of these books were relegated to the dusty shelves of libraries.

Sanskrit started fading as a common language as better communication and simpler languages took

over. Hence fewer people could access the wisdom lying dormant within these pages. People also became less accepting and more proof-oriented. Hence what was not understood was rejected. Earlier, the sages presented scientifically proven facts in the form of religious belief and people would accept the same and live happily. Now, with modern education taking over, the general population wants religion to be justified by scientific facts and explanations, failing which they find religious teachings as superstition and hence, unacceptable. This led to a slow demise of these teachings till the revival of virtue.

The Revival of Virtue

In the midst of the 19th century, in America, there were two gentlemen who were writers, widely read in various cultures and languages, essayists, thinkers, political leaders and wise men. They were Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. They had read and studied the *Upanishads* and the *Vedas* in Sanskrit. They translated and wrote on the contents of these important books. Years later, when Gandhiji was in prison, he happened to read books written by Thoreau and Emerson and was deeply influenced by what he read. Emerson wrote his magnum opus.... 'Self-Reliance', and Thoreau wrote 'Civil Disobedience', both of which influenced Gandhi's thinking in the years to come. Gandhi was convinced that he could work with these two concepts for a free and prosperous India. He went a step ahead and changed the concept of civil disobedience to 'Satyagraha'. Gandhiji's contention was that Civil disobedience was a negative term and he thought he should not subscribe to negativity, hence he changed the concept to *Satyagraha*, 'Satya' meaning truth and 'Agraha' meaning insistence. Insistence on the truth became his tagline, in letter and in spirit, for his struggle to get freedom for India.

The Evolution of the Mahatma

Gandhi's vast reading and his interpretations of the written word led to many transformations in his approach to life. It is this inquisitive, open-minded approach that became his hallmark characteristic. All the values that he stood for were imbibed from books written by Masters who had tread the path before him. Thoreau, Emerson, Leo Tolstoy and the Bhagavad Gita itself were the sources of his transformation. These values of Open-mindedness, Truth, Non-violence, Hardwork, and a Single mindedness of Purpose... the power to lose oneself in the quest for his goal, became his traits forever. He embodied these qualities in one of his favourite prayers which went thus....

*Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya,
Brahmacharya, Asangraha,
Shareera-shram, aswada,
Sarvatra-bhaya-varjanam,
Sarva-dharma samaanatva, swadeshi,
Sparsh-Bhavana.*

These eleven vows, loosely translated are

Non-violence,

Truth,

No stealing (honesty),

Abstinence from base thinking and base deeds,

Non-acquisitiveness,

Hard work,

To keep food simple and not be fastidious for Taste,

Together we should be Fearless,

All Religions are Equal,
Take pride and promote only the Indigenous,
We must not subscribe to Untouchability.

The Spread of Gandhian Influence

If we imbibe these eleven values and make it the basis of our lives then we are on the path followed by Gandhi. These values stemmed from Eternal wisdom and have been passed down over the years. They held true then, and they hold true now.... and, I dare say, they will hold true in the future.

It is clear, therefore, that what we love and venerate about Gandhi is the set of values that he followed to achieve his ends and he has amply demonstrated to us that if the means are noble the ends will always be in our favour.

The values that he subscribed to were passed on to him by the books and experiences of great men before him and through Gandhi these values passed down to other world leaders like Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr., Lech Walesa, and to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Badshah Khan).

Nelson Mandela, incarcerated in the prison on Robbin Island for political reasons, by the regime in South Africa during the times of Apartheid, also was influenced by Gandhi. He was impressed by the way Gandhi won freedom for India, and he, too, decided to follow the same path. When South Africa finally did win freedom, and Mandela was elected President of the Republic of South Africa, his first response to the atrocities and cruelties of the past was Forgiveness and Reconciliation. It is these values that prevented a vengeful blood bath in South Africa and promoted the easy integration of the rainbow people of the nation. Aably supported by Pastor Desmond Tutu, Mandela was able to convince the people of South Africa that violence only begets violence and that, if the country has to move forwards it must learn to forgive and move towards reconciliation. Today Mandela is remembered and revered even after he is dead because of the noble values he subscribed to and the high virtues he possessed.

Likewise Martin Luther King is also remembered for his famous speeches like 'I had a dream' wherein he expresses his idea of an utopian nation and universal brotherhood of Man and along with freedom fighter Rosa Parks, his Montgomery bus boycott to drive home the point that the black people had had enough of the oppression, racial discrimination and subjugation at the hands of the White Man, were stellar examples of his nonviolent struggle for freedom from a parochial and brutal insubordination of the black community by the whites. He stood for what he believed in and he voiced his opinion with utmost dignity and restraint for which he is held in high esteem. His illustrious life was brought to an end by an assassins bullet. He is remembered today for his values, equanimity in the face of adversity and his indomitable courage of conviction to fight for what he believed in.

In Poland Lech Walesa is remembered by all for his non-violent stir for the Labour union he represented. His efforts to raise the standards of the downtrodden and voiceless millions have immortalised his name in letters of gold in the annals of Polish history.

In the North West Frontier (NWF), Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was named the Frontier Gandhi for his efforts to fight injustice with non violent means. He suffered a lot of emotional and physical violence from the regime in the Northwest frontier now known as Balochistan/Afghanistan. He founded the movement of Khudai Khidmatgars ... Servants of God... who worked for the betterment of society by upholding the eternal values. The formula employed by Badshah Khan was Amal, Yakeen and Mohabbat, meaning ... Hope, Faith and Love... exactly as extolled by the message in 1 Corinthians 13 of the New Testament... again underscoring the timelessness of virtue.

The one thing in common for all great men who made great prowess in life is that they achieved their greatness by means that were noble and respectable. Hence it is clear that they are remembered and

celebrated much after they have physically gone because the fragrance of their value system continues to live on and inspire generations after them.

If They Could, We Can

If Gandhi succeeded, and Luther King, Mandela, Walesa and Badshah Khan succeeded then we can also succeed. Though Gandhi was there yesterday, his values live on even today. Adopting these values we can fight for our causes. The problems in Gandhi's times was British subjugation which he overcame. In our times the problem is different. Our problem has no skin color or physical shape, it is an abstract enemy. Our problem is Corruption and Moral Turpitude. This disease is so deeply infiltrated into our social, political, financial, and personal spaces, and has created so much havoc in all spheres of life, that it is about time that we launch a frontal attack to cleanse the fabric of our society of these deep-seated stains.

The Ripple Effect

This battle against the unseen enemy will take all that we have and the only way forward is to first... 'Be the change we want to see in our Society.' Only after we are able to be the change we want to see will there be a change outside of us. In order to start the process we have to learn history, we have to learn the eternal truths of moral living and then inject the same within our system. Anyone of us could be that leader that effects this change in our world. We may all be the leader's who make the difference in our society. Whoever takes up this cause in today's times will be the present day 'Gandhi' ... the Gandhi Today.

When we start with ourselves to effect the change we want to see in our world then we become the epicentre of change. Like in a glassy pond when a pebble is dropped it becomes the epicentre from where a ripple emanates and then the ripple spreads ever so surely in ever-expanding circles till it has completely engulfed the pond with ripples. These ripples cannot be stopped midway and will inexorably cover the entire pond. Like a ripple, our acts of nobility will spread level by level to cover the entire society. This is how change can come about. It starts from ourselves and then spreads throughout space to cover the entirety.

Conclusion

Future generations will also learn that the eternal values of life are the best means of effecting change. By adopting them they will be the 'Gandhi' of Tomorrow. Every generation, every era, every society, will have their problems and issues that need to be changed. In every era there will always be the one messiah who embodies these eternal values, who will rise from amidst the people to lead the way to a better society. He will be the Gandhi of that era. Gandhi the Sentiment will live on forever, long after Gandhi the Man has perished. The values that Gandhi stood for will remain eternal and will continue to be the beacon of light that guides us from darkness unto light.

Lead Article

MAHATMA GANDHI The Light and the Legacy

B. Vivekanandan

Gandhiji was a person who had conquered fear and hate. His legacy flows from the fact that he was a world leader and a world teacher. Through his actions, he has conveyed that the humanity is one large family of equals, and that it should be treated as such. His objective was a peaceful order everywhere. He was a world icon who has made an impact on the global political culture. In a global situation, where there is a visible 'Craze' for excessiveness of everything in life, Gandhiji's life and message of simplicity and moderation assumes supreme importance. Indeed, his appeal is to return to the simplicity of the past. He maintained a close link with the poor people everywhere. Gandhiji's legacy is of eternal value for the humanity as a whole. His endeavour was to build a new society where man's needs would be the fewest and most simple. Therefore, it is imperative to recapture the spirit and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi for the future wellbeing of mankind.

Mahatma Gandhi was a beacon of ideals and a man of action. He was a great world leader and a world teacher. In ideals, he was irrevocably wedded to truth and non-violence. He exhorted non-violence, and urged non-violent actions for securing justice. That basic approach was manifest all through his political life. A practical component in his approach is evident in the *Talisman* he gave to the new rulers of independent India, soon after India got freedom on 15 August 1947. In the *Talisman* he told the new Indian rulers:

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 any thing by it? Will it restore to him to a 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 doubt and yourself melting away.¹

That was the practical guideline Gandhiji provided to all decision makers of free India everywhere.

It has been widely recognised that Gandhiji was a Colossus who straddled the world with his message of peace, non-violence, transparency, and readiness to do any sacrifice for higher causes. Being a rare leader, he is in the galaxy of outstanding world statesmen who made everlasting contributions to the world civilization. The best way to measure Gandhiji's stature in the world is to quote the glistening description of the great nuclear scientist Albert Einstein, who observed: "Generations to come... will scarce believe that such a man as this one [Gandhiji] ever in flesh and blood walked upon this Earth".² His greatness was glowing even in the last minute of his martyrdom. Two days prior to it, Gandhiji spoke intuitively about a scenario of his death by the bullets of 'a mad man', and prognosticated that if that happened, he would die smiling, with God in his heart and His name on his lips. When he was shot at in close range, on 30 January 1948, he instantly fell and died with the words "Hey Ram" on his lips.³

Gandhiji was born on 2 October 1869, in a reasonably well to do family in Porbandar in Gujarat. His father, Karamchand Gandhi, was Diwan of Porbandar and Rajkot, and was a virtuous and prosperous person.

The fact that after his father's death, his family was able to send Gandhi to England, at the age of 19, to do Bar-at-Law showed that the family was financially sound. His mother, Putlibai, was a pious woman from whom he learnt the virtue of sticking to principles and values. The morals contained in stories of Shravana (compassion and devotion to parents) and Harishchandra (Truthfulness) also had left deep imprints on his young mind.⁴

Gandhiji grew up as a moral and ethical person. According to him, the ethical and moral discipline of a person is composed of five cardinal vows: *Satya* (Truth); *Ahimsa* (non-violence); *Asteya* (non-stealing); *Aparigraha* (nonpossession); and *Brahmacharya* (chastity). Added to them are other vows which he advanced, like fearlessness, bread labour, tolerance (equality of religions), removal of untouchability, humility, and *Swadeshi*. It has also been laid down that "vows can be taken only on points of universally recognised principles".⁵ Gandhiji explained the nature of their observance that taking vow means one must make "constant and honest effort in thought, word and deed with the objective of its fulfilment".⁶

Truth and Non-Violence

Truth and non-violence was the mascot of Mahatma Gandhi. By nonviolence, he meant non-injury to any living being, by word or deed. Its positive connotation is love and identity of interest with the other. Returning good for evil is also non-violence. He unconditionally abandoned violent means for two reasons: (i) violence breeds violence, and therefore, on the whole, it is destructive; and (ii) he had no right to impose his 'truth' on others by violence. He wanted India's freedom through truthful non-violent struggles, partly because it would carry the fruits of freedom to the poorest hutments in the country. His non-violent way included non-co-operation and non-violent resistance through self-suffering. He rejected the theory of the survival of the fittest. In lieu of it, he believed in love, togetherness and mutual aid.

Programmes

Satyagraha – A New Gospel

Gandhiji developed his supreme non-violent weapon, Satyagraha, by refining a traditional practice prevalent, in the interaction between the debtors and the creditors, in Saurashtra where he was born. R.R. Diwakar, a disciple of Gandhiji, has shed some light on this local practice at a seminar, held at Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1979. According to Diwakar, the harbinger of Gandhiji's non-violent satyagraha movement was a time-honoured practice in Saurashtra, called 'Dharana', by which the creditor squatted at the doorstep of the debtor for payment of his dues. It was a form of peaceful self-suffering to appeal, peacefully, to the conscience of the debtor to pay his dues.⁷ As a methodology, the appeal target of 'Dharana' was the conscience of the other party. That was invariably a successful peaceful method, applied in a limited context.

But Gandhiji saw its larger potential for application in the wider political and socio-economic arena as well, and refined it in the crucible of new experiments in South Africa and elsewhere, and transformed it into a way of life, applicable to all situations. He reinforced its ethical content, by blending it with truth and the spiritual response of 'returning good for the evil', adding nobility to the act of satyagraha. He applied it, through mass action, against the mighty British imperial power, making its arms and ammunitions worthless, as a protective shield, against the unarmed peaceful self-suffering satyagrahis. During the struggle, a satyagrahi is called upon to overcome all obstacles in the way of satyagraha, through non-violent actions – i.e by way of self-suffering without ill-will even towards the opponent, and be ready to sacrifice even one's life to uphold truth. After the refinement, he gave it a new name, Satyagraha - which carried the meaning of peaceful resistance of evil and injustice in a practical way. Truth, non-violence and Ahimsa became the badge of a satyagrahi.

In due course, satyagraha acquired the distinction of a Gospel of Mahatma Gandhi – a gospel of human relations. From a programme of peaceful resistance of evil, Gandhiji nurtured satyagraha into a way of life and practiced it in all his engagements. His blending of Satya (truth of existence) and ahimsa, (non-injury to

any living being) in satyagraha has elevated its standing to the height of a Gospel. Indeed, satyagraha has proved as the best, most civilised, and highly cultured way of conflict resolution man has ever invented, irrespective of the nature of conflicts and discord. It is done with the least harm to the people, properties, honour and prestige of the parties involved.

Primarily, satyagraha stimulates soul searching, the first step towards a peaceful resolution. In the process, truth gets serious attention. It enjoins parties of the conflict to explore a peaceful solution to the problem in hand in a frame of cooperation. It makes a person fearless, as it relies on the moral strength, and not on the physical prowess of the body. In the course of action, satyagraha steals the mind and makes the way for a relentless effort to uphold the truth. Indeed, satyagraha is the most revolutionary gift of Mahatma Gandhi to the World thought – the most effective non-violent action to uphold truth. It is an infallible technique for social change. It is the ‘truth force’ or the ‘soul force’, towards the promotion of social reform and human welfare.

Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience was a methodology Gandhiji adopted to peacefully express people’s opposition to government policies and actions. In India, he experimented it successfully in Champaran, Bihar, which later became the harbinger of the Satyagraha to achieve specific objectives, in India. Salt Satyagraha was an innovative way of massive Civil Disobedience, by bringing in all sea-coasts in India to oppose the salt-tax of the government in a simple way. The colonial administration could gauge its objective and dynamism much later.

In order to organise successful Civil Disobedience movements, Gandhiji wanted trained volunteers, equipped through participation in what he called the “Constructive Programme”. This programme included the four-pillar Swaraj, plus Basic Education; Village Sanitation; Adult Education; Education in Health and Hygiene, Provincial Languages; National Language; Economic Equality; Women; Kisans; and Adivasis.⁸

He defined the Constructive Programme as “the truthful and non-violent way of winning Poorna Swaraj. Its wholesale fulfilment is complete Independence”. Civil Disobedience is an aide to the Constructive Programme. He said: “Centralised Khadi can be defeated by the Government, but no power can defeat individual manufacture and use of Khadi.... In violence, truth is the first and the greatest sufferer; in non-violence it is ever triumphant”.⁹

Basic Education

In order to prepare and train people to be good satyagrahis, and dynamic agents of social transformation, Gandhiji advanced the programme of Basic Education. He called it *Nai-Talim* or New Education. The objective was to bring attitudinal change in the individual – the basic constituent of the society. He wanted people to be truthful, brave and generous, and considered Basic Education as literary advancement of people through vocational training. Through Basic Education, children are taught the dignity of labour, by making them to do manual work as part of education. It integrates knowledge with life, and combines learning with socially useful work.

Gandhiji attuned his Basic Education as a preparatory training programme for a good satyagrahi and a good human being, ready to do any job, and earn an honest income by doing the bread labour. At the same time, it is also a tool of character building, habit formation, and transformation to usher in a new non-violent, non-exploitative social system. To quote Gandhiji:

By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man - body, mind, and spirit. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child’s education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not

merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i.e. the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process.¹⁰

Gandhiji stipulated that parents should endeavour to make their sons and daughters self-reliant, and able to earn an honest livelihood by their labour. Therefore, the key features of the Basic Education system included manual training, recognising the child's special aptitude, and open the doors of general knowledge of various disciplines. He defined its object as physical, intellectual and moral development of children. He said:

The system is meant to transform village children into modern villagers. It is principally designed for them. The inspiration for it has come from the villages. Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India. It develops both the body and the mind, and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realisation of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school.¹¹

He explained that the introduction of manual labour in Basic Education would teach them an occupation on which they can fall back later in life, if they choose, to earn a living. At the same time the Basic Education can instill values also in a person.

Basic Education is aimed to develop three latent faculties: the mind, to know; the heart, to love; and the skill, to create by using hands. It should promote cooperation than competition and build a non-exploitative social structure. It should promote self-reliance and self-sufficiency in doing one's own work. The endeavour is to create a socially conscious, morally strong, self-reliant, compassionate, and non-violent human beings.

Four-Pillar Swaraj

Soon after his return from South Africa in 1915, in the early 1920s Gandhiji envisaged a programme of Four-Pillar Swaraj - the pillars he envisaged were: prohibition; khadi; removal of untouchability; and Hindu-Muslim Unity. All these pillars were given equal importance and were to be strengthened simultaneously.

Prohibition

Among these four pillars Gandhiji accorded top-most importance to prohibition because it directly concerned the very being of the people, and their attitude to life and society. The importance he gave to prohibition is clear from a statement he made to the effect that, if he became the dictator of India for one hour, the first thing he would do would be to close down all liquor shops without compensation. He viewed drinking, worse than stealing. He explained how alcoholic drinks debilitate a person's sense of values, and how, under the influence of liquor, he does things which he would not do when he is levelheaded. He said that it is also important to see that whatever money poor people have is spent wisely, and is not frittered away in alcohol drinking.

His programme of saving poor people from the drinking habit was twofold: (i) enlightening them about the harmful effects of drinking; and (ii) removing their temptations through the shut down of liquor shops. Together, they constituted the prohibition. Doing one without the other is a futile and self-defeating exercise.

Obviously, alcohol drinking is habit-producing. An addict becomes such a slave of the liquor that he would go to any extent to get his drink. Physiologically, liquor knocks out vital centres of the brain first, which removes the person's inhibitions, and also his capacity to discriminate between right and wrong. It deprives him of his sense of values and priorities, and undermines his capacity to stick to his decisions. It debilitates the nervous system, heart, blood vessels, kidneys, liver and stomach. Most of the violent attacks on women and children are stimulated by alcoholic intoxication. The socio-economic consequences of the drinking habit are grave. It would have a ruining effect on the family's economic condition, causing untold miseries. When bread-winners become alcohol addicts, it is the women and children in the family who suffer. Records show that states which consume more liquor have high crime records.

Therefore, Gandhiji was clear that drinking would harm the healthy development of the Indian Society. Revenue earned from liquor is a tainted money, he contented, as it is obtained through moral and material ruin of the people. Since income from liquor is an ill-gotten money, governments should not revel on it. They should look for more honourable source of revenue. Liquor shops are blots of our governments.

Therefore, Gandhiji had a dream - a dream to see India free from the curse of alcohol. That dream remains unfulfilled. Prohibition is imperative if the standard of living of poor people in society is to be raised.

Khadi

Khadi is another pillar of the Swaraj. Indeed, Khadi is considered as the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country. Rural poverty is a big problem in India. As a measure to combat rural poverty in the country, Gandhiji stressed the development of Khadi and Village Industries. The significance of Khadi is that it offered supplementary income to farmers and their family members, through an occupation which they could pursue during their leisure time in their own homes. By hand spinning and weaving, they could produce Khadi clothes to be worn by Satyagrahis and other politically conscious people. It was a self-reliant process since people could grow cotton in their fields, spin yarn in spinning wheels at homes, and weave Khadi clothes in their villages to meet their own need for clothing. They could also sell Khadi clothes to earn more money, if they could produce more than what they needed. But, this was only one aspect of the larger objectives Gandhiji had in mind. By promoting Cottage and Village Industries, he was trying to find an answer to the rural poverty and rural unemployment, in a decentralised rural development programme. The larger objective was to lead local villages increasingly towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

In 1934, Gandhiji announced his decision to engage in the development of village industries, and promote basic education and vocational training. He wanted empowerment of people through the development of Khadi and village industries, rural development and basic education, and make them more self reliant and less dependent on external forces. His objective was to shape a village economy in which need, not profit, would be the governing principle. In a bigger frame, the application of that approach would characterise Swaraj at the national level. He was against large-scale production of commodities by big companies, which villagers could produce without difficulty. This programme was put into practice in India through the Industrial Policy of the Janata Party Government, between 1977 and 1979, in which George Fernandes was the Industries Minister. The primary concern was the well-being of common people in villages. That government reserved about 800 consumer products, of which many of them till then were produced by big Industrial houses, for production exclusively in the Cottage and Small-scale sectors. District Training Centres, all over India, were established to give training to villagers how to make those products. It generated large-scale self-employment all over the country.¹² That apart, Gandhiji's development of Khadi and Village Industries was part of his move for empowerment of the weakest, and to promote full employment. He envisaged India's development, keeping in view the fact that India is a rural civilization, with 560,000 villages, and, therefore, would have to care for the villages primarily. It was his conviction that unless villages prosper, all development initiative in India would remain a mirage. Human development in villages is the crux of the matter. His development approach was environment friendly.

Removal of Untouchability

The third pillar of Gandhiji's four-pillar Swaraj is the removal of untouchability. Indeed, removal of untouchability was on the top of Gandhiji's social reform agenda. Since the term 'untouchables' sounded repugnant, he substituted it with a more pleasant term "Harijans", the children of god. So he gave an acceptable terminology used for their collective, and set up also a voluntary organisation, "Harijan Sewak Sangh" to support them. His decision to live in a Bhangi Colony in Delhi showed his deep concern for, and a will to do justice to, this oppressed lot of the Indian social spectrum. In this context, Gandhiji's visit to Sivagiri, in Kerala, and his meeting, and discourse, with Sree Narayana Guru, in March 1925, assumed significance. Notably, till that meeting, Gandhiji had a different understanding of the composition of the Indian Society, and was tended

to go along with the inequality perception. But Sree Narayana Guru, with examples shown to Gandhiji, convinced him about equality of all humans. It was after this meeting, with Sree Narayana Guru in 1925, that Gandhiji changed his perception, and moved decisively to remove untouchability from Indian Society. He made social reform movement as part of India's freedom struggle.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The fourth pillar of the Swaraj Gandhiji envisaged was Hindu-Muslim unity. During the freedom struggle, Gandhiji devoted considerable time to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. His idea was that by preserving Hindu-Muslim unity, he would preserve the unity of India after independence. Gandhiji was clear that peace and prosperity of the Indian sub-continent in future lay on the keystone of Hindu-Muslim unity. He devotedly worked for it till the last breath of his life. His martyrdom was also linked to that cause.

In the pursuit of the Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhiji wanted to establish a co-operative relationship between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, an approach which was not favoured by the top leadership of both parties. Even after Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of 1940, Gandhiji was trying to accommodate it under a Federal formula, of a common centre administering subjects of common interest, and of federating units. That too proved unsuccessful. Gandhiji's correspondence with Mohammed Ali Jinnah in September 1944 indicates that effort. Yet, Gandhiji tirelessly worked for Hindu-Muslim unity and remained a firm opponent of India's partition on communal lines. To quote Professor Madhu Dandavate:

When the final decision of partition of India was to be taken by the Congress Working Committee, Gandhi said: "I think I should leave". And the President [Acharya Kripalani] said: "I think, there is no sense in asking Gandhi not to leave. At least his views are well known. He does not share our perception". Gandhi had said: "There is still one more opportunity for a struggle. Be prepared to fight. In 1942 you gave me the authority to lead the struggle. I gave the call to the British to quit India and I called upon the people to do or die. This old man has still the capacity to do or die. Please stand erect and be prepared for one more struggle. We shall retain free India as a united nation. But probably you have lost the will to fight. You may go in your own way". During the musings before prayer, once he said: "This old man is of no use to them. Oh! God, pick me up as early as possible", and God too obliged him. He did not allow him to live for long. Gandhi died at the hands of his assassin.¹³

Not in Delhi on 15 August 1947

It is important to note that despite these disillusionments with the leading players of the Congress and the Muslim League, Gandhiji continued his earnest efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity. That becomes clear if we search where was Gandhi on the day of India's independence. When leaders in New Delhi were busy with arrangements to celebrate the transfer of power on 15 August 1947, Gandhiji was walking around in the riot-ridden Noakhali, in Calcutta, working for peace and harmony between rioting Muslims and Hindus, at the risk of his own life. Though Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel sent a special emissary, with a request to Gandhiji to come to Delhi and be present on the occasion of the first Independence Day and bless them, he declined that request with an instant response: "How stupid! When Bengal is burning, Hindus and Muslims are killing each other, and I hear the cries of their agony in the darkness of Calcutta, how can I go to Delhi with the glittering lights? I have to live here for the establishment of peace in Bengal, and, if need be, I have to give up my life for ensuring that there is harmony and peace".¹⁴

After peace was restored in Bengal, on 26 August 1947, India's first Governor General, Lord Mountbatten, wrote to Gandhiji in appreciation of what he had done in Calcutta. Mountbatten wrote:

My dear Gandhiji,

In the Punjab we have 55 thousand soldiers and large scale rioting on our hands. In Bengal our forces consist of one man, and there is no rioting. As a serving officer, as well as an administrator, may I be allowed to pay my tribute to the One Man Boundary Force, not forgetting his Second in Command, Mr Suhrawardy ?

You should have heard the enthusiastic applause which greeted the mention of your name in the Constituent Assembly on 15th of August when all of us were thinking so much of you....

Yours Very Sincerely

Mountbatten of Burma.¹⁵

Gandhiji was a fearless person. In Calcutta he lived in the house of a Muslim, in August-September 1947, which was subjected to raid by some Hindu fanatics. But Gandhiji triumphed in the reckoning. It made C.Rajagopalachari to record: "Gandhiji had achieved many things, but there has been nothing, not even independence, which is so truly wonderful as his victory over evil in Calcutta".¹⁶ It showed the deep conviction Gandhiji had on the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity for the future wellbeing of India. He pursued that objective till the last breath of his life."

At another level, in an attempt to build up Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhiji had an 18-days long, but unsuccessful, talk with Mohammed Ali Jinnah in 1944. That could not retrieve Jinnah from the path of partition. During the talks with Jinnah, Gandhi was trying to explore the possibilities of accommodating the contents of the resolution of the Muslim League Session of 1937, which declared the goal of India to be "full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution".¹⁷ But his effort failed, as the Leadership of both sides had set their new agenda for the partition of the country, and the disastrous consequences that followed. Jinnah was short sighted during that critical discussion.

Ends and Means

Gandhiji underlined the linkage between ends and means. He said that good means alone produced good ends. A foul means would not produce good ends. According to Gandhiji, the end grows out of the means. The watchword is "As the means so the end".¹⁸ It is also an ethical question. So he was opposed to movements which believed in the principle that ends justifies the means. He was opposed to violence, and, therefore, he wanted that violence as a methodology should be shunned in human relations, and in bringing changes in social and political relations. It should also be shunned as an instrument of international peace and security relations, as peaceful means invariably produced enduring peaceful results. The successful application of moral force, Satyagraha, against the physical power of the British empire, was what Gandhiji demonstrated through India's independence struggle.

Jayaprakash Narayan's Evaluation

Eminent socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), initially, at least upto 1952, a votary of violent revolution for effecting meaningful socio-economic transformation in India, made a detailed analysis of the means of violent revolution, and the metamorphosis it undergoes during the course of the revolution, which ends up against the initial objectives of the revolution when it was launched. The failure of violent revolutions to produce democracies disappointed him. In a study of violent revolutions, he found that violent revolutions only produced undemocratic dictatorships, and proved extremely difficult to free those societies from such dictatorships. For example, the French Revolution did not produce the system which leaders of that revolution initially envisaged. In the end, France fell into the hands of a dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte. Similarly, the October Revolution in Russia did not produce the system Vladimir Illych Lenin had envisaged. Instead, it eventually produced a dictatorship under Joseph V. Stalin. Similar was the outcome of the Chinese Revolution.

From these experiences, JP was convinced that a violent revolution would not result in the power going to the people, and that it was bound to end up in the betrayal of the people, by failing to keep the promises made to them prior to the revolution. He had a clear perception of the interlocking nature of the character (means) and effects (ends) of violent revolution, which he elaborated, many years later, in an article in 1969. In a clinical dissection of the process of the violent revolution, JP wrote:

A social revolution has two parts: destruction of the old order of society and construction of the

new. In a successful violent revolution, success lies in the destruction of the old order from the roots. That indeed is a great achievement. But at that point something vital happens. During the revolution there is widespread unorganised revolutionary violence. When that violence, assisted by other factors into which one need not go here, has succeeded in destroying the old power structure, it becomes necessary to cry a halt to the unorganised mass violence, and create out of it an organised means of violence, to protect and defend the revolution. Thus a new instrument of power is created, and whosoever among the revolutionaries succeeds in capturing this instrument, they and their party or faction becomes the new rulers. They become masters of the new state, and power passes from the hands of the people to them. There is always a struggle for power at the top, and heads roll and blood flows, victory going in the end to the most ruthless, the best organised. It is not that the violent revolutionaries deceive and betray: it is just the logic of violence working itself out. It cannot be otherwise.¹⁹

This conviction made Jayaprakash Narayan fundamentally opposed to violent means. Gandhiji's steadfast opposition to violent means stemmed also from a similar understanding of the outcome of violent means. For him, ends and means are inseparable. End flows from the means. Moral means based on ahimsa and satyagraha would result in good ends.

Hind Swaraj

Gandhiji envisaged his Hind Swaraj, in 1908, keeping in view the prospects of Indian villages organising themselves as self-reliant, self-sufficient, cooperative units. As years passed on, he refined it time and again. As a result, the one he finally conceptualised in this regard is found in a letter Gandhiji sent to Jawaharlal Nehru on 5 October 1945. He wrote:

I am convinced that if India is to attain true freedom, and through India the world also, then sooner or later the fact must be recognised that people will have to live in villages, not in towns, in huts not in palaces. Crores of people will never be able to live at peace with one another in towns and palaces. They will then have no recourse but to resort to both violence and untruth. I hold that without truth and non-violence there can be nothing but destruction for humanity. We can realise truth and non-violence only in the simplicity of village life and this simplicity can best be found in the Charkha and all that the Charkha connotes. I must not fear if the world today is going the wrong way. It may be that India too will go that way and like the proverbial moth burn itself eventually in the flame around which it dances more and more furiously. But it is my burden to protect India and through India the entire world from such a doom. The essence of what I have said is that man should rest content with what are his real needs, and becomes self sufficient. If he does not have this control he cannot save himself.²⁰

In the same letter, Gandhiji told Nehru:

You must not imagine that I am envisaging our village life as it is today. The village of my dreams is still in my mind. After all every man lives in the world of his dreams. My ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and darkness as animals. Men and women will be free and able to hold their own against anyone in the world. There will be neither plague nor cholera nor small-pox; no one will be idle, no one will wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to contribute his quota of manual labour. I do not want to draw a large picture in detail. It is possible to envisage railways, post and telegraph offices, etc.²¹

In another letter to Nehru, dated 13 November 1945, Gandhiji wrote: "... there should be equality between town dwellers and the villagers in the standard of food and drink, clothing and other living conditions. In order to achieve this equality today people should be able to produce for themselves the necessaries of life, i.e., clothing, foodstuffs, dwelling and lighting and water."²²

Man and Machine

Gandhiji was among the earliest, who alerted the humanity about the adverse impact of the use of big machines on life and of the setting up of large-scale industries. Initially, he was looking at the issue from the angle of the interests of common man in villages, his employment and source of living. How it would affect the village economy and the small-scale and cottage industries' production in rural areas. But, subsequently he looked at it also from the angle of how constant engagement of man with machines adversely affects his ethical and value orientation, and dehumanises him, as is happening today in the world.

It may be seen that though, in the initial stages, industrialisation was seen as an answer to people's poverty and unemployment, its scale expansion, and excessive induction of high technology into it had produced adverse effects, inimical to the interests of the rural poor. It was found producing poverty, unemployment, and inequality, and causing enormous pollution and exploitation of nature's depleting assets and creating a lot of waste. Under its impact many traditional values of moderation has been replaced by a new set of values, which stimulated hyper consumerist habits and wealth accumulation. Selfaggrandizement and profit making have become new covetous goals. A consumerist culture has been assiduously promoted.

Globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation syndrome has provided unprecedented opportunities for huge multi-national companies to enter any country, and do mayhem in domestic markets and impose new consumption patterns on large segments of the population, and their outlook on life. Through the multi-national companies, a new global consumption pattern, imitating alien habits, is being set in from abroad. Added to it is the high-tech based products, liberally marketed among all sections of the population. Cumulatively, today people are generally surrounded by too many machines - big and small - to engage with. And, they temper the human attitude and behaviour.

Bertrand Russel's View

Seven decades ago, the British philosopher Bertrand Russell, in his classic work, *The Impact of Science on Society*, observed the danger embedded in man's constant engagement with machines – to his personality, attitudes and value orientation. He said that if we depend too much on machines and make them a constant companion of engagements, the man also would become a cog in the machine, and he would also start behaving like a machine, bereft of any human feeling. All his human relationships would come under its shadow, with a weakening effect on the fabric of society. A robotic culture would make its way.

Gandhiji's Forebodings

Gandhiji perceived that eventuality decades before Bertrand Russell's thoughtful observations appeared in his book. He didn't want to see his Swaraj in India turning into a robotic society. That was also, besides other reasons pertinent to rural employment and livelihood, the reason why Gandhiji warned us against too much industrialisation under the garb of development and urbanisation, and increasing dependence on big machines and lavish infrastructure paraphernalia. He welcomed industrialisation upto a point where it helped maintenance of full-employment, and where machines and technologies do not overpower humans. But the logic of large-scale industrialisation and technology development respected no such borderlines. The present system of production, through automation, creates new problems. In the ultimate analysis, such labour replacement method of production is multiplication of goods, without proportionately adding to the purchasing power of the people, or to their capacity to consume the goods purchased. Moreover, such automation would rapidly exhaust the limited resources embedded in Earth. This undesirable, profit-maximisation motivated, production method needs to be resisted and discarded.

Gandhiji envisioned this foreboding when he opposed establishment of large-scale industries, and job displacing, dehumanising, high technologies, which would potentially enslave the humanity. Indeed, to a great extent humanity has become a captive of machines and high technology. Artificial intelligence, and increasing use of robots as substitutes for humans, are creating a technology driven dangerous situation for the humanity

that people are getting dehumanised and becoming robotic. The value and ethical orientation in human thinking and behaviour is getting lost. Humanism is getting dried up all over the world. Sanctity of relationships is also getting eroded. All relationships are determined from a commercial or a business angle. Extreme poverty and extreme affluence are getting nurtured. In the new dispensation, ethics and morality in human behaviour are getting looked down upon in a new contrived robotic culture. Callousness becomes a growing phenomenon.

Negative Impact of Over-industrialisation

Unprecedented industrial expansion is creating a lot of waste, and polluting the global commons - the Oceans, the atmosphere, and the outer space - which imperil the human survival. The avarice for material possessions and enjoyment is causing fast depletion of limited, non-renewable, natural resources. A growing consumerist culture, which we see today all around, and crossing all limits, is the direct result of unbridled industrialisation and technology development. Gandhiji warned us, nearly a century ago, about the negative impact of unlimited industrialisation, which would not only uproot common people from the soil and make them to float in the limbo, but also artificially, through marketing methods, stimulate unnecessary human wants. The fast multiplication of non-essential human wants, which, after a point, becomes unaffordable too, would force people to indulge in corruption and other inappropriate ways of money making. Therefore, Gandhian way is an effective anti-dote for brutal acquisitiveness. He stood for simple living. His call to voluntarily limit one's wants is a preventive measure against corruption, and at the same time, a conservation measure of Earth's natural resources as well. Gandhiji held that mechanisation of agriculture would fuel rural unemployment, whereas the Swadeshi movement would create more employment opportunities in the rural areas. Indeed, through the Swadeshi movement, he championed the development of a strong self-reliant national economy for India. By launching that movement as part of the freedom struggle, Gandhiji successfully raised a "bamboo curtain" around the country, when he insisted on his followers not to use foreign goods, however cheap and durable they appeared to be.²³

Destructive Side of Science and Technology

Gandhiji was opposed to the "Craze" for big machinery, possessions and luxury. He was of the view that though scientific techniques helped human development, placing it as the centre of development would spell disaster. This is mainly because science has a flourishing destructive side. The war machines in the world today, and the R & D investment gone in behind them, manifest that destructive side, besides its dehumanisation impact. Indeed, we really do not know where our science and technology is taking us - to a dehumanised society marching towards extinction, like Lemmings marching to the sea! If growth of science and technology takes place without a human face, if economic growth is nurtured through the over-exploitation of nature's limited resources, they can lead only to disaster.

Unbridled scientific and technological development is taking the humanity to the verge of peril. They have sharpened humanity's self destructive capacity phenomenally in a systematic way. As a result, the scientific and Technological community in the world has kept over 1,24,000 nuclear weapons, ready to fire at the humanity in the world. The craze for affluence and luxury is stimulating global warming and total destruction. Rampant industrialisation and over-exploitation of limited natural resources, and over - consumption in several sectors, and the resultant massive production of chlorofluorocarbons, are making too many holes in the Ozone-layer of the Earth, which facilitate free flow of ultra-violet rays to the Earth's surface. It is endangering the entire humanity - rich and poor, affluent and the wretched, white and coloured - without any escape route.²⁴ Globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation are nourishing extreme affluence and acute poverty in the world. The market solution to problems, which they advocate for, looks ridiculous in the context.

Concurrent Struggles

Though Gandhiji's main struggle was for India's independence from the British, concurrently he was also leading some socio-economic emancipation movements, pertaining to issues like the removal of untouchability, upliftment of women, value-oriented education, provision of full-employment, co-operative

farming, provision of nutritious food, and a life in harmony with nature. He paid, diligently, equal attention to all these auxiliary movements, throughout the Gandhian era covering the period from 1920 to 1948, and made spectacular progress in all those movements. Since he was a disciplined and hardworking person, he found time to do justice to all those movements.

Professor K.P. Karunakaran, in an article in Gandhi Marg, observed that in his struggle against injustice and oppression, Gandhiji made truth, nonviolence, ethics and morals as its bedrock. Throughout the freedom movement he insisted on adherence to non-violence. Twice, in 1919 and 1922, he suspended Civil Disobedience when he found that the participants had deviated from the non-violent path of the struggle. Since the struggle was non-violent, it denied opportunity for the British to suppress the freedom struggle.

Gandhiji Getting Slighted

Professor Karunakaran terms the period between 1919 to 1945 as the Gandhi Era in Indian politics. Though there were many other leaders too in the freedom movement, Gandhiji practically eclipsed all of them at least upto 1945, and they all accepted him as their leader. But, after the formation of the Interim Government, in 1946, with Jawaharlal Nehru as its Vice-President, leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel began to chalk out their own programmes, for the government, without any meaningful consultation with Gandhiji.²⁵ Of course they started to differ with him on the partition issue. The nature of relationship prevalent at that time, was clear in a speech Acharya Kripalini, then Congress President, made at the June 1947 meeting of the AICC. In Kripalini's words:

He [Gandhiji] was in Noakhali. His efforts eased the situation. Now he is in Bihar. The situation is again eased. But this does not solve in any way the flare up in Punjab. He says he is solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity for the whole of India in Bihar. May be. But it is difficult to see how that is being done.... Then unfortunately for us today, though he can enunciate policies they have to be in the main carried out by others, and these others are not converted to his way of thinking. It is under these painful circumstances that I have supported the division of India. (Italics added).²⁶

They slowly slighted Gandhiji's socio-economic ideas about India's reconstruction. The taste of power in the Interim Government changed them. They differed with him on the all-important issue of the political unity of India. So they got India partitioned and gained top positions, in the Lohia's epithet, the "Guilty Men of India's Partition".²⁷ According to Karunakaran, during the freedom struggle Gandhiji played a concentric role - the role of an Indian nationalist leader, of a social reformer, of a secular religious reformer, and of a world prophet. It is difficult to separate these roles of Gandhiji. Since he was active in all these fields, these roles re-inforced each other, and contributed to his success. He saw no inconsistency between patriotism and the broadest good of the humanity at large. To quote Gandhiji: "The life of the world has become such a thing, that national interests cannot be really understood or served except from the point of view of the universal interests of all humanity".²⁸ His conviction was that if he succeeded in India, the rest of the world would accept his message of non-violence later. After making an extensive review of Gandhiji's contributions, Professor Karunakaran says: "... more than any other single individual, and on a massive scale, he [Gandhiji] was able to place a picture of secular India and of communal unity. The fact that India chose to remain a secular republic is in large measure due to him". Gandhiji's martyrdom had strengthened the forces of secularism.²⁹ And he has become the symbol of Indian unity.

The Light

Gandhiji was a treasure of adorable human qualities. He inherited some of these qualities, based on principles, values, ethics and morals, from his parents. Others he acquired from learning and experience. As mentioned in the beginning his father, Karamchand Gandhi, was Diwan of Probandar and Rajkot. He was well-known for his incorruptibility, tenacity, attachment to truth, honesty, generosity, and un-interestedness in making money. From him Gandhiji inherited the moral courage, steadfastness, love for truth, and detachment to money. His mother, Putlibai, was a deeply religious woman, whose cheerful practice of austerity left a

deep imprint on him. She gave Gandhiji the first lesson of vow, and the sanctity attached to it. Before Gandhiji left for England to do his Bar-at-Law in London, at the age of 19, his mother made him to take a vow to adhere to vegetarianism and abstention from alcohol and sensual pleasures, which he scrupulously complied with through out his four-and-a-half years stay in England. Therefore, the moral and ethical foundation of his character and personality was very strong, which found its expressions, from time to time, throughout his life. They laid the bedrock of Gandhiji's resolve to lead an honest, simple and austere life. He learned lessons of ahimsa and non-violence also from them. He had great respect for elderly persons.

Many other laudable traits in him were acquired through learning and experience. Early in life, he learnt a Gujarati poem, by Shamal Bhatta, which conveyed an invaluable message to "return good for evil". In the poem Bhatta exhorted: "for a bowl of water give a good meal"; "For a simple penny pay thou back with gold"; "Every little service tenfold they [wisemen] reward"; "But the truly noble know all men as one, and return with good for evil done". Instantly, that message, "Return good for evil", became one of his core principles.³⁰ He practiced it on several occasions in his life, which made the evil doer to repent. For example, during the course of his peace mission in Noakhali, in August 1947, when Gandhiji's prayer was going on in a village, all of a sudden a person from the Muslim Community pounced on him, and caught his throat. While falling under its impact, Gandhiji recited a verse from the Holy Quran. Hearing the verse from Quran, the attacker, instead of throttling Gandhi, touched his feet, and with a feeling of guilt, said: "I am sorry. I was committing a sin. I am prepared to remain with you to protect you. Give me any work... tell me what work I should do". Gandhiji replied: "Do only onething. When you go back home, do not tell anyone what you tried to do with me. Otherwise, there will be Hindu-Muslim riots. Forget me and forget yourself".³¹ There are numerous similar instances to illustrate this trait in Gandhiji.

During the course of his struggles in South Africa against the ethnic discrimination in that country, Gandhiji was imprisoned again and again. General J.C. Smuts was the Prime Minister. During the course of these imprisonments, he learned from a co-prisoner, a cobbler, how to make leather sandals. He decided to present a pair of hand-made sandals to General Smuts, who gave him rigorous imprisonment, as a gift. He made the Sandals while he was in Jail. Following a general amnesty, the South African government decided to release Gandhiji. When General Smuts called Gandhiji and conveyed him the information of his release from Jail, he sprang a surprise and presented to General Smuts a small packet, containing the pair of hand-made sandals, made by Gandhiji himself, saying that, "This is my parting gift". This took place on 18 December 1913. Subsequently, after some years, on an occasion of Gandhiji's birth anniversary, General smuts sent a warm letter to Gandhiji, which, while recalling the gift of sandals, said: "I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man". That was the touching response of the man who subjected Gandhiji to rigorous imprisonment.³² In August 1942, General Smuts spoke to Winston Churchill about Gandhiji, and said: "He is a man of God. You and I are mundane people. Gandhi has appealed to religious motives. You never have. That is where you have failed".³³

Khadi: A Symbol of Honesty

During the freedom struggle, there was a time when anything associated with Gandhiji was viewed, by the people, with great respect and reverence. In that environment, Khadi cloth, closely associated with Gandhiji, was also seen as a symbol of truth and honesty. Khadi wearers were viewed as honest people. Pertinent is an incident, which took place in Bombay, when a woman, in Sikka Nagar, was arrested for staging satyagraha against war. At the time of her arrest, she was wearing gold ornaments. The police told the woman that after producing her in the Court first, she would be taken to the jail directly. As soon as she heard this procedure, she removed all her gold ornaments, wrapped them in her kerchief, and handed them over to a Khadi wearing onlooker along with her home address, and requested him to deliver those ornaments at her residence. When the Khadi wearing man, a stranger, asked her whether she would not suspect him that he would run away with the ornaments, the lady told him: "Brother, you have on your body Gandhiji's Khadi; you

won't commit the sin of running away with ornaments which I have handed over to you in great faith". The man promptly delivered the ornaments. It showed how Gandhiji had accorded the Khadi wearers the dignity and credibility among the public. That was the value of Gandhian touch. He symbolised high morals and ethics.³⁴ As a result those who imbibed him enjoyed great public esteem.

Opposed to Flamboyance

Gandhiji was opposed to flamboyance, which he gave vent to in a speech, during the inauguration of the Banaras Hindu University, in February 1916. Addressing the gathering present on the occasion, which included many bedecked princes, Gandhiji, made a scathing attack on the luxury and ostentation he saw on display there. Looking at those decorated princes, Gandhiji, said: "I feel like saying to these noble gentlemen, there is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of the jewellery and hold it in a trust for your countrymen in India. I am sure, it is not the desire of the King-Emperor or Lord Hardinge that in order to show the truest loyalty to our King-Emperor it is necessary for us to ransack our jewellery-boxes and appear bedecked from top to toe".³⁵

Non-Violence - First Article of Faith

Gandhiji always stressed on fundamentals like truth, non-violence and non-cooperation. In his words: "Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed".³⁶ He rejected all actions overlaid in violence, including a potential guerrilla war against the Japanese, which Jawaharlal Nehru suggested during the Second World War. He wanted India's freedom to be won only through a non-violent struggle. He had innate faith in the efficacy of non-violent satyagraha and its impact on the mind of the opponent, leading to peaceful solution to the issue in hand. After all, satyagraha is not meant to destroy the opponent, but to convert him through the self-suffering of satyagrahis. He proved its success by making the British empire to give independence to India peacefully. Non-violent way was the methodology through which he thoughtfully steered India's freedom movement for more than a quarter of a century, and through the difficult phase of the Second World War. Therefore, as Professor Anand Kumar observed, Gandhiji dedicated his life in search of non-violent solutions to problems which made him a world leader.³⁷ Consequently, subsequent freedom struggles in other British colonies also followed similar approach, and got the dismantling of the British empire peacefully. And, all of them followed the Indian example and became members of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Proliferation of Wants

Gandhiji has focussed on the linkage between large-scale industrialisation and proliferation of unnecessary human wants, which runs counter to his stipulation to limit one's wants voluntarily. He perceived that, this proliferation of wants would lead to more non-essential luxury wants, and their corrupting influence on the consumer. Record show that as industrialisation grew, it stimulated more and more wants, diligently promoted by specially trained market/business specialists, holding MBA Degrees. Gandhiji was not against industries and machines *per se*, but he wanted them "to be subordinate to a human centric scheme of things, with the aim of creating a truth based, nonviolent and self-reliant, sustainable and joyful society, without extremities of property and poverty".³⁸ Indeed, Gandhiji allowed the use of machinery upto a point of no unemployment. In this context, Gandhiji wrote in 1934:

Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for work as in India. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming million inhabitants of our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in a year.

He wrote further: "I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments, and such instruments and machinery as save individual labour and lighten the burden of millions of cottages I should welcome".³⁹

A Bewitching Personality

Gandhiji was a bewitching personality, who could easily cast his spell on the people around. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru: "His smile is delightful, his laughter infectious, and he radiates light-heartedness. There is something child-like about him which is full of charm".⁴⁰ On the commendable role he played to put out the communal riots in Bengal and Bihar on the eve of, and during, India's independence, Nehru wrote:

How many realise what it has meant to India to have the presence of Mahatma Gandhi during these months. Fear and hatred blinded our minds and all the restraints which civilization imposes were swept away.... The lights seemed all to go out; not all, for a few still flickered in the raging tempest. We sorrowed for the dead and dying and for those whose suffering was greater than of death.... The light seemed to go out. But one bright flame continued to burn and shed its light on the surrounding gloom. And looking at that pure flame, strength and hope returned to us and we felt that whatever momentary disaster might overwhelm our people, there was the spirit of India, strong and unsullied, rising above the turmoil of the present and not caring for the petty exigencies of the day.⁴¹

It was during this period of gloom that the 77 year old Gandhiji, the flame of hope, courage, wisdom and compassion, went by foot from village to village in Noakhali for several weeks, crossing many precarious bamboo bridges even. That level of identification with the suffering people, and the humanist feeling with which it was done, at the risk of his own life, rightly made C.Rajagopalachari, as noted earlier, to place that achievement of Gandhiji in Bengal, even above his achievement of India's independence. That rating is not an exaggeration. He remains the symbol of the unity of the Indian Subcontinent, constantly beckoning India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to re-unite.

Adoration of Tagore and Subhas Bose

In 1915 and 1944 two distinguished Bengalis - Nobel Laureate Rabindra Nath Tagore and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose - adorned Gandhiji with the hallow 'Mahatma' and 'Father of the Nation' respectively. Tagore did it in a letter he sent to Gandhiji in February 1915, and Bose did it on the occasion of Gandhiji's birthday on 2 October 1944. An erudite top communist leader from Bengal, Professor Hiren Mukherjee, made a brilliant study on Mahatma Gandhi. In his famous book, *Gandhiji: A Study*, the Oxford educated communist leader extolled Gandhiji as follows:

He [Gandhiji] was of the Indian earth, earthy, and endowed with a strength that one associated with the elements. Not for a thousand years or more has India resounded to any name so much as Gandhi's. None else has lived a life as full and rounded as his, a life to which martyrdom added a special radiance. The ashes of his body were scattered in a hundred and fourteen Indian rivers, a symbolic reminder that he strode the Indian earth like a gentle Colossus, that where India is, Gandhi is there too.... Of all our heroes in recent Indian history this frail little man was the tallest, and as peace on earth and goodwill among all men approaches accomplishment, the voice of such a one as Gandhi was, will be heard ever more clearly and with growing respect.⁴²

Pertinent is the scintillating statement Jawaharlal Nehru made in All India Radio on 30th January 1948, soon after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. He told the grief-stricken nation, and the world:

The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years after, that light will be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present, it represented the living truth ... the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.⁴³

Gandhiji's Adherents

Gandhiji's example attracted a large number of eminent personalities from India and abroad towards

him, showing their readiness to imbibe and emulate his ways in their lives and activities. For the American Civil Rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr., Gandhiji was an idolized hero. So was Gandhiji for the South African anti-apartheid movement leader Nelson Mandela. They had openly acknowledged the inspiration they got from Gandhiji in patterning their movements. Ho Chi Minh, the revolutionary leader of Vietnam, also said about his indebtedness to Gandhiji. He said deferentially: "I and others may be revolutionaries, but we are disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, directly or indirectly, nothing more, nothing less".⁴⁴

In India, Gandhiji brought about a quiet revolution in the attitudes of countless social and political activists, regarding the value orientation of leading their personal and public lives. Abandonment of pomp and luxury and adoption of simplicity and austerity, by choice, became the new idiom of respectability among the public. Indeed, the simple way of life became a synonym for Gandhianism. Other features of it, which a large number of people imbibed, and emulated, were his moral, ethical and value-based politics, self-reliance in personal chores, honesty, integrity and compassion, truth and transparency, use of Khadi and Village Industries products, and so on. Indeed, those who looked at his personality, found something in him for them to imbibe and emulate. But, most of them adopted Gandhiji's simplicity as a badge of honour. Indeed it may be seen that all respectable political leaders in India, across political divides, carried a bit of Gandhiji with them. Such political leaders invariably commanded public esteem. This is true not only with regard to many Congress leaders, including Kamaraj and Morarji Desai, but also with regard to many non-Congress leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan, S.M.Joshi, Acharya Narendra Dev, Madhu Dandavate, George Fernandes, L.K.Advani, Nanaji Deshmukh, C.Achutha Menon, K.Damodaran, A.K. Gopalan, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Pattom Thanu Pillai, T.M. Varghese, and so on. Their honesty and simplicity in their public and private lives carried the stamp of Mahatma Gandhi, which was a key factor of their public esteem.

The Legacy

Gandhiji was a person who had conquered fear and hate. His legacy flows from the fact that he was a world leader and a world teacher. Through his actions, he has conveyed that the humanity is one large family of equals, and that it should be treated as such. For building a good, contented society in the world, it is imperative to lay its foundation on truth, non-violence, compassion and cooperation. In the societal organisation, the highest priority should be accorded to the needs and happiness of the common man and his family. Supreme consideration should be given to the lowest of the lowly. Be compassionate to the downtrodden was his message. Humanism and unceasing service and sacrifice for common good, should guide all actions of the people. All contentious issues should be resolved peacefully.

He viewed life as an integral whole. Therefore, all activities of people, in their different facets, should be guided and regulated by a single set of values and ethics and moral laws. The fundamentals of these moral laws are truth and non-violence, and what follows from them. Life in the planet should be organised in harmony with nature and the environment, without overexploitation of limited natural resources. He gave the message that by minimising one's own wants voluntarily, each person in the world can directly contribute to the preservation of natural resources of the Earth.

Gandhiji envisaged a world system under which no one "should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words, everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. This ideal can be universally realised only if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in control of the masses. They should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be". Under his economic set up the character of production will be determined by social necessity, and not by personal whim or greed. Since India's heart beats in more than half-a-million villages, in order to provide full employment and balanced living conditions in the rural areas of the country, it is imperative to develop and promote Small-scale and Cottage industries under an elaborate decentralised system. He conveyed that practice of simplicity, transparent honesty, and austerity, by one's own choice, would strengthen the moral-fibre of a person, which would make him fearless, and equip him to face challenges boldly.

For the first time in modern history Gandhiji presented a non-violent, truth-embedded, Satyagraha as a novel methodology to resolve contentious issues in the world. Indeed, this new methodology transcends time and space, and would hold good for all times to come. He advised mankind against consumerism and materialism and asked people not to push for luxury goods. Consumerism stimulates luxury and waste. Materialism promotes dehumanisation and callousness.

He drew the attention of the world to the fact that large-scale industrialisation, big machines, and unbridled growth of science and high technology are marginalising humans, and that they have installed too many switches of destruction in the world, in the form of all kinds of war machines to be used against the humanity from land, oceans and space. Artificial intelligence and induction of robots and drones can make the destruction of humanity, mechanical, impersonal, and perfect. Increasingly, machine has replaced humans. Therefore, it is imperative to dismantle these switchboards of destruction to save the humanity, and return to a peaceful humane world which Gandhiji envisaged. His endeavour was to build a non-violent society based on truth and ahimsa, a society which begets goodness in human beings.

Obviously, the world cannot go on like this. For the survival of the humanity, it has to introspect and change its way. For desired results, the only option before it is to re-organise and re-structure life in the world in the Gandhian way by bringing simplicity and moderation into it. Gandhiji had a conviction that, to be morally and ethically strong, one must cheerfully practice simplicity and austerity by limiting one's wants. Increasing one's wants beyond a certain limit would be a burden, which would lead one to enslavement, illegality and corruption. Therefore, his endeavour was "to see the beauty in voluntary simplicity, poverty and slowness". He said further: "The ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be delusion and a snare".

Gandhiji had a mystifying kinship with all Indians, which found expressions whenever he went on fast on vital issues. His fast unto death was to change other people's heart, as well as to change his own, through introspection. The expression of this strange kinship with Indians reached its crescendo, following his assassination on 30 January 1948. He was a hero of millions who commanded their sustained loyalty for over 30 years.

Gandhiji recognised the oneness of all human beings, and taught that every living being has a fundamental birth right to live its life. And, therefore, we should be respectful to all living beings. He had a conviction that man is essentially good, and that goodness would flow when it is provided with right environment and incentives. Similarly, he taught the world that ends flow from the means, and, therefore, man's duty is to attend to the means. For getting good ends, the means must necessarily be good. He gave also the message that freedom from want should be the first task to be attended to by any administration.

Gandhiji stood for a clean public life, full-employment, power to the people through decentralised local self-government institutions, decentralised planning, protection of Khadi and Village Industries, a non-alcoholic society where women are provided with equal opportunities, environment protection and poverty eradication. The society he envisaged was eco-friendly and nonexploitative. He had supported socialist ideas, minus its violent revolution means part. He used to describe himself as a better socialist than those who wore that label. He once stated: "I have claimed that I was a socialist long before those in India had avowed their creed".⁴⁵ Indeed, the humanist aims of socialism and Gandhism have brought them together. He favoured nationalisation of all key industries, along with ensuring a dignified position for labour in it. Speaking about such potential nationalised industries, he said in 1924: "I am socialist enough to say that such [large-scale] factories should be nationalised, state controlled".⁴⁶

Gandhiji's legacy is of eternal value for the humanity as a whole. His endeavour was to build a new society where man's needs would be the fewest and most simple, "a society which ipso facto would rid itself of the complications and vices and cruelties that are accretion of civilization".⁴⁷ His objective was a peaceful order every where. He was a world icon who has made an impact on the global political culture. In a global

situation, where there is a visible 'Craze' for excessiveness of everything in life, Gandhiji's life and message of simplicity and moderation assumes supreme importance. Indeed, his appeal is to return to the simplicity of the past. His ways and appeal can be ignored only at the peril of the humanity. As Professor Hiren Mukherjee, has said: "Gandhiji belongs... not only to his own India but to the world".⁴⁸ He maintained a close link with the poor people everywhere. Therefore, it is imperative to recapture the spirit and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi for the future wellbeing of mankind. His birthday, 2nd October, is observed as the International Day of Non-Violence. It is generous of the British Government to honour him, on his birthday on 2nd October 2020, by issuing a new coin with Gandhiji's profile on it.⁴⁹ Already, his statue is there in London.

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45. Mahatma Gandhi, *Collected Works*, (vol.LXXI) (1978): New Delhi, p.424.
46. C.Shukla, (1954): *Gandhi's view of Life*, Bombay, p.117.
47. Hiren Mukerjee, *Gandhiji: A Study*, n.3, p.216.
48. *Ibid.*, p.xii.
49. *The Hindu* (Chennai), 3 August 2020.

The Phenomenon of Gandhi

N. Shanmughom Pillai

Book-I:

Robert Payne (1997) : *The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi*, Rupa, New Delhi, pp 703 ₹ 595/-

The book is an illustrious addition to the voluminous literature on Gandhi especially from abroad which appeared in 1969, in the US. The book traces the eventful life and work of the Mahatma right from 2nd October 1869 to 30 January 1948. It incorporates minute moments of his life with rare insight. The book has fourteen chapters (without numbering) starting with the 'Son of the Prime Minister' and ending with 'The Murderers'. It is the big and heroic story of the man whose non-violent movement transformed India both spiritually and politically as it did the world. Beginning with the moving story of a shy provincial boy married at thirteen and separated from his bride for years while he studied law in London, the book, traces the trajectory of a remarkable life - a successful Barrister who stood up against apartheid in South Africa and leaves the privileged life to fight for the independence of his mother land. The book reveals the man who later became the Father of the Nation - the authoritarian husband and father and the uncompromising fighter.

Regarding the dark side of his nature the author comments that he was a bad father, a tyrant to his followers and rarely made any effort to conceal the authoritarian streak he had inherited from his ancestors. He was fascinated by sex to the point of obsession. But these strange and baffling contradictions within his mind scarcely affected his great accomplishments. In the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi, we see the supreme drama of humanity re-enacted that a prophet should arise and sacrifice himself so that others may live. He was original and daring. Perhaps, never before on so grand a scale has any man succeeded in shaping the course of history using only the weapons of peace and non-violence.

Gandhi was following his authoritarian father and saintly mother. He was the youngest spoiled darling of his family. Though sweet tempered he was more than usually mischievous. His movements were quick and decisive. As a school boy he was not a mediocre student, but an erratic one, sometimes very good and sometimes inexplicably bad. He mastered English and is remembered as a dashing cricketer. He passed Matriculation in 404th rank. He went to England and got qualified to the Bar from Inner Temple. On return to India he tried in vain for a teacher's job. So he started practising as a Lawyer. But it was short-lived, returning the 30 Rupee fee to the client.

He came in to contact with B.G.Tilak and imbibed the good qualities of Gopalakrishna Gokhale whom he accepted as his political guru. During World War I, Gandhi was in London and offered his services to the Empire. Returning to India, in 1915 he intervened in the issue of indigo peasants in Champaran (Bihar) and in the peasant issue in Kheda. Then he took up the wage issue of Ahmedabad mill workers and under took a fast for two days. The fast was first of its kind for a public cause. On 12 March, 1930 Gandhi started the historic Dandi March to break the salt law. Gandhi termed it as a battle of 'Right' against 'might'.

Gandhiji called for a twentyfour hour fast and a national hartal on April 6, against the Rowlatt Act of 1919. This was followed by Jallianwala Bagh tragedy on April 13, in which 379 people lost their lives and many more wounded. The Inquiry Commission expressed horror of the massacre and General Dyer was relieved of his command.

Violent protests were raging throughout India. On February 5, 1922, in Chowri Chowra village a police station was set on fire killing 23 constables. Gandhiji was horrified. He came to know that the situation was

Bose in the forefront. Gandhi did not like these developments and wanted to put his foot down. He seemed to go in to a kind of theoretical retirement from active politics.

During the period of capitalist crisis (1929-32) socialist ideas began to gain strength in the country. In May 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was formed by a small band of Congressmen. Gandhi took 'serious note of this trend and set about to control it'. Nehru was the undoubted leader of socialists according to Gandhi. He never made any frontal attack on the struggles of workers and peasants. He believed in the theory of trusteeship where the haves will look after the have notes due to change of heart. Subhash Chandra Bose was elected President of Congress for a second time, but he was removed from the post through Tripuri resolution. The means adopted to do this, says the author, 'was rather low for the great man'.

In 1939 when the World War started Nehru was uneasy in the company of the right-wing leaders. Bose was unable to give concrete shape to the left, there was no dynamic leadership. Much of the responsibilities could be attributed to Gandhi. Regarding Hindu-Muslim cooperation also problems arose. The author observes that Gandhi's constant emphasis on Hindu reform movements made the position worse.

During the 'Quit India' movement in 1942. Gandhi was in favour of spontaneous rising of the people. He called upon peasants not to pay tax and seize land, a language he had never used in the past. He was never in favour of a general strike. But it should not be interpreted as a call for a revolutionary struggle. Firstly there was no preparation for such 'fifteen days of chaos'. The draft instruction did not contain any reference to peasantry or workers. No particular role was allotted to them. The omission was not casual. Gandhiji stated 'I want freedom immediately... this very night before dawn, if it can be had'. In 1946, a series of strikes started, in the country including the strike by the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay. But Gandhi described the naval mutiny as 'thoughtless'.

When freedom came along with partition he was disillusioned. Two days before his martyrdom, he had spoken of 'the possibility of his dying by the bullets of a mad man'. Even in his death there was a magnificence and complete artistry. It was a fitting climax to the man and to the life he had lived. He died in the fullness of his powers. To the end he had opposed 'the vivisection of India'. India was politically free but it was not the freedom of his dreams. He was deeply worried about the moral degradation of Congressmen. He was undoubtedly one of the great social reformers of history. But he had certain beliefs like the one that nothing moved without God's injunction.

To the author Gandhian method of satyagraha alone could not have won freedom. The struggles and national effort for at least fifty years and the great post-war upsurge which swept over the country in 1945-46 should also be taken in to account. The people's deviations from the rails of Satyagraha had helped to put fear in the Government. Therefore, it is unhistorical and untrue to attribute the attainment of Freedom to satyagraha alone. The author also mentioned about the emerging movement of the working class and the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). Interpreting Gandhi through the ideological prism of class conflict and class struggle the author writes that he won political power for the bourgeoisie and resisted mass action against the exploiting class. Gandhi's 'Buy Indian' Campaign actually helped the vested capitalist interests by a boost in textile industry.

According to the author "Gandhi is greater than Gandhism. Among all our heroes in recent Indian history, the frail little man was the tallest." Gandhi himself had denied Gandhism when he said he did not want to leave behind any sect. He was only experimenting with 'truth' and 'non-violence'. He had confirmed that he could only 'show the way to the truth and not the truth itself'. The author is critical of Gandhi's concept of 'Ramarajya'. He also criticises the lack of intellectualism in Gandhi.

Coming to the 'ends and means' controversy, Gandhi believed in purity of means, regardless of end result. Gandhi despised force and violence for social change. Criticising this the author writes that there are many instances to show how force has been the midwife of new social forms emerging out of the old.

The book praises the inimitable leadership and selfless work of Mahatma Gandhi. But the short coming of the book is that it remains mostly a Marxian critique of Gandhi. It should not be forgotten that the world today is more and more realizing the importance of swadeshi and sustainable development. However much we criticise Gandhi, we cannot afford to ignore Gandhi's amazing power to see far beyond his times.

Book-III : *Trial and Verdit 1948-49, Gandhiji - The Last Days
and After the Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi,*
The Hindu Publishing, Private Ltd., (2020): pp 456, ₹ 699/-

This book is a special publication on the Mahatma Gandhi assassination case trial. The volume was published as a tribute to Gandhiji during his 150th birth anniversary. The monograph covers his life history and focuses on his assassination and its aftermath. The book carries an illuminating forward by Gandhiji's grandson Gopalakrishna Gandhi. The book is in 14 parts ranging from the Hindu Editorials to J.L.Kapur Commission and after.

The book gives a rare revelation that Gandhiji had 'nothing more but nothing less than a sense that, how he was going to meet his death'. One Tryambakrai Mazumdar had travelled to England with the 19 year old Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in 1888. After 31 years in 1919 he met Gandhiji in his Ashram. He recalled that Gandhi had told him 'he was going to die of a blow by an Indian.' His words were prophetic as revealed from the happenings from 20th January 1948 onwards, ten days prior to the fatal day. On 20th January a crude bomb was set off in his prayer congregation at Birla House, New Delhi. Later he said: "Don't you see, there is a terrible and widespread conspiracy behind it?" Then came January 29, the day was as much or more troublesome as any other preceding tense days. An agitated group of refugees who survived brutal attack at a Railway Station came to see, no, to confront Gandhiji. In angry tone they said: "you have ruined us... you ought now to retire to the Himalaya...." Later Gandhiji in his post-prayer meeting said: "I cannot run away because.... I have become what I have become at the bidding of God. God will do what he wills. He may take me away.... I want to find peace in the midst of turmoil or want to die in the turmoil. My Himalaya is here." After the prayer meeting he felt his head was reeling and about 9.15 pm he finished the draft Congress Constitution and other papers. Grand niece Manu Behn describes, he was extremely exhausted and worried about bringing peace in the atmosphere of violence. A few minutes later his son Devadas Gandhi came. They were talking in the presence of others around. A severe fit of coughing convulsed Gandhi. Manu suggested a penicillin lozenge. He declined. Regaining his voice he told Manu, "... If someone were to end my life putting a bullet through me - as someone tried to do with a bomb the other day...."

Then it was the fatal last day. Gandhiji had a strong feeling that his end was just round the corner. He had a sort of pre-monition the previous day. Therefore on 30th (Friday) as soon as he woke up (3 am) he asked his personal assistant to give him all important papers so that he could reply to them immediately. He had a packed schedule before going to attend the prayer meeting at 5.10 pm. He was shot dead (5.12 pm) by N.V.Godse with an Italian made 9 m.m. pistol. He fired three rounds at point blank range – two shots hit the abdomen and the third the chest. Gandhiji started profusely bleeding, fell back with his specks and chappals falling apart and chanting, 'Ha Ram... Ha Ram'. He was declared dead at 5.15 pm. Godse did not try to escape, he was beaten and arrested by police. State mourning was declared for 13 days from 30th January. The Funeral procession started at 11.45 am on 31st. It took 5 hours to cover the 5.5 km long route to Jumna Ghat. By 6pm Gandhiji's mortal remains were reduced to ashes. His two sons Ramdas and Devdas lit the pyre.

A special court headed by Atma Charan, ICS, Judge was set up in Red Fort, Delhi to try the Gandhi murder Case. C.K.Daphtary the Chief Prosecution counsel, presented the chargesheet against 12 specified accused and the others not known, on May 27, 1948. The accused included N.V.Godse (37), N.D.Apte (34), V.R.Kerkere (37), D.R.Badge (39), Madanlal (20), S.Kistayya (20), G.V.Godse (27), V.D.Savarkar (65) and D.S.Parachure (49). The other three, G.S.Dhanwate, Gangadhar Jaddey and Surya Dev Sarma were reported

absconding. There were seven charges including murder (S.302 of IPC) conspiracy (S.120(B) of IPC) and violation of Arms Act and Explosive Act. All the accused denied the charges and claimed to be tried, except Godse who denied only the charge of conspiracy. Of the accused, D.R.Badge, arms seller turned approver was given pardon.

N.V.Godse in his 93 page statement before the court which he was allowed to read out, accepted the charge of murder but denied the charge of conspiracy. He did not wish to beg for mercy. He wanted to remove Gandhiji from this world because he proved to be the father of Pakistan. He felt that Indian politics in the absence of Gandhiji would be practical. The recording of evidence began on 24 June, 1948 and it took 84 days to complete the evidence of 143 prosecution witnesses running into 696 pages. The prosecution filed 354 documents and the defense 118. There were 80 material exhibits. The deposition was in Hindustani, Marathi, Telugu, Gujarati and Punjabi. The special judge held the charges as proved and gave his 204 page judgement on 10th February 1949. N.V.Godse and N.D.Apte were sentenced to death. V.R Kerkere, Madan Lal Pahva, Shankar Kistayya, G.V.Godse and D.S.Parachure were given life sentence. V.D.Savarkar was acquitted. Badge was discharged. The judge also blamed the Police in Bombay and Delhi for their slackness in investigation of the case from 20th Jan, to 30th. The tragedy could have been averted if the slightest keenness was shown by the Police.

All the convicts filed appeals to the East Punjab High Court at Simla against Conspiracy charge and severity of sentence except Godse. He pleaded there was no conspiracy. No FIR was filed against the allegation. After hearing both sides the three member Bench of the Court delivered its judgement on 21st June 1949. The death sentence of Godse and Apte was upheld. Dr.Parchure and Shankar Kistayya were acquitted.

Following the HC judgement the convicts filed a pauper appeal for leave to appeal to the Privy Council. But it was rejected by the Court on October 12. On 15th November 1949 Godse and Apte were hanged. Earlier on 5th November Governor General had rejected the mercy petitions of Godse and Apte. Before walking to the gallows the prisoners performed poojas and shouted 'Akhand Bharat Amar Rahe' and 'Bande Mataram.' The bodies were cremated inside the jail and no ashes were given to the relatives.

In February 1967 Government of India appointed Justice J.L.Kapoor, former Supreme Court Judge & Chairman Law Commission as the one man Commission to probe whether some persons had prior knowledge about the assassination of Gandhiji and if they had informed the authorities concerned and what action Government had taken. The Commission held that G.V. Ketkar, grandson of B.G. Tilak was informed by Godse in October - November 1947 of his intention to kill Gandhi and he came to know about the conspiracy on 23rd January 1948, but Ketkar did not inform Bombay Govt. or its Premier B.G. Kher. Though the Union Govt. discussed the matter with Provincial Governments, the advice of top police officers was not acted upon. Delhi Police did not professionally investigate even after Madanlal was arrested on 20th January 1948. Bombay police went after wrong persons even after getting clues about involvement of known personalities. Conspiracy to murder began not on January 9, 1948, it started as early as August - September 1947. Successive attempts were made since 1944 on his life. The Commission Report was submitted to the Hon'ble Minister YB Chawan on 3rd October 1969.

The book records in detail the last days of Gandhiji and the prior plots to finish him off. The book reveals the fact that it was the failure of our intelligence agencies, police and rulers to act efficiently and timely, that resulted in the assassination of Gandhiji.

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A Gandhian Alternative Vision of Sustainable Development

D. Jeevan Kumar

The Brundtland formulation of Sustainable Development (SD) has come to represent mainstream thinking about the relationship between environment and development. It now commands authoritative status, acting as a guiding principle of economic and social development. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a framework of 17 goals and 169 targets across social, economic and environmental areas of Sustainable Development, which UN Member States have committed to making a reality by the year 2030. According to some perceptive environmentalists and environmental scientists, the inherently contradictory aims of economic expansion, environmental protection, poverty eradication and the free market are all merged into an awkward, unsustainable policy in the form of the SDGs. In its linking of economic growth, material wealth and economic progress, SD has failed to atone for the fact that it is precisely such aspirations that put our planet in such a precarious position in the first place. SD and the SDG approach perpetuates and reaffirms questionable policies in its ethnocentric, technocentric and anthropocentric qualities, thereby exposing its inherently Western biases. While past approaches have failed to meaningfully address the problem of unsustainable development, the current approach repeats these mistakes. Without a Gandhian analysis and reformation of the ideological and foundational underpinnings of SD, the SDGs cannot be easily realized. The Gandhian vision of SD represents a crucial way forward in advancing a revised and reformed project of SD that is simultaneously concerned with well-being, equity and ecological integrity. While it is not the intention of this paper to provide a specific blueprint to achieve the Holy Grail of SD, it builds a strong case for a Gandhian alternative vision of SD.

The Concept of Sustainable Development

The term 'Sustainable Development' (SD) became prominent in discussions about environmental policy during the mid-1980s. Following the central role it played in the United Nations (UN)-appointed Brundtland Commission (1984-87) and its famous report, *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), the term has appeared with increasing frequency in academic studies as well as in government reports. The Brundtland formulation of SD has come to represent mainstream thinking about the relationship between environment and development. It now commands authoritative status, acting as a guiding principle of economic and social development (Lafferty and Meadowcroft, 2000).

In identifying the links between the economy, society and the environment, the Brundtland Report puts 'development', a traditional economic and social goal, and 'sustainability', an ecological goal, together, to devise a new development model, that of SD. SD is said to be a model of societal change that, in addition to traditional developmental objectives, has the objective of maintaining ecological sustainability (Lele, 1991). In addition, the Brundtland Report made it explicit that social and economic conditions, especially those operating at the international level, influence whether or not the interaction between human beings and Nature is sustainable (Baker, 2006).

The now famous and much popularized Brundtland definition of SD is "development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED,

1987). The essential arguments of the Brundtland approach to SD may be summarized as follows (Baker, 2006):

- It links environmental degradation with economic, social and political factors.
- It presents SD as a model of social change.
- It adopts a global focus.
- It constructs a three-pillar approach: Reconciliation of the social, economic and ecological dimensions of change.
- It takes a positive attitude towards development: Environmental protection and economic development can be mutually compatible goals and may even support each other.
- It argues that the state of technology and social organization limits development: Progress in these areas can open up new development possibilities.
- It recognizes that there are ultimate bio-physical limits to growth.
- It recognizes that the planetary eco-system cannot sustain the extension of the high consumption rates enjoyed in industrialized countries upward to the global level.
- It holds that the consumption patterns of the North are driven by wants, not needs. It thus challenges the North to reduce its consumption to within the boundaries set by ecological limits and by considerations of equity and justice.
- It acknowledges the responsibility of present generations to future generations.
- It calls for new models of environmental governance, ranging across all levels, from the local to the global.
- It has achieved authoritative status in international environmental and development discourse as well as in international environmental governance structures and legal frameworks.

The United Nations and Sustainable Development

The UN has played a critical role in promoting the model of SD. It has organized several world summits, including the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (popularly known as the Rio Earth Summit), and subsequently the World Summits on SD in 2002 and 2012. The Rio Declaration, one of the outcomes of the Rio Earth Summit, provides an authoritative set of normative principles that deal with moral issues including gender equality, inter and intra-generational equity and justice. It also details the governance principles needed to deal with how to manage and organize the promotion of SD within our society, in institutions and at the political level.

The Millennium Development Summit of the UN in 2000 identified the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a set of eight international development goals with 18 quantifiable targets for 2015. The MDGs were the first global attempt at establishing measurable goals and targets on key challenges facing the world, within a single framework. To its credit, it must be said that the MDGs succeeded in galvanizing countries and communities into action. The world is said to have seen significant changes over the 15-year period. However, from the perspective of *sustainability*, there were serious limitations:

- The benefits of development were not equally distributed;
- There was rapid increase in energy consumption;
- There was rapid depletion of natural resources; and
- There was a tangible increase in global warming and climate change.

As a result, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were formulated at the historic UN General

Assembly Summit of September 2015. *The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, as the report came to be called, was adopted by all 193 member-states of the UN, and came into effect on 1st January 2016. The SDGs are a framework of 17 goals and 169 targets across social, economic and environmental areas of Sustainable Development, which UN Member States have committed to making a reality by the year 2030. Unlike the MDGs, which were focussed on social issues, the SDGs set out targets across all three dimensions – social, economic and environmental – of Sustainable Development.

The *2030 Agenda* is a political consensus document declaring UN Member States' intent to work collectively towards achieving people-centred Sustainable Development. By endorsing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 SDGs in 2015, the world community reaffirmed its commitment to Sustainable Development. Through this Agenda, 193 member states pledged to ensure sustained and inclusive economic growth, social inclusion, and environmental protection, fostering peaceful, just, and inclusive societies through a new global partnership. The *2030 Agenda* is an ambitious plan of action for countries, the UN system, and all other actors. The *Agenda* is said to be the most comprehensive blueprint to date for eliminating extreme poverty, reducing inequality, and protecting the planet.

The Sustainable Development Goals are as follows:

1. No Poverty
2. Zero Hunger
3. Good Health and Well-Being
4. Quality Education
5. Gender Equality
6. Clean Water and Sanitation
7. Affordable and Clean Energy
8. Decent Work and Economic Growth
9. Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure
10. Reducing Inequality
11. Sustainable Cities and Communities
12. Responsible Consumption and Production
13. Climate Action
14. Life below Water
15. Life on Land
16. Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions
17. Partnerships for the Goals

The 17 goals are broad and interdependent. Each of the SDGs has a list of targets which are measured with indicators. There is a total of 169 targets for the SDGs. Each SDG has between 5 to 20 targets (or about 10 on average). Each of these targets has a few indicators to measure progress toward reaching the targets. In all, there are 232 approved indicators to measure compliance. A variety of tools exist to track and monitor progress towards the goals.

Sustainable Development and the SDGs: A Critique

The major arguments of environmentalists and environmental scientists in *refuting* the Brundtland formulation of Sustainable Development and its corollary, the SDGs, may be summarized as follows:

1. Capitalism is, overwhelmingly, the main driver of planetary ecological collapse. From Climate Change

to resource over-consumption to pollution, the engine that has powered three centuries of accelerating economic development, revolutionizing technology, science, culture, and human life itself is, today, a roaring out-of-control locomotive mowing down continents of forests, sweeping oceans of life, clawing out mountains of minerals, drilling, pumping out lakes of fuels, devouring the planet's last accessible resources to turn them all into "products" while destroying the fragile global ecologies built up over eons of time (Smith, 2013).

2. The concept itself of Sustainable Development, which came to the fore mainly with the Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future* (1987), has been framed within the dominant Capitalist ideology and mainstream economic theory. Within the framework of orthodox (neoclassical) economics, in particular, this idea has been largely perverted to signify a mere (quantitative) compromise between economic growth and the need of environmental protection. As a result, the prevalent conception of Sustainable Development has raised an extensive and heated debate concerning both the theoretical foundations of this conception and the policies aiming at the implementation of such development (Liodakis, 2010).

3. While Sustainable Human Development should be considered as being a major concern by itself and a crucial condition for the overall sustainability of society, mainstream theorizing and policy implementation regarding Sustainable Development are *essentially* concerned with the sustainability of Capitalist growth and profitability, and *only subsequently* with the sustainability of the ecosystem or the conditions required for Sustainable Human Development.

4. The inherently contradictory aims of economic expansion, environmental protection, poverty eradication and the free market are all merged into an awkward, unsustainable policy in the form of the SDGs. In its linking of economic growth, material wealth and economic progress (Stefanovich, 2000), Sustainable Development has failed to atone for the fact that it is precisely such aspirations that put our planet in such a precarious position in the first place.

5. The Sustainable Development and the SDG approach perpetuates and reaffirms questionable policies in its ethnocentric, technocentric and anthropocentric qualities, thereby exposing its inherently Western biases (Adams, 1995). While past approaches have failed to meaningfully address the needs, values and cultural differences of developing countries, the current approach repeats these mistakes.

6. The call for Sustainable Development is a re-direction of the Enlightenment project, a pragmatic response to the problems of the times. While the broad goals were widely embraced, critics argue that steps toward their implementation would be thwarted: first, by fundamental contradictions between the renewed call for economic growth and enhanced levels of ecological conservation; and second, by the inattention to power relations among the actors and institutions supporting unsustainable development (Lele, 1991).

7. Another criticism of the SD and SDG approach is the way it attempts to mesh two contradictory endeavours: environmental protection and economic growth. SD places a premium on economic growth *over* the environment. By adopting the concept, two old enemies, growth and the environment are reconciled. This approach believes that only minor adjustments to the market system are needed to launch an era of environmentally sound development, which will result in the realization of the SDGs. But what is not realized is the fact that *the economic framework itself cannot hope to accommodate environmental considerations*. (Escobar, 1995).

8. Perhaps one of the greatest failures of SD is its lack of attention to excessive consumption in the West and the unsustainability of this practice. Maximization of Capitalist profit and environmentally sustainable and equitable consumption cannot be achieved simultaneously (Fernando, 2003). *SD and the SDGs do not look at the immense concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few*. This is where the real lack of sustainability rests. It is therefore necessary to modify our ideas about both production and consumption and the social relations which perpetuate inequality and inequity, and, in the process, amend the assumptions upon which SD and the SDGs are based.

The Way Out: A Gandhian Diagnosis and Alternative Vision

Gandhi's writings on sustainability are rich and extremely perceptive. It has been acknowledged by ecologists that Gandhian insights serve as a guide to understand the environmental problem in a proper perspective. Terms like '*Deep Ecology*' and Bio-Diversity Conservation have become catchwords for environmentalists and Green warriors all over the world. It is to be noted that Arne Naess, who coined the term '*Deep Ecology*', has acknowledged his indebtedness to Gandhi in the formulation of this term (Weber, 1999). Environmental activists like Sunderlal Bahuguna, Baba Amte, Medha Patkar, Vandana Shiva and others acknowledge their debt to Gandhi in understanding the problem of sustainability and Sustainable Development from a holistic perspective. Although in Gandhi's life time, ecological and environmental issues were not of serious concern, he was deeply concerned about the potential for damage to the environment by modern industrial civilization. He portrayed this very effectively in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* written in 1909.

Gandhian environmental ethics stem from his philosophy of life and his world view. In the Gandhian world view, human life cannot be divided into watertight compartments. Human life is an undivided whole. He was convinced that "one's everyday life is never capable of being separated from his spiritual being. Both act and react upon one another." (Bose, 1996). He believed in the unity and oneness of all life and its interconnectedness. This relational world view is equally applicable to animal and plant life. He wrote: *I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer. I believe in advaita. I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter, of all that lives. Therefore, I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him and, if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent* (Bose, 1996).

Gandhi had profound concern for Nature and everything in it, including plants, animals and all living creatures. He led a life which was essentially non-violent, giving due respect to Nature and all its creations. He made a conscious effort to use natural resources to the bare minimum, even if available in abundance. Gandhi placed before humanity a lifestyle which was in complete harmony with the environment. The application of Gandhian principles allows human beings to satisfy their basic needs, *without* harming Mother Earth. Gandhi stated: "The earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need but not for every man's greed" (Pyarelal, 1978). This well-known dictum of Gandhi reminds us that man cannot infinitely exploit Nature to satisfy his unlimited wants.

Gandhi's philosophy of life provides an *alternative* Sustainable Development paradigm which is symbiotic with Nature and its eco-system. In the Gandhian frame of reference, economy, ecology and spirituality are interrelated. That is why Gandhian economy is often referred to as '*economy of environment*' (Joseph, 2006). One of Gandhi's distinguished colleagues, J.C. Kumarappa's books, is very appropriately titled, *Economy of Permanence*. Anyone who is interested in understanding Gandhi's philosophy of life should carefully read his criticism of modern Western civilization which promotes the present model of development, and which is largely responsible for the consequent, inevitable environmental crises.

The Gandhian critique of the dominant model of development may be detailed as follows:

1. Gandhi comprehensively and summarily rejects the dominant understanding of 'development', because development is understood in a limited perspective, primarily in terms of the domination and exploitation of Nature, solely for the benefit of humankind. Underlying this domination is a reduction of Nature merely to a natural resource base, and an utter lack of understanding of the "web of life" and the interconnectedness of all species.

2. Gandhi critiques the prioritizing of economic growth and development, at the expense of social, cultural and human development. For Gandhi, a machine civilization is no civilization. According to him, a society in which workers had to labour at a conveyor belt, in which animals were treated cruelly in factory farms and in which economic activity led to ecological devastation – cannot be conceived as a civilization.

3. The dominant model assumes that consumption is the most important contributor to development. But to Gandhi: “The mind is a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become...” (Gandhi, 1938). According to him: “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...” (Ghosh, 2007).

4. In Gandhi’s view, the dominant model of development ignores the fact that social stability requires the preservation of natural resources. The deterioration of the natural environment causes social disruption and impairs human health and well-being. The loss of bio-diversity in agricultural systems increases the vulnerability of local communities. This, in turn, causes distress, social unrest and the undermining of social and political institutions.

5. Gandhi highlights the fact that dominant development is based on imperialism and colonialism, and neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism. There is an endless ‘drain of wealth’ from the economies of the colonies, satellites and client-states. The ‘economic surplus’ is expropriated from the colonies/satellites/client-states, and appropriated by the imperial/neo-imperial countries. This process intensifies impoverishment and underdevelopment in the colonies/satellites/client-states.

6. Gandhi asserted that it is simply not possible to achieve a global replication of the resource-intensive, affluent lifestyle of the high consumption economies of the North. Gandhi asserted that this model of development could not be carried into the future. Gandhi wrote in 1928: “God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism, after the manner of the West. If an entire nation of 300 million took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts” (Gandhi, 1928).

7. The Gandhian critique points to the failure of the dominant development model to acknowledge that there are clear *limits* to economic growth. *Limits* to growth are imposed by the following:

- The fact that the amount of planetary resources is finite;
- The fact that the planet has a ‘carrying capacity’;
- The ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities.

The **Gandhian Alternative Vision of Sustainable Development** may be compressed into a 10-Point Charter:

1. Humankind would act in a manner that it is a part of Nature, not apart from Nature.
2. Resources available on the earth are not used with an element of greed. (Trusteeship).
3. Human beings practise non-violence (*‘Ahimsa’*) not only towards fellow human beings, but also towards other living and non-living creatures and elements.
4. Women are respected, made partners in, and given their rightful place in all spheres of human endeavour.
5. A bottom-up shared view is preferred to the top-down authoritarian overview (*Gram Swaraj*, Participatory Democracy, *Ram Rajya*).
6. Conservationist and sustainable life-enhancing approach prevails over the unsustainable, consumerist, self-destructive approach.
7. The fruits of development must reach *everyone* in society (*Sarvodaya*); in particular, the needs of the poorest in society must be taken care of (*Antyodaya*).
8. The human race thinks about how much is *enough* for a simple, need-based, austere, yet comfortable lifestyle.

9. All development, as far as possible, leads to local self-reliance, and equity with social justice (*Swadeshi, Sarvodaya*).
10. Ethics and self-discipline in resource use is an overriding criterion of development.

The Gandhian *Alternative* Vision of Sustainable Development has found expression in the *Earth Charter* of 2000, which is made up of four pillars and sixteen principles:

I. Respect and Care for the Community of Life

1. Respect Earth and life in all its diversity.
2. Care for the community of life with understanding, compassion and love.
3. Build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable and peaceful.
4. Secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations.

II. Ecological Integrity

5. Protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life.
6. Prevent harm as the best method of environmental protection and, when knowledge is limited, apply a precautionary approach.
7. Adopt patterns of production, consumption and reproduction that safeguard Earth's regenerative capacities, human rights and community well-being.
8. Advance the study of ecological sustainability and promote the open exchange and wide application of the knowledge acquired.

III. Social and Economic Justice

9. Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social and environmental imperative.
10. Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner.
11. Affirm gender equality and equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care and economic opportunity.
12. Uphold the right of all, without discrimination, to a natural and social environment supportive of human dignity, bodily health and spiritual well-being, with special attention to the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities.

IV. Democracy, Non-Violence, and Peace

13. Strengthen democratic institutions at all levels, and provide transparency and accountability in governance, inclusive participation in decision-making, and access to justice.
14. Integrate into formal education and lifelong learning the knowledge, values and skills needed for a sustainable way of life.
15. Treat all living beings with respect and consideration.
16. Promote a culture of tolerance, non-violence and peace.

A slight tweaking of the *Global Greens Charter* (2001, 2012, 2017) would also infuse into this rich document, the Gandhian *Alternative* Vision of Sustainable Development:

1. Ecological Wisdom

This requires:

That we learn to live within the ecological and resource limits of the planet; that we protect all life on the planet that is sustained by the natural elements, namely, earth, water, air and sun; and where knowledge is limited, that we take the path of caution, in order to secure the remaining planetary resources for present and future generations.

2. Social Justice - Through Trusteeship, *Sarvodaya* and *Antyodaya*

This requires:

A just organization of the world and a stable world economy which will close the gap between rich and poor, both within and between countries; balance the flow of resources from South to North; and lift the burden of debt on poor countries which retards their development; the eradication of poverty as an ethical, social, economic and ecological imperative; the elimination of illiteracy; and the carving out of a new vision of citizenship built on equal rights for all, regardless of gender, race, age, religion, class, ethnic or national origin.

3. Participatory Democracy, through *Gram Swaraj* and *Panchayati Raj*

This requires:

Building/Strengthening grassroots institutions that enable decisions to be made directly at the appropriate levels; breaking down inequalities of wealth and power that inhibit participation; and ensuring that elected representatives are committed to the principles of transparency, truthfulness and accountability in governance.

4. Non-Violence/ *Ahimsa*

This requires, at the international level:

A comprehensive concept of global security which gives priority to social, economic, ecological, psychological and cultural aspects of human security; a global security system capable of the prevention, management and pacific resolution of conflicts; removing the causes of war by understanding and respecting other cultures; eradicating racism; promoting freedom and democracy; and ending global poverty; pursuing comprehensive disarmament through international agreements to ensure a complete ban of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction; and strengthening the United Nations as the global organization of conflict management, peace-keeping and peace-building.

5. Sustainability, based on *Sarvodaya*, *Swadeshi* and Self-Reliance

This requires:

Redefining the concept of '*development*' to focus on quality of life, rather than capacity for consumption; ensuring that the well-to-do limit their consumption to allow the poor their fair share of the earth's resources; creating a world economy which aims to satisfy the needs of *all*, not the greed of a few; ensuring that market prices of goods and services fully incorporate the environmental costs of their production and consumption; eliminating the causes of population growth by ensuring economic security; and providing access to basic education and health for all; achieving greater resource and energy efficiency, through the development and use of environmentally sustainable and appropriate technologies; encouraging local self-reliance ('*Swadeshi*'), to the greatest practical extent; and being conscious of 'Food Miles', 'Carbon Footprints', and 'Water Footprints'.

6. Respect for Diversity

This requires:

Recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples/tribals/'*moolnivasis*' to the basic means of their survival, both economic and cultural, including rights to land, livelihood and to self-determination; recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities to develop their culture, religion and language without discrimination; recognition of the rights of minorities to full legal, social and cultural participation in the democratic process; equality

between men and women in all spheres of social, economic, political and cultural life; and significant involvement of the youth, and recognition that young people have distinct needs and modes of expression.

A Last Word

The concept of Sustainable Development encompasses a number of serious internal flaws that must be addressed, for the SDGs to be successfully realized by the given deadline. Without a Gandhian analysis and reformation of the ideological and foundational underpinnings of Sustainable Development, the SDGs cannot be easily realized. The Gandhian *Alternative* Vision of Sustainable Development represents a crucial way forward in advancing a revised and reformed project of Sustainable Development that is simultaneously concerned with well-being, equity and ecological integrity. While it is not the intention of this paper to provide a specific blueprint to achieve the Holy Grail of Sustainable Development, it makes a strong case for a Gandhian *Alternative* Vision of Sustainable Development.

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Gandhi and Marx : Conflict and Consensus

G. Bala Mohan Thampi

Gandhi was a “great soul”. Marx was a great intellectual genius. Neither was interested in a life of pleasure and luxury. Gandhi voluntarily chose a life of simplicity and service. Marx’s poverty was enforced by his revolutionary activities and frequent banishment. Instead of accumulating capital he researched it and produced Das Kapital which is still a serious subject of study for intellectuals all over the world. Gandhi drew his concepts mainly from Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. The Bhagavad Gita was the constant source of his inspiration, illumination and consolation. Marx gave mankind a new way of conceiving history: as successive modes of production supported by corresponding super structural phenomena. Gandhi was not personally interested in power. But he taught us to resist the states’ oppressive laws with the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation.

On the occasion of 150th birth anniversary celebrations it is only natural that we rethink the significance of his life and outlook in relation to the multiple challenges, political, economic and cultural, our country faces today. I would like to place Gandhi in the context of Marxian socialism and offer the following points for your consideration.

Marx and Gandhi recognized the exploitation and oppression inherent in capitalist society. Both of them were great humanists who wanted to transform social structure in order to remove the present inequalities. Marx advocated a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in order to establish a classless society. Gandhi thought that if the capitalists functioned as trustees of the people, economic exploitation could be minimized.

The whole nation, including the BJP leadership, pay homage to Gandhiji today. But we should not forget that during the last days of his life he felt that he was a failure. He lived and worked in order to achieve the twin goals of national independence and communal harmony. The first goal was achieved though the country was divided. The second goal was beyond his powers. On the last birthday Gandhi lamented: This is a day of mourning for me. I am amazed and also ashamed that, I am still alive. There was a time when millions of people obeyed my words. But now when I tell them “do this, they say: no we won’t”.

Many Hindu fanatics accused him of pro-Pakistan and pro-Muslim bias. His demand that the Muslim refugees be given shelter and Pakistan be given its share of 55 crore infuriated the fanatics. Power – greedy congressmen did not pay heed to his criticism of their corrupt ways.

Gandhi was a “great soul”. Marx was a great intellectual genius. Neither was interested in a life of pleasure and luxury. Gandhi voluntarily chose a life of simplicity and service. Marx’s poverty was enforced by his revolutionary activities and frequent banishment. Instead of accumulating capital he researched it and produced *Das Kapital* which is still a serious subject of study for intellectuals all over the world. Gandhi drew his concepts mainly from Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. The Bhagavad Gita was the constant source of his inspiration, illumination and consolation. Marx gave mankind a new way of conceiving history: as successive modes of production supported by corresponding super structural phenomena.

Marx’s prophecy that extreme concentration of wealth in a few hands and the resulting immiseration of the proletariat would lead to a social revolution and the establishment of a class society has not materialized world wide. The Russian Revolution of 1917 fulfilled this prophecy partially and locally. But it did not succeed in creating a free and unalienated society. The “new man visualized by Marxism failed to emerge. The Soviet system collapsed in 1989, Gandhi was not personally interested in power. But he taught us to resist the states’ oppressive laws with the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. This ‘weapon’ is more effective

than guns and bombs. But it requires superhuman courage and endurance. It also requires a majority with a highly developed political consciousness. The educational system and the mass media manufacture an ideology which identifies the interest of the ruling class with that of the people. Plato argued long ago that ideal rulers should have philosophical orientation. What we need is a popular majority which seeks to achieve a classless society with the means of non-violent non-cooperation. Marx said: "Philisophers have only interpreted the world; the point however is to change it". Gandhi told us: "Be the change you want to see in the society." These goals may appear utopian dreams. We have the choice: we may selflessly work for the realization of these utopian dreams or we endure passively the nightmares that torment us.

Gandhi and Swadeshi

G.S.Preetha

Swadeshi is one of the central principles of Gandhiji's philosophy. Gandhiji realized the swaraj through swadeshi. Swadeshi was paradigmatic instance of totalizing territorial nativism by connecting national economy, territory and culture. Gandhi's swadeshi is always in defense of indigenous skills, local knowledge systems, cultural traditions and village economy. Through swadeshi, Gandhiji was successful in uniting the economic struggles with nationalist movement. Gandhiji envisaged an organic and political society characterized by the economic self-sufficiency and social harmony. In Gandhi's swadeshi economics would have a place but would not dominate society. The swadeshi economics is based on the principle of non possessiveness, whereas capitalism is based on possessiveness. It is believed that beyond a certain limit economic growth becomes detrimental to human well being. Therefore, in the post covid world, India's policy of looking back for resilience, swadeshi or self sufficiency has relevance in contemporary times.

As an activist and as a thinker Mahatma Gandhi's position is unique in the annals of modern political history. He was one who could inspire changes in the world just by the power of his ethics. His writings emerged mainly during the varied process of social, economic and political actions. As Bondurant observed, "One cannot...turn to the writings of Gandhi for a definite statement in political theory. Gandhi was a political actionist and a practical philosopher, and he was not a theorist. His writings abound with inconsistencies as a result of his persistent habit of thinking in public. Whatever philosophical formulations he made were inspired by and directed towards solving immediate problems. The unsophisticated explanations which Gandhiji offered for his methods, objectives, policies and creed were part of a programme of action. They should not be interpreted in terms, either of a theory or practical master planning" (Bondurant: 1969:7).

Gandhian economic order is entirely different from the existing world order approaches and preferred models envisaged by various scholars. It is a complete departure from these models in terms of their assumptions, nature, strategies and orientations. As far as liberal models are concerned, they represent political, social and economic assumptions affecting the organization and functioning of the society since the 19th century. Liberal models are based on concepts like Mill's *homo economicus* or *economic man*, Smith's invisible hand, laissez-faire, private property and profit motive etc. Different from this, Marxist models focus on class struggle, abolition of private property, and finally a stateless and classless society through violent revolution in the world. It must be admitted that all the existing approaches and models are state-centric in their nature. Gandhiji rejects the materialistic and state centric models based on violence, exploitation and inhuman perceptions. The contemporary, neo-liberal economic order further accentuates the situation with its twin principles of liberalization and privatization which ultimately makes globalization in practice (Nanda BR:2002:19).

This article while examining the relevance of Gandhian ideas in the contemporary world, focusses mainly on the Gandhian concept of *swadeshi*. *Swadeshi* as a strategy, was a key focus of Mahatma Gandhi who described it as the soul of *swaraj* (self-rule). During the struggle for independence it was a movement for boycotting foreign goods and encouraging the use of domestic products.

Swadeshi

The word *swadeshi* derives from Sanskrit and is a *sandhi* or conjunction of two Sanskrit words. *Swa* means *self* or *own* and *desa* means *country*, so *swadeshi* would be *own country* and *swadeshi* the adjectival

form would mean *one's own country*. The word *swadeshi* had many connotations in Gandhian thought-economic, political, cultural and philosophical. It is central to Gandhi's philosophy which in effect, means self sufficiency. *Swadeshi* is that spirit which restrict the use and service of our immediate surroundings and the exclusion of the more remote. *Swadeshi* is the political movement in British India that encouraged domestic production and boycott of the foreign goods. In politics, it is defending the indigenous institutions. In economic sphere it suggested the country's economic salvation through encouragement and revival of indigenous industries. In religion, it means protecting the tradition of one's own ancestral religion. By advocating *swadeshi* in all these spheres, Gandhiji argues for an amalgamation of these by keeping away from its defects. In other words, *swadeshi* is the philosophy of defense of one's own home by revitalizing it through all means. However, historically *swadeshi* as a movement is significant in national movement as it aimed at the boycott of western goods by defending indigenous industries. Gandhi considers that much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from *swadeshi* in the economic and industrial life. In the spirit of *swadeshi*, Gandhiji's idea of economy is self supportive and self contained economy. His religion is not only *sanatan* but also tolerant (Allen Douglas: 2008).

Swadeshi for Gandhiji was the spiritual imperative. *Swadeshi* is a concept evolved in search of making a nation against the colonial British India. *Swadeshi* assigned national meaning to the territory, economy and culture. *Swadeshi* movement aimed at achieving *swaraj* by establishing India's economic self-sufficiency (Bidyut: 2006:56). The various facets of Gandhiji's idea of *swadeshi* and its relevance in the contemporary world, which is market-centered, greedy and commercialized. In the times of globalization, the philosophy of *swadeshi* is inspiring in protecting one's own economy and identity. The idea of *swadeshi* in Gandhian philosophy means local self reliance and use of local knowledge and abilities. It also aims at appropriate technology. *Swadeshi* is mainly understood to mean a protectionist technique that Gandhiji employed against the mercantile policies of the British, whereby the masses were urged to abstain from using cloth manufactured outside India, and instead to use cotton, silk, or wool cloth made in India. But Gandhiji gives it a broader meaning; *swadeshi* carries a great and profound meaning. It does not mean merely the use of what is produced in one's own country. That meaning is certainly there in the word *swadeshi* itself. But there is another meaning implied in it which is far greater and much more important. *Swadeshi* means reliance on our own strength (Ajay Shanker Rai:2000:38).

Gandhiji believed that alienation and exploitation often occur when production and consumption are divorced from their social and cultural context and that local enterprise is a way to avoid these problems. To renew India's vitality and regenerate its culture, Gandhi had a vision of free India that was not a nation-state but a confederation of self governing, self reliant, self employed people living in village communities, deriving their right of livelihood from the products of their homesteads. Maximum economic and political power including the power to decide what could be imported into or exported from the village-would remain in the hands of the village assemblies. Gandhiji considers that in India people have lived for thousands of years in relative harmony with their surroundings, living in their homesteads weaving homespun clothes, eating homegrown food, using home made goods, caring for their animals, forests and lands, celebrating the fertility of the soil and feasts, performing the stories of great epics, and building temples. Every region of India has developed its own distinctive culture, to which travelling storytellers, wandering *sadhus*, and pilgrims have traditionally made their contributions (Shambu Prasad:2001:377-387).

The Economic Dimension of Swadeshi.

Gandhiji's *swadeshi* is an economic doctrine. It proposes not only self reliance and usage of indigenous skills and knowledge systems, but also propagates simple living and one's own dignity. During times of globalization, market oriented and commoditized life, *swadeshi* has its own contemporary relevance. Gandhiji's idea of *swadeshi* deals with the importance of indigenous skills and its productivity. He believed that *swadeshi* is meant, in realizing the self reliance and self governance (*swaraj*). In that sense his politics of spirituality has not only internalized the essence of material production and labour, but also proves that, he is a pragmatic

philosopher. The practice of economic philosophy of *swadehsi* had a direct hit on British Empire and its economy. Gandhiji was never dogmatic in articulating his ideas of *swadeshi*; rather he is practical and had great concern for his fellow human beings. It is true that he opposes the western modernity based on this kind of temperament. In place of individual centered philosophy, the life and economy of village occupies central place against the city and modernity. In that sense, he favored a reformed tradition. This does not mean that Gandhiji is against reason, science and technology. He defends his religious and cultural traditions, indigenous skills and traditional economy in the backdrop of western colonial rule but at the same time he opts for appropriate technology. It provides alternative reasoning to the logic of western modernity (Louis Fischer:2012).

Gandhiji never meant that his idea of *swadeshi* totally excluded the foreign or western in course of strong defense of home industry. As Gandhiji says, "I have never considered the exclusion of everything foreign under every conceivable circumstance as a part of *swadeshi*" (Mishra KP:1988:24). The broad definition of *swadeshi* is the use of all home made things to the exclusion of foreign things in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry, more especially those industries without which India will become pauperized. In Gandhi's opinion:

"swadeshi which excludes the use of everything foreign, no matter how beneficial it may be, and irrespective of the fact that it impoverishes nobody, is a narrow interpretation of *swadeshi*. Further, Gandhi hold the view that I buy useful healthy literature from every part of the world. I buy surgical instruments from England, pins and pencils from Austria and watches from Switzerland. But I will not buy an inch of the finest cotton fabric from England or Japan or any other part of the world because it has injured and increasingly injures the millions of Indians. My *swadeshi*, therefore chiefly centers round the hand-spun Khaddar and extends to everything that can be and is produced in India (Mishra KP: 1988:25)."

Gandhiji's struggle of boycotting foreign goods and promotion of *swadeshi* goods was based on a principle, but not on the hatred against British. Gandhiji is in principle against the commoditized consumer goods.

Village Economy

The British believed in centralized, industrialized and mechanized modes of production. Gandhi turned this principle on its head and envisioned a decentralized, homegrown, handcrafted mode of production. In his words it is not mass production, but production by the masses. In Gandhi's *swadeshi* economy, village economy and total industry play an important role. He aims at self sufficiency of the village community. According to the principle of *swadeshi*, whatever is made or produced in the village must be used first and foremost by the members of the village. *Swadeshi* avoids economic dependence on external market forces that could make the village community vulnerable. It also avoids unnecessary, unhealthy, wasteful and therefore environmentally destructive transportation. The village must build a strong economic base to satisfy most of its needs and all members of the village community should give priority to local goods and services (Narayanaswamy:2003:16). Every village community of free India should have its own carpenters, shoemakers, potters, builders, mechanics, farmers, engineers, weavers, teachers, bankers, merchants, traders, musicians, artisans and priests. In other words, each village should be a microcosm of India - a web of loosely inter connected communities. Gandhiji considered these villages so important that he thought they should be given the status of village republics. The village community should embody the spirit of the home an extension of the family rather than a collection of competing individuals. Gandhiji's dream was not of personal self sufficiency, not even family self sufficiency, but the self sufficiency of the village community. By adopting the principle of production by the masses, village communities would be able to restore dignity to the work done by human hands. There is an intrinsic value in anything we do with our hands, and in handing over work to machines we lose not only the material benefits but also the spiritual benefits, of work by hand that brings with it a meditative mind and self fulfillment (Narayanaswamy:2003:16).

Gandhiji believed that a locally based economy enhances community spirit, community relationships, and community well being. Such an economy encourages mutual aid. Mass production leads people to leave their villages, their land, their crafts and their homesteads and go to work in the factories. Instead of being dignified human beings and members of a self respecting village community, people become cogs in the machine, standing at the conveyor belt, living in shanty towns, and depending on the mercy of the bosses. According to Gandhiji, when every individual is an integral part of the community, when the production of goods is on a small scale, when the economy is local, and when homemade handicrafts are given preference, it is the real *swadeshi*. These conditions are conducive to holistic, spiritual, ecological and communitarian pattern of society (Misra Anil Dutta:1996:56).

Swadeshi Movement and Khadi.

Initially the idea of *swadeshi* figured in the writings of early nationalists such as Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade and Bipin Chandra Pal who came in defense of national economy against the colonial economy. The *swadeshi* movement assumed its radical and mass form after 1905 following the contested spatial partition of Bengal. In 1907, *swadeshi* was officially incorporated within the conceptual and ideological frame work of the Indian National Congress in the avowed objective of *swadeshi- swaraj*. The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed the boycott of British goods, *swadeshi* movement started. *Swadeshi* was a paradigmatic instance of totalizing territorial nativism (Anjaria JJ:1944:18).

Historically *swadeshi* was linked to the other categories such as national economy, territory and culture. *Swadeshi* literally means one's own country, aimed at the promotion of indigenous industry. Along with *swadeshi*, the boycott of British goods was organized. The *swadeshi* and boycott were powerful instruments directed against the foreign rule; they attacked the British rule where it hurt the most (Anjaria JJ: 1944:20).

In Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj* of 1909, *swaraj*, satyagraha and *swadeshi* are the key principles. To realize the *swaraj*, Gandhiji believed that the ideal of *swadeshi* is necessary in every sense. Gandhi took *swadeshi* to the popular level by making a powerful political movement. Gandhiji created a new form of *swadeshi* politics that encouraged the production and exclusive consumption of Khadi. Gandhiji describes *swadeshi* as a call to consumer, to be aware of the violence he is causing by supporting those industries that result in poverty, harm to workers and to humans and other creatures. Indian nationalists believed that the cause of their economic woes were partly due to the British colonialism in India. *Swadeshi* was a nationalist movement to boycott British goods and to buy Indian goods. Historically Indian economy was dependent upon the most productive and sustainable agriculture and horticulture and on pottery, furniture making, metal work, jewelry, leather work and many other economic activities. But its base had traditionally been in textiles. Each village had its spinners, carders, dyers and weavers who were the heart of the village economy. However when India was flooded with machine made, inexpensive, mass produced textiles from Lancashire, the local textile artists were rapidly put out of business and the village economy suffered terribly. Gandhiji thought it essential, that the industry be restored and started a campaign to stem the influx of British cloth. Due to his efforts, hundreds and thousands of untouchables and caste Hindus joined together to discard the mill-made clothes imported from England or from city factories and learned to spin their own yarn and weave their own cloth. The spinning wheel became the symbol of economic freedom, political independence, and cohesive and classless communities. The weaving and wearing of homespun cloth became a mark of distinction for all social groups. The term *swadeshi* had both economic and political dimensions in India's struggle against British colonialism (Indira Surinei: 1991:26).

The Political Dimension of *Swadeshi*

The application of *swadeshi* in politics calls for the revival of the indigenous institutions and strengthening them to overcome some of its defects. Gandhiji pleaded the need for internal governance as early as 1909 in his noted booklet *Hind swaraj* or Indian Home Rule. He wanted to empower the people through political

self governance. His vision of decentralized political system was Panchayati Raj by which the innumerable villages of India were governed. Gandhiji further outlined his vision of village *swaraj* by introducing the concept of oceanic circle in opposition to pyramidal structure of society, placing individual at the centre of the society (Mishra KP:1988:54).

Swadeshi in Religion, Education and Health Care

Gandhiji wants the ancestral religion to be followed and also argues for the use of one's immediate religious surroundings. It is the duty of a person to serve one's own religion by purging its defects, if necessary in order to purify and keep it pure. There is no need to renounce one's religion because of imperfections in it and embrace another. On the contrary one should try to enrich one's own religion by drawing the best from other religions. However Gandhiji was not against true conversion and he differentiated it from proselytization. According to Gandhiji conversion in the sense of self purification, self realization is the crying need of the hour. His attitude was not of patronizing toleration but developing the spirit of fellowship. His veneration for other faiths was the same as that of his own faith. He believed in the fundamental equality of all religions, what he called *sarvadharmasamabhava*. Gandhiji's *swadeshi* approach to religion has a great significance in the context of growing communal divide and religious fundamentalism in India and other parts of the globe. This approach is essential to promote harmony among the followers of various faiths and preserving the composite culture of a country like India (Borman William: 1986).

One of the major areas in which Gandhiji applied his *swadeshi* ideal was the field of education. For him education was meant for all round development of personality and not purely as a means for earning one's livelihood. In *Hind swaraj* he rejected the British educational system prevailing in India. His primary objection against British educational system was that it was primarily meant for enslaving the people of India. It was his firm conviction that the prevailing system of education does not serve the requirements of the country in any form or shape. He believed that education has to be rooted in the culture and tradition of the country. Education through a medium of foreign language put undue stress upon the nerves of the children and they become foreigners in their own country. They were completely cut off from the realities of life. He placed before the nation an alternative system of education called *Nai Talim* or Basic education. Later he broadened his concept of basic education and looked upon education as a lifelong process starting from cradle to grave (Mishra KP:1988).

Gandhiji's prescription for health was an application of principle of *swadeshi* i.e. to live according to the laws of nature. He strongly opposed the modern medical system in his seminal work, *Hind Swaraj*. He went even to the extent of describing hospitals as institutions for propagating sin. He rejected the modern medical system primarily on the ground that it is purely curative and not preventive. He advocated a new system of medical care wherein one follows the laws of nature with regard to diet, physical exercise, hygiene and sanitation and a new life style based on self restraint. He advocated the system of nature cure to prevent the disease rather than finding a purely drug based cure for it. In this he underlined the centrality of proper use of earth, water, air sunlight and ether. He primarily emphasized a holistic approach to health care where it will primarily be governed by disciplined way of life. It is also notable that health care was one of his passions since his South African days. During the last years of life a new dimension to nature cure practice was added in the form of *Ram Nam*. It must be made clear that for him *Ram Nam* was not like an ordinary mantra to be chanted. It was a part of his spiritual *sadhana* based on his firm belief that a man with total internal purity would not fall sick or even he would require no medicine other than *Ram Nam*. Here *Ram* stands for one of the names of God and one can freely choose any other name of God which appeals to him. That was the reason he refused to take medicine in the far end of his life including the *Naukhali Mission*. *Ram Nam* was nothing but a spiritual means for self purification there by eliminating all possibilities of illness by keeping the body pure (Bhattacharya B:1969:18).

Conclusion

Recently Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the policy of *Atmanirbhar Bharath*. It is the vision of the Prime Minister to make India, a self-reliant nation. The first mention of this came in the form of *Atmanirbhar Bharata Abhiyan* or self-reliant India Mission during the announcement of the corona virus pandemic related economic package on 12 May 2020. This self-reliant policy does not aim to be protectionist in nature and as the Finance Minister clarified “self-reliant” India does not mean cutting off from the rest of the world.

Following the decision of the Union Government, the Ministry of Defence is now ready for a big push to *Atmanirbhar Bharath* initiative. Taking cue from that evocation, Ministry of Defence has prepared a list of 101 items, for which there would be an embargo on the import beyond the timeline indicated against this. We may conclude by quoting the words of Gandhiji, “*swadeshi agencies need to concentrate their attention solely on the corresponding unorganized industries that are dying for the want of voluntary and intelligent organized help. It provides limitless work for creating genius in the country*” (Tendulkar DG: 1951:287).

Swadeshi is one of the central principles of Gandhiji’s philosophy. Gandhiji realized the *swaraj* through *swadeshi*. *Swadeshi* was a paradigmatic instance of totalizing territorial nativism by connecting national economy, territory and culture. Gandhi’s *swadeshi* is always in defense of indigenous skills, local knowledge systems, cultural traditions and village economy. *Swadeshi* may be read as self-sufficiency of the home through revitalization in all its aspects. Through *swadeshi*, Gandhiji was successful in uniting the economic struggles with nationalist movement. Gandhiji envisaged an organic and political society characterized by the economic self-sufficiency and social harmony. The *swadeshi* worker not only symbolizes *charkha* and *khadi* but also lives in simplicity and spirituality. In Gandhi’s *swadeshi* economics would have a place but would not dominate society. The *swadeshi* economics is based on the principle of non-possessiveness, whereas capitalism is based on possessiveness. It is believed that beyond a certain limit economic growth becomes detrimental to human well-being. Therefore in the post-covid world, India’s policy of looking back for resilience, *swadeshi* or *self-sufficiency* has relevance in contemporary times.

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The Legal Eagle- Gandhi in South Africa

K. Shaji

Mahatma Gandhi spent two decades in South Africa practicing law. The study of his legal practice in South Africa from 1893 - 1914 reveals how he manoeuvred the court system and made his choices. He landed in a South Africa with White supremacy and hostility towards Indians among Whites. The Whites constantly demeaned Indians and the colonial judicial system rated Indians as unreliable witnesses. Practice in South African Courts influenced Gandhi to try to use the law as a tool for social change. Gandhi was convinced that Justice will not be achieved in the ways he had been trained in the Inner Temple and in the ways he had practiced it for two decades. To achieve Justice one had to defy the law and accept the punishment of the law for such defiance. There was no other path and Gandhi was prepared to embrace the path. Curtains were drawn on Gandhi's life as a lawyer when Lewis W Ritch who articulated in Gandhi's Johannesburg Office in 1903 started his law practice in the same premises in April 1911. Gandhi requested the Indian community to extend him their patronage. Barrister Gandhi decided to fade away. The present paper is an earnest attempt to trace Gandhi's life in South Africa as a lawyer and how he developed the values and features that moulded a successful Barrister into a Mahatma.

Mahatma Gandhi was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple in 1891. He landed in England, from India, to study law, in 1888. He practised law for over two decades, very briefly in India and the major part in Natal and Transvaal of South Africa, where he emerged as an astute lawyer with a thriving practice.

How did the practice of law mould Gandhi and influence his evolution as the initiator of civil disobedience, a method of nonviolent struggle, that even to this day, inspires activists and agitators the world over? Gandhi's two decades in practising law had a key role in determining the course of his thought and action and this in turn impacted politics and society in the Indian sub-continent and altered the destiny of millions of its inhabitants. This article's brief overview of Gandhi's life as a lawyer is not a chronological account of the legal battles that Barrister Gandhi won or lost in the court halls of South Africa but only a limited inquiry as to how two decades at the Bar, shaped qualities and features that, in later years, transformed a modestly successful Barrister into a Mahatma. Any such attempt is handicapped by the paucity of literature on Gandhi's life at the Bar in contrast to the abundance of literature that is otherwise available about him.

A lawyer is regarded an officer of the Court and has a responsibility in dispensing of justice. A lawyer is also the spokesperson for the client and is duty bound to present the client's case to his or her advantage before the Court, irrespective of the lawyer's personal or moral beliefs on the issue. Caught in this situation, lawyers face an irreconcilable dilemma? Was Gandhi able to overcome this dilemma?

Gandhi returned to India in July 1891 after being called to the Bar. His attempts to establish himself in practice in Mumbai at its High Court came a cropper forcing a retreat to Rajkot. There he associated himself with a legal partnership of his elder brother Lakshmidas and another person. Gandhi did drafting and conveyancing work that was remunerative but this work was of a paralegal nature and not befitting the status of a London returned Barrister. Gandhi was vegetating and his brother Lakshmidas understood it well and was on the lookout for better opportunities for his younger brother. An offer came to Gandhi via a contact of Lakshmidas. It was to act and instruct on behalf of Dada Abdulla & Co, a South African business, with ties to Porbandar. The firm was embroiled in litigation involving a sizeable sum of money and needed a legal professional to interact on its behalf with senior counsels engaged to conduct the case. Gandhi accepted

this offer as he was fed up with the monotony of drafting work and also because the firm offered him a good remuneration for his services. The assignment was to end in less than an year.

The 23 year old Gandhi disembarked at Durban, the port town of the colony of Natal in South Africa, in May 1893. South Africa was to become the *Karmabhoomi* of his legal career but he had no foreknowledge of it. Life here would challenge him to make hard choices about law in the years ahead. Was he to become the lawyer who considers himself the mere mouthpiece of his client and interprets the law to support his client's case being least bothered about the ethical impact of his arguments and unconcerned on whether Truth and Justice should triumph? Or was he to become a lawyer whose adherence is only to universal and abiding values of Truth and Justice which ideally ought to prevail in legal proceedings irrespective of their consequences for his client? Or will he lose faith in the dispensation of Justice where law suits are won on the argumentative skill of lawyers ably negotiating the adversarial system jurisprudence to their advantage and being morally disgusted by it, turn subversive, attempting to wreck the system?

The study of Gandhi's legal practice in South Africa, from 1893 to 1911, is interesting to understand how Gandhi manoeuvred the system and made his choices. It is to be borne in mind that Gandhi landed in a South Africa with White supremacy and hostility towards Indians among Whites. The Whites constantly demeaned Indians and the colonial judicial system rated Indians as unreliable witnesses. When, for the first time an Indian Barrister reached Durban, anxiety might have arisen in the European Bar, that Indian businesses which offered plenty of legal work, would prefer that person.

An inkling of the racial discrimination that Gandhi was to face in South Africa happened to him the first time he visited a Durban court which was a fortnight before he embarked on his famous train journey from Durban to Pretoria when he was thrown out of the first class compartment despite a valid ticket. Much has been written of this incident but very little of the prior incident wherein Gandhi was asked to leave the seating area reserved for Counsels in spite of his informing the Court he was a Barrister. The Magistrate took the technical ground that Gandhi was yet to present his credentials before the Court and hence a stranger. Newspapers reported the incident in a manner mildly critical of the Court but Gandhi desiring to avoid controversy clarified that he took his seat relying on the Court Clerk who told him to present his credentials the next day.

The train journey to Pretoria was undertaken by Gandhi on behalf of Dada Abdullah & Co to assist their Counsels in the firm's litigation with Tayob Hajee Mahomed Khan & Co. It was for this purpose that Dada Abdullah had engaged Gandhi and had him travel from India to South Africa. A W Baker, a Pretoria attorney, was entrusted with the case by Dada Abdullah and Gandhi's responsibility, in Baker's words, was to communicate with the client on behalf of Baker and get for Baker all information he needed from the client for the successful conduct of the case. It is clear that Gandhi's role in this case was more suited to a paralegal than to a barrister but being his first full fledged exposure to a litigation Gandhi could learn much from it. In his autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth" Gandhi refers to this case teaching him the relation between truth and the practice of law. Gandhi writes "I realised that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt in to me that a large part of my time during the twenty years of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromise of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby - not even money, certainly not my soul'.

The litigation having finished its course, the purpose of Gandhi's presence in South Africa was over, and by May 1894, almost one year after he landed in Durban, Gandhi was preparing to sail back to India. Around this time news was circulating that the right to vote given to Natal Indians was under threat in Natal Parliament. This caused consternation in the Indian merchant community who were facing various obstacles from the Whites and they prevailed upon Gandhi to postpone his return to lead the fight against this threat. Gandhi agreed on condition that he would not accept any salary for this work which was of a public nature but he should be provided funds and volunteers for the campaign he intended to undertake against this

measure. This was agreed and Gandhi decided to stay back for one month, a period he considered sufficient to tackle the issue. Strange are the ways of destiny and one month stretched on to twenty years and it was only in 1914 that Gandhi could finally bid adieu to South Africa.

Gandhi set to work drafting a petition to the Natal Legislative Assembly voicing opposition of the Indian community to the Franchise Law Amendment Bill meant to deprive Indians of their right to vote. In the well-drafted Petition Gandhi countered the argument of the legislature by referring to the long historical record of representative government in India, citing examples of elections held for governance of castes, trading communities, etc. But the Bill was passed by the legislature. Gandhi's next move was to petition the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ripon. Gandhi realised his stay in South Africa would be prolonged and he would need an income to sustain himself. Since Gandhi had decided to work for public causes without any remuneration he suggested to the Indian merchant community to entrust him with their litigation so that he would be assured of an income to support himself and his extended family. The response was positive and Gandhi decided to remain in South Africa.

Gandhi moved his application for admission to the Natal Bar. From 1893 rigorous standards had been set for admission to the Natal Bar but exemptions were given to those admitted as Barristers in England. This exemption was intended for Whites, but here, Gandhi, an Indian, was taking advantage of it. This joined with the fear that a Barrister of Indian origin would be preferred with legal work by Indian merchant community and racial bias joined to place obstacles to Gandhi's admission. Since mere race or potential loss of legal work could not be cited as explicit reasons, Gandhi's failure to tender the original of his Certificate of Admission to the Inner Temple became a reason to oppose his admission. Gandhi had submitted the original to the High Court of Bombay when he enrolled there. Natal Supreme Court over ruled the objection raised as regards the absence of original certificate and admitted Gandhi to the Bar on September 3rd, 1894. The racial hostility which Gandhi faced during his admission to the Bar was to pursue him throughout his legal career and public and personal life in South Africa and would influence how Gandhi would use the law as a tool for social change.

Along with his legal practice in the Durban courts Gandhi also functioned as Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, an organisation formed to safeguard rights of Indians. He not only appeared for Indian businessmen but also for indentured labourers of Indian origin. In two different disputes with Judges, Gandhi publicly attacked the stand taken by the Judges, which indicates that unlike fresh entrants to the Bar, who are careful not to be on the wrong side of Judges, Gandhi was bold and forthright in openly expressing his differences with the Judges and even criticising them. Courage was growing in Gandhi. During this initial year of legal practice Gandhi observed an incident, connected to railroad workers, which revealed to him how disobedience can be an effective tool to resist abuse of authority.

The importation of Indian labour in to Natal led to widespread concern that their presence was depressing wages and threatening the economic interests of the European workers. They feared losing their jobs to Indian workers and tradesmen and artisans. Widespread protests lead the Natal Legislature to take up legislation to block Indians from affecting the interests of Europeans. In May 1897 the Natal Legislature met to consider four different bills which were targeted at Indians. They were the Quarantine Act, Uncovenanted Indians Act, Immigration Restriction Act and the Dealers Licences Act. Gandhi led the Indian community in fighting this anti-Indian legislation. This fight would also lead to Gandhi gaining an understanding of the relation between law and political power, an understanding which would guide his role as a political organiser and agitator.

Gandhi send petitions on behalf of Indians and against the legislation to the Natal Government and also to the Colonial Office in London. The petitions contained arguments stating why the legislation was discriminatory towards Indians but in spite of it the Bills were passed by the Natal Legislature.

Since Petitioning did not work and the Bills became law of the land, Gandhi and the Natal Indian

Congress, had to choose other options to fight these anti - Indian enactments. The strategy Gandhi employed was litigation. Being a lawyer Gandhi had to be at the forefront of such litigation. Gandhi's professional and political work now start getting identified with each other. Gandhi begins to appear on behalf of persons affected by the anti-Indian legislation, especially the Dealers Licences Act. His appearances had been mostly in disputes involving Indian merchants where he was engaged by them. It was a private business between the lawyer and the client. Now Gandhi was appearing for persons adversely affected by legislation, not merely as a lawyer, but more in his public role as Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress and leader of the Indian community in Natal.

Gandhi left Natal in 1901 to return to India entrusting the running of his office to R K Khan, a fellow Indian, who like Gandhi was an English Barrister and had joined Gandhi in his practice. Perhaps it was ill health, perhaps it was the desire to join his extended family in India, perhaps it was the desire to establish practice in India, the motives of his departure are not clear. In India, Gandhi attended the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress where he moved a Resolution on the issues facing Indians in South Africa. The Resolution was passed. Gandhi practised law for some time in Rajkot but was persuaded by well wishers to move to Bombay and establish practice there. Mid 1902 saw the shift to Bombay. Gandhi established a sound relationship with Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

While leaving Natal the Indian community had extracted a promise from Gandhi that if the needs of the Indian community required his presence he would return to South Africa. The call came and Gandhi sailed again for South Africa in response to it. Gandhi's presence was needed to present the case of the Indian community before Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was to visit South Africa. Gandhi could not refuse it. The end of 1902 saw Gandhi reaching Natal to lead the Natal Indian delegation during its meeting with Joseph Chamberlain

Chamberlain, after visiting Natal left for Transvaal. Transvaal province, bordering Natal, had a strong presence of Afrikaners or Boers, descendants of the Dutch who settled in South Africa from 1652 and then moved to the interior from Cape. Transvaal did not have a history of indentured labour by Indians as in Natal and the Indians there were merchants or Indians freed from indenture in Natal and had arrived there in search of employment. Transvaal had passed a law in 1885 which discriminated against people belonging to the native races of Asia, including the so-called Coolies, Arabs, Malays and Mohammedan subjects of the Turkish Empire. This law denied these classes of people citizenship rights, prohibited them from owning immovable property and also required them to register with authorities after paying a registration fee. Government also had the right for sanitation purposes to regulate habitation areas for these classes of people. The argument of the Indian merchants was that this segregation was applicable only to residential locations and not to trade locations. Litigation on this aspect started in Transvaal much earlier when Gandhi was in Natal and Gandhi too had been involved with it. Litigation was protracted and by 1898 the High Court of Transvaal had ruled that the law made no distinction between where an Indian resided and where he conducted his business. Indian businesses flourishing in centre of towns and competing with European businesses became liable to be removed from their current locations. However, since the War between Britain and Transvaal's Afrikaners had broken out in October 1899, this law could not be implemented. As the war ended decisively in favour of Britain resulting in Transvaal becoming a Crown colony there was hope among Transvaal Indians that Britain would not implement a law heavily loaded with racial discrimination. Gandhi had followed Chamberlain to Transvaal to head the delegation of Transvaal Indians and explain this racial discrimination against Indians to Chamberlain, but the Government did not allow him to attend the meeting. Gandhi submitted a written memorandum to Chamberlain outlining the grievances of Indians.

Remaining in Transvaal Gandhi found the British quite adamant in implementing the legislation. In fact they even formed an Asiatic Department to administer the anti-Indian laws. Gandhi felt that it was not fair on his part to return to India at this point and he decided to stay on in Johannesburg and work for the rights of the Indian community while simultaneously establishing a legal practice there.

Transvaal had a dual system of legal practice consisting of Advocates and Attorneys similar to the English system of Barristers and Solicitors. Though Gandhi was qualified to be admitted as an Advocate he decided to get admitted as an Attorney for it would enable him to be in direct contact with Indians unlike an Advocate who would not be interacting with clients but will be briefed by Attorneys. In April 1903 the Supreme Court of Transvaal admitted Gandhi as an Attorney. The Natal Phase of Gandhi's legal career was over and the Transvaal phase was beginning. The Johannesburg lawyer 's legal practice would be with deeper political involvement than in Durban.

One of Gandhi's first actions was to collect evidence of corruption against two European officers of the Asiatic department who were corrupt and were fleecing Indians who became refugees at the time of the war and were trying to re-enter the province. Gandhi presented his evidence to the Police Commissioner, an upright man, who had the corrupt officials prosecuted. In spite of solid evidence against them, the jury acquitted the two. Yet, the evidence was sold that the two were discharged from employment. It was a victory for Gandhi as the Asiatic department got cleaned up in the process. When the Asiatic Trade Commission was appointed to determine the claims of traders who traded in towns before the outbreak of war Gandhi appeared before it on behalf of some traders. But finding the Commission's reluctance to decide on some vital questions Gandhi announced he was withdrawing the claims of his clients. With the Government taking on an intransigent stand Gandhi proposed civil disobedience as a means of resisting the authorities. Traders who were to be prosecuted for carrying on trade without licences should refuse to pay penalties and instead go to prison. However this did not happen for the Supreme Court of Transvaal which went in to an interpretation of the Law of 1885 stated that the law did not envisage trade related segregation. Gandhi was a picture of moderation after this legal victory advising Indians not to rejoice over it in a manner as to provoke Europeans.

The private law practice of Gandhi had a promising start in Johannesburg so that within a short period Gandhi could see indications of financial success. He was confident that his private law practice was going to be very lucrative. Gandhi was aware, from Natal itself, prosperity would lead to a life of comfort and ease and so had imposed a discipline on himself. In Transvaal he thought more about the hazards of amassing wealth for one's own benefit and was generous in spending his funds for running 'Indian Opinion', the newspaper campaigning for the cause of Indians and also for Phoenix, the communal farm he had established. The income derived from his private practice enabled him to use his legal acumen for supporting the Indian cause in law courts and elsewhere without any thought of reward.

The Transvaal period also sees the evolution of Gandhi's personality and thought. His politics spirituality and legal practice were getting influenced and deepened by his faith in self-sacrifice and self-suffering. He advised that Indians opposing racial discrimination must be ready to devote time, effort and money to overcoming it. Nothing lasting could be achieved without personal sacrifice, was his conviction. And in this, Gandhi was leading not by exhortation but by personal example.

Transvaal which received self-governing status on Jan 1st 1907 enacted the Asiatic Laws Amendment Ordinance which came in to force on July 1st 1907. Indians were bound to register under the law. Indian community as also other people of Asian descent found it degrading and Gandhi led the protest against it. Gandhi's strategy was to persuade Indians to refuse to register under the Act and face the consequences for the same. Series of meetings were held by the British Indian Association and similar organisations of Chinese, Malays etc which were attended by large numbers. Gandhi was the focus of attention in these meetings. The decision was that no one would register their names under this law. Jan Smuts, Colonial Secretary of the new Transvaal Government was unrelenting in his resolve to implement the law. On the other hand Gandhi was vigorously campaigning against this law in all possible ways. Gandhi himself was bound to register under this law and failing to do so, was arrested on Dec 27, 1907 along with a few other leaders of the movement, and produced in Court. Gandhi pleaded guilty but the Magistrate did not allow him to submit an explanation on the ground that Court cannot be a forum for political speeches. Since violation of the law was a ground for deportation Gandhi was asked to leave Transvaal. Though the Magistrate was

ready to grant sufficient time Gandhi insisted that he required only 48 hours. Gandhi condemned the punishment of deportation as disproportionate to the offence and advised Indians not to submit to the law but passively resist it. For failure to comply with the Magistrate's Order of deportation Gandhi was arrested on January 10th, 1908 and presented before the Court. Gandhi requested for imposing the maximum sentence on him but the Magistrate felt Gandhi had only committed an offence of a political nature and so sentenced him to two months imprisonment without hard labour. Gandhi, taken to Johannesburg jail, was becoming a prisoner for the first time in his life.

Gandhi's arrest did not inspire the movement. Rather, his absence, was a severe setback and the momentum was lost. People who had promised to resist the law were being compelled by circumstance to register. Gandhi felt that a settlement with the Government was necessary to retrieve the situation. Under the good offices of Albert Cartwright, editor of the 'Transvaal Leader', who was sympathetic to the cause of Indians a settlement was worked out. An exchange of letters between the leaders of the movement and Jan Smuts happened. Gandhi and co-prisoners were released from jail. A meeting happens between Smuts and Gandhi in Pretoria. The terms of agreement, as Gandhi understood, was that Indians and others would voluntarily register and on completion of registration, the law would be repealed. From Smuts side, the understanding of the agreement, was that Indians and others who had received notices to register and had failed to do so within the time stipulated for registration, will be allowed to register and will face no penal action. This difference in understanding would lead to disaster later. Gandhi was attacked by fellow Indians, who felt he had betrayed the cause, while on his way to register with the Registrar of Asiatics. Gandhi sustained severe injuries.

Even after registration process of Indians was completed there was no sign of the Government repealing the Act. Government emphatically declared that repealing of the Act was never agreed on. Though Gandhi insisted otherwise there was nothing in the letters between Gandhi and Smuts to indicate that Gandhi had specifically asked for a repeal and Smuts had agreed to it. Gandhi, the otherwise scrupulous and meticulous lawyer, had erred to in failing to reduce the terms of the agreement in to a written document signed by both parties. This omission of a basic tenet of law on the side of Gandhi, the lawyer is puzzling.

Government's refusal failed to repeal the Act stared in Gandhi's case as a failure. It's effect was to force the Indian community to re-start their struggle from square one. Gandhi had a firm conviction in the impartiality of the judicial system and in the uprightness of judges. He was confident of winning in court. A case was filed in the Supreme Court which found on examination of the letters exchanged between the parties which constitute the agreement that no undertaking had been given by the Colonial Secretary to repeal the Act. Gandhi had lost in Court.

The only option before Gandhi now was to adopt active resistance. Gandhi exhorted Indians in Transvaal to divest themselves of the certificates they were misled in to applying for. A vigorous campaign was conducted and on the appointed day, August 16, 1908, a large gathering assembled at Johannesburg to burn their certificates and licences. Through this action the participants were withdrawing their consent to the Government to be governed by it. No Government can compel a person to obey a law, especially when the concerned person considers it unjust. Gandhi knew that burning of certificates, an act of defiance of law, would lead to arrest and prosecution by the Government ending in punishment. In Court, which often in such circumstances would only administer the law as it existed, Gandhi's legal strategy was to argue against the injustice in the law and then undergo whatever punishment the Court was to impose. This self-suffering act, Gandhi was convinced, would lead to sympathy for the cause among the public, who would put pressure on the Government which will be forced to take corrective action. Gandhi was also aware that as prisons became full, Government would find it difficult to hold all the prisoners. At this point of time, a thorough understanding of civil disobedience to create change had not fully developed in Gandhi, as it would later. Now he was guided by more of an intuitive understanding of it. As a lawyer, testing the law, was what he was most comfortable with. He also knew that, a lawyer who was also a political organiser could, if he was skilful, use proceedings of court to

advancing the debate about the political issue involved in the trial over and above the defence offered to extenuate the offence alleged to be committed by the accused.

But resisting prosecution by raising legal defences was not a good strategy when the object of the disobedience campaign is to win the support of the public through self-suffering by voluntarily accepting punishment after admitting guilt. Legal defences even solid will be seen as appealing to the intellect and even accepted for being rational but will not elicit sympathy for the cause because it will be viewed as a tactic to elude punishment. Public sympathy to the cause occurs only when the voluntary suffering of the disobedient to an unjust punishment imposed on him appeals to the emotions of the community who perceive that wrong has been done to the protester by the State. For this to take place the legal defence has to be given up, howsoever strong, it may be. This difference in perception of the public may not have been clear and explicit to Gandhi of 1908 who in his responsibility as a lawyer adduced evidence to defend the resisters who had defied a law in protest against its arbitrariness and unfairness. These courtroom tactics hampered a full appreciation of the suffering and sacrifice undergone by the resisters. The lawyer and the civil disobedient were diminishing instead of nourishing each other and Gandhi would realise that a choice was inevitable.

The moment for this choice arrived sooner than later. Courts had failed to act as tools of social change and the resort to legal action by the movement had been unsuccessful except in very few occasions. Gandhi was frustrated with this failure, not in a personal way but as a systemic one, and not sure if he should continue with tapping the court system for elusive Justice. At the same time Gandhi was clear that being a lawyer had conferred status and credibility which also benefited the movement. It had also made him financially secure and he could spend money on many public causes. Travelling from England to South Africa on board a steamer in November 1909 Gandhi got the solitude needed to impart clarity to his thoughts. The result of it was his writing of 'Hind Swaraj'. The book contains a Chapter on the failure of the legal system. The basis of Gandhi's argument is the failure of the Courts to deliver Justice and their capitulation before the Government. Gandhi also saw that the profession leads its practitioners in to immorality. He felt that parties to a dispute have inside knowledge of it often denied to a third party who cannot be relied on to bring about a reasonable conclusion.

Gandhi was convinced that Justice will not be achieved in the ways he had been trained in the Inner Temple and in the ways he had practised it for two decades. To achieve Justice one had to defy the law and accept the punishment of the law for such defiance. There was no other path and Gandhi was prepared to embrace the path. Curtains were drawn on Gandhi's life as a lawyer when Lewis W Ritch who articulated in Gandhi's Johannesburg office in 1903 started his law practice in the same premises in April 1911. Gandhi quietly announced it in the pages of 'Indian Opinion' and requested the Indian community to extend to him their patronage. Barrister Gandhi had decided to fade away.

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Gandhi's Religion and its Problematics

M.P. Mathai

The religion of Gandhi's conception is multi-dimensional, consisting of several interlocking layers: spiritual and moral, social, cultural and political. For him religion was nothing but the sum total of what a person thought, said and did, for he believed and stated repeatedly that the spirit of one's religion should pervade all her/his activities. What was most significant for Gandhi in his encounter with religions was the religiosity that he internalised thereby and subsequently the energy that he derived from it both for his personal asceticism and public service. For Gandhi the common ideal that inspired all religions was the liberation of the spirit from the shackles of flesh/matter. He learned from the Gita that this ideal could be attained only if and the extent to which you practised renunciation. So Gandhi made renunciation the pivot of his religious asceticism and eventually turned an ascetic.

Gandhi's basic frame of reference was derived from *his religion* or more precisely from *his religiosity*. He was a deeply religious person who claimed that everything he said and did, including his politics was derived from his religion. He had his own reasons for accepting religion as the guiding principle in his life. Primarily, he was of the view that there is a deep urge inherent in the human self to search for the meaning and ultimate purpose of human existence and this urge is what he identified and characterised as 'religious spirit'. In Gandhi's words, 'religious spirit' is "that permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself"¹. So, for Gandhi, religion was a pathway the human spirit could follow in its search for the ultimate, and, therefore, required serious consideration and close scrutiny.

Serious questions come up at this juncture. One of the most significant of them is: why is Gandhi so deeply concerned with religion and spirituality? (His detractors have even alleged that God and religion had been such an obsession with him that his views were unscientific and even obscurantist). What may be the cause of his ingrained and irresistible religious/spiritual propensity? Here it is important to take a look at his family background.

He was born in a family with a strong tradition of religious devotion and, therefore, it may be said that he inherited his religiosity. As stated by Gandhi in his *Autobiography* his mother "was deeply religious". His mother's devotion, coupled with her unrelenting determination was manifest in her religious vows and regular fasts. The influence of his mother in this respect was abiding and lifelong. Besides, Gandhi's house was a kind of rendezvous of scholars of different religions, as his father invited them to discuss the basic principles of their religions. Thus, he grew up in an atmosphere of inter-religious dialogue and encounter, which not only kindled his intellectual and spiritual curiosity but inculcated in him a deep sense of toleration and respect for all religions. Consequently, later in life, he made religion the main subject of his study. He studied reverentially the scriptures of the major religions of the world - Christianity, Islam, Jainism, Buddhism and the Parsi faiths along with those of his own religion, Hinduism. It must be mentioned here that Gandhi's study of world religions was not academic but existential; his objective was not gaining an intellectual understanding of the principles of those religions; what he attempted was to assimilate their moral and spiritual principles and synthesise them in to his own inborn religiosity and fashion his life in its totality in that light.

Towards a Definition of Religion

Although Gandhi continued his study of religion till the very end of his life, he had arrived at certain

definite conclusions about religion by the time he returned to India from South Africa (1914-1915). Gandhi made it clear that by religion he did not mean sectarian or denominational religion which consists of creeds and dogmas, rituals and practices, including some mystical endeavours, along with an organisation to supervise and administer the above. On the contrary, by religion he meant a basic ethical core that underlies all religions, and gives meaning and sense to them all. According to Gandhi true Religion (with an upper case R) 'means a belief in the ordered moral governance of the universe.' In one of the most profound, yet precise, statements he explained: "Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within, and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself."² According to Gandhi this religion transcends Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity but does not supersede them. On the contrary it harmonizes them and gives them reality.

Gandhi identified the ethical core that underlay all religions as Truth and Righteousness. He affirmed that there was no religion higher than truth and righteousness.³ Quite early in life, while listening to the religious dialogues held in the household, he had understood that that true religion and true morality are inseparably bound up with each other. Later he wrote: "as soon as we lose our moral basis, we cease to be religious. There is no such thing as religion overriding morality. Man, for instance cannot be untruthful, cruel and incontinent and claim to have God on his side"⁴.

Religion as Action and Service

The religion of Gandhi's conception is multi-dimensional, consisting of several interlocking layers: spiritual and moral, social, cultural and political. For him religion was nothing but the sum total of what a person thought, said and did, for he believed and stated repeatedly that the spirit of one's religion should pervade all her/his activities. "Religion which takes no count of practical affairs and doesn't help solve them, is no religion", he said.⁵ Again, he defined his religion as 'the religion of service'. Gandhi considered all his actions and activities to be a practical application of his religious convictions and faith. He said that even his politics were derived from his religion. He wrote: "politics bereft of religion are absolute dirt, ever to be shunned. Politics concern nations and that which concerns the welfare of nations must be one of the concerns of a man who is religiously inclined, in other words, a seeker after God and Truth... Therefore, in politics also we have to establish the Kingdom of Heaven".⁶ This averment of Gandhi that even his politics were derived from his religion had given rise to unremitting controversy which still echoes in the corridors of political citadels and streets even today. As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan jestingly commented, politicians are not generally reputed to take religion seriously as the values to which they are committed are, for most of them, at least, clearly inconsistent with the values of religion.⁷ But for Gandhi, all life is of one piece; all aspects and activities of life are intimately and intricately interconnected and cannot be divided into watertight compartments. For him there was inconsistency or incongruity between religion and politics. What he really meant by the statement that politics and religion are inseparable was that the values of religion must permeate all political activities so as to make it value based and thus insulate it from becoming corrupt. He also argued: "To see the universal and all pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creations oneself. A man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."⁸ For Gandhi loving the meanest of creation meant serving and empowering them, leading to their swaraj or total liberation. This was impossible without taking active part in politics.

Gandhi's Religion

As in the case of anyone, the basic question to be raised while trying to understand Gandhi's religion

is: How did Gandhi practise his religion? If we go by his statement that a person's religion is to be identified on the basis of the sum total of his/her actions we have to take a close look at his saga of action to identify his religion. Another, and, probably an easier, route is to examine what he said about his own religious convictions and practices. In an interview to Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Gandhi said that he would call himself a *sanatani Hindu*.⁹ As we can see this characterisation has been misleading, for, (mis)using it, Gandhi was dubbed an 'orthodox Hindu', and even a *Manuvadi*. But if we look at his religious life we can see that he did not perform any of the conventional rituals or practices like temple worship etc., followed by orthodox Hindus. But at the same time he did not consider temples or temple worship as unnecessary or superstitious. He knew that ordinary people need places of worship and religions, world over, had established places of worship, suited to their cultures and climes. For Gandhi a temple, as a place of worship, should be accessible to all believers and, therefore, he opposed the Hindu practice of denying admission to the untouchables and lower caste people to the temples. Although for some political activists temple entry was not a serious political issue, Gandhi thought otherwise. So, Gandhi had initiated and supported Satyagraha movements for ensuring temple entry of Harijans and backward classes in different parts of India.

There were two basic issues on which Gandhi had a life-long fight with Hindu orthodoxy: untouchability and the question of the seat of religious authority. Gandhi's campaign against untouchability is too well-known to be re-enumerated here. But it is important to mention that he undertook three risky fasts in twelve months for what he called 'the Harijan cause' - 1932 September, 1932 December, 1933 May, and 1933 August. He even declared that the devastating Bihar earthquake was a punishment for the sin of untouchability.¹⁰ As a *sanatani Hindu* Gandhi admitted that he believed in the Hindu scriptures. But unlike the orthodox Hindus he was not willing to accept the theory of the divine origin of the scriptures. He said he would reject anything and everything in the scriptures that were contrary to reason and morality. He wrote that if anybody could conclusively prove that the Vedas or any scripture for that matter approved of the practice of untouchability, he would reject that scripture 'like a rotten apple.'¹¹

He also questioned the authority of the *Sankaracharyas* and the learned *Brahmin* pundits to interpret the Hindu scriptures. He argued forcefully that only those who sincerely and meticulously implemented the counsels of the scriptures in their own lives had the qualification and the right to interpret the texts. And he claimed the right for himself as he considered himself to be one who had been making every effort, humanly possible, to follow the teachings of the Gita in his life.

Gandhi's views on the question of conversion also require probing. He addressed it at both theoretical/theological and practical levels. Gandhi explained that the ultimate goal of all religions was to guide their believers to salvation or deliverance and that it was possible for every earnest seeker to attempt and achieve it through the religion into which one was born. So if what you sought was salvation or deliverance there was no need to change one's religion. At the practical level, conversion was prompted by extraneous consideration, like escape from social segregation and discrimination, achieving social mobility etc. In India, for example, large number of people from the lower castes and untouchables left the Hindu fold to escape caste discrimination and got converted to Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Sikhism for socio-cultural liberation. Gandhi was of the view that this was wrong and futile. As long as the practice of untouchability and caste discrimination continued in Hindu society a change of religion was not going to make any real change in the socio-cultural status of the new converts or the attitude of society in general towards them, especially in a country where Hinduism was the predominant religion. Ultimately, it would result only in carrying those discriminations to other religions as well. (Gandhi's warning proved prophetic, for, we know that in India religions like Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism etc internalised caste discrimination and social segregation following large scale proselytisation. Gandhi also denounced as unethical and irreligious the practice of encouraging conversion by offering financial and other enticements.

However, Gandhi was not against honest conversion. He wrote in 1931: "I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion, nowadays, has become a matter of business

like any other.”¹² In the same year in an interview he gave to Rev. John Mott he said that in independent India ‘no legal hindrance can be put in the way of any Christian or of anybody preaching for the acceptance of his doctrine.’ Leading us into the core of the question he also added thus: ‘My effort should never be to undermine another’s faith but to make him [or her] a better follower of his [or her] own faith.’¹³

Sarvadharmā Samābhav: Equality of Religions and Equal Respect for them

It may be said that Gandhi’s religion was a synthesis of the best in all major religions. To a question; “would you say, then, that your religion is a synthesis of all religions?” he answered, “yes, if you will”. But he hastened to add that he would call that synthesis his Hinduism, and for a true Christian, that synthesis was Christianity and for a Muslim that was Islam. (Harijan, March 3, 1937). After a reverential study of the major world religions Gandhi came to the conclusion that all religions were fundamentally equal.¹⁴ He understood that all religions arose as answers to the fundamental and perennial human quest for the meaning and purpose of existence. In common religious parlance it is said that they seek the same God and proceed from the same God. For Gandhi, as religions sought the same Truth, there was truth in all of them. But as religions came down to us through the instrumentality of human beings, in spite of the fact that they were God-given, they shared the inevitable imperfections that go with the human instrument and human enterprise. So, all religions have some error in them, argued Gandhi. As all religions were true yet imperfect, the question of comparative merit or superiority did not arise. All religions were equal and therefore, deserved to be respected equally. Moreover, as all religions are equal, with truth and error in them, there was no need or justification for changing one’s religion and getting converted to another. As stated above, the ultimate goal of all religions was to guide the believer or the faithful to his deliverance and, therefore, it was possible to attempt it through the religion into which one was born. So if what you seek is salvation or deliverance there is no need to change your religion, argued Gandhi. He rejected the claim of any religion to be superior to the others and so rejected the practice of proselytisation as totally unjustified and unwarranted.

Personal Asceticism

What was most significant for Gandhi in his encounter with religions was the religiosity that he internalised thereby and subsequently the energy that he derived from it both for his personal asceticism and public service. For Gandhi the common ideal that inspired all religions was the liberation of the spirit from the shackles of flesh/matter. He learned from the Gita that this ideal could be attained only if and the extent to which you practised **renunciation**. So Gandhi made renunciation the pivot of his religious asceticism and eventually turned an ascetic. It was as an aid to the attainment of such renunciation that he observed eleven vows, well-known as *ekadash vrth*.¹⁵ It must be mentioned here that although Gandhi was extremely strict about his personal asceticism he was rarely so with his co-workers. More often than not, he was quite lenient and compassionate on them and instances of his loving care for his co-workers and ashram inmates abound.

The reason why Gandhi was so keen on disciplining himself by the practice of the observances was not that it would aid him in attaining self-realisation. His proclaimed ambition, announced while preparing for the struggle in South Africa was to be ‘a true servant of the community’. And practising renunciation was a *sine qua non* for becoming such a dedicated servant of the people. So, for him, there was no dichotomy between the personal and public; the personal was political and moral and spiritual.

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Democratic Decentralisation, Regeneration of Villages and Self Government: The Gandhian Perspective

**M.R. Biju &
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The Gandhian approach to democratic decentralization, village regeneration and self government were fully humanistic and holistic in nature and content. It was rooted on devolution, self- sufficiency,co-operation, equality, swadeshi and trusteeship. His stress was on the utilisation of available resources for the benefit of the maximum number of people. He firmly stood for the political and fiscal devolution backed by administrative decentralisation. Real democracy and decentralisation cannot be established by a few people sitting at the top but by sharing power and authority with the people. He also envisaged an ideal socio-political and economic order in which everybody is his ruler and he rules himself in such a way that he is never a burden or hindrance to others. Masses should become aware and conscious of their capacity to regulate and control the authority. It should be the government and governance of the people by the people and for the people.

A democratic polity involves decentralisation or deconcentration of power in a way that the affairs of the local people are managed using their positive participation. It implies the extension of democracy at the grass-roots level since the people's participation signifies the constitution of a democratic government not merely at the top but at the foundation level of the political system. Gandhiji firmly believed that the present state was unwanted because it was a highly centralised one in its organisation and structure. He condemned the state because it was based on force and as such believed that everything could be achieved only by forceful methods. Gandhiji felt that in the present set-up state authority had been centralised, the power passed on to a few individuals, and there was every danger that such power might be misused.

Mahatma made the first reference to Democratic Decentralisation in February 1916, while appreciating the working of the ancient Panchayat System that existed in India. He believed that, the problem of village sanitation would have been solved long ago and India would have been enjoying self-government suited to its requirements, had village panchayats been acting as a living force.

In his presidential address at Belgaum Congress (1924), Gandhi referred to the panchayat system as the right medium for securing speedy and cheap justice as well as for avoiding reliance on government for the settlement of the mutual dispute. During his term of office, as the President of the Indian National Congress, he extensively toured the whole country. That reinforced his conviction that India would be benefited, a great deal if the villages were governed by the Village panchayats. However, he felt that the reorganisation of the village administration could not be taken in isolation. He was sure that Indian village life had great vitality and character (Dey S.K: 1969).

Concept of Ideal Society

Gandhi condemned the present state as it is based on violence and wanted to have an ideal society in which the state will be based on non-violence in which there will be maximum independence for the individuals. To him, it will be a state based on village autonomy and each village enjoying maximum possible autonomy. The villages will be combined to form a sort of loose federation based on moral strength. There will be no need and necessity for the police or military forces. Instead of centralisation there will be decentralisation and the way of living will be very simple. The people shall practise self-discipline and control

and everybody will be most willing to perform his duties without persuasion. The policemen and all executive officers will act as the servants of the people, and arms will rarely be used. According to him, it will be an ideal society or Ram Rajya in which "Justice is prompt, perfect, cheap and there is freedom of worship and speech and of the Press. All this is possible because of the reign of self-imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state must be based on truth and non-violence. (Dube S.C: 1967).

Democratic System and Gandhi

Gandhiji favoured democratic system in his ideal society. He believed that it was the only compromise formula in which individual freedom was attained and at the same time the authority of the state was not altogether dispensed with. For him, in a democracy, if properly followed, there can be no difficulty in adjusting individual freedom with state authority. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. (Gandhi.M.K.: 1959). He wanted to have a stateless society where the individual will be an end and his self-realisation is the sole object. He believed that in a stateless society, there would be a proper adjustment between law, freedom and social restraint based on dharma.

Gandhi opposed all types of concentration of power, since to him, centralisation is a menace and danger to democracy. The concentration of power, in his view, distorts all democratic values. The possession of power makes men blind and deaf, they cannot see things which are under their very nose, and cannot hear thoughts which invade their ears (Inamdar, N.R: 1970).

Moreover, he was convinced that moral progress was possible only in a decentralised setup. In a nutshell, without decentralisation it is impossible to ensure individual liberty and mental and moral growth of man. Similarly, it is equally essential for the realisation of the ideal democracy, which is not possible without adequate opportunities for individuals to participate in the management of their affairs.

Political and Economic Devolution

Gandhi pleads for decentralisation of both economic and political power. The success of political decentralisation, in his view, depends upon economic decentralisation. This follows from his conviction that a highly centralised political set up is likely to bring dictatorship of one kind or another by self-interested and power-hungry minority imposing itself on a deluded and subservient majority.

He rejects the Western model of state structure on the ground that it leads to centralisation of power, exploitation of the weak, denial of individual freedom and moral degradation. It is democratic in its external framework but dictatorial in actual practice. Opposed to this is the panchayati raj model-building up from below. In other words, it can be called democratic decentralisation. Gandhi is drawn towards this model. A novel feature of this model is the economic self-sufficiency at the grass-root level. To him, this is the only way to eliminate exploitation of the weaker sections in society and to bring happiness to them.

Further, his decentralisation implies the fundamental principle of self-sufficiency. He reiterated that if a new democratic, egalitarian social, political order free from exploitation, had to be established on firm foundations decentralisation in economics must go side by side with decentralisation in politics. The very success of political decentralisation depends upon economic decentralization. In other words, without economic decentralisation, political decentralisation would be meaningless. In the manifesto drafted by Gandhi for the Congress Parliamentary Board, (29th July 1934) it was declared that to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real freedom of the starving millions. Similarly, his advocacy of charka and village industries only demonstrate his abiding faith in decentralisation of economic power.

Gandhi is not against modern science and technology. His Attitude is entirely rational and scientific. His main thrust is that science and technology, instead of becoming masters, should function as the servants of the people. He has no objection to machines as such. But he argues that it is wrong to carry the process of mechanisation of industry so far as to kill the cottage industries and concentrate them within a narrow

field. Accordingly, he wants villages to be production centres and towns to be houses for such products instead of being the reverse as today. This will strengthen democratic decentralisation further (Maddick Henry: 1970).

Concept of Village Swaraj and Governance Structure

Gandhiji calls democratic decentralisation as village Swaraj. He wants to see each village a little republic self-sufficient in its vital wants organically linked with the higher bodies and enjoying the maximum freedom of deciding the affairs of the locality. According to Gandhi, real India lives in its villages. Villages had an essential place in Gandhi's scheme of life and social organisation. He was a strong and ardent supporter of a rural life and village atmosphere. He believed that if the villages perished India will perish too. It will no more be India and her mission will be defeated.

Till 1936, Gandhi had not made up his mind, or he was not clear about the character of the structure of Indian polity. At the Faizpur Congress session in 1936, he expressed that India must have a polity suited to her genius. But he could not give its blueprint. This shows that he was clear about the spirit but not of the form of Indian polity. He only indicated that the Western mechanism of democracy was not suitable for India. This meant that India must seek its institutional framework to realise the values of democracy. He did some deep thinking in this connection. The institution of the village panchayat which had provided a democratic structure at the grass-root level for centuries in India showed him direction. The institution of panchayat, for him, was the fundamental unit of democratic decentralization (Biju M.R.: 1998).

Further in 1942, during the course of an interview with Louis Fisher, he remarked that voluntary co-operation was the essence of the panchayat system. Here again, he pleaded for the distribution of power among the villagers. He said, you see, the centre of power now is in New Delhi, or Calcutta and Bombay, in the big cities. I would like to have it distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages of India. That will mean that there is no power. In other words, I want the seven hundred thousand dollars now invested in the Imperial Bank of England, withdrawn and distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages. Then each village will have its dollar, which cannot be lost. Emphasising this point, he said, the seven hundred thousand dollars invested in the Imperial Bank of India, could be swept away by a bomb from a Japanese plane. Whereas if they were distributed among the seven hundred thousand shareholders, nobody could deprive them of their assets. This will then be voluntary co-operation between these seven hundred thousand units; voluntary co-operation will produce real freedom and a new order vastly superior to the new order in Soviet Russia.

The interview mentioned above, reveals Gandhi's deep faith in decentralised democracy based on village panchayats drawing their power from the initiative and willing co-operation of the people. He fully subscribed to the principle that power resides in the people and it must belong to the people. It seeks expression through democratic decentralisation or panchayati raj. Again in 1946, Gandhi, while rejecting Western political institutions of parliamentary democracy, laid stress on the concept of decentralised democracy consisting of concentric village republics. He elaborated his plan for independent India at the time of transfer of power. He asserted that independence must begin at the bottom. Thus every village would be a republic or panchayat having full capabilities. It follows that every village had to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It would be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without. Thus ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. But Gandhi, points out that this does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world. Under the Gandhian Constitution, the scheme of government was briefly as follows:

1. First, the primary political unit was to be the village panchayat whose members would be elected by the adults of the village. The panchayat would control chowkidars, pathways, police and schools. It would also assess and collect land revenue, supervise co-operative farming, irrigation and interest rates as well as Khadi and other village industries.

2. Secondly, above the village panchayat came a hierarchy of indirectly elected bodies. First came taluks and district panchayats, each comprised of the sarpanches of the next lower panchayats and having only advisory powers over them. Members from the district and municipal panchayats would make up the provincial panchayats, which would elect President to serve as head of the provincial government. Presidents of a provincial panchayat would comprise the all India Panchayat whose President would be the head of state and of the government, which would be ministerial in character. Among the responsibilities of provincial panchayats would be transport, irrigation, natural resources and co-operative bank.

The national panchayat would be responsible for such things as defence, currency, customs, the running of key industries of national importance and the co-ordination of provincial economic development plans.

For Gandhiji, centralisation as a system is inconsistent with the non-violent structure of society. Centralisation of power, political or economic is the source of all kinds of exploitation resulting in curtailment of individual liberty, unemployment and poverty. Decentralisation counters all kinds of exploitation restores human freedom and dignity and promotes social values like fellow feeling and co-operation. Thus the essence of non-violence is decentralisation. To quote Gandhiji, "The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral growth. I use the adjective moral as anonymous with spiritual. The end can be achieved under decentralisation. Centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society" (Harijan, 18 January, 1942).

Regeneration of Villages

Gandhiji gave importance to the regeneration of village, which is possible only with the help of a decentralised economic and political set up. Rural India can prosper only through the revival of gram panchayats and creation of independent and self-governing village republics. In the West, villages were exploited to serve the interest of the urban communities. Gandhiji did not want the same experiment to perpetuate in India. In the case of India, the twin objectives of growth with social justice have to be achieved simultaneously. It is said that the strategy of development has to be both mobilisational in the sense of reaching out to choose regions or sections of her people who have been bypassed in the process of development and has also to aim at efficiency of resource use in areas and sectors which have developed (Y.K.Alagh: 1993).

When Gandhiji talked of self-sufficient village units, what he had in mind was that a village community should not depend on the higher government for those needs which it could satisfy with local resources and local efforts. He visualized decentralised planning with local participation. This would put pressure on local representatives to respond to local needs. For him, the word swaraj implied self-rule and self-restraint and not freedom from all restraints. Gandhian view of decentralisation implies "Voluntarily giving responsibility to the people to make decisions of their own affairs, subject to certain broad guidelines, which would not conflict with the overall framework of the society".

To Gandhiji, the economy should have a base at the village level. Gandhiji envisaged a self-sufficient village which is very strong. Economic and political power in such a village is shared equally. The basic principles of village swaraj are the supremacy of man, physical labour, equality, trusteeship, decentralisation, swadeshi, self-sufficiency, co-operation, satyagraha and equality of religions. Gandhiji chose the village to be the basic operational unit in India to be developed along the lines of decentralisation and self-sufficiency. Gandhiji wrote in Harijan on 28 July 1946 : "Independence must begin at the bottom; thus everyvillage will be a republic or panchayat having full powers." "Every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible."

The village system should also provide sufficient leisure to the villagers so that they can take up creative work. He was painfully hurt by the criminal neglect of the peasant and artisans of rural India. A policy of decentralisation and modernisation of rural industries would provide an immediate solution to the grave problems of unemployment, under employment, poverty, inequalities, and exploitation, revival and encouragement of village industries would create opportunities for self-employment. This would make man independent and free so that his creativity and expression are stimulated.

Gandhian economic philosophy has nationalistic dimensions. He was in favour of promoting the spirit of Swadeshi. Each village is capable of producing all the essential commodities it requires. People should try to substitute village products for those produced in the city. Gandhiji wrote (Harijan: 30 November 1934) that "We begin with ourselves and thus use say handmade paper instead of the mill made whatever possible....". Thus Gandhian Economics was need-oriented and not want-oriented. According to him, distribution can be equalised only when production is localised. To quote him again (Harijan: 2 November, 1934): "When production and consumption both become local the temptation to speed up production indefinitely disappears... there would be no unnatural accumulation or hoards in the pockets of the few.

Trusteeship

In his ideal society, Gandhiji said everyone would keep only what was required by him for his day-to-day life. No one will unnecessarily accumulate wealth or surplus goods. He felt that the rich should have only what was their minimum basic necessity and the rest of the wealth they should distribute among the poor and deserving. He, however, pleaded that it was not at all justified to use force for getting surplus wealth from the rich, but the effective method was that of persuasion. They should themselves feel that they had no justification in keeping surplus wealth with them. In other words, the rich should act as trustees of the surplus wealth.

As far as his ideas about trusteeship was concerned, Gandhiji believed that everyone who owns a capital should feel that he is, a trustee of the capital, which belongs to the society as a whole. The people should realise that they should possess only that much of capital and property which is needed by them. No one should use capital in disregard of collective social interests. To Gandhi the difference between the minimum and maximum wages should be reasonable. To him the social necessity will determine the character of production. He said that everyone should have balanced diet, a good house to live, facility for education and adequate medical relief. Everyone should believe that everything belonged to God. He was opposed to class antagonism but instead promoted class collaboration and co-ordination.

Independence and Role of Congress Party

Gandhiji's idea behind making village panchayat, the kingpin of administration, was two-fold. One was to convert the Congress, after independence into a social service organisation which would primarily work towards strengthening the panchayats at the village level and thus usher in progress. The other was to generate acceptance for his idea that any organised government which would emerge to rule India after independence should have the panchayats as its basic unit of government.

Gandhi submitted two plans, one in January 1946 and the other in 1948 to the committee entrusted with revising the Constitution of the Congress. The second plan presented on the day of his assassination is now called his testament. This plan called for disbanding the Congress and making it as a social service organisation with a nationwide network of the panchayats. The Congress Constitution Committee which at that point of Time was constituted with Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Tandon, NarendraDev, R.R. Diwakar, S.K.Patil, Jugal Kishore etc. as members did not accept Gandhiji's suggestion and found no reason for the Congress to give up its political identity and become a social service organisation. The committee however, effected a compromise by establishing "Primary Congress panchayats in a village or a group of villages as the basic organisational unit of the party".

Further, Gandhiji's suggestions (AICC Bulletin No.5 of November 1947) states that: "If India's destiny is to be fulfilled and it is to take its proper place in the comity of nations, then its unity is essential and there is no other organisation more fit for this difficult task than the Congress. India requires, for its gradual and orderly political, social and economic progress, one big political party large enough to guarantee a stable government and strong enough organisationally to maintain its hold and influence over the people. Such a party, of course, must have a programme of radical change aiming at social justice and eradication of exploitation in all its forms." Thus Gandhiji's idea of converting the Congress into a social service organisation having its moorings in the panchayats died in its infancy.

Concluding Observations

1. The Gandhian concept of decentralisation occupies paramount importance in the scheme of rebuilding India from below. Gandhi's concept of decentralisation can be adequately appreciated and understood within the framework of his general philosophy, which was built on the solid foundation of Truth and Non-violence. Non-violence formed the basic tenet of Gandhiji's concept of decentralisation. Centralisation is a system inconsistent with the non-violent structure of society. Centralisation, as opposed to decentralisation, means concentration of power and authority either in the hands of a few people or in an institution like the state. There is always the likelihood of its misuse. Gandhiji was totally against the centralisation of power for obvious reasons. To him, the more the centralisation, the less will be people's participation and the less of democracy.
2. Gandhiji's concept of decentralisation was not an isolated concept but the outcome of his religio-ethical, socio-political and economic concepts and ideas. But he was of the view that life is a unity and hence cannot be compartmentalised into social, religious, political and so on. On the other hand all the different departments of life act and react upon one another. The ethics of society necessarily involve ethics of other fields. All these directly or indirectly flow from the theme of decentralisation. This ethical outlook is the backbone of Gandhiji's life and message. Gandhiji's philosophy is nothing if not religious and moral. The truth according to him is the substance of all morality.
3. Real Swaraj comes only by individual initiative and by one's own effort. What others have done for me is not home-rule but foreign rule. Self-rule even if it leads to anarchy is better than orderly foreign rule. Gandhiji preferred self-rule over and above all forms of government.
4. Gandhiji's vision of rebuilding free India was a corollary to his broader vision to end exploitation and construction of a 'Just' social order with equality prevailing in every sphere of human life. In his conception of Sarvodaya social order, Gandhiji has assigned importance to economics founded on ethics. Economics, for Gandhiji, is a normative science. The moral economics of Gandhiji is essentially humanised and welfare-oriented. True economics never militates against human welfare. Gandhiji's non-violent economy was a panacea for most of the economic ills.
5. True democracy and true economics are essentially man-centred. It is not meant for a select few but for all to empower them in the different spheres of life. He gave utmost importance to the freedom of the individual. The individual is the nucleus around which other institutions revolve. Real freedom is one's own rule over himself. Gandhiji wrote in the Harijan that we have to learn to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well being of the whole society enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member.
6. We have seen in the seventy years after independence that Gandhiji's isolated foresight, courage, determination and wisdom were the motivating and guiding spirit behind the Indian leaders, which compelled them to do justice to accomplish the uncherished dreams of Gandhiji. The incorporation of Article 40 into the Constitution of India and the passing of the historic 73rd and 74th Constitution (Amendment) Acts, 1992 and its subsequent state level legislations can be treated as a step in this direction. Twenty-eight years after the adoption of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, very little and actual progress has been made in this direction. Local governments remain ineffective; mere agents to do the bidding of higher-level governments (Reghunandan.T.R: 2019).

Democracy has not been enhanced despite about 32 lakh peoples' representatives being elected to local bodies every five years. Devolution, envisioned by the Constitution, is not mere delegation. It implies that precisely defined governance functions are formally assigned by law to local governments, backed by adequate transfer of a basket of financial grants and tax handles, and they are given staff so that they have the necessary wherewithal to carry out their responsibilities. Above all, local governments are to report primarily to their voters, and not so much to higher-level departments. The Constitution mandates that panchayats

and municipalities shall be elected every five years and enjoins States to devolve functions and responsibilities to them through law. This is regarded as a design weakness, but on closer look, is not one. Given diverse habitation patterns, political and social history, it makes sense to mandate States to assign functions to local governments. A study of the 14th Finance Commission by the Centre for Policy Research shows that all States have formally devolved powers for certain functions like water supply, sanitation, roads and communication, street light provision and the management of community assets to the gram panchayats. The constraint lies in the design of funding streams that transfer money to local governments. First, the volume of funds set apart for them is inadequate to meet their basic requirements. Second, much of the money given is inflexible; even in the case of untied grants mandated by the Union and State Finance Commissions, their use is constrained through the imposition of several conditions. Third, there is little investment in enabling and strengthening local governments to raise their taxes and user charges. The last nail in the devolution coffin is that local governments do not have the staff to perform even basic tasks (Anil Dutta Misra: 2015). Furthermore, as most staff are hired by higher-level departments and placed with local governments on deputation, they do not feel responsible to the latter; they function as part of a vertically integrated departmental system.

To conclude, the Gandhian approach to democratic decentralization, village regeneration and self government were fully humanistic and holistic in nature and content. It was rooted on devolution, self-sufficiency, co-operation, equality, swadeshi and trusteeship. His stress was on the utilisation of available resources for the benefit of the maximum number of people. According to him, decentralised development process and the need for bringing about an egalitarian society would be relevant to the conditions prevailing in most developing countries, including India. Any approach, other than a holistic development, does not cut much ice. He firmly stood for the political and fiscal devolution backed by administrative decentralisation. Real democracy and decentralisation cannot be established by a few people sitting at the top but by sharing power and authority with the people. He also envisaged an ideal socio-political and economic order in which everybody is his ruler and he rules himself in such a way that he is never a burden or hindrance to others. Masses should become aware and conscious of their capacity to regulate and control the authority. It should be the government and governance of the people by the people and for the people.

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The Relevance of Gandhian Educational Ideas and Experiments: Implications for Policy and Practices

Malli Gandhi

Gandhi's educational framework is to enable the human being to move into the track of evolution by adopting the Indian tradition of education. Gandhian framework of education is relevant today to meet many of the challenges of the society at present. The ideas of Gandhi on education will always remain relevant when there would be an issue of structuring educational planning and practices. The Nai Talim or Basic Education Scheme or Buniyadi Talim is one such thing that Gandhi strongly advocated for the betterment of soon-to-be-independent-India. In the present context it is pertinent to look into what was inconsistent and why the aims of education as visualized by Gandhi still remain unachieved and unfinished. There is a clear gap between the principles and practice that has remained in place since the beginning. It calls for exploring what ought to be done in the light of the proposed draft National Educational Policy-2019.

I

Background

The Gandhian philosophy of education is based on his ideas and scheme of basic education. Mahatma Gandhi is one of the few thinkers, social reformers and political activists who not only propounded new ideas, but also put them into institutional practice. He did make specific contributions to the area and discipline of education, in term of ideas, policy and institutional practice. He says, 'by education I mean, 'an all-around drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit.' (Gandhi, 1933:55). He was highly critical of excessive emphasis on 'literacy' component in the existing education system and emphasized the character-building component of education. In fact, his experiments with education were an integral part of his experiments with truth. His experiments on education began in South Africa, with his engagements in various activities in Tolstoy Farm and his working together with his companion and friend, Mr. Kallenbach. During this period he equally emphasized on the importance of vocational training. Back in India during 1920s, he at Champaran conducted two experiments: *Satyagraha* and *Buniyadi Shiksha*. Alongside launching Satyagraha movement to free the Indigo planters/farmers from the exploitative condition, he also established a number of *Buniyadi Schools* in the area to generate awareness and develop critical consciousness to fight against injustice and secure one's own livelihood. These schools in some cases later became the trend setting schools.

For Mahatma Gandhi, education should be self-supporting as far as possible and also equip the pupil to better his own economic conditions. Education should be based on non-violence and should work for communal harmony. The medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue, not English. Primary education should be free and compulsory for all children and should last for at least seven years. All educational planning should be undertaken with the rural Indian masses in mind. In other words, education should not be elitist, but popular in its charter. During freedom struggle and public discourse on education, Gandhi played a significant role in emphasizing the need to universalize basic education or elementary education and Right to Education. His unrelenting pressure was responsible for the incorporation of *Universal Elementary Education* (UEE) as a constitutional goal in the form of Article-45. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) argued in favour of linking education with work which later became popular as Socially Useful Productive Work (SUPW) in schools. The National Policy on Education (1986) created two distinct streams at the secondary level-the vocational and the academic. Despite legal prescriptions and constitutional proclamations, the general

education system has become more literary, examination-oriented, memory-based, dominated by English language medium, with disdain for manual work and rural life. It is often argued that the modern formal education, due to its colonial legacy, has not succeeded in emphasizing on imbibing the context specific knowledge and skills. Gandhi once said, '*the greatest evil of the present educational system is that it has broken up the continuity of our existence*'.

II

Analysing Gandhian Thoughts and Approaches

There are differences of opinion among scholars and researchers on Gandhian ideas, work and mental make-up. Gandhi, especially during his South African stint was thoroughly influenced by Indian traditions though he tried to include various religious faiths during his later day public discourses. Despite contradicting positions taken by scholars, there was a general agreement among most of them which did not consider Gandhi as a profound traditionalist on par with religious thinkers. Subaltern historians consider Gandhi as a catalyst in synergizing two contradictory streams under the overall nationalist struggle.

According to Gandhi, an education that does not teach us to discriminate between good and evil, assimilate one and avoid the other is a misnomer. He focused on basic education regardless of children living in villages or cities. All education that is performed in a country is to promote the progress of the country. He further believed that the highest development of mind and soul is possible only through handicraft and that is why craft was a centre of education in his basic scheme of education. The child's education should begin with a useful and productive craft. It should be the center of all instruction. He synthesized three basic philosophies of education into his philosophy of education-naturalism, idealism and pragmatism. He insisted on self-discipline and believed in the inherent goodness of the child's nature. As an idealist he had a deep faith in God or the universal soul. In other words, he emphasized on the harmonious development of individual personality-spiritual, intellectual, moral and physical.

Education as Transformation

Gandhi saw education as a vital tool of social transformation - a critical trajectory to raise awareness of other cultures and communities. Gandhi's own scheme of education, basic education (*buniyaadi Shiksha/nai talim*), remains less examined and least followed in his own country. He proposed an alternate mode of education to replace colonial education which, according to him, alienated young children from the dignity of manual labour and also their surroundings. While focusing on self-reliance through hands-on training, Gandhi also emphasised the role of education to inculcate moral, social, and community values in the students. Such education must include teaching of the student's own religion as a path to seek truth and nonviolence and also to develop harmony with nature. For him education has a life long character which strives to generate harmony between knowledge and work. Gandhi was particularly focused on teaching peace to young children. *If we are to teach real peace in the world we shall have to begin with children*. He wanted *learning through activity* (in other words, *activity-based learning*) wherein a child would learn through interactive sessions and hands on experiences. Such practical learning will make a child self-reliant as also sensitive to local knowledge systems and varied socio-cultural traditions.

Non-Violent Individual and Education

Gandhian model of individual behaviour has greatest potential to bring a socio-economic order that has better potential for moving towards non-violent societies. The true aim of education according to him is enlargement and enlightenment of mind or the stimulation of the physical, intellectual and spiritual faculties of the children. A truly educated man is one who has learnt to control his passions and lead a life of restraint. Realizing the importance of developing an integrated personality of the child, Gandhi evolved the system of *Basic Education (Nai talim)* that aimed at developing not merely the qualities of head but also the qualities of heart and the hand through training in crafts. Today, there is a realization that along with science based education, there is need for value-oriented peace education at all stages learning. Also, in view of the

explosion in information technology that has affected human life in all its aspects, care will have to be taken to see that modern methods and techniques of education are adopted and utilized not only for acquiring new knowledge but also for preserving all that is good and useful in the traditional value System. Gandhi's strong belief in conserving indigenous knowledge, appropriate technology and community participation are the pillars of new education policy.

Imaging and Imagining Gandhi in Pedagogical Discourses

Gandhi is one of the most disseminated figures in Indian curricula of schools and official communication. The ideological and theoretical blue prints of the educational ideas of Gandhi stem from Ruskin's writings. Five teachers who helped Gandhi in shaping his political, social, economic, educational and religious ideas into practices were Gokhale in politics, Ruskin in education and economic thinking, Tolstoy and Thomas Thoreau in shaping strategies of *satyagraha* and disobedience, simplicity of life and bread labour, and Rajchand Ravgibhai Mehta in religious thoughts. Existing historiography till date has not been able to co-opt Gandhian ideas of *swaraj*, *khadi*, *charkha* and spinning together as the part of an alternative model for community and educational development. Gandhi's vision for regenerating India through the revival of hand-spinning both marked a substantial break from previous nationalist policy and produced a tension between those who supported village and small-scale production as the bases of community and those who viewed cities and industrialization as the foundation of India's future. Gandhi's idea was to introduce spinning into the people's life as well as the school curriculum, not as an extra-curricular activity, but rather as an experience which could give greater meaning and depth to the rest of the life cycle. He aimed to reform the system of education in a manner to reform life of masses and in the process, also provide to Indian heritage of crafts a major institutional space where new designs, techniques, relationships and visions would flourish. Mahatma took spinning as the easiest skill to link formal education with everyday life of self sufficiency and dignity fostering creativity in both.

III

Sarvodaya

The burdens of schooling in the present system are many and they are burdens that bring no delight or enlightenment. In the formation of the New Education Policy (NEP) one has to cater to two fundamental issues- the first is the conservation of humanity and the second is the conservation of resources. The conservation of humanity will address and include the study of the self, the society and the environment through the activities provided in the school campus. The conservation of resources will address and include the change in the attitude of the school as an entity from being a propagator of consumerism and competition to an enhancer of understanding the unity of life and fostering compassion and care for the weaker participants in the web of life. For this, the first step would be to approach learning through the eyes of the child. We have to take up the challenge of exposing the teachers to the thoughts of Gandhiji as the panacea to the evils that are prevailing in the society. While acknowledging the fact that the present day main stream curriculum in India has some positive features, it must be pointed out that it is not focused on the needs of Indian society. They are focused on the needs of the western world and the business needs of multinational companies who operate in mega scales. The basic requirement of such development is rapid and large scale urbanization through destruction of nature. This is in sharp contrast to Gandhiji's vision of self-sufficient villages to be achieved in *Sarvodaya* through *Nai Talim*. To save the world from self-destruction, our objective, therefore, should be to take up a wide spread campaign of *Nai Talim*, and its implementation in the spirit in which Gandhiji visualized it as his best gift to nation. This can be achieved only by an army of dedicated teachers who will understand this objective in spirit. It is therefore of utmost importance to have a teachers' training programme which will prepare teachers' mindset.

Gandhiji's Perspective of UEE

Gandhiji's *Basic Education* (*Buniyadi Shiksha* or *Nai Talim*) is a *swadeshi* model of elementary education.

He experimented with it during his Satyagraha movement. Through this experiential education work he wanted to develop an ideal, self-reliant, industrious, self-respecting cooperative society. The crux of this lay in overcoming the distinction between learning, teaching, knowledge and work. Vinoba Bhave discussed the need to redefine the relationship between teacher and students: they must regard each other as fellow workers. *Nai Talim* was conceived as a response to one of the main dialectics of modernity. Gandhi saw it as the dialectics between human being and machine (technology). In this dialectics, man represented the whole mankind, not just India, and the machine represented the industrialized west. It is for this reason, among others, that Gandhi placed such central emphasis in his pedagogy on the role of experiential learning (through handicrafts such as spinning) symbolizing the values of self-sufficiency (*swaraj*) and *swadeshi*. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of education as a foundation for life, and his efforts for *Buniyadi Shiksha* are well known. However, perhaps due to his withdrawal from political life after India's independence, little is known or documented about his influence on the text of Article 45 of the Indian Constitution adopted in 1950 which directs the state to endeavor to provide free and compulsory education.

Curriculum, Pedagogy and Indigenous Knowledge

Education not only moulds the new generation, but reflects a society's fundamental assumptions about itself and the individuals which compose it. Later in his life Gandhi was to declare that 'real freedom will come only when we free ourselves of the domination of Western education, Western culture and Western way of living which have been ingrained in us. Emancipation from this culture would mean real freedom for us'. This could be seen from his various speeches especially his address at the second round table conference where he talked in detail about the indigenous knowledge systems in pre-colonial and colonial India. He had not only rejected colonial education but also put forward a radical alternative. The core of his proposal was the introduction of productive handicrafts in the school curriculum. The idea was not simply to introduce handicrafts as a compulsory school subject, but to make the learning of a craft the centrepiece of the entire teaching programme. It implied a radical restructuring of the sociology of school knowledge in India, where productive handicrafts had been associated with the lowest groups in the hierarchy of the caste system. Knowledge of the production processes involved in crafts, such as spinning, weaving, leather-work, pottery, metal-work, basket-making and book-binding had been the monopoly of specific caste groups in the lowest stratum of the traditional social hierarchy.

Connecting Curricular Content to the Lives of Children

Education is not about information given in the text books and translated within the four walls of the classrooms in a stipulated period and reproduced in the examinations. The pedagogy is to focus and train *Head, Heart and Hand* simultaneously. Curriculum and pedagogy should facilitate and connect to the prior knowledge and experiences of the child for her/his active engagement and learning and, construct further knowledge. Making curriculum more issue-based and child-centered reflects child context and environment. It helps to sensitize the children to the larger social issues and challenges such as environmental concerns and sustainable development goals.

IV

Gandhian Ideals in Education: Socio-Economic Challenges

Gandhi suggested a comprehensive model of education aimed at human capacity to learn, think, earn and above all to be able to develop one's personality in such a way that one becomes a complete human being and also remains socially useful too. However the post independent India, having had come under the influence of the west, opted for an educational system which was contrary to his ideas. It is now faced with systemic problems that despite a fair level of economic development, Indians are faced with hunger and devastation. Along with ideas of *Swadeshi* and non-violence, Gandhi often urged people to maintain hygiene, making them aware of the threat of the diseases they were surrounded with. He discouraged people from

spitting and cleaning their nose on the streets and warned them of the spread of tuberculosis. He counselled villagers to keep away their cattle from taking bath in the water tanks meant for a source of drinking water and cooking purposes. He believed in not just talking about independence but spent much of his time making the lives of Indians in other ways as well.

Reimagining Basic Education: Lessons from Bhitiharvacluster of West Champaran, Bihar

Bihar initiated a move to revive 391 *Buniyadi Vidyalayas*, otherwise known as Basic Schools, established in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's concept of providing holistic elementary education, integrating vocational skills in the curriculum, and following pedagogy based on learning by observation, learning by doing and learning from direct interaction with nature and society. Some of these schools started much before the introduction of formal *Nai Talim* system of education proposed in 1937. One such school was set up by Gandhiji himself in the year 1917 when he had visited Champaran to study the problems of the peasantry, who had been forced by European planters to cultivate indigo against their will. During this visit, he along with Kasturba Gandhi and many other eminent freedom fighters had stayed in *Bhitiharva* and had established an ashram where they started basic health and hygiene education, which later was converted into *Buniyadi Vidyalaya*. Due to lack of systematic support to these schools during later years (after independence) they were not able to realize the objectives for which they were established. Over the years, these schools were trying to overcome several constraints including infrastructure conducive for learning ambience, shortage of teachers equipped with pedagogical skills, and design of curriculum in tune with the aspirations of children and parents. The Development Management Institute (DMI), with support of Government of Bihar, has initiated series of interventions in *Bhitiharva* cluster (13 schools) consisting of primary and middle schools with a resolve to demonstrate that (i) *Nai Talimis* are an effective pedagogical method to improve learning outcomes (ii) developing a critical mass of teachers as learning facilitators which will help in learning transformation and (iii) galvanizing the local community including parents for ensuring effective realization of learning goals and standards.

National Basic Educational Institution: The Case of Majjihira Ashram School (West Bengal)

Majjihira National Basic Educational Institution's or Majjihira Ashram School's pedagogic activities entail and incorporate Gandhian philosophy of education (*Nai Talim*). This system of education is deemed to challenge the existing poverty and illiteracy in Majjihira village of Purulia district. The location of the Ashram at a remote place houses 350 students and calls for appreciating the Ashram's efforts in inculcating experimental and innovative education for the poor people of Majjihira and surrounding villages. This school represents uniqueness in adopting Gandhiji's model of *Nai Talim* as their pedagogic tool. Majjihira Ashram Vidyalaya has adopted a work -centered education model which promises to challenge the economic and social backwardness of the society.

Envisioning Gandhi in the Draft New Education Policy

It is a matter of record that India is the youngest country of the world with an average population age of 29 years. In order to impart appropriate skills for lives and livelihood proper schooling and education is important. Many deliberations through various committees and commissions since Zakir Hussain Committee (after Wardha Conference on National Education in 1937) have culminated into various sets of recommendations for the betterment of education in India. The first National Policy on Education was put in place in 1968 and second in 1986. Latest Draft National Education Policy (DNEP) 2019 of Government of India has been placed in public domain for discussion and feedback from cross section of the society across the states of India. This reflects a healthy sign of a democratic process in policy making.

Mahatma Gandhi had a vision of National Education System, originally articulated in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*. His thought on education was decentralized and need based. Unlike DNEP 2019 Gandhi focused on lifecycle of education and life skills and, learning by doing as foundation of education. For him letters

were neither beginning nor the end. Whereas, DNEP 2019 discusses lifelong learning extensively but it focuses on reading, writing, speaking, counting, arithmetic, mathematics, logical reasoning, problem solving and creative faculties as the foundation. Moreover, centralization of regulatory authority as *RashtriyaShikshaAayog* and National Commission for Higher Education and Research are away from the spirit of federal structure of India, where states have little role to play. DNEP 2019 although has claims on many innovative prescriptions, it hardly has offered any solutions to bridge the gaps of present crises in education, i.e., teaching, learning, and training gaps. It argues for problem resolving education but fails to deliver solution for growing trust deficits and despair in modern education system.

V

Contextualizing Rural Higher Education

Gandhi's educational framework is to enable the human being to move into the track of evolution by adopting the Indian tradition of education. It is not only to the young boys and girls, but also for the whole of the society. It is a prescription to create a new social order. His framework of education or educational ideas need new institutional framework, new institutional leaders and new set of practices, processes and procedures by negating the system introduced by the British colonial administration. The new system of education would serve comprehensive process of transforming Indian society by involving stakeholders. It needs to be a comprehensive set of activities negating the framework of development of the colonial administration. Institutions which have committed themselves to implement the Gandhian framework of education have been supported at a limited level by the state machinery. Over a period of time, institutions which have been created to conduct experiments on Gandhian framework of education have been marginalised and integrated with the mainstream education system. Gandhian framework of education is relevant today to meet many of the challenges of the society at present. Educational commissions and policies on education since independence had given some thoughts to this subject and enabled the mainstream educational system to incorporate some of the elements of the Gandhian framework of education. Yet policy, institutional, procedural and financial supports have not been given to the educational institutions which are trying to experiment with the Gandhian educational ideas. The key decision makers who had been in power in the last seven decades did not show the required interest in pushing this idea into reality. For, they did not believe that it could be implemented successfully.

Ideals for Higher Education

Learning through craft and vocational skills, relation between knowledge and work, learning in holistic (multi-skill) way, education serves as the best means for lifelong character-building. *Nai Talim* educational philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi concerns itself precisely with this. A few efforts are made to partially implement some elements of *Nai Talim* philosophy in education. Majority of these efforts remain limited to primary and secondary education. Work education, Socially Useful Productive Work, activity-based education and Atal Tinkering Labs (ATL) are some of the examples. But very few efforts are made in the realm of higher education. *Nai Talim* principles were adopted symbolically than becoming core part of pedagogy. In spite of holistic vision and pedagogical significance, *Nai Talim* system of education could not become main stream of education due to various reasons. World is leading to the third industrial revolution impacting unavoidable changes in education field like the emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Machine Learning. Therefore there is need to re-orient education system to face new challenges. The higher education system will need focus on building confidence of students in problem solving, design thinking with emphasis on hands-on skills in the respective field.

Gandhian Education in Contemporary Indian Society

Ideas propounded by great thinkers and practitioners may be appreciable to a great extent, but they may require re-assessment in newer social, political and economic realities. Mahatma Gandhi's model of *NaiTalim* was itself an experiment, but it could not become an alternative model for the colonial model of education. It requires deeper investigation in relation to its adoption by masses. It has become rhetoric to

reiterate education of 3Hs or 3 Rs which looks attractive. Preachers of Gandhism did not practice the Gandhian Model of Basic Education. Similarly, the Vidyapeeths envisioned by Gandhi could not sustain Vidyapeeths. In the course of time they also became the stereotype institutions on the model of modern Indian universities founded on the model of the London University. Economic development with unjust distributive justice requires fresh appraisal of Gandhian model of social development. An objective re-look into Gandhian educational ideas is essentially required in the present socio-economic realities of India. Understanding Gandhi requires a penetrating reflection on various aspects of modernity.

Reflections on the Gaps

The 19th century and the 20th century, in the history of mankind, witnessed some of the most significant and remarkable phenomena. This period is characterized by large amounts of social changes, massive urbanization and higher levels of productivity due to the first and second industrial revolutions, profit and prosperity in general, abolition of slavery, rise and fall of some of the most powerful empires in the world etc. Along with all these, the period, particularly that of the Indian sub-continent, will always be known for the birth of some of the greatest leaders like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhism, as a way of life, is a body of ideas that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Gandhi. This encompasses what Gandhi's ideas, words and actions mean to people around the world, and how they used them for guidance in building their own future. The ideas of Gandhi on education will always remain relevant when there would be an issue of structuring educational planning and practices. The *Nai Talim* or Basic Education Scheme or *Buniyadi Talim* is one such thing that Gandhi strongly advocated for the betterment of soon-to-be-independent-India. In the present context it is pertinent to look into what was inconsistent and why the aims of education as visualized by Gandhi still remain unachieved and unfinished. There is a clear gap between the principles and practice that has remained in place since the beginning. It calls for exploring what ought to be done in the light of the proposed draft National Educational Policy-2019.

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Village Swaraj of Gandhiji : Retrospect and Prospect

Mary George

Gandhiji's dream of India is a picture of a casteless and classless society, in which there are no vertical divisions but only horizontal, no high, no low: all service has equal status and carries equal wages. According to him, the village being the decentralized small political unit endowed with fullest powers, every individual will have a direct voice in the government. The individual is the architect of his own government. The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by adult villagers posing minimum prescribed qualifications. It will have all the authority and jurisdiction. The Panchayat will be the legislature, executive and judiciary all rolled into one as there will be no system of punishment in it. Here the village swaraj works man centred, unlike the wealth centred western system. Democracy has to work from bottom not from top.

Mahatma Gandhi defines Village Swaraj as “a complete republic independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity¹. India of his dream is ‘a picture of a casteless and classless society, in which there are no vertical divisions but only horizontal, no high, no low; all service has equal status and carries equal wages’². These visions of Gandhi show that Marxian philosophy which was prevalent at that time influenced him to a certain extent which in turn was shaped by the exploitation of labour and poor in western societies. Contempt of Britons towards common man and villages in India injured his inner self. He, in the book, Village Swaraj, quoted Lionel Curtis describing Indian villages as “dung-heaps” and revealed his dream of converting them into model villages. It is seventy three years that India became independent with the ceaseless efforts of Gandhi and other freedom fighters. However, his dream “model village” continues to be a far-off dream. With a view to achieving democratic decentralization, India introduced 72nd and 73rd Constitutional Amendments and marched forward with devolving power to the local level. Decentralization to the 3rd tier appears to make eminent sense in the Indian context of diverse ethnic groups and languages. Despite Gandhi's commitments to village governments, the first draft of the Indian Constitution did not make any provision for Panchayats. But in 1957, the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee recommended democratic decentralization by setting up Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), and devolving the necessary resources, powers and authority to them. At the block level, these Institutions were to ensure proximity to people and economies of scale, and a focus on functions such as rural development and services such as drinking water etc. Much later, in September 1991, the Congress Government introduced the 72nd (Panchayats) and 73rd (Nagarapalika) Constitutional Amendment Bills, and finally on April 24, 1993 the Constitutional Amendment formally came into force after rectification by more than half of the State Assemblies. When both houses of the Parliament passed the bills the sequence of the bills changed to the 73rd and 74th Amendment respectively³. However, more than seventeen years of democratic decentralization could not make far reaching advancement in village *Swaraj* even though powers, functions and finances were devolved to them. During the past seventy three years India underwent sweeping changes socially, culturally, politically and economically. In the economic front, from the much discussed hindu rate of growth (Raj Krishna), she could realise up to 9% annual rate of growth. India also went through green revolution, white revolution, IT revolution and are moving with digital revolution. Yet, India could not transform her villages to the “model village” of Gandhiji. Let us examine Gandhiji's ‘*Village Swaraj*’ in detail and compare it with the modern under currents of democracy and decentralization.

Villages in a Village Swaraj

"I am convinced that if India is to attain the freedom and through India the world also, then sooner or later the fact must be recognised that people will have to live in villages, not in towns, in huts, not in palaces. Crores of people will never be able to live at peace with each other in towns and palaces. They will then have no resources but to resort to both violence and untruth⁴".

Gandhi found *charkha*, simple and truthful life, and non violence as the basis for lasting freedom, growth and development. Yet Gandhi wrote; "I must not fear if the world today is going the wrong way. It may be that India too will go that way and like the proverbial moth burn itself eventually in the flame round which it dances more and more fiercely. But it is my bounden duty up to my last breath to try to protect India and through India the entire world from such a doom⁵".

God is "Truth"

Gandhiji had doubts about consistency in his own thoughts and writings. Hence he wrote "what I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth my God, from moment to moment, and therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose, the later of the two on the same subject."⁶ "True democracy", according to Gandhiji, cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. Instead, it has to be worked from below by the people of every village". As per his norms, the village being the decentralized small political unit endowed with fullest powers, every individual will have a direct voice in the government. The individual is the architect of his own government. The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by adult villagers posing minimum prescribed qualifications. It will have all the authority and jurisdiction. The Panchayat will be the legislature, executive and judiciary all rolled into one as there will be no system of punishment in it. Here the village *swaraj* works man centred, unlike the wealth centred western system. Democracy has to work from bottom not from top.

Features of his Village Swaraj

1. Full Employment which means everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make both ends meet. He repeated his view that India is not to be found in its few cities but in its 7,00,000 villages (p.26). He found real planning in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India.

2. Body labour - A person who does not do any body labour has no right to eat. He quoted the Bible "Earn the bread by the sweat of the brow". Intellectual works is important, but it has to be supplemented by physical work to keep the body and soul fit.

3. Equality - Gandhiji's intention had been to bring about equal distribution. But as it is found to be difficult to realise, he stands for equitable distribution.

4. Trusteeship - According to Gandhiji, equal distribution, (if not possible equitable) must come from trusteeship. A wealthy person should not possess a rupee more than his neighbours. Thus when all give up more than what each has, equitable distribution in a non-violent way is possible. But in the present world, it is not on trusteeship but to get tax exemptions or other undue advantages that wealthy give up something. Even Corporate Social Responsibility expenditures are undertaken with a view to making further wealth. For example, various types of educational institutions owned by corporates as a part of CSR are all profit motivated. Some exemptions may be there like Bill Gates. In a press meet, media asked Bill Gates "what are you going to do with your riches" (for many years, he is the richest as per rating agencies!). He replied "I have no use for money. I will give all the riches to the world's poor". What about your children? Media probed further. Bill replied "they are given best education, and they too have hands and head as I have. Let them make money". This answer may be likened to the principle of trusteeship of Gandhiji.

5. Decentralization - Gandhi wrote "you cannot build non-violence on a factory civilization, but it can

be built on self contained villages. Rural economy eschews exploitation altogether, and exploitation is the essence of violence. (p.39)”

6. *Swadeshi* according to Gandhiji is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of self-less service that has its roots in the purest Ahimsa, i.e, love (p.40)”

7. Self-sufficiency upholds self-sufficiency in food, clothing and shelter. Abhijit Banerjee (2011) ‘the Nobel Laureate for economics’, 2019 found that in India, more than three fourths of the population live in households whose per capita calorie consumption is less than 2,100 calories in urban areas and 2,400 in rural areas - numbers that are often cited as “minimum requirements” for individuals engaged in manual labour.⁷ Banerjee further observes that richer people eat more than poorer people. According to the American Centre for Disease Control, the average American male consumed 2,475 calories per day in 2000. From randomised control trials, his team found that at all levels of income, the share of it devoted to food has declined. Moreover, the composition of the food basket has changed, so that the same amount of money is now spent on more expensive edibles. To corroborate this Jensen and Miller (2011) noted “flight to quality” in food consumption when food subsidy is given to poor in China. Households that received subsidies for rice or wheat consumed less of those two items and ate more shrimp and meat⁸. However, the situation is different during natural or man-made disasters or in famines that kill and weaken millions. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen rightly points out that “most recent famines have been caused not by lack of food availability but by institutional failures that led to poor distribution of the available food, or even hoarding and storage in the face of starvation else where”⁹.

Efficient allocation of resources leads to large scale production and if everybody is paid according to the contribution that each one makes, self-sufficiency will be reached. Banerjee in his research in the global platform found corruption or simple dereliction of duty creates massive inefficiencies. If teachers or nurses do not come to work, no education or health policy can really be implemented. If truck drivers can pay a small bribe to drive massively over loaded trucks, billions of dollars will be wasted in building road that will be destroyed under their wheels.

Health and education policies are very often irrelevant and poorly funded. R & D expenses are abysmally low. When China spends 4% to 6% of GDP on health and education and 3% to 5% on Research and Development (R&D). India, with the new National Health and Education policies, wide opened and privatised these sectors forgetting the fact that merit goods are to be provided by government so that the downtrodden are provided with quality education and healthcare. These two are merit goods and provision of them in a democratic country like India is a basic responsibility of the government. Though school enrolment in India has risen in leaps and bounds during the past two decades and is close to Universal at the elementary level, quality of schooling is low in general and particularly low in schools attended by under privileged children. Jean Dreze (2016) admonished that “the low quality of schooling in India is a monumental injustice. Millions of children who have the ability to become doctors, engineers or artists are more likely to end up making bricks or pulling a rickshaw for want of a decent education”.¹⁰

Ramachandra Guha (2016) examines the poor treatment of Adivasis in India. According to him “from the perspective of Indian democracy, what unities the Adivasis across the country is not their cultural tract of treating their women better than caste Hindus or ecological distinctiveness, but their economic and social disadvantage”¹¹.

Arup Maharatna (2006) found that in conventional indicators of development, the Adivasis are even worse off than the Dalits. He found that the literacy rate of Adivasis is, at 23.8%, considerably lower than that of Dalits, which stands at 30.1%. Dropout rate of Adivasi school children is 62.5% while that of the Dalits is 49.4%. When 49.5% of Adivasis live below poverty line, the proportion of Dalits is 41.5%. With respect of health facilities too, the Adivasis are more vulnerable.

When 28.9% of Adivasis have no clinic facility only 15.8% of Dalits do not have it. When 42.2% Tribal

children are immunised, 57.6% of Dalits children immunised. Further, when 43.2% Tribals have access to safe drinking water, 63.6% Dalits have it. Of course a true democracy of Gandhi's life is expected to provide all these basic necessities without fail.¹²

A high powered committee chaired by Dhabar and assisted by Parliamentarians in 1961, reported that "land alienation, the denial of forest rights and the displacement by development projects are among the major problems facing the Adivasis."¹³

Thorat et.al (2005) highlighted the story of Kalpana, a second standard student of a government school located in the dominant caste quarters of Kamlaputhur village in Tamil Nadu. She was denied mid day meal and chased out of school when she tried to participate with the rest of the students. The reason was that she was a dalit, while her classmates were from dominant castes. Another example is noted from Bihar very near to the capital city. The government public distribution system's fair price shop owners belonging to the dominant castes, do not distribute goods to *dalit* customers until, they have hung cloth screens to 'Protect' themselves from the polluting presence of the 'untouchables'. These and many such findings of Thorat and his co-author is based on the extensive studies (2003) conducted by Indian Institution of *Dalit* Studies (IIDS).¹⁴ Thorat reports four forms of discriminatory practices that compromise Dalit's access to PDS- discrimination in quantity, discrimination in price, caste based favouritism by the PDS dealer and practices of "untouchability" by the PDS dealer.

Over the past two decades Indian economy was growing faster than the preceding decades. At the same time research studies show that inequality in the distribution of income and wealth have also increased. Tendulkar (2010) analysed this inequality factor as a failure of social policy while he was working to identify poverty population. He found that economists commonly agree with the fact that there is a trade-off between growth and equity: increasing inequality is seen as a necessary concomitant - if not an actual contributor - to economic growth and efforts to curb inequality are seen as likely to retard the pace of growth and there by impede the effort to reduce poverty.¹⁵

However WeissKopf (2011) does not agree with this argument on many grounds. According to him where as poverty involves absolute deprivation in terms of economic resources such as income wealth and access to public services, economic inequality involves relative deprivation - ie., where one stands in relation to others in one's society."¹⁶ Absolute deprivation would be prevented, if 'trickle down' principle of classical growth assumptions work. Under the liberalization, privatization, globalisation era, India could attain 8% to 9% GDP growth in 2000's. But absolute deprivation has increased. This is what Tendulkar points out.

According to Village Swaraj of Gandhi, body labour is the first and foremost source of daily bread. But when pandemic driven job losses became rampant, IMF found that 40 crores of people lost their jobs in India. This shows that if an unusual situation arises, there is no guarantee for body labour and daily bread for several millions. Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy in April 2020, came out with the report, that over 122 million people in India are rendered jobless. Around 75% of them were small traders and wage labourers. Most important thing to note is that CMIE survey does not cover most of the self employed. In spite of that unemployment rate in cities was 30% and in rural side 20.1% thanks to agriculture which was only partly affected by the pandemic.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Programme is the first line of defence of the poor for livelihood. Revised MGNREGP wage of Rs. 202 per day is, however well below the 'decent pay' norm of International Labour Organization. It is with this wage that millions of MGNREGP Workers and their family make both ends meet. Remember that before the attack of Covid-19, 7.6 crore families held active job cards. During Covid-19 period 8 crore migrant workers were also provided with job cards. This shows that 15.6 crore families are expected to live on this meagre income, that too only for one hundred days. Social activists have demanded to raise MGNREGP work days to 200 from 100.

Women Worker's Trauma

Madhura Swaminathan (2020) reports that “while the lockdown reduced employment in agriculture and allied activities and brought almost all non-agricultural employment to a standstill, the burden of care work mounted. With all members of the family at home, and children out of school, the tasks of cooking, cleaning, child care and elderly care became more onerous. Managing household tasks and provisioning in a situation of reduced income and tightening budgets will have long-term effects on women’s physical and mental health. The already high level of malnutrition among rural women is likely to have exacerbated as households cope with reduced food intake.”¹⁷ Woman’s position in the patriarchal ecosystem of India had been pathetic all throughout. Amartya Sen points out six distinct faces of gender inequality, which are:

1. Survival inequality which indicates unequal treatment of infants sex-wise and the consequent higher mortality of baby girl
2. Natality inequality which shed light on the horrific sex-specific abortion
3. Unequal facilities, say for example, higher capital investment in the health and education of male children.
4. Ownership inequality, where women rarely enjoy ownership rights of any property or income. Even the salary she earns is kept in the common account of herself and her husband, not in her personal account. When parents give her share of property at the time of marriage, then too, is given in joint account.
5. Unequal sharing of household benefits and responsibilities. Responsibilities are her share and benefits are his.
6. Domestic violence and physical victimisation.

Amartya Sen refers to the terrible phenomenon of excess mortality and artificially lower survival rates of women in many parts of the world. He observes that there is much evidence that women are “hardier” than men and, given symmetrical care, survive better. (Indeed, it appears that even female foetuses have a higher survival rate than do the male foetus; the proportion of male foetuses in conception is even higher than that in birth).¹⁸ The artificially higher mortality rates of women reflect a very important capability deprivation of women.

Political and Economic Democracy with Village Swaraj

In the Directive Principles of States Policy of the Constitution Ambedkar embodied economic democracy as one of the chief objectives. In the words of Ambedkar “our object in framing the constitution is really two-fold:

1. To lay down the form of political democracy and
2. To lay down that our ideal is economic democracy and also to prescribe that every government whatever is in power shall strive to bring about economic democracy. The Directive Principles have a great value, for they lay down that our ideal is economic democracy.¹⁹

However, in course of time, Indian democracy failed to grow up to the expectation of either our Constitution or village Swaraj of Gandhi. Jean Dreze (2016) observed that Indian democracy is trapped in a vicious circle of exclusion and elitism. Because under privileged sections of the population are excluded from active participation in democratic politics, their aspirations and priorities are not reflected in public policy. The elitist orientation of public policy, in turn, perpetuates the deprivations (poverty, hunger, illiteracy, discrimination etc) that disempower people and prevent them from participating in democratic politics.²⁰

Amartya Sen rightly puts “health, education and skill development gives a citizen to choose the job and life he wanted to pursue.”²¹ Substantive and instrumental freedom that sen accredits are enjoyed by the

population only when sufficient investment in health and education are coming out from the part of the government. But in India Budget 2019-20 and 1920-21 set apart less than 2% of GDP each on both.

Equality of Religion of Gandhi and the Secular India

Gandhi wrote "every religion has its full and equal place. We are all leaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off its roots which are deep down in the bowels of the earth. The mightiest winds cannot move it."²² Father of the nation, while writing down the real images of his religious thinking, that all religions, at the end, reach to one and the same end, that India is a melting pot of all religions, never thought that India will grow to secular fundamentalism, with 'bhoomi puja' to construct a temple at a place where a mosque was destroyed.

It is because of the great secular heritage of India, that Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of a secular nation refused to involve his Government in the rebuilding of the Somanath Temple, despite the championing of that cause by his indispensable companion Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Nehru also refused permission to President Rajendra Prasad to attend the opening of the re-built temple as the head of a secular state. "Now we have the spectacle of the Prime Minister of still allegedly secular India attending the *bhoomi puja* and are afraid of raising our voice."²³

Equality of Gandhi - a Mirage

Gandhi's equality means "equal distribution where each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more" (p.49). Similarly, his concept of trusteeship leads us to the need of redistribution of wealth and income, either voluntarily or through legal measures like direct and indirect taxes, fees, fines etc. But governments in India, fails to raise Revenue / GDP ratio as well as tax / GDP ratio. Governments fail to catch elusive tax payers. Arun Kumar (The Hindu), reports that the top 10% of Indians earned 55% of the nations incomes. If these people are brought under income tax net and they paid their taxes honestly, at current tax rates, income tax to GDP ratio alone would have been about 18%. Add to that the collection from other direct taxes, like corporate tax and the figure would be more than 20%. The figure of 55% does not take into account the black income generation in the country. Clearly a lot of taxes are not paid out of white income and none from the black incomes."²⁴ Complicated and opaque tax laws, inefficient tax administration, dishonest people are all part of this trauma. Therefore, after the introduction of goods and services tax and after bringing transparency in direct tax laws the number of tax filers has increased but the number of tax payers has dropped. Direct tax GDP ratio stagnates at 5.5%.

In short, 'truth is god' according to Gandhi, but for the 'Yogi Indians, god is a slogan to exploit the minority communities in India. Similarly, as Lapierre et al observe "Gandhi's countrymen proved no less susceptible to the lures of technology and industrial progress than any other people. As he had feared they would in the last year of his life, his heirs turned their backs on his message. India chose to pursue the twentieth century's criteria of power and success, the development of a strong industrial society instead of following the course Gandhi had tried to indicate with his spinning wheel. Central planning, growth rate, basic industry, infrastructure, the take-off point, the revolution of rising expectations, the common language of a world yearning for material progress, become the vocabulary of an independent India's first generation of leaders. The interest of her half- million villages in which Gandhi proclaimed her salvation lay were subordinated to those of her towns and cities, slowly filling with the great industrial complexes for which Gandhi's successors yearned."²⁵ India, plagued by recurrent famines under colonial rule, has become a net exporter of foodstuffs and a major industrial power in Asia, achievements in which Indians take justifiable pride

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'Hind Swaraj' A Prelude to Gandhian Way: A Critical Appraisal

N. Gopakumaran Nair

Gandhi expressed his political ideas in several of his speeches and writings, the most notable of which is the booklet, 'Hind Swaraj', which he wrote in Gujarati on board S.S. Kildonan Castle during his return voyage from London to South Africa in 1909. It was first published in two parts in Indian Opinion, a weekly edited and published by Gandhi and it refers to Indian anarchists living in London. The Indian anarchists stood for using terrorist methods against the foreign rulers of India. Once freed from foreign rule, India, according to the anarchists, was to pursue the same Western model of modernity. Gandhi's objective in writing Hind Swaraj was to condemn both the cult of violence and the claims of superiority of modern civilisation.

What is the most curious thing about the text 'Hind Swaraj'? While writing this book Gandhi was waging a struggle against South African Government. He continued the mission next four years after the book was published. The text has no reference to South Africa and the activities he pursued there. Instead, it is about what India should be like when Home Rule or *Swaraj* is attained, and what should be the methods to gain that end. This when critics after critics argued that Gandhi was ordained in South Africa and 'Hind Swaraj' is the crystallization of his many faceted ideological developments there.

Hind Swaraj is Gandhi's main ideological work. It is a key to his thought. In it Gandhi presents an alternative way of life based on human values, ethics and spirituality. 'Hind Swaraj' was a short volume/book/pamphlet in Gujarati written by Gandhi, in fact alternatively with both his hands, during his voyage from England to South Africa on board 'The Kildonan Castle' in November 1909. Of the twenty chapters, the first twelve got published in South Africa in the 'Indian Opinion' on 11 December 1909 and the remaining ones on 18 December. The book however was banned by the government/ state of Bombay on 4 March 1910. The English translation was published by the Phoenix Ashram Press with a preface/ an introduction/a foreword by Gandhi in 1910. Gandhi's political manifesto declared that the real swaraj could only be achieved by bringing about a regeneration of Indian society through its own indigenous resources and in tune with its people's cultural ethos.

The aim of Hind Swaraj was to answer the anarchists with an alternative to violence derived from Gandhiji's earliest experiments with satyagraha. Equally important is the book's concern with the concept from which it takes its title: this is Gandhi's first extensive statement on Swaraj, and the ideas on it which he sets forth there provided the basis for much of his future thinking on the meaning of freedom. 'Hind Swaraj', then, is a statement of both the method and the goal of Gandhiji's thought: Satyagraha and Swaraj.

Hind Swaraj takes the form of a dialogue between "Reader" and "Editor". The former argues, with haste and rashness, terrorist ideas; the latter presents Gandhi's own case. Gandhi emphasized dialogue as a form of discovering truth. It implies openness between moral equals. Dialogues open up various possibilities. It facilitates both the individual and democratic growth. According to Gandhi, "Through open dialogue, people not only test their ideas, they also learn, and in the process, advance in tolerance and non-violence (Iyer1973:314) . At the outset, the Editor appears on the defensive; gradually and patiently he subdues the anarchist's storm; and the Reader yields, not only to superior reasoning but to the force and novelty of an alternative which seems more revolutionary than his own position. As a statement of political thought, Hind Swaraj has considerable limitations: it is a brief political tract more than a logical development of a serious

and measured argument; written hastily, in less than ten days, it suffers from occasional disjointedness and egregious overstatement. Yet one finds the essence of Gandhi's political and social philosophy in it; and he could write in 1938, "After the stormy thirty years through which I have since passed I have seen nothing to make me alter the view expounded in it".

The book opens with the Reader's attack upon the Indian Congress as "an instrument for perpetuating British rule"; Moderates like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopalakrishna Gokhale are indicted as unworthy "friends of the English". Gandhi rises to their defense: he insists that they, along with Englishmen like Hume and Wedderburn, deserve India's respect for their selflessness and for preparing the foundations of Indian Home Rule.

The salient features of Hind Swaraj are:

1. This book is a severe condemnation of 'modern civilization' which has made people idle, unhealthy, and irreligious and enslaved by the temptation of money.
2. It teaches the gospel of love in place of hatred.
3. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice.
4. It pits soul-force against brute-force.
5. In the book, Gandhiji refutes the arguments of an imaginary reader that India is not a nation and that it cannot achieve Swaraj through soul-force.
6. The book contains the ultimate logical conclusion of the acceptance of the twin principles of Truth and Nonviolence.
7. The book asserts: 'The English have not taken India; we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them.' In this book, Gandhiji holds Indians and not the Englishmen responsible for its plight.
8. The book severely condemns Railways, Lawyers and Doctors.
9. The book deals, in one of its chapters, with Hindu-Muslim relationship. It concludes that if everyone will try to understand the core of his own religion and adheres to it, and will not allow false teachers to dictate him, there will be no room for quarrelling.
10. According to it, machinery should go.

Throughout Hind Swaraj one feels that politics plays a subsidiary role as it was to do throughout the rest of Gandhiji's life, though he became one of the best known political figures of the twentieth century. Hind Swaraj was the significant declaration of a man who had found his mission in life. An important part of Gandhiji's mission was to teach that political freedom without the moral awakening of each individual member of the nation would be of no avail. Swaraj means 'self-rule'; every man must learn how to rule himself. 'Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved, and it will be free with our freedom,' Gandhiji argued. For him swaraj means more than mere political independence and it aims at India's spiritual liberation through a fundamental change in each individual's moral perception.

Means and End: "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree".

"I am not likely to obtain the result flowing from the worship of God by taxing myself prostrate before Satan.....We reap exactly what we sow.If I want to deprive you of your watch, I shall certainly have to fight for it; if I want to buy your watch, I shall have to pay you for it; and if I want a gift, I shall have to plead for it; and, according to the means I employ, the watch is stolen property, my own property, or a donation. Thus we see three different results from three different means. Will you still say that means do not matter?"

Passive Resistance: Gandhi's personal political connections in India were mainly with the Moderates.

In *Hind Swaraj* he mentions the works of Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C Dutt, whom he admired for showing how India had lost wealth and become impoverished through British rule. He mentions or cites no Extremist writer. On the other hand, he praises Gokhale for his 'pure motives' and 'devotion to the Motherland'. The Moderates were looking forward to a gradual, step-by-step constitutional development, to be attained through petitions and persuasion. Moderate leader Gokhale was his professed political Guru. But for one thing he parted ways with the bulk of Moderates as he was interested in pushing Passive Resistance as the major means of attaining *Swaraj*. Yet, he was insistent that violence of any kind had no place in the struggle, for ends could not be separated from means.

Gandhi had stated, "The fact is that, in India, the nation at large has generally used passive resistance in all departments of life. We cease to cooperate with them when they displease us." (*Hind Swaraj*: Chapter XVII). Such instances are in abundance in Pre-British history.

If the story of the universe had commenced with wars, not a man would have been found alive today. He says that, "Two kinds of force can back petitions. 'We will hurt you if you do not give', this is one kind of force; it is the force of arms whose evil results we have already examined. The second kind of force can thus be stated: 'If you do not concede our demands we will no longer be your petitioners. You can govern us only so long as we remain the governed; we shall no longer have any dealings with you' The force implied in this may be described as love-force, soul-force or, more popularly but less accurately, as passive resistance". Ibid: (p.96)

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. Therefore, the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that, in spite of the wars of the world, it still lives on. He further states that "After a great deal of experience it seems to me that those who want to become passive resisters for the service of the country have to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth and cultivate fearlessness". Ibid: (P.96)

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering: it is the reverse of resistance by arms, It (soul-force) involves sacrifice of self. Brute-force is not natural to Indian soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal. So long as the superstition that men should obey unjust laws which exist, so long will their slavery exist. And a passive resister alone can remove such a superstition. A man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister. A true man disregard unjust commands.

Real Home Rule is possible only when passive resistance is the guiding force of the people. Any other rule is foreign rule. Chastity is one of the greatest disciplines without which the mind cannot attain requisite firmness. Passive resistance has been described as truth-force. Truth, therefore, has necessarily to be followed and that at any cost. Passive resistance cannot proceed a step without fearlessness.

Education: What he has to say on education, "What is the meaning of education? If it simply means a knowledge of letters, it is merely an instrument and an instrument may be well used or abused (p.100). It now follows that it is not necessary to make education compulsory. Our ancient school system is enough. Character building has the first place in it and that is [the real] primary education. Ibid: (pp.102-03). The Mullas, [the Parsi] Dasturs and Brahmins hold the key in their hands, but, if they will not have the good sense, the energy we have derived from English education will have to be devoted to religious education". Ibid: (p.106) .

Gandhi argued that modern civilization transmits its ideas through the written word, and therefore he was not enthusiastic about making primary education, i.e, instruction in reading and writing, compulsory for all children, which his professed guru Gokhale was so insistent about. On the other hand, he wanted the old traditional schools to be revived, and called on Muslim mullas, Parsi priests

and Brahmans to undertake the needed educational effort, so that 'English education' could be replaced by 'religious education'.

He exhorts that people should abandon the pretension of learning many sciences. Religious, that is ethical, education will occupy the first place.

"...the energy that we have derived from English education will have to be devoted to religious education.... In order to restore India to its pristine condition; we have to return to it. In our own civilization there will naturally be progress, retrogression, reforms, and reactions; but one effort is required, and that is to drive out Western civilization. All else will follow".

Machinery

"Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin. It may be considered a heresy but I am bound to say that it were better for us to send money to Manchester and to use flimsy Manchester cloth than to multiply mills in India" *ibid*: (107-08). "Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. If, instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil, it would ultimately go". Any sense of gratitude to Britain for its modern gifts like railways and telegraph is also absent in the text. He consistently argued that the machine should never be a substitute for man: it should only assist man. The machine culture enslaved the western man. He states that purchasing cloth from Manchester Indians need to pay only money but for installing machines here Indians would have to pay in terms of blood. He identified modern machinery with violence.

Religious Harmony: "Editor:Religion is dear to me and my complaint is that India is becoming irreligious. Here I am not thinking of the Hindu, the Mahomedan or the Zoroastrian religion, but of that religion which underlies all religions. We are turning away from God". *Ibid*: (p.42)

Generally speaking it should be noted that many Hindus partake of meat and are not, therefore, followers of Ahimsa. It is, therefore, preposterous to suggest that the two (Hindus and Mahomedans) cannot live together amicably because, the Hindus believe in Ahimsa and the Mahomedans do not. *India is a multi-religious nation*.

He says that, "India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it...If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by the Hindus they are living in a dreamland. The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsees and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms, nor has it been so in India". *Ibid*: (pp.52-53).

Those who do not wish to misunderstand things may read up the Koran, and they will find therein hundreds of passages acceptable to the Hindus; and the Bhagvadgita contains passages to which not a Mahomedan can take exception. If everyone will try to understand the core of his own religion and adhere to it, and will not allow false teachers to dictate to him, there will be no room left for quarrelling.

Concessions to Muslims in Morley-Minto Reforms

"There is mutual distrust between the two communities. The Mahomedans, therefore, ask for certain concessions from Lord Morley. Why should the Hindus oppose this? If the Hindus desisted [from their opposition], the Mahomedans would gradually begin to trust the Hindus, and brotherliness would be the outcome. We should be ashamed to take our quarrels to the English". *Ibid*: (p.57) "It is a mark of wisdom not to kick away the very step from which we have risen higher. The removal of a step from a staircase brings down the whole of it". His insistence on India being a multi-religious nation and approval of concessions to Muslims under the Morley-Minto reforms were more in line with Gokhale's thought than with the positions taken by the Extremists.

Parliament

Gandhiji strongly held that swaraj means more than political independence; it meant a spiritual liberation through a fundamental change in each individual's moral perception. And he knew this could hardly be achieved by legislative reforms. He says: "You have well drawn the picture of India when it gets self-government. In essence it means this that we want English rule without the English man. You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, you would make India English and when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan This is not the Swaraj that I want. Ibid; (p.28)... Parliaments are really emblems of slavery". Ibid: (p.38)

"If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined. That Parliament has not yet, of its own accord, done a single good thing. Hence I have compared it to a sterile woman. The natural condition of that Parliament is such that without outside pressure, it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute, because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time. Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. Parliament is without a real master. Under the Prime Minister, its movement is not steady but it is buffeted about like a prostitute. The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power than about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. His care is not always that Parliament shall do right. Prime Ministers are known to have made Parliament do things merely for party advantage. All this is worth thinking over". Ibid: (p.38)

Gandhi argued that Britain had seduced India into selling its demonic spirit of modern civilization which permeated the false charms of parliamentary democracy. He distinguished between state and society: that of spiritual moral fabric of Indian society and violent and corrupt nature of British state. He used harsh words against western parliamentary system, which was termed as brute force, whereas, in ancient Indian society, which he idealized, where the kings and swords were inferior to ethics.

Gandhi unveiled the contradiction between the affirmation of the freedom of the individual in the private domain of morality and its repression in the public as well as the political domain. He, instead, envisioned a state through swaraj, which he means a participatory democracy combining self- rule and self – restraint, by integrating politics and morality through the satyagraha process of socio-political action.

Modern Civilization

The other context in which the arguments of *Hind Swaraj* were framed originated in a trend of European thought in which India hitherto had no place. This comprised a series of critiques of the modern capitalist and imperialist civilization. While examining the nature of colonialism he went to the root of the problem. He understood that the real problem lies in modern civilization which is inherently violent. According to him India is too ethical to adopt a violent non-ethical, and exploitative modern civilization which British colonialism bestowed upon it.

"Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty.... If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers have shown, has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is, as it should be....We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our heart after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre". Ibid: (pp.67-69)

In 'Hind Swaraj' he makes the following pertinent comments:

"... Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion. Now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy".

"... Formerly, people had two or three meals consisting of home-made bread and vegetables; now, they require St 'mailing to eat every two hours so that they have hardly leisure for anything else".

“...This (modern) civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach religion....immorality is taught in the name of morality... This Civilization is irreligion... This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self destroyed.... we keep the English in India for our base self-interest. We like their commerce. They please us by their subtle methods and get what they want from us.... They wish to convert the whole world into a vast market for their goods.... It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground down, not under the English heel, but under that of modern civilization.....The true inwardness of the evils of civilization you will understand with difficulty. Doctors assure us that a consumptive clings to life even when he is about to die. Consumption does not produce apparent hurt-it even produces a seductive colour about a patient’s face so as to induce the belief that all is well. Civilization is such a disease and we have to be very wary.... Good travels at a snail’s pace.... Those who want to do well are not selfish. They are not in a hurry, they know that to impregnate people with good requires a long time. But evil has wings.... It is wrong to consider that courts are established for the benefit of the people. Those who want to perpetuate their power do so through the courts. If people were to settle their own quarrels, a third party would not be able to exercise any authority over them.....Surely, the decision of a third party is not always right. The parties alone know who is right. We, in our simplicity and ignorance, imagine that a stranger, by taking our money, gives us justice.... The fact remains that the doctors induce us to indulge, and the result is that we have become deprived of self-control and have become effeminate”.

A right form of civilization, Gandhiji concludes in Hind Swaraj, 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 mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means ‘good conduct’. In striving to build this civilization, Indians will not only construct a free nation, they will come to realize swaraj within themselves. For just as a free civilization demands mastery over our mind and our passions, so freedom for the individual consists of each person establishing rule over himself, mastery of his mind and passions. “If we become free, India is free”. And in this thought you have a definition of Swaraj. It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands.... but such Swaraj has to be experienced by each one for himself - this is the core of Gandhiji’s idea of freedom. He reiterates it at the end of Hind Swaraj: “Real home- rule is self-rule or self control”.

The following are some of the catchy statements in the Text:

- It is worth considering why we take up the profession of medicine. It is certainly not taken up for the purpose of serving humanity. We become doctors so that we may obtain honours and riches.... Doctors make a show of their knowledge, and charge exorbitant fees.
- We have to learn, and to teach others, that we do not want the tyranny of either English rule or Indian rule.
- Indian civilization is the best and.... the European is a nine days wonder.
- Impoverished India can become free, but it will be hard for any India made rich through immorality to regain its freedom.
- Money renders a man helpless. The other thing, which is equally harmful, is sexual vice. Both are poison.

During the Non-cooperation movement, the pro-British people accused Gandhi for creating a wedge to spoil national unity by citing his statements in ‘Hind Swaraj’. In his rejoinder he made the following categorical statement, “I want to make it clear that I am not a hater of the west. I am thankful to the west many a thing I have learnt from western literature. What is that modern civilization? It is the worship of the material, it is the worship of the brute in us- it is the unadulterated materialism and western civilization is nothing if it does not think at every step of the triumph of material civilization”(CWMG;Vol:19; 266).

The most significant aspect of Gandhi's commentary is his severe critique of western civilization. Unlike his predecessors and contemporaries who eulogized the progressive west, he showed them its irreligiosity, barbarism and violence. One could not understand Gandhi without moral principle. This very strong moral principle enabled him develop a critique of entire edifice of Western society, its instrumental science and technology, its craving for luxury, its education and its medicine.

What is his stake on secularism, a byproduct of Western modernity? "The tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, and that of the western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless; the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to the mother's breast" (Hind Swaraj:p57). Here, he speaks of spiritualized religion and its possibilities. It also reflected the necessity of retaining India's uniqueness as a religious society not totally carried away by secular modernity. Secular scholars like Achin Vanaik and Sumit Sarkar critiqued the anti-secularists and postmodernists for their giving undue importance to religion and thereby tending to legitimize communalism. Countering their apprehension, Dipesh Chakraborty seeks to explore why the hyper-rationalism of the project of modernity which many militant secularists inherited, fails to comprehend the significance of popular religiosity. He observes, "Ours are culture rich in these elements. Gandhi, Tagore and a host of other nationalists have shown by their examples what tremendous creative energies these elements could unleash in us when mobilized for the purpose of fabricating new forms of life" (Chakraborty:p.7515). What the secularists as well as the communalists do not realize is that where as Gandhi sought to spiritualize politics ,the communalists allowed the instrumental rationale of politics to rob religion of its spiritual mission.

Women in modern civilization:

"This [modern western] civilization is irreligious and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad... Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets, or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance half a million women in England alone are laboring under trying circumstances in factories or similar institutions. This awful fact is one of the causes of the growing suffragette [women's suffrage] movement" (Hind Swaraj; p.37). He attacks the freedom given to women, who should just be 'queens of households' rather than wander about on the roads and work in factories. His own major endeavours in the social sphere were to lie mainly in the fight against untouchability and for women's rights as equals- matters absent in 'Hind Swaraj'.

Many critics argue that Gandhi's struggle after his final return to his homeland in 1915 constituted a refutation of much of his own vision of old India as laid out in 'Hind Swaraj'.

Social Evils

"Reader: It would be all right, if India was exactly as you have described it, but it is also India, where there are hundreds of child widows, where two-year old babies are married, where twelve-year old girls are mothers and house-wives, where women practice polyandry, where the practice of Niyog [permitted practice of intercourse with childless widow or wife of another] obtains, where there in the name of religion girls dedicate themselves to prostitution and where, in the name of religion, sheeps and goats are killed.... Editor: You make a mistake. The defects you have shown are defects. Nobody mistakes them for ancient civilization. They remain in spite of it. Attempts have always been made and will be made to remove them. We may utilize the new spirit that is born in us for purging ourselves of these evils". Ibid: (pp.70-71)

Rejection of Violence

"Editor:... Let us first take the argument that we are justified in gaining our end by using brute force, because the English gained theirs by using similar means...but, by using similar means we can get only the same thing they got. You will admit that we do not want that. Your belief that there is no connection between

the means and the end is a great mistake. Through that mistake even men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes". Ibid: (pp.80-81)

The Three Evils Brought by British Rule

"Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country, so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined" Ibid; (p.47). Modern medicine is an important domain most proponents of modernity are very proud of which according to Gandhi promotes undue indulgence, "We notice the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants. The more we indulge in our passions, the more unbridled they become" ibid: p55).

The Path "1. Real home rule is self-rule or self-control. 2. The way to it is passive resistance that is soul-force or love-force. 3. In order to exert this force, Swadeshi in every sense is necessary" ibid: (p.118).

The text was the product of a disturbed/troubled/distressed mind. He ventured to write such a book out of great distress. *Hind Swaraj* was Gandhi's answer to all those who insisted on violent means to India's freedom like Taraknath Das, Syamji Krishna Varma and V. D. Savarkar. Gandhi resorted to reading, reflection and fruitful interaction [with as many Indians as he could] to formulate his ideas. For him political liberation was a true reflection/manifestation of self-emancipation, moral discipline and triumph over oneself. He was determined in his own characteristic way that this could be achieved only by fighting one's animal instincts.

A true follower/votary/disciple of Gandhi would surely get a subtle sense of how it was not data or numbers from economic, political or cultural histories that formed his philosophy. He was keen enough to feel the pulse of the times. It is this farsightedness that renders the philosophy of *Hind Swaraj* relevant even now after a century has passed. And it still holds possibilities survival.

Gandhi wrote in 1921: "*Hind Swaraj* is the gospel of love that nullifies/cancels all hatred. It wards off violence through self-sacrifice. It seeks soul-force to combat brute-force. I would not revoke/take back anything from that except one word (that too only in honour of a woman friend of mine)." Gandhi thus refused to renew or rethink on his ideas/convictions, though they were derided/ridiculed/mocked as primitive/crude/unrefined. The whole world of ideas it opens up is not that simple or crude; it takes on many layers and dimensions in the contemporary context.

Hind Swaraj is structured in the form of a continuing/an ongoing dialogue between the reader and the editor. The editor would reveal his stand on the various queries and doubts raised by the reader, who being not quite happy/satisfied would make interventions/interfere. The dialogue that proceeds in this fashion gives shape to /engenders/gives form to a totally new perspective or philosophy of life. Its language is transparent. Novel ideas and courses of action emerge out of this process of incessant questioning. 'Indian Opinion,' 'Harijan,' and 'Navjeevan' have served well as media for the unfolding of ideas, and the Phoenix Ashram, Tolstoy Farm, Sabarmathi Ashram and Sevagram were ideal grounds for action. One could also see such ideas getting transmitted beyond the bounds of the Ashram first across the entire nation, and then the world over: from a small community to societies in general irrespective of gender, class, caste or race.

Gandhi was one of those rare breed of Indians who were not overwhelmed by the ruthless onslaught of colonial modernity. Through dialogues and various other engagements they kept intact India's critical orientation. *Hindu Swaraj* is the brightest illustration of this criticality. He dissented against Western Modernity, its irreligiosity, its barbarism. He relied on India's spirituality and soul-force. He put forth a cultural / civilisational agenda which was qualitatively different and incompatible with Modernity. His critique of urban industrialism and modern science was more radical than rest of the critics of modernity. On the top of it all, he was a rigorous critique of secular scientific world view and its possessive individualism, its technocracy. Such ideas are revealed in 'Hind Swaraj' in condensed form.

Conclusion

Hind Swaraj was the result of Gandhi's intense patriotism reinforced by his knowledge of Indian

civilization. He has been informed by knowledge of other civilizations, especially the intellectual and spiritual confirmations of 19th and 20th century western thinkers like Emerson, Henry Thoreau and John Ruskin.

By Swaraj, Gandhiji meant freedom and self-rule which should be practiced at three levels- in case of individual swaraj, it is self control, or swaraj of the self, in case of the country , it is the freedom of India from British clutch and in the case of community level , it is the Grama swaraj or freedom of village. He bestowed on a wide spectrum of meaning such as liberty, autonomy, political freedom, individual freedom from poverty, self realization, self rule, freedom of foreign rule and so on. To put it simply, it is the eradication of poverty of India and freedom for every men and women.

With the advent of Gandhi, Indian politics acquired an entirely different meaning and purpose. He could mobilize various sections of the people; peasants, capitalists, workers, students, lawyers, teachers and women in large numbers. Indian national movement for the first became a terrain of both intellectuals and masses to interact fruitfully. National consciousness began to percolate down to the common man. The life style he led, the symbols he used, the extreme courage he demonstrated appealed to the imagination of people of all walks of life. It was a rare and great act of communicative revolution in the history of India. Gandhi reminded Indian the power of morality to encounter the onslaught of modern civilization the colonizer unleashed. He was a rare blend of intellectual and activist, a seeker of truth and pragmatic constructivist. It can be said of him that what he wrote and spoke are commentaries of what he did.

Recently there is a renewed interest among the intellectuals in Gandhi. They rediscover Gandhi to learn some crucial lessons from his critique of modernity and development. They have been enamoured by his sensitivity to the voices of the people and his critique of techno-economic modernity. Such rediscovery resulted in the emergence of a new class of intellectuals who are activists involved in grass roots level movements addressing the issues: ecological and cultural struggles, diffusion of power, limits to growth, decentralization, and discontents of modernity.

In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi tried to chalk out a comprehensive blue print of swaraj. Throughout his life, he engaged in ideological debates. Hind swaraj was a major juncture in that epic journey.

In an age where the likes of pandemic and floods rule the roost, whether Gandhi's words now resonate with all its power, is the pertinent question.

Tail piece : Gandhian Way is encapsulated by Ashish Nandi's following words, "All his life he sought to free the British rather Indians from the clutches of imperialism and the Brahamins rather than the untouchables from the caste system" (Nandy; P.172).

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Salt Satyagraha : Revisiting an Episode of Non-violent Civil Disobedience

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History recalls Salt March led by Gandhiji as one of the great episodes in the struggle for independence and as a movement that struck a significant blow to British colonial rule in India. The Salt Satyagraha of Gandhi worked differently. Activists in mass movements have chosen actions and demands that tap into broader principles. Here, the most important thing about a demand is not its potential success but the symbolic aspect in it. Salt March and its lessons for today's politicians require an understanding of the fundamental question of how social movements affect change. One can confidently assert that Gandhi's actions were brilliant examples of the use of symbolic demands and symbolic victory.

The history of the Freedom Movement in India is replete with vibrant and vigorous struggles for emancipation of the country from the Yoke of British Colonialism. The 'Dandi March' led by Gandhi against the colonial salt law is once such glorious epoch in the history of Freedom Movement. At the peripheral level, it seems that the March was intended to protest against the provision of the Salt Tax imposed by the British on the poor people of India. In a deeper sense, the March gave a strong message to the British and lighted the flame of the Freedom movement.

Salt Act, 1882

The Indian National Congress while emphasizing "Purna Swaraj" celebrated January 26, 1930, as Independence Day throughout the country. Mahatma Gandhi on March 2, 1930, wrote a letter to the Viceroy Lord Irwin vehemently criticizing the Salt Tax law imposed by Britain on Indians. In his opinion it was the most sinful act on the part of the Empire. The Viceroy's unsympathetic reply to his letter provoked Gandhiji and he said "On bended knees, I asked for bread and I have received stone instead."

Britain prohibited Indians from collecting or selling salt, through their Salt Act 1882. Indian citizens were forced to buy the vital mineral from their British rulers, who, in addition to exercising a monopoly over the manufacture and sale of salt, also charged a heavy salt tax. Although the poor suffered most under the tax, all Indians required salt.

Dandi Pilgrimage

On March 12, 1930, Gandhiji, started the 'March' along with 78 satyagrahis. They came from different parts of India. There was participation from Andhra, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Cutch, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajputana, Sind, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Utkal and even Nepal. Besides Hindus, there were among them two Muslims, one Christian and two Harijans. Later, speaking about the Dandi March, Gandhiji said: "My feeling is like that of the pilgrim to Amarnath or Badri-Kedar. For me, this is nothing less than a holy pilgrimage." Motilal Nehru said: "Like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka the march of Gandhi will be memorable."

During the March every day Gandhiji retired at 9 p.m. still talking to people and giving interviews until he fell asleep. Long before others were up, he rose and began his correspondence. At 4 a.m. in the morning he was seen writing letters. At 6 a.m. there was the call to morning prayers. After the prayers, he delivered a sermon to the pilgrims on the March and answered questions. Gandhiji said "For me, there is no turning back whether I am alone or joined by thousands. I would rather die a dog's death and have my bones licked

by dogs than that I should return to the ashram a broken man." Further, he said: "Either I shall return with what I want or my dead body will float in the ocean."

The long 241-mile trek finally ended on April 5, 1930. Along the way, Gandhiji and his companions halted journey for the night at 22 places. On April 6, 1930, the atmosphere at Dandi was both tense and solemn. Gandhiji nominated Abbas Tyabji, and after him, Sarojni Naidu, to lead the satyagrahis if he was arrested.

After prayers, Gandhiji with his followers took a bath in the sea. Then at 8.30 a.m., he disobeyed the Salt Law by picking up a lump of salt. Sarojni Naidu hailed him as a 'law-breaker. 'The camp where he rested was raided by the District Magistrate of Surat, with two police officers armed with pistols and about 30 policemen armed with rifles. At 12.45 a.m. on May 4, he was arrested at Karadi, 3 miles from Dandi whilst asleep in his cottage.

Salt Satyagraha - Success of failure

History recalls Salt March led by Gandhiji as one of the great episodes in the struggle for independence and as a movement that struck a significant blow to British colonial rule in India. Rabindranath Tagore remarked that Europe has completely lost her former prestige in Asia.

On the contrary, Peter Ackerman and Christopher Krueger³ (1994) while appraising the 1931 agreement between Gandhi and Lord Irwin remarked that the salt satyagraha was a failure. This observation is based on the evidence that some congress men were greatly disappointed when the pact was announced. Even Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that he felt in his heart "a great emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond recall."

Examining how Gandhiji structured the demands of the Salt March and the way in which he brought his campaign to a close baffled all the politicians of his era. All protests and demands have both instrumental and symbolic dimensions. In conventional politics, demands are primarily instrumental i.e., specific and concrete and result-oriented within the system. The demands are chosen based on what might be feasible to achieve. Once the specific result is achieved then the protest has been won.

The Salt Satyagraha of Gandhi worked differently. Activists in mass movements have chosen actions and demands that tap into broader principles. Here, the most important thing about a demand is not its potential success but the symbolic aspect in it. Salt March and its lessons for today's politicians require an understanding of the fundamental question of how social movements affect change. One can confidently assert that Gandhi's actions were brilliant examples of the use of symbolic demands and symbolic victory.

Bill Moyer¹ (2001) stresses the importance of socio-drama actions which clearly reveal to the public how the power-holders violate society's widely held values through well-planned shows of resistance - ranging from creative marches and pickets to boycotts and other forms of non-cooperation and non-violent methods.

When charged with selecting a target for civil disobedience, Gandhi's choice was unbelievable. His target was the oppressive the salt law, it became that base on which the congress party wanted to build up the movement for Freedom. Biographer Geoffrey Ashe² (2000) argues that; Gandhi's choice of salt as a basis for a campaign was unusual and most brilliant political challenge of modern times.

The March electrified the masses in to action. Throughout the country people participated in violating the salt law challenging the administration. Buying illegal packets of the mineral, even if they were of poor quality, became a badge of honor for millions. The Indian National Congress set up its salt depot, and groups of organized activists led nonviolent raids on the government salt works, blocking roads and entrances with their bodies in an attempt to shut down production. News reports of the beatings and hospitalizations that resulted were broadcast throughout the world.

Soon, civil disobedience expanded to incorporate local grievances and to take on additional acts of

non-cooperation. Millions joined the boycott of British cloth and liquor and, in some provinces, farmers refused to pay land taxes. In increasingly varied forms, mass non-compliance took place throughout a vast territory. Despite energetic attempts at repression by British authorities, it continued month after month. The Salt Tax fit the campaign accurately.

Beyond Salt Taxation

By early 1931, the Salt Satyagraha campaign had echoed throughout the country but after some time, it was also losing the drive. Many leaders were arrested, and the properties of those who refused to pay the tax were seized by the government. Moderate politicians and members of the business community who supported the Indian National Congress appealed to Gandhi for a solution.

Gandhi entered into negotiations with Lord Irwin in February 1931, and on March 5 the two announced a pact. Many historians have argued it as an anti-climax. The key terms of the agreement hardly seemed favorable to the Indian National Congress. In exchange for suspending civil disobedience, protesters being held in jail would be released, their cases would be dropped. Authorities would return the fines collected from the non-taxpayers, as well as the seized properties. However, the pact deferred discussion of questions about independence to future talks. Finally, the Salt Act itself would remain law, with the concession that the poor in coastal areas would be allowed to produce salt in limited quantities for their use.

Gandhi according to his political principle stood for the reduction of demands to a minimum consistent with the truth. In the pact with Irwin, Gandhi gave him such a minimum, allowing the movement to end the campaign in a dignified fashion and to prepare for future independence struggle. For Gandhi, the viceroy's agreement to allow for exceptions to the salt law, even if they were limited, represented a critical victory of principle.

Conclusion

The fact that Indians were not permitted to freely collect salt from natural deposits or the sea was a clear illustration of how Britain was prospering at the expense of native people. As the tax affecting everyone, the grievance was universally felt. The fact was that it heavily burdened the poorest of the poor in India. Next to air and water, Gandhi argued, salt is one of the greatest necessities of life. It was a simple commodity that everyone was compelled to buy, and which the government taxed. Gandhi selected the taxation of salt as a symbolic tool for Civil disobedience. Moreover, he had forced the British to negotiate as equals which was a vital precedent that would be extended into subsequent talks over independence. He led the countrymen from the taxation issue to the freedom movement. Motilal Nehru rightly commended - "The only wonder is that no one else ever thought of it."

Notes and References

1. Bill Moyer et.al.(2001); *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model of organising Social Movements*, New Society Publishers, 2001
2. Geoffrey Ashe (2000); *Gandhi: A Biography*, Cooper Square Publishers.
3. Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler (1994); *Strategic Non-violent Conflicts : The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press.
4. Though Salt Satyagraha compelled the British to come to the discussion table, the salt tax continued to be levied. On 6 April 1946 Mahatma Gandhi made a formal request to Sir Archibald Rowlands the finance member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, to remove the salt tax. Though Rowlands formally issued an order abolishing the salt tax it was disallowed by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell. The salt tax continued in force until March 1947, when it was abolished by the Interim Government of India headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. A modified salt tax was later introduced, to the Republic of India, as the Salt Cess Act, 1953, which received the assent of the President and was brought into force on 2 January

1954. This Salt Cess Act, 1953 is meant to levy and collect cess on salt for the purpose of raising funds to meet the expenses incurred on the salt organisation maintained by Government and on the measures taken by Government in connection with the manufacture, supply and distribution of salt. On May 21, 2016 this Act has been repealed by Government of India.

5. The views in this article are mainly based on: (1) *Dandi March and Salt Satyagraha* Published by National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat, New Delhi and (2) Mark Engler & Paul Engler - *"This is a Uprising: How Non-Violent Revolt is shaping the Twenty first Century, National Book (2016)* and their article Waging Nonviolence .

Gandhi and Ambedkar : Beyond Contradictions and Strategy, Lessons for Democracy

Nirjhar Mukherjee

The main focus of this paper shall be the importance of understanding of Gandhi and Ambedkar for Indian democracy in present times. The paper will not devote much attention on the details of the debate itself which has already been largely discussed in academia. Many scholars have championed Ambedkar while others have sided with Gandhi. The intention of this paper is not to pit Gandhi against Ambedkar or try to prove who was superior. While this paper critically evaluates both, the intention is to understand two things, first, the historical and sociological context within which Gandhi and Ambedkar espoused their theories and practised their politics. The second important task of the paper is to understand the relevance of their ideas to democratic theory in India. Of course, temporally speaking, Gandhi and Ambedkar were rivals. Gandhi's politics were antagonistic to the aspirations and ideals of Ambedkar. The goal of the paper is to understand whether it is possible to learn important excerpts from their respective theories and understand how much it can contribute towards building a healthy democracy.

The debate between Gandhi and Ambedkar is one of the most defining ones in Indian political thought. This paper seeks to make an assessment of this debate from the point of view of Indian democracy. The paper tries to analyse the valuable inputs and contributions of this debate and what this means for the future of Indian democratic polity. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar are products of modern India. The strands of Gandhian and Ambedkarite philosophy reflect the different currents that ebbed and flowed in the body of Indian political thought of the 20th century. However the difference between these two thinkers were not just a difference of ideologies or a difference of theoretical moorings. It was a debate arising out of concrete material differences among the two. This has been highlighted in detail by Ambedkarites and other critical scholars. This paper does not intend to refute these criticisms. However, the paper also takes into cognizance the importance of some of the basic principles of Gandhian thought such as self rule, decentralisation, peace and stateless democracy that are central to the project of emancipation and elevation of democracy to a higher standard. However, these goals are utopian in a caste ridden society. This paper seeks to argue that Gandhi's theory of emancipation is impossible in a society where a structural inequality and graded Apartheid have existed for years. Therefore the realization of a Gandhian democratic model would remain an unfulfilled utopia in the wake of a society where the caste system remains intact.

Annihilation of caste and creation of casteless society are some of the main features of Ambedkar's thought. They are necessary for any democratic society. The Hindu society which was and still is dominated by highly discriminatory caste system cannot be a ground on which any democratic sociological ethos can be created. This is a stark reflection of the Indian polity where seven decades of an institutionally functional democracy hasn't been able to eradicate caste. Needless to say, the institution of caste has caused great obstruction to the creation/cultivation of democratic values in India. Gandhi belonging to an upper caste family was unable to discern many of these ideas. His caste privilege made him blind to the understanding of the degree of degradation that caste had brought about. Caste did not and does not need to be reformed. It needs to be annihilated. In this regard Gandhian emancipation needs the essential prerequisite of annihilation of caste.

While the debate between Gandhi and Ambedkar is the focus of this paper, the main focus of this

paper shall be the importance of understanding of Gandhi and Ambedkar for Indian democracy in present times. The paper will not devote much attention on the details of the debate itself which has already been largely discussed in academia. Many scholars have championed Ambedkar while others have sided with Gandhi. The intention of this paper is not to pit Gandhi against Ambedkar or try to prove who was superior. While this paper critically evaluates both, the intention is to understand two things, first, the historical and sociological context within which Gandhi and Ambedkar espoused their theories and practised their politics. The second important task of the paper is to understand the relevance of their ideas to democratic theory in India. Of course, temporally speaking, Gandhi and Ambedkar were rivals. Gandhi's politics were antagonistic to the aspirations and ideals of Ambedkar. However, is it possible to learn important lessons from this debate? The goal of the paper is to understand whether it is possible to learn important excerpts from their respective theories and understand how much it can contribute towards building a healthy democracy.

Situating Gandhi and Ambedkar

The debate between Gandhi and Ambedkar takes place in the last few decades of the British colonial raj. In terms of date and time Gandhi and Ambedkar were contemporaries and they grew around the same time. However, the point must be noted very carefully that Gandhi and Ambedkar did not inhabit the same world. Literally they did, but caste created the unfathomable gulf. During what is popularly known as India's freedom struggle, Gandhi presented himself as a leader of the Indians and the Indian people against the Imperial British yoke. However, it may be asked what is India? Who are the Indians? Who did Gandhi represent when he claimed to represent 'the Indians?' Gandhi's idea of India was part and parcel of the meta narrative of India as an integrated nation. Ambedkar breaks down this meta narrative. He did not live in the same nation that Gandhi did. The institution of caste created separation of communities, lives, cultures, outlooks, world views and thus created a community of (oppressed, marginalised) people who did not identify with the self proclaimed champions of the 'Indian nation.' Ambedkar clearly accosted Gandhi in this regard. He was the denizen of the other 'nation' within the self proclaimed (mainly by Savarna Hindus) united 'nation' of India.

Chairez-Garza (2014) discusses the politics of space in Ambedkar's political thought. It has great pertinence in the Gandhi - Ambedkar debate and also the scope of this paper. Chairez-Garza (2014) argues that space plays an important role in the perpetuation of caste and subjugation of the Dalits in India. Gandhi championed the idea of the self-sufficient village in India. However, Ambedkar condemns it as a site for oppression, as the locale of Brahminism. Gaikwad (1998), Jodhka (2002), Chairez-Garza (2014) among others have clearly pointed out how Ambedkar tears into the Gandhian dream of pristine Indian village, rustic but self-sufficient, democratic and autonomous. Ambedkar denotes that this typical Indian village is a brahminical village. The happiness of the 'villagers' would actually refer to the happiness of the Savarna villagers. The Dalits have been denied agency as well as dignity in the Gandhian scheme of things which is a perpetuation of the Brahminical legacy of the Indian nationalism.

In this regard, Ambedkar's intervention and challenge to Gandhian claims is a very important and critical challenge to the mainstream (Brahminical) idea of India. Ambedkar deconstructs the concept of the Indian nation. Often Ambedkar is denoted as the representative of the Dalits /oppressed classes while Gandhi is represented as the leader of the 'nation' or India. Fatuous as this claim is, the reality remains that it was a debate between people of two different communities. The Gandhi of the Savarnas vs Ambedkar of Oppressed castes.

The previous paragraphs have demonstrated what 'nations' or communities Gandhi and Ambedkar represented. Now it is important to note what Gandhi believed and claimed to represent. As fallacious as the meta narrative of Gandhi's theory of united Indian nationalism might have been, he did see himself as the leader of the 'Indian nation.' Gandhi saw himself as an Indian and felt the need to liberate India from the rule of the British. The aims of Gandhi were in the interest of the 'nation' and by this logic of nation he fixed his priorities. Politics has many aspects, of which one of the main aspects being that of priorities. It is through priorities that one decides in favour of something at the cost of another. It is the question of priorities that

fixes a particular political strategy or trajectory of political praxis. For Gandhi the priority was the independence of India. When one understands Gandhi or tries to interpret his actions one must keep in mind where he came from and the role of community when one makes an evaluation of his deeds.

The very fact that he considered himself as an Indian and saw his mother land being ruled by the British Imperial power influenced his priority. Naturally, to him independent India was the first thing that was required for the betterment of society. On the other hand Ambedkar was the leader of the oppressed. He did not live in the 'same' India that Gandhi lived. Thus, for Ambedkar the priorities were different. For him it was the upliftment and empowerment of the dalits which came first. The liberation of the 'Nation' was a secondary question, something which was not possible without the fulfillment of the former. Needless to say the idea of the Nation was different in the thought of Gandhi and Ambedkar as it has been discussed in the previous paragraphs and sections.

This brings us to another fundamental clash between the ideas of Gandhi (and other nationalists on the one hand) and Ambedkar on the other. For Gandhi it is the nation that came first and the national priorities which were more important than anything else but for Ambedkar it is human dignity that was the priority. Jaffrelot (2016) discusses this debate in detail. Ambedkar was not a Nationalist as per the standards of mainstream Indian nationalism in the 20th century. As mentioned earlier mainstream Nationalism in India led by Gandhi was dominated by the upper caste Hindus. For Ambedkar the question of human dignity was more important. The question of dignity was the first priority. This again brings us to the question of national interest.

Ambedkar's confrontation with the mainstream Indian nationalists rakes up interesting questions. On the one hand it exposes the shallow limitations of nationalism. Like Rabindranath Tagore (2017) who was writing in a different context Ambedkar refused to place the nation above the idea of human dignity. The other aspect of this debate is that of inclusiveness. The idea of the nation cannot belong exclusively to some privileged people of the society. As Gaikwad (1998), Jodhka (2002), Naskar (2011) pointed out Ambedkar was talking about an inclusive nation building process. Ambedkar (2014) points out that the caste system in the Hindu society is a great detriment for nationalism. In his famous book *The Annihilation of Caste*, he clearly states that in a society fragmented by caste, the feeling of nationality cannot arise. Nationalism in India was nothing but the assertion of the brahmins and other saravana castes.

While Ambedkar was not ready to place the idea of nation and national interest above that of human dignity and equality he was not essentially opposed to the idea of the nation. It is just that he was totally opposed to the idea of some upper castes creating an idea of the Indian nation and perpetrating casteist exploitation under the garb of Indian nationalism. Rather he was more interested in the idea of nation building. Nation building for Ambedkar would mean the creation of the idea of an India which would be inclusive. However, this vision would not be possible under Hindu Raj or rule by Indian upper caste in the name of Indian nationalism that was being perpetrated by Gandhi. For Ambedkar it was this nation building and freedom from internal oppression that mattered more. From his subject position of being a Dalit, Ambedkar was able to identify his priorities.

Based on a shallow reading of Ambedkar, one could condemn him as a collaborator of British rule. In 1939 Ambedkar clearly said if there was a contradiction between the interest of the untouchables and the interest of the nation he would side with the untouchables over the so-called national interest. However one must be able to understand where this was coming from, because for him the so-called nation that the nationalists were talking about was nothing but an agglomeration of a podcast which sought to establish Brahminical Hindu Raj. Ambedkar was a modernist educated in the West, he truly imbibed the Republican and democratic values. He was not just a prolific scholar but also a proponent of liberty, equality and fraternity; the slogans of the French Revolution which we find to be appallingly missing in the Indian society structured by the future pre-modern inegalitarian institution of caste. It was through the annihilation of caste that the

democratic modern values could enter the Indian mind. Ambedkar believed that such values were not possible within the fold of Hinduism.

Gandhi on the other hand was a devout Hindu. Gandhi believed in an egalitarian Hinduism which would include the people of all castes and sects. For Gandhi, Hindus had sinned due to the perpetration of the caste system which degraded a large sections of its own people to the standard of untouchability and conditions of unthinkable misery. It was not that Gandhi was unaware of the atrocities of caste within Hindu society. Gandhi believed that this was an aberration from the egalitarian ethos of the Upanishad and the Bhagavad Gita. Gandhi claimed that such unthinkable atrocities in the name of caste was not supported by the Hindu scriptures. Gandhi called the so called untouchables by the name of 'Harijan' or the people of Hari (Hindu God). For Gandhi it was imperative to bring back the dalits into the fold of Hinduism. For Gandhi dignified treatment within the fold of Hinduism was the solution to and the miseries of the people of the oppressed castes. It was also an imperative condition for National Unity which was needed to overthrow the British rule.

Ambedkar and his followers/supporters correctly discern this as a part of the problem. By trying to include the Dalits within the fold of Hinduism, Gandhi robbed them of political role. Gandhi never launched a campaign to root out the caste system as a whole. Ambedkar was clear about this, there could be no alternative to annihilation of caste. Gandhi needed to consolidate the national identity and put up the face of a 'united India' to take on the might of imperial colonial rule. That needed the support of the dalits. However, Gandhi was alarmed at the kind of support that Ambedkar received from the dalit community. It was only after facing a severe challenge from Ambedkar that Gandhi realised that the dalits must be offered some concessions, otherwise they would totally break away from the Hindu community. Ambedkar had been talking about exit from the Hindu community for a long time. One of the greatest confrontations between Ambedkar and Gandhi had been during the Poona pact in 1932. When the Poona pact was signed between Madan Mohan Malaviya on behalf of Gandhi and Ambedkar on behalf of the Dalits, Ambedkar had to make concessions to Gandhi. Ambedkar's fight in 1932 was for seats based on separate electorates for the dalit communities. Gandhi protested as he could not accept the fragmentation of the Hindu community. For the time being Ambedkar had to make a concession. He had to settle for reserved seats instead of separate electorates. In the following years Gandhi tried his best to bring the dalits into the fold of the Congress. On the other hand Ambedkar continued this crusade and explicitly encouraged dalits to leave Hinduism. After independence and shortly before his death Ambedkar embraced Buddhism as a non Hindu faith.

Gandhi did all in his capacity to unite India. He believed that Hindu Muslim Unity within which Dalits remained within the Hindu community would lead to a prosperous India. However the annihilation of the caste system was the priority of Ambedkar without which nation building was not possible. Nation building was a prerequisite to Independence and nation building was something which was absent in India.

Gandhi was the undisputed leader of the Indian Independence Movement in the last three decades of the freedom struggle from the British Empire. However, he espoused some rather radical ideas which were never implemented in independent India. Shortly after independence Gandhi was assassinated by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu extremist. Gandhi never got to see the enactment and implementation of the Indian Constitution. The previous sections have critically demonstrated the lack of Gandhi's political thought especially on the caste question. The sections have demonstrated how his caste privilege prevented the development of democratic ethos and a liberal atmosphere in India's political sociology. In fact as discussed earlier, Gandhi's politics enabled and promoted brahmanical politics and upper caste dominance.

While these detrimental contributions of Gandhi must be acknowledged, one must also remember some of the most important contributions of Gandhi towards Indian political thought. As discussed earlier Gandhi was the leader of the mainstream Nationalist movement. He was a unique person. He had radical ideas which no one ever implemented in independent India. Gandhi had a large number of lofty ideals. A number

of these ideas are significant. One such ideal is that of opposition to mechanical lifestyles. Gandhi was a severe and unrelenting critique of modernity. Gandhi identified the state as an instrument of oppression, as a machine, as something evil.

As Parekh (1989, 1999, 2010) points out, Gandhi was perhaps the only Indian thinker of that age who traced British colonial rule not just to the idea of the state. While other Indian thinkers were busy envisaging the dream of strong, united prosperous independent Indian state, Gandhi was pointing out the inherently evil nature of the institution of state. State is an institution impregnated by and pregnant with violence. State rests on its ability to coerce its citizens through the fear of violence or the potential of the same. Gandhi was able to predict that independent India would not be much different from the British Raj if a European style modern state is established in the new dispensation. Unlike the so called 'moderates' who were in full praise of the European value systems and 'extremists' who wanted to establish a European style state after overthrowing the colonial rule, Gandhi was able to conceive a greater emancipatory ideal.

Gandhi was, like Ambedkar and so many other thinkers of modern India, trained in the western educational system. However, he was able to discern the main source of antagonism between the British and the Indians to that between the idea of modern statism and simple, sustainable living. It was not a conflict between two nationalities or cultures. Parekh (1989, 1999, 2010) remarks that Gandhi differed from other nationalists in a unique way. He did not see India as a backward country. The inability of the Indians to create a modern European style state did not worry him at all as it was not that important. If one may borrow a term from Mao's lexicon on political strategy (Tung, 1987), the principal contradiction according to Gandhi was between traditional sustainable living (which he identified with virtue) and modernity (which is essentially violent, alienating and full of avarice).

Instead of going into an Indian culture versus British culture debate, Gandhi traced the maladies of British imperialism in the evil of modernity which alienated man from nature. Gandhi identified modernity with machines and violence. His antipathy to modernity has been subject to fierce criticism, Ambedkar being one of the same, but one cannot but admit that Gandhi had the prescient vision to identify the evils of modernity.

Gandhi can, in a number of ways, be called an 'anarchist.' He was able to identify the state as a violent institution which is essentially evil. It must be noted that he was influenced by spiritual anarchists of the western tradition such as Tolstoy and other spiritualist thinkers like Thoreau and Emerson. These thinkers represented a strand of thought which rebelled against the miseries which had been engendered by industrial modernity. Gandhi was also able to connect this with the depletion of the Indian economy by British colonial rule. Naoroji (1901) had famously demonstrated the drain of wealth theory. Lenin had also shown how imperialism is the highest form of capitalism. However, Gandhi was able to trace this to the nature of modernity itself. A system which alienates humankind from nature is bound to create violence and dominance. The modern state is nothing but the child of this unsustainable, violent, alienated, self-seeking approach to civilization.

Emancipatory Vision of Gandhi

Gandhi envisaged a theory of liberation which would emancipate individuals from this alienating society and way of living. This is the goal of *swaraj* which literally means self rule. A person should not be subject to external control in any form. The state is an institution which permeates into many aspects of people's lives and exercises control. Under the modern state people live under various kinds of control, social, economic, political among others. They imbibe such violent values from the kind of system they live in. Modern capitalism has indeed created many such forms of alienation. The modern way of living has created a multitude of miseries which have only grown in number in the last fifty years or so. In some ways, Gandhi's criticism of modern life has many parallels with Marx's theory of alienation (Marx, 1843).

While Gandhi flayed the immoral and unjust ways of the British, he took shelter in the institution of the Indian village. In the rustic Indian hinterland, Gandhi felt that it was possible to create another world, free

from the oppression of European modernity. In the age of increasing technological advances, burgeoning state surveillance and oppression this vision maintains its relevance no matter what the lacunae might be.

The Ambedkarite critique is not hard to guess. Due to his caste privilege, Gandhi was unable to understand the fact that the Indian village was actually a site of violence and discrimination. Thus, seen from a practical point of view, this theory is utterly useless for the masses of India - the Dalits, bahujans and adivasis. This is where Ambedkar comes in. If you care about the unity of the nation, every citizen needs to be an equal person in the entire process.

Marshall talks about three aspects of citizenship - civil, political and social. The reality in India is that the caste system has created great problems in this regard. Despite political, cultural and social equality enshrined in the constitution, the stark reality of India is a grossly unequal society. Caste has created conditions of extraordinary degradation that seven decades of rule of law could not eradicate. So what is the status of dalits as citizens of India? Now imagine Gandhian autonomous self-sufficient Indian village. What will be the status of the Dalits in such a village? Whatever Gandhian ideals might have been, the fact is that the very social essence in Indian society has been based on a history of caste. Without eradicating caste it would be impossible to create a just village. Without a just village how can one even think about a just nation? The concept of fellow feeling is essential to the understanding of nation. This is impossible as long as the apartheid of caste exists.

The Ambedkarite critique of the Gandhian model is justified. Ambedkar was a modernist. He embraced modernity while Gandhi criticized it. This also needs to be analyzed from a caste angle. For Ambedkar, the priority was the upliftment and empowerment of the dalits in India. For this purpose the prospect of European modernity was potentially liberating. For him, modernity was not something to be abjured but to be embraced. It was an elixir of rationality which would act as a bulwark against the entire gamut of casteist paraphernalia of the Hindu society.

What needs to be noted is that Ambedkar was completely justified in his embrace of modernity. However, the limitation of his approach would be the creation of a mechanical state apparatus in India. That would lead to a number of problems that Western modernity brings with itself. In this regard, Gandhi's emancipatory vision is much more far-sighted. Freedom does not mean freedom from colonial rule. It means *swaraj* or self-rule. For this to happen there needs to be great decentralisation of power.

Power must be devolved to the people. People must have a direct role in governance. The power of the state needs to be curtailed as more often than not it is used against the rights and liberties of ordinary citizens. The abuse of state power and continued slavery to a heirarchical system would mean that the idea of freedom would continue to elude Indians even after the departure of the British.

While Gandhi's farsightedness goes beyond that of Ambedkar, his vision lacked what Ambedkar could see- the horror of casteism. Gandhi's criticism of modernity is important in many ways but another aspect needs to be kept in mind. European societies (at least the western) went through thorough social revolutions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. These were what Marxists would call 'bourgeois' revolutions. They follow a historical trajectory in European history starting from the Renaissance and later the Enlightenment. These movements shook the foundations of the feudal, religious, theological societies of Europe. European modernity organically replaced these feudal institutions and theological value systems.

Modern institutions in India entered through the advent of British colonial rule. They did not develop organically. There was the colonial difference (Chatterjee, 1993) which needs to be kept in mind. These modern institutions flourished over and above the feudal and theological mindsets of caste ridden India. Thus, the social revolution never happened in India. Feudal institutions like caste remained intact. The adverse effects of European modernity would need to be dealt with, as Gandhi envisioned but the priority had to be and still has to be the annihilation of caste.

Mondal (2011) talks about how Gandhi's utopian vision was instrumental in resolving the ideological

crisis in the Indian national movement. Gandhi's method stemmed from his priorities - to unite India. However, a necessary prerequisite of that can only come through the Ambedkarite vision.

Gandhi's ideas also had other problems. In a country like India where there is a lack of scientific temper and lack of progressive education, taking recourse to religion can have dangerous repercussions. Gandhi's political theory also contained elements of social conservatism. Rathore (2017) makes a strong case for abandoning the metaphysical shenanigans of Gandhian political thought in quest of *Swaraj*. For Rathore (2017), a distinction should be made between 'thick *swaraj*' or the Gandhian, spiritual understanding of *Swaraj* and 'thin *swaraj*' which is free from such metaphysical commitments (Rathore, 2017). He attributes the latter to Ambedkar and makes a case in its favour.

Decentralisation of power is of utmost importance. So is the resistance to state power. However, if the institution of caste is around, there can be no democracy, forget stateless democracy. Again, the vision of Ambedkar is an important precursor to the realization of the Gandhian vision.

Embracing Both Ambedkar and Gandhi: Caveats and Challenges

When there is a major debate between two major thinkers there would often be someone who would try to reconcile both. Others would espouse taking the best out of both. Guha (2010) makes this point. He makes the powerful argument that one need not choose between Gandhi and Ambedkar. He remarks that while hagiographers have room for only one hero, a historian cannot do justice by doing the same (Guha, 2010; p. 38). Gandhi and Ambedkar were rivals during their lifetime but decades after their demise, both of them have invaluable inputs to provide for the health of the Indian democracy.

This paper doesn't disagree in theory but maintains that this needs to be done with great care. Gandhi has many important lessons to teach. If democracy has to reach its highest levels, it is the Gandhian level of decentralised self rule that must be the ideal. However, that goal is far away and contingent on many other factors. The most important step towards that destination being the annihilation of caste and the creation of the modern, rational Indian. After the modernisation of the Indian mind, annihilation of caste, Indian democracy would develop. However, problems of modernity would also aggravate. It is at this level that the Gandhian ideal would intervene and the quest for decentralisation would continue till the attainment of *Swaraj*.

Ambedkar, due to his caste location was able to understand the needs of his community and also the basic need of nation building. Gandhi's critique of Western modernism is a problem for modern societies. For a victim of casteism like Ambedkar, there are other priorities. Modernism is the key to the same. Thus, the Ambedkarite vision of empowerment is an essential prerequisite to the Gandhian cause of emancipation.

The conclusion is thus, Gandhi and Ambedkar can indeed command simultaneous respect in Indian political theory provided the lacunae of Gandhi are identified and his flaws due to his caste privilege called out. It is only after Gandhi and his wrong position is identified and acknowledged, that his theory of *Swaraj* becomes a practical idea. Otherwise his theory is utopian at best and Brahminical perpetrator of caste at worst.

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Leadership Logic of Mahatma Gandhi

Padma Ramakrishnan

This article makes a brief attempt to assess and analyse the logical reasoning, that shaped Gandhiji's motivational leadership. Also inferences can be drawn to pinpoint and decipher, his manner and method of action. Such analysis can reveal his modus operandi and can help us to understand the logic behind his actions. It is worthwhile to examine the mind of the Mahatma because it will reveal his ideas over a variety of topics - communal harmony, non-violence, truth, Ahimsa and village republics. Gandhi's leadership logic achieved two results: one, the political emancipation of the Indians, second his position and prestige, as the uncrowned king of the masses.

Leadership logic is a broad term, that stands for a wide range of factors which create and enable leadership. It implies not only the causative factors behind creative or expert leadership, but also indicates the results that follow from leadership logic. A leadership logic model should develop a standard for positive outcomes. The logic model developed as part of the Enabling Leadership Research (Scottish Social Services Council, 2016) highlights the factors which can encourage or hinder the development of good leadership. It is well recognised that effective leadership, must be based on sound ethical values. The Centre for Leadership and Social Change (Florida State University) sets up a model based on integrity, working towards a vision grounded in deep moral values. This type of leadership is closely akin to Gandhian leadership, which begins and ends as an exemplary system of moral values. This model, is at variance with the modern concept of leadership, which is conceptualised and operationalised, as a collective capacity and responsibility.

In the present day context, there are as many leadership styles, as there are leaders. In India, there has been no dearth of charismatic leaders. Most development psychologists, agree that what differentiates, is not so much their philosophy of leadership, their personality or style of leadership, rather it is their internal "action logic"- how they appraise the situation and react to it. Gandhi possessed such an internal "action logic" which he called his "inner voice", which told him that he was on the right track. Gandhi himself did not claim to be a leader, nor did he boast of any followers.

This article makes a brief attempt to assess and analyse the logical reasoning, that shaped his motivational leadership. Also inferences can be drawn to pinpoint and decipher, his manner and method of action. Such analysis can reveal his modus operandi and can help us to understand the logic behind his actions. It is worthwhile to examine the mind of the Mahatma because it will reveal his ideas over a variety of topics - communal harmony, non-violence, truth, Ahimsa and village republics.

The first and foremost feature of Gandhi's leadership, was its mass appeal. The agenda for it was spirituality and ethicality. It was tied up with his spiritual notions. As a fervent Hindu devotee, his attachment to religion was an open secret. As he often acknowledged, the Gita was his guiding light. Morality or dharma as he would call was the foundation of his whole philosophy. His Experiments with Truth, is a saga of dharmic and spiritual experiences. Gandhi was Truth and Truth was Gandhi. His entire philosophy rested on four pillars - Truth, Ahimsa, Non-violence and Satyagraha. They were dedicated in order to win the political struggle. Spiritual strength was the fuel to ignite the patriotic fervour of the Indian people. It was the bedrock of his vision of Rama Rajya and village republics. His ideals of panchayats and self- ruling people's government, would naturally and logically pave the way for decentralized governance. These ideals would be a benchmark of his vision of a free India. Thus it was a coupling of his religious and political ideals: to Gandhi, politics without religion becomes a death trap, that would kill the soul.

Another aspect of leadership logic of Gandhi was his mental courage and this arose due to his commitment to high moral values. His intelligent and emotional quotient were high and they strengthened his courage and will power. These promoted a leadership style that was emotional and transformational. It inspired the minds of millions of his followers. It had an impact on the British psyche. It changes the obdurate, imperialist stance into virtual abdication. Gandhi believed in change, "If we could change ourselves, the tendencies in the world would also change", was his famous quote. He had a unique capacity to speak to peoples' hearts and minds. Several psychological commentators (Benis, 2003) point out that great leadership works through emotions and therefore it is a primal instinct. Leaders must set direction, aligning people, motivating and inspiring them. In short, authentic leaders follow their internal compass.

Gandhi was responsible for a considerable transformation of Indian society. His championship of the cause of poverty-stricken peasants in different parts of the country, shifted the focus of attention, from the elite and urban rich to the rural milieu. Gandhi realised the need for transformation. He created a vision to guide the change through inspiration and motivation. He was the first leader to identify himself, one hundred percent with the masses. The logic behind such transformational leadership was economic and social reconstruction of Indian society. His support and championship of the underdogs, the caste oppressed backward classes, had the same missionary logic behind this radical transformation. From 1920, the social reformer came to be cast in the role of a political strategist.

Gandhi's entry into Indian politics synchronized with the near exit of the Extremists from the Congress. The mantle of Tilak fell on Gandhi. A new phase arose which historians call the Gandhian Era. If we examine Gandhi's role from this juncture, it seems to coincide with the simultaneous growth of the Congress. By such identification with the party Gandhi did not become a politician. He was never a politician, in the strict sense of the term. Politics was not his profession. He did not form any political party. He did not stand for election to any public office. He did not lust for political power. He did not decorate any public office. He never fought for political power. He shunned the devious ways of a party politician. He coined inspiring slogans like "Quit India", "Do or Die", which fired the masses into collective action. But these were not the phrasing of any political ideology. His political philosophy began with maintenance of peace and order in society and ended with transformation of individuals and society in accordance with the principles of truth and nonviolence. In this instance, Gandhian leadership goals were political emancipation and social engineering with emphasis on decentralisation.

Mahatma Gandhi is considered as an epitome of "servant leadership". It was Robert Greenleaf (Greenleaf, 1977) the author of "Servant Leadership", who enunciated a recent theory of leadership, who points out that the most effective leaders are servants of their people. In this sense, Gandhi stands out as a servant leader, whose aim was to uplift the downtrodden masses. He never exercised any control over the rank and file. He understood more than any Congress leader, the plight of the dehumanised millions of poor Indians. They were politically marginalised (no share in government), economically burdened (groaning under the incidence of back-breaking taxation) and socially ostracized (outcastes). Thus the Champaran and Kheda Satyagrahas.

It is found that most leadership styles have their own brand of functioning. Many of them are based on the use of force or violence. In contrast, the Gandhian weapons of struggle, were contained in non-violence, passive resistance and satyagraha. The creed of non-violence was based on moral, religious and spiritual principles; it was also strategic and pragmatic (Sharp, 2012). Gandhian resistance on non-violent lines was the answer to the use of force by the British. Gandhi understood the weaknesses of his own people in trying to engage in armed conflict. The solution was to substitute it with his power house of mental and psychological defence. His astute knowledge of India's helplessness and dependence, committed him to resort to such civil resistance. These factors condensed into the logic for adopting new mechanisms of struggle. Passive resistance and Satyagraha were simple and easy to follow, though it was a physical torment. Gandhi's mastery over the masses facilitated the resort to these tactics. As far as the rulers were concerned, non-violent

resistance was novel and an eye opener; it bewildered and nonplussed them. Gandhi had a keen sense of situational analysis. His inner voice cautioned him against a direct head on clash with the mighty imperial power. Therefore, it was violence vs non-violence, military might vs moral force. His leadership logic was based on a clear insight of the British psyche. It was the triumph of Gandhi's soul force against the guns and lathis of the British adversary.

The Indian National Congress, which was in the vanguard of the struggle, helped Gandhi to seal his mastery over the people and the movement. His relationship with the Congress helped that body to become the centerstage of the revolt. Gandhi used the Congress as a platform for publicising his policies. Further, it became the focus of his political actions. It became the mouthpiece of Congressmen and held its sessions all over the country. From 1920, for a decade or so, Gandhi bestrode the Congress, like a colossus. He became its sole spokesman. His close identity with the party, was such that the Congress became Gandhi and Gandhi became the Congress. Leaders require a platform to publicise their programmes. Gandhi's leadership of the Congress, was therefore natural and logical.

Gandhi's skills as a negotiator and political strategist, became evident during the following years. His supremacy in the Congress was consolidated by his epic Salt March in 1930. The British authorities could no longer ignore India's defiance and open revolt. They realised that Gandhi could not be a mild opponent who could be forgotten and imprisoned. Several press reports in the West, openly proclaimed this reality. Lord Irwin was forced to invite Gandhi for a compromise. It sets the stage for displaying Gandhi's skills as a negotiator. His skills as a political bargainer was evidenced when he sat as an equal to Irwin, at the same table on an equal footing with the rulers. It was a singular feat of triumph, for Gandhi's negotiating skills. The logical conclusion of the Gandhi- Irwin pact, was to showcase Gandhi's efficiency, as an exemplary political strategist. His political aim, at this point was to heighten the struggle and bring it to a conclusive end.

The Quit India revolt, was the pinnacle of Gandhian leadership strategy. It was a fiery outburst, intended to topple the British government. It was the acme of Gandhian tactics. It was also a sign post to the British, for a post war peaceful and graceful exit from India.

In this background Gandhi's leadership logic achieved two results: one, the political emancipation of the Indians, second his position and prestige, as the uncrowned king of the masses.

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Re-visiting Gandhi and Savarkar

Rajaram Tolpadi &
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The present paper is a modest attempt to revisit the quintessential ideas of Gandhi and Savarkar. The attempt at juxtaposing Gandhi and Savarkar reveal three facts. Firstly, it points out to the fact that both Gandhi and Savarkar, with equal intensity, engaged with issues of civilization and their civilizational quest places them in a different class of thinkers demanding a distinct mode of intellectual enquiry. Secondly, unlike many Indians of their time, Gandhi and Savarkar were not carried away by liberal thought. This is a matter of immense ideological and political significance. Finally, the approach that Gandhi and Savarkar took towards the issues of religion and politics has the potential to pave new ways of reconstructing the theoretical and political agenda of secularism in India.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar are the most remarkable figures in the ideological history of modern India. Gandhi is remembered for the moral leadership that he provided in India's historic non-violent struggle against British colonialism. Savarkar is acknowledged for laying down the doctrinal foundation of Hindu Nationalism in India. At the very outset, the two leaders seem to occupy the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum of Indian politics. However, closer scrutiny of their ideas and pursuits brings forth certain revealing similarities between the two.

Against this background, the present paper wishes to revisit the quintessential ideas of Gandhi and Savarkar and juxtapose them. Such a juxtaposition, it is hoped, would evolve a new perspective of their ideas without undermining the fundamental ideological difference that exists between the two.

Gandhi's central text, '*Hind swaraj*' (Parel J. Antony: 1997) written in a transnational space during 1908 and Savarkar's seminal work 'Hindutva: who is a Hindu?' (Savarkar: 1928) a prime theoretical statement of Cultural Nationalism in India published in 1924, constitute major points of reference for this paper on the basis of which it engages with Gandhi and Savarkar on four core aspects of their thought.

1. The idea of Civilization
2. Approach to the questions of Nation and Nationalism
3. Attitude towards History
4. Reflections on Religion

1. The Idea of Civilization in Gandhi and Savarkar

The idea of civilization is central both to Gandhi and Savarkar. Both of them foster their respective political philosophies on the basis of a vibrant idea of Indian or Hindu civilization. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*, for instance, is based primarily on a critique of what he calls the materialist civilization of the modern West. Indian civilization appears in Gandhi as a spiritual and moral alternative to the modern civilization and the brazen materialism that it represents. Indian civilization, for Gandhi, is the moral other of Modern Civilization, representing the aspirations of freedom, self-respect, and dignity of all those societies subjected and subjugated by the ideological designs of Modern Civilization.

Gandhi's critique of Modern Civilization, finally, resulted in the envisioning of a philosophically profound idea of *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* or *Hind Swaraj* as he calls it is a critical utopia representing the freedom of all from the slavery of materialism and machinery of modern civilization. Although, *Hind Swaraj* is anchored in Indian

society or civilization it was not meant to be merely Indian. Gandhi has made it very clear several times both in *Hind Swaraj* and elsewhere that India's struggle against British Rule would invariably include the liberation of all including the British as well.

In other words, *Swaraj* was a global agenda for Gandhi cutting across communities, societies, regions, and Nations, a borderless idea of the world signifying the emancipation of all or *Sarvodaya*. Needless to say, Gandhi's *Swaraj* is a philosophical journey of the self in its constant experiment with truth and hence, *Satya*, *Satyagraha*, *Ahimsa*, and *Sarvodaya* are the organic components of his idea of *Swaraj*.

Savarkar, on the other hand, anchored his political philosophy on a clearly conceived idea of Hindu civilization and a lucidly articulated idea of Hindu identity. To him, Hindu civilization represents a way of life of a large community of people, and includes the norms and principles pursued by them. It is a civilization that has a long and illustrious history, a clearly laid down geographic location, and a well-defined idea of citizenship. According to Savarkar Hindu Civilization spreads around the banks of seven rivers (*Saptha Sindhu*), from river Sindhu to Hindu ocean. In other words, Savarkar constructs an idea of a civilizational Nation deeply embedded in the conceptions of history, geography, and community.

Savarkar held that *Hindutva* is the essence of Hindu civilization. It not only represented the dense memory and intense history of an entire civilizational population but also reflected their long-held aspirations, pursuits, and achievements. In this context, Savarkar made an important theoretical distinction between Hinduism and *Hindutva*. To him, the former represented a sectorally divided religious idea, while, the latter represented a larger cultural vision transcending the parochial divisions of caste, sect, and faith.

In consequence, Savarkar's civilizational idea of India was founded theoretically on a non-sectarian cultural idea of *Hindutva* that needs to be counter posed to an equally vibrant cultural idea of India represented by Gandhi in *Hind Swaraj*.

Gandhi's Swaraj and Savarkar's Nation

The profound philosophical difference that exists between Gandhi's understanding of Indian civilization and Savarkar's Hermeneutics of Hindu civilization gets reflected in their contrasting political imaginations of *Hind Swaraj* and *Hindu Rashtra*. Although, deeply anchored in the spiritual strength of Indian civilization, *Hind Swaraj* symbolizes a larger human aspiration for freedom and dignity. It transcends not only the geographical limits of the Modern Nation-state, but also, entails a subsumed critique of the ideology of Nationalism.

A closer reading of the vast universe of Gandhi's writings does not, however, suggest any direct negation either of the idea of the Nation or the ideology of Nationalism. Yet, *Swaraj*, in its quintessential meaning and implication, undermines everything that the modern Nation-state represents. *Swaraj* theoretically stands for the ideas of self-reliance, self-realization, and *Sarvodaya* and counter poses the ideas and structures of power, domination, centralization, control, and coercion that the nation-state upholds.

Swaraj, then in Gandhi is a universal idea of the self and the world articulated in and through the specificities of cultures and communities. It is a philosophical and political imagination of *Sarvodaya* premised on a dynamic and experimental idea of truth pursued through the moral praxis of *satyagraha*.

Noticeably, the intellectual sources that influenced Gandhi's political vision are distinctly different from those that influenced a large number of his contemporary Indians. Gandhi seems to have pleasantly escaped the dominant impact of the streams of liberal thought, despite his education and training in law in England. Gandhi initially in England and later in South Africa was introduced to a variety of thinkers and traditions representing a great deal of spiritual, religious, and moral moorings. Particularly, in South Africa, he took a lot of interest in Christian thought and was to eventually be influenced by thinkers such as Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoy, and others who represented divergent and radical traditions of Christianity. Hence, Gandhi's political vision appears a curious synthesis of Western, Non-Western, and Indian traditions of ethics, spirituality, and religion. The fact that Gandhi's political philosophy of *Swaraj* was not greatly shaped by liberalism and that he was attracted more

towards less illustrious non-liberal traditions of spiritual and moral thought has far-reaching theoretical implications on the agenda of normative politics in India.

Savarkar, on the other hand, envisions, through his powerful interpretation of Hindu civilization, a formidable idea of Hindu Rashtra exhibiting all the characteristic features of a Modern Nation-state. The Nation of Hindu Rashtra is deeply embedded in a vibrant idea of culture, firmly rooted in an intense historical memory and clearly located in a specific Geographic territory. To Savarkar, the nonsectarian idea of *Hindutva* is the cultural substance of Hindu Rashtra, an uninterrupted civilizational memory of valour and sacrifice constitutes its history, and finally, the spaces around the banks of Sapta Sindhu happen to be Hindu Rashtra's geographic location.

Who are the citizens of Hindu Rashtra?. Savarkar has an unambiguous response to the question. According to him all those communities of people residing on the banks of Sapta Sindhu belonging to diverse traditions, religions, sects and faiths are the legitimate citizens of Hindu Rashtra on the condition that they consider their land not only as '*Matra Bhoomi*' (Motherland) or '*Pitra Bhoomi*' (fatherland) but more importantly as '*Punya Bhoomi*' (Holy land). Hence, the conception of citizenship in Savarkar's Hindu Rashtra, strictly speaking, is not dependent upon any sectarian or religious association or identity. Instead, it is determined primarily on an unequivocal commitment of the citizens towards an abstract sentiment of *Punya Bhoomi*.

Evidently, Savarkar's vision of an infallible Hindu Rashtra appears to be a replica of the European idea of the Nation-state. The history of the formation of Nation-states in Europe and the processes of Italian and German unification seems to have influenced Savarkar immensely in envisioning the idea of Hindu Rashtra. Jyotirmaya Sharma (2003) in his probing book on Hindutva observes that the impact of the writings of Joseph Mazzini on Savarkar was so vital that it prompted him to edit two volumes on Mazzini in Marathi.

Interestingly, Savarkar was not influenced by the then theoretically prominent streams of political thought in Europe. Instead, he was captivated by theoretically less illustrious but ideologically more powerful streams of political thought and action.

Contesting Perspectives on History

In the course of envisioning their distinctive political imaginations of *Hind Swaraj* and Hindu Rashtra, both Gandhi and Savarkar embarked upon the task of anchoring their political ideals in a historical trajectory. While doing so they found each other in opposite ends of the ideological spectrum. Due to a vast difference in their perspectives on the idea of history Gandhi and Savarkar ended up providing two hugely different historical narratives on India.

Strictly speaking, Gandhi's narrative on *Swaraj* was far from being historical. He did not exhibit any great faith in the idea of history. Nor, at any point in time, did he accept the authority or supremacy of history. Instead, Gandhi consistently tried to counterpose mythology to history and arrived at very different inferences. In other words, a close look at Gandhi's attitude towards history suggests that he was deeply suspicious of the epistemic foundations of history as a specific form of knowledge of the past.

In spite of all this, Gandhi anchors his idea of *Swaraj* in an imagined history of Indian civilization, although this history represents more a remembered past than a documented history. In this context the crucial distinction that Ashis Nandy (1995: Pp 44-46) draws between the idea of history and the past becomes pertinent. He argues in his celebrated Essay 'Histories Forgotten Doubles' that history is a modern construct deeply embedded in the European civilizational ethos and that innumerable societies of the non-western world do not have the kind of history that the modern west celebrates. Ashis Nandy points out that different societies have their own culturally distinct ways of dealing with history or making sense of the Past.

Seen in this light, Gandhi's attempt of rooting his idea of *Swaraj* in the civilizational history of India does not appear to be an act of historicization or an activity of historical reconstruction. Instead, it is a political endeavor in envisioning the moral or spiritual other to the material civilization of the modern west. Indian

civilization in Gandhi is a quintessential spiritual alternative rather than a spatiotemporal or historical other to the modern material west. In other words, Gandhi's attempt in recasting a historical narrative of India radically different from western historiographical traditions could be seen as reconceptualizing the idea of history. Gandhi did so cleverly and effectively. He did not bother much about the methodological protocols of western historiography. Nor cared to observe its periodization categories. A nuanced reading of Gandhi's engagement with the history of Indian civilization, however, suggests that he was trying to anchor his vision of *Swaraj* in a radical religio-spiritual tradition of medieval India such as *Bhakti*.

In contrast, Savarkar appears to be a striking instance of parading and celebrating history. To him, history is an unblemished mirror of truth and an ultimate destroyer of all that is false and unworthy. Savarkar's theoretical exposition of *Hindutva* as well as his historical narrative of India represents unmistakably a commitment to the idea of history that he inherits from his education and exposure to the western traditions of historiography.

Savarkar's narrative of Indian history both distant and recent is a history of heroic sacrifices and great achievements. Exceptionally illustrious historical figures from the early periods to the present occupy prominence in his description. Chhatrapati Shivaji is Savarkar's greatest celebrity. Similarly, people such as Prithvi Raj Chawan, Rana Prathap Simha, Nana Fadnavis, and a galaxy of others assume due significance. In other words, Savarkar's history of India is a history of valour and pride. Finally, signifying the renaissance of a civilization and resurgence of a Nation.

Despite its grandeur and shine, Savarkar's narrative of India appears to be a re-enactment of European history. The impact of the history of German and Italian unification was so heavy on Savarkar that he could not escape from it. Hence, Savarkar's description of India was more a mirror image of Europe captivated in the methodological grids of its historiography.

Reflections on Religion

A serious engagement with the ideas of Gandhi and Savarkar on religion will bring to the fore certain remarkably significant issues. In the first place, both Gandhi and Savarkar were deeply religious in their own distinctive sense of the term. Secondly, both of them tied their political agenda firmly to the religious milieu of Indian Society. Finally, their respective political discourses are full of religious symbols and cultural metaphors.

Significantly, the idea of secularism that is based on a crucial distinction between religion and politics is not acceptable to both Gandhi and Savarkar. Gandhi has made it clear on several occasions that he considered religion and politics to be as inseparable as ethics and economics, while, Savarkar did not hesitate to deploy religious ideas, symbols, and strategies to achieve or realize his political objectives. The inextricable relation that Gandhi and Savarkar establish between religion and politics make them clear outsiders to the dominant discourse on secularism based on theoretical and strategic separation between religion and politics.

Gandhi held on to a view of religion both in the spiritual as well as communitarian sense. Spiritually it meant to him an exploratory journey in the realm of truth. To Gandhi religion is also a moral principle of community life and character building. He pursued religion in both senses intensely and vigorously.

Gandhi had no hesitation in declaring himself a Hindu and adhered to his own distinctive brand of Hinduism both in his public and personal life. The Hinduism that he inherited and practiced was a combination of many traditions including Islam. Owing to his attraction towards divergent spiritual and religious traditions of thinking, during his stay in England and South Africa, Gandhi was to evolve an open-ended multi-religious perspective of social and political action.

Owing to the embeddedness of multi religiosity in Gandhi's perspective of Hinduism, B.R Nanda, an acknowledged scholar on Gandhi characterizes Gandhi as 'Hindu of all Hindus' representing the quintessential virtues of divergent traditions of Hinduism (Nanda B R; 1994).

Savarkar too was deeply interested in issues concerning religion. However, he did not show any belief towards any religious faith or sect and did not practice religion in his personal life. Being an atheist and a

rationalist Savarkar did not exhibit any inclination towards spiritual pursuits or values. He considered a religion, not as a spiritual phenomenon but a temporal principle of organizing public life. In other words, to Savarkar, religion connotes a distinct Indian meaning. To him, Religion as *Dharma* is an instrument of organizing political economy (*Artha* and *Kama*). This sense of religion as *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama* enabled him to evolve religious strategies to organize or reorganize public affairs. Savarkar then appears to be a classic example of upholding an indigenous idea of religion.

Conclusion

Our attempt of juxtaposing Gandhi and Savarkar has served at least three objectives. Firstly, it tried to call attention to the fact that both Gandhi and Savarkar, with equal intensity, engaged with issues of civilization and their civilizational quest places them in a different class of thinkers demanding a distinct mode of intellectual enquiry. Secondly, unlike many Indians of their time, Gandhi and Savarkar were not carried away by liberal thought. This is a matter of immense ideological and political significance.

Finally, the approach that Gandhi and Savarkar took towards the issues of religion and politics has the potential to pave new ways of reconstructing the theoretical and political agenda of secularism in India.

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Modern India and Unfinished Gandhian Programmes

Rama Shanker Singh

The working experience of Indian Democracy for the last many decades has proved Gandhi right and purposeful. Village Swaraj today has become a political tool for emancipation of dalit and downtrodden. The enactment of Panchayati Raj Institution through 73rd Amendment Act of Indian Constitution made special provision for reservation for the Scheduled castes. For the first time a large and visible number of dalit men and women entered into power centers. It has broken the caste discrimination faced by dalit for which Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi fought. The Panchayat Institution has produced a new kind of dalit leadership at grass root level. According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar a strong centre would be fruitful to the dalit as villages were centers of exploitation, and hence he opposed it. But the Gandhian idea of swaraj performed well than a centralized democracy. Now people are transforming more power to the village panchayat through which India is trying to reduce inequality and making them a sense of equality. Gandhian political ideas made social and economic changes in life of the downtrodden. The economic plans of Gandhi were also an integral part of his preparation for leading the masses into power. Thus Gandhian view on centralization of power and concentration of parliamentary powers in Office of a few turned to be prophetic.

India became independent on 15 August 1947 and M K Gandhi was assassinated by a fanatic on 30 January 1948. The physical elimination could not wipe out the Gandhian vision. Gandhism returned in public imagination more forcefully and politically. His demise saw the end of Hindu-Muslim communal conflicts in many cities. Phanishwar Nath Renu, a noted hindi novelist, wrote a novel Maila Anchal (The Dirty Landscape) in 1954. He has recorded the incident very sensitively, wherein he says that when the news of assassination of Gandhi reached through radio, people started crying. In this novel, he created a powerful character named Bawandas. Bawandas is a devoted Gandhian, who stood for Gandhian cause and value system. He was later killed by a contractor. The contractor is the representative of the ruling dispensation of 1950s. This story tells the tragic faith of a Gandhian in independent India. Similarly, in the public-life of the nation, Gandhi was also being dis-regarded and ignored. In the Constituent Assembly of India, he was acknowledged the guiding soul for the making of the Constitution. It discussed the future of India and made a marvelous Constitution. At some portions, Gandhian ideas were there and in other portions he was discarded. A close reading of these debates shows that law makers of the time used Gandhian principles to suit their requirements. Some more prominent Gandhian ideas relating to upliftment of downtrodden, the economic revival of village did not get enough attention. His idea of village swaraj was thoroughly rejected by Dr. Ambedkar on 4 November 1948. Some of his constructive programmes were included in the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) which are not enforceable by the courts of the land. So, they became a gentleman's wish for betterment. As we will see in this paper, in the later years of twentieth century, these Gandhian ideas mobilized millions of poor in India for seeking their rights.

On 4 November 1948, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar criticized the idea of village swaraj without mentioning Gandhi. He said:

“What pride can one feel in them? That they have survived through all vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is on what plane they have survived... I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. I am therefore surprised that those who condemn

provincialism and communalism came forward as champions of the village. What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit".¹

Actually Gandhi was of the view that every village have to be a Republic in free India, having power not only to administer its internal affairs but also 'capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world'.² He emphasized that this could be possible only in a perfectly non-violent society. Thus, a village *swaraj* for Gandhi was foundation for a peaceful world. This idea was also compatible for income distribution among masses. From the very beginning of his political career Gandhi emphasized that concentration of wealth in some hands would lead to violence. So he advocated village *swaraj* based on economic sustainability and local competence. It will put some wealth in every hand. He added that under such a society the state would be a Federation of villages, but 'life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose Centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals never aggressive in their arrogance but even humble, sharing the majority of the oceanic circle of which they are integral unit'.³ Some members of Constituent Assembly who opposed Ambedkar's view earlier, later supported a system of federal government. This was against Gandhian idea of *village swaraj*: what took place was power concentration through constitutional frames.

The constitution was framed during a period of decolonization and emergence of new countries in Asia and Africa. The leaders of the newly emerged nations wanted to make their nations strong and powerful. The idea of village was nowhere in the political imagination of the leaders driven by personality cult. The contemporaries of Jawaharlal Nehru were in support of a strong centre of power. They believed that without it 'a new dawn of civilization' was not possible. So, we should not blame either Nehru or Dr. Ambedkar but should look into greater realities of the time where *village swaraj* was losing its sheen.

The working experience of Indian democracy for the last many decades has proved Gandhi right and purposeful. *Village swaraj* today has become a political tool for emancipation of dalits and downtrodden. The enactment of Panchayatiraj Institution through 73rd Amendment Act of Indian constitution made special provision of reservation for the Scheduled Castes. For the first time a large and visible number of dalit men and women entered in to power centres. It has broken the caste discrimination faced by *dalits* for which Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi fought. The Panchayatiraj Institution has produced a new kind of *dalit* leadership at grass-root level. Dr. Ambedkar thought that a strong centre would be more fruitful to the dalits as villages were centres of exploitation, that's why he opposed the idea. But the Gandhian idea of *swaraj* worked well than a centralized democracy. Now people are talking of transferring more power to the village panchayats. Robert Dahl says that democracy is a political response to the logic of equality.⁴ Through this Gandhian way India is trying to reduce inequality and making a sense of equality. As Granville Austin used to say that one test of a Constitution is whether it can provide a durable framework of government in the midst of great social and economic change.⁵ Gandhian political ideas made social and economic changes in the life of downtrodden. The economic plans of Gandhi were also an integral part of his preparation for leading the masses into power. He held the view that the means of production of elementary necessities of life should remain in the control of the masses. But the control ultimately went to bureaucracy.⁶

The Prominence of Big Machines and Parliament

The 1950's saw the glamorous age of Jawaharlal Nehru, the selected heir of Gandhi. Gandhi selected him to row the boat of national affairs and fate of Indian people. As back as in 1936, he said that the future of people of India is safe in Jawaharlal Nehru's hand. He was a firm believer in Nehru's capacity to understand India better but in later years things changed in complicated ways. A nation free from colonial slavery was trying to march towards progress, development and modernity. India tried to look modern and advanced in every possible way. Gandhian developmental model was considered an outdated one. In this process, nature was conquered by state-led projects and big dams were constructed on mighty rivers. As Sunil Amrith rightly

calls it rivers were dammed.⁷ The irrigation projects and electricity were the new prime movers of economy. The economic proposals of J.C. Kumarappa were relegated to the backstage.⁸ Kumarappa had advocated small against big, handlooms against factories and Jaggery against mill made sugar. He was of the opinion that it would provide more jobs and permanence than an economy led by big machines.

N. K. Bose writes:

It was in order to prevent this contingency that Gandhi recommended and worked for decentralization of the productive system as far as that was practicable. But he also held that in order to enrich life further, the decentralized units should engage in voluntary cooperation to the maximum, but necessary extent. And these circles of cooperation would and should cut across state-made frontiers. In case, however, such cooperation was used in the pursuit of wrong ends, the decentralized units could withdraw from forced cooperation and fall back upon their own limited resources for the satisfaction of their vital needs. In other words, the masses were to preserve their Independence and not barter it away for a purely mechanical, higher standard of living.⁹

Modern Development was not possible without a powerful parliament. Gandhi was always against the idea of a powerful parliament or parliamentary democracy in which power was concentrated in the hands of a few. He said that a parliament is not the solution of India's problem. Gandhi accepted the idea of swaraj but rejected the parliament's prominence. In the first decade of nineteenth century he wrote in Hind Swaraj :

The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power than about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. His care is not always that Parliament shall do right. In order to gain their ends, they certainly bribe people with honours. I do not hesitate to say that they have neither real honesty nor a living conscience. To the English voters their newspaper is their Bible. The same fact is differently interpreted by different newspapers, according to the party in whose interests they are edited.¹⁰

The Constituent Assembly Debates gives us clue as to how the Assembly was thinking about the powers of parliament, the Prime Minister and the President. The principle is that the Prime Minister works with the minister's appointed by the President. This makes a very strong and centralized government. On 31 December 1948, Naziruddin Ahmad, a member from West Bengal, warned:

They would cover or protect from question any act done by a Minister or by a Ministry through the President and a Minister will thereby secure a kind of protection which he should not enjoy. A Minister will be enabled to use the President as an effective shield to support an unconstitutional act. The sanctity of the Constitution would thus be seriously impaired, its authority seriously undermined, if a perfectly unconstitutional act is shut out from any kind of discussion or question, under the latter part of this clause. I submit, Sir, this is a very serious encroachment on the rights of the citizens so eloquently guaranteed with so much flourish in the Constitution. These rights would be absolutely nullified if a President can be coaxed, persuaded, on the advice of a Minister to act in an unconstitutional manner.¹¹

When India got her new constitution, its Article 74(1) reads that there shall be a council of ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice.¹ In general this is a good form of a government. So many countries run their business with this system but 'emergency' provisions of this kind government goes all against the people who have chosen the very government. Even the government chosen by the people develops an inner tendency that goes against the spirit of democracy.¹² The rise of majoritarianism in many countries now a days is a result of such kind of electoral and political preferences.

The very first general election saw Jawaharlal Nehru becoming the 'star campaigner'. In later years the prime ministers became the poster boys of election campaigns and even sometime they behaved like party presidents. Thus Gandhi's view on centralization of power and concentration of parliamentary powers in the office of a few turned to be prophetic.

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Gandhiji for the 21st Century

S.M. Vijayanand

Gandhiji seems to be more relevant than before, not only to India, but to the whole world. One hopes that people re-visit, re-read, re-understand and re-accept Gandhiji and that too after critically assessing his doctrines for their application to the current crisis in the polity, society and economy. To humanity, suffering from self-inflicted wounds, Gandhiji's teachings can heal a nation which seems to have veered off its moral course, chasing non-issues, getting distracted by potently foolish slogans, harming the very idea of India, as it has so organically, evolved over millennia. Clashing ideologies, with destabilizing potential, can be bridged by Gandhiji's wisdom; social wounds can be healed by his thoughts, and destructive development can be corrected with his sage advice - not only in India but in the whole world.

Gandhiji's ideas on various issues evolved over time. He was "idealistic", in the sense that he had a vision for the future, but it was not just dreaming. It grew out of deep grassroots level joint-action with different stakeholders, influenced by wide ranging experience, often backed up by experiments. As Gandhiji's understanding of issues became deeper, he was frank enough to accept changes in his views with adequate justification.

The Covid crisis has suddenly shaken up human civilization and called into question various development strategies till recently accepted as gospel truths. Now Gandhiji seems to be more relevant than before, not only to India, but to the whole world. One hopes that people re-visit, re-read, re-understand and re-accept Gandhiji and that too after critically assessing his doctrines for their application to the current crisis in the polity, society and economy.

Polity

In a sense, Gandhiji was a republican upholding the supremacy of the people and even the individual citizen, of course, subject to moral values. The individual, to him, "is the architect of his governance". Political leaders, especially those in positions of power, are trustees of the people. They are their servants and are expected to perform in accordance with their expectations. To serve the people is a rare privilege and sacred task and, service, to the extent possible, has to be rendered face to face with the people. This is in sharp contrast to the current praxis where politicians forget their *raison d'être*. Instead of humble response to people's issues and needs, there is arrogant display of hubris with visceral intolerance of difference, let alone dissent. Power is used for partisan interests and the State inspires fear rather than respectful affection and trust.

Unproven shibboleths are invoked to push development which is controlled by a few powerful commercial interests oblivious to the basic needs of the ordinary human being, the *daridranarayana* and destruction of nature - stimulating greed and satisfying the powerful few, denying the basic needs of the masses.

Gandhiji envisaged an active citizenry; every individual has the potential to become a true 'satyagrahi' and 'satyagraha', is nothing other than public action for common good. The citizen has always to be on the watch and be self-educated to acquire capacity to regulate and control authority, even to resist it when it is abused. He said "public opinion can do what violence can never do". He expected citizens to practice self-help and mutual help; but there needs to be a balance of rights and duties and an important duty is free labour for common good called 'shramadan'. To quote Gandhiji, "labour has its unique place in a cultured human being".

To Gandhiji, governance meant direct involvement of the people through the Gram Sabhas in which

'the humblest and lowest human being' would be the most important actor. His philosophy of 'antyodaya', or putting the last first, is of immense current relevance which calls for inclusive development, to use a modern term. His idea of direct interactive democracy at the level of the Gram Sabha, combines both deliberative and communicative democracy.

Naturally, he was strongly against any kind of majoritarianism which he termed as "heartless doctrine which has done harm to humanity". Gandhiji conceived of Panchayati Raj not only for governance of villages but also governance of the country as a whole. Quite different from the modern conceptualization of the Village Panchayat as the lowest tier of governance, to him, it constituted the core, the centre, the nucleus of an ever-expanding circle, an organic horizontal network which is the antithesis of hierarchy. To him, the Village Panchayats would function as legislature, executive and judiciary, all rolled into one, and it would not use force, but only moral persuasion. The focus would be on autonomy and self-sufficiency, but as he himself stated, "independent of its neighbours for vital wants, inter-dependent where dependence is necessary". This is the basis of "swadeshi" or self-reliance and "swaraj or self-rule" in which the poorest citizen becomes the ruler, so critical to achieving local development. Gandhiji laid down clear objectives for the Panchayats.

- Achieve sanitation and health.
- Increase food production.
- Maximize employment.
- Double the income of the village.
- Eradicate poverty.

"Swaraj has but one meaning - eradication of poverty and freedom of man and woman".

- Educate the masses.
- Abolish untouchability and social ills.
- Manage local resources and prefer use of local materials - those readily available within 5 Kms.

Combining Gandhiji's political and development thoughts, and in the context of the current focus on participatory planning at the panchayat level, it is possible to construct elements of a Gandhian People's Plan.

A. Human Development.

- First problem to be solved is sanitation.
 - Public health.
 - no plague, no cholera, no small pox.
 - Education.
 - for full employment - through work.

B. Economic Development.

- Agriculture.
 - for food self-sufficiency.
 - natural - ecological.
- Collective cattle farming.
- Khadi and Village Industries.
- Transportation and market access.

C. Social Development.

- Abolition of untouchability.
- Elimination of social ills.
 - drink/intoxication.
- Communal amity.
- Village artisan/poet/artist.

D. Civic Amenities.

- Well-ventilated dwellings.
- Water works. (beyond wells)
- Public theatre.
- Community hall.
- Playground.

In his concept of Panchayati Raj, social issues are as important as development issues and moral power is more important than political authority. The framework is very appropriate to the present situation, when the country sorely misses functional system of local governance.

Society

Gandhiji envisaged an egalitarian society focused on social justice. "I do not believe in the greatest good of the greatest number. The only real, dignified human doctrine is the greatest good of all", he stated. He was strongly against casteism and untouchability which he called an "excrescence in Hinduism" and its "blot and curse". He found it repugnant to reason and to the instinct of mercy, pity and love. He said "we shall be unfit to gain *Swaraj* as long as we keep in bond one-fifth of the population. To him, untouchability was as violent and sinful as the Jallianwala bagh massacre. He strongly believed in temple entry which to him was a spiritual act. Though he has written more about Scheduled Castes, in the 18 point constructive programme, he included the *Adivasis* as well.

He believed strongly in communal amity. He himself admitted to mutual tension and mutual fear existing between the Hindus and Muslims and pleaded for the union of hearts as he saw them as children of one mother. What he argued was, for the partnership of equals. If one does not respect another's faith, it is actually undermining one's own faith. He was clear that without communal amity, *Swaraj* is an impossible dream. So nationalism is empty without communal harmony, a simple lesson which India can ignore only at its own peril.

He was a strong proponent of gender justice, "of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better-half of humanity". "All men would regard every woman as mother, sister or daughter". For him, better-half was not just a phrase; he really believed that women have greater moral power, intuition and are capable of self-sacrifice. He said "if non-violence is the law of our being, then the future is with women". He strongly supported inter-caste, inter-faith and widow marriages.

Economy

To Gandhiji, economics has to be as per the laws of nature, for social harmony and for moral advancement. He believed in a decentralized economy focusing on self-sufficiency of villages to the extent feasible. His primacy was total employment of every able-bodied person and physical work is sacred. In his concept of bread labour, eating without labour is equivalent of consuming stolen food. So, he called for

production by the masses and not mass production. He believed in local economic development, khadi and village industry, being the core of it. Khadi and Village Industries have the following features.

- Low capital.
- Local materials.
- Local technology.
- Easy processes.
- Local jobs (certainty round the year).
- Minimum energy.
- Affordable.
- Local market.

It is the beginning of economic freedom, a symbol of India's unity. To him, khadi was an idea. It is in perfect sync with the idea of local economic development and is a powerful anti-thesis of mindless concentration of wealth and dehumanizing globalization.

Gandhiji was a socialist, in a different sense. His focus was on the end use of wealth and not on ownership. Wages have to be according to need with a minimum and a maximum limit. His concept of trusteeship expects the entrepreneurs who have special skills to manage the relevant factors of production to act as trustees of the people to produce for social need and not for personal greed. It is significant to note that he advocated national ownership of big industries with role for workers in management. He believed in trade unions with a broader mandate of looking after the welfare of the workers. He was a champion of peasants' rights as is seen from his participation in the agitations in Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli, all against oppression by middle-men and vested interests.

He believed in a single class with workers and capitalists as trustee-managers of industries, working for common interest. But he was clear about the primacy of labour rights and welfare, as he said "capital should be labour's servant not its master". He implied the synthesis of economics and ethics.

Though Gandhiji has not written specifically in detail about environment, he undoubtedly embodied deep ecology in his living and thinking. He advocated sanitation in a larger sense of the term to avoid all kinds of pollution. He recognized the importance of soil health and natural farming and he presaged sustainable development through his advocacy that earth, air, land and water are not inheritance from forefathers but loan from children, to be handed over to them, as it was handed over to us.

Conclusion

To a nation, which is forgetting collective and cooperative democracy, starting from the grassroots and where politicians and their parties seem to focus only on divides across caste, creed, class, language and region, on the occasion of his 150th birth anniversary, which unfortunately, has not been observed by anybody with the seriousness it deserves, Gandhiji offers valuable lessons. He personified justice in all its facets. He was always for the victim, the subjugated groups and nations whether it be racism in South Africa or untouchability and communalism in India. His concept of social justice was in religious, spiritual and idealistic terms, but religion beyond rituals and spirituality rooted in morals and values, in the concept of 'Dharma'. He was eclectic and synthesized his ideas from all religions and great thinkers, but realization is secular with focus on 'sarvodaya' and 'antodaya', the latter looking after the last, the least and the lost. Regarding the religious roots of political and social action, Romain Rolland said, "he drew strength from below for the working above". Religion was deeply personal and political and social action was absolutely humanist, including not excluding, uniting not dividing, loving not hating, cooperating not competing.

Covid times have highlighted poignantly the value of agriculture and local economy, of a life in harmony

with nature, of cooperative local democracy and an economy rooted in the people and the locality and flowing outwards. His 18 Point Constructive Programme is the agenda which India now needs to adopt - so clear and really holistic.

To humanity, suffering from self-inflicted wounds, Gandhiji's teachings can heal a nation which seems to have veered off its moral course, chasing non-issues, getting distracted by potently foolish slogans, harming the very idea of India, as it has so organically, evolved over millennia. Clashing ideologies, with destabilizing potential, can be bridged by Gandhiji's wisdom; social wounds can be healed by his thoughts, and destructive development can be corrected with his sage advice - not only in India but in the whole world.

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Rediscovering Gandhian Health Ethics

Saurav Kumar Rai

Ethics are central to the entire body of Gandhian thought including that on health and healing. The present paper delves into the 'health ethics' of Mahatma Gandhi, that is to say, the values guiding his perception of healing systems, medical practitioners, human body, and dietary rules. As the paper argues, Mahatma Gandhi tried to intertwine his notions of health with the values propounded by him such as non-violence, tolerance, rural sustainability and compassion towards fellow human beings. It is noticeable that Gandhi appears as a pragmatic person and nowhere an obstinate ideologue when it comes to issues related to health. Associated with this were his numerous experiments pertaining to health, healing and dietetics which constitute the subject matter of the present paper.

Good health was deemed as the greatest asset of a human being by Mahatma Gandhi. He was of the opinion that it was health that was real wealth and not pieces of gold and silver. Such weight which Mahatma Gandhi attached to health led to the development of 'health ethics' which can be extracted from his voluminous writings. He wrote extensively on his choice of healing system, dietary experiments, serving the diseased and so on. This paper discusses each of these themes successively at one place so as to draw a clear picture of Gandhian health ethics which is otherwise sporadic. The present discussion on Gandhian health ethics also nuances our understanding of the pros and cons of existing health infrastructure and inherent values.

It is noticeable that by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century against the growing dominance, or more so hegemony, of western medicine in India an entire movement had come up to revive 'indigenous' healing systems of the country. Several vaidas and hakims throughout the country tried to reinstate the 'lost' glory of 'indigenous' healing practices through public polemics, organizational efforts and political mobilization. Countrymen were appealed by these practitioners to adopt 'indigenous' healing systems over western medicine for their intrinsic merit and national values. Between 1920s and 40s, Mahatma Gandhi also took keen interest in this issue related to the choice of healing systems. Interestingly, despite being champion of the cause of 'swadeshi' in every walk of life, Gandhi's critique of western medicine or allopathy was mostly on ethical grounds, otherwise on many occasions he found the western system worthier than the contemporary state of 'indigenous' systems of healing- viz. Ayurveda and Unani. In one of his letters to T. Titus (dated April 4, 1933), he even praised allopathy and considered it as an all-inclusive system [*The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (hereafter *CWMG*), Vol. 60: 270-72]. He was of the opinion that '[I]f allopathy rids itself of the worship of mammon, which has overtaken most human activities and could *exclude vivisection and other (such) practices which I call black*, and liberally took advantage of the new methods discovered by lay people, it would become all-satisfying and quite inexpensive' [*CWMG*, Vol 60: 271]. Further, he went on to state that 'I am driven by the conclusion that allopathy, although it has great limitations and much superstition about it, is still the most *universal* and *justifiably* the most popular system' [*CWMG*, Vol 60: 271]. In another letter to the ailing Vallabhbhai Patel (dated August 31, 1941) who had resorted to Ayurveda, Gandhi categorically stated that 'I have not much faith in Ayurveda. The vaidas do not master their subject' [*CWMG*, Vol 81: 43]. Also, even if he criticised vivisection, vaccination, etc. all of which were an integral part of western system of medicine, Gandhi always considered it as his 'individual' opinion. In fact, in some of his letters he even suggested people to get vaccinated if they did not have religious apprehensions about it [*CWMG*, Vol 59: 325; *CWMG*, Vol 63: 225]. Further, on certain occasions, Gandhi found himself obliged to use allopathic drugs instead of Ayurvedic as he found nothing so efficacious as quinine for malaria or iodine for simple pains or Condy's fluid as a disinfectant [*CWMG*, Vol 39: 253].

However, all this is not to argue that Gandhi was the advocate of western system of medicine and was antithetical to the Ayurvedic movement. In fact, Gandhi was critical of the Ayurvedic practitioners' lack of spirit of enquiry, a spirit which he found in the allopathic practitioners. Gandhi felt that although 'indigenous' medicine did accept a relationship between the body and soul, it lacked the spirit of enquiry which fired western medicine to keep pace with the new challenges and gave it a contemporary relevance. That is why in his speech at the inauguration of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College at Delhi on February 13, 1921, while he criticised modern medicine for the lack of humanitarian values, he equally condemned the Ayurvedic practitioners' apathy towards the spirit of enquiry:

'I would like to pay my humble tribute to the spirit of research that fires the modern scientists. My quarrel is not against that spirit. My complaint is against the direction that the spirit had taken. It has chiefly concerned itself with the exploration of laws and methods conducing to the merely material advancement of its clientele. But I have nothing but praise for the zeal, industry and sacrifice that have animated the modern scientists in the pursuit after truth. *I regret to have to record my opinion based on considerable experience that our hakims and vaidas [do] not exhibit that spirit in any mentionable degree.* They follow without question formulas. They carry on little investigation. *The condition of indigenous medicine is truly deplorable.* Not having kept abreast of modern research, their profession has fallen largely into disrepute. I am hoping that this college will try to remedy this grave defect and restore Ayurvedic and Unani medical sciences to its pristine glory. *I am glad, therefore, that this institution has its western wing*' [CWMG, Vol 22: 342, emphases added].

Gandhi reiterated similar viewpoints in his speeches at the Ayurvedic Pharmacy, Madras on March 24, 1925 [CWMG, Vol 31: 33-34] and the Ashtanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya, Calcutta on May 6, 1925 [CWMG, Vol 31: 280-83]. According to Gandhi, there was a time when he used to swear by the Ayurvedic medicine and used to recommend it to all his friends, who had gone for western medicine, to go to the Ayurvedic practitioners. But he soon got disillusioned by the sorry state of Ayurveda and Unani as physicians belonging to these systems lacked sanity and humility. He was severely critical of vaidas' claim that mere feeling of the pulse could enable them to understand whether the patient was suffering from appendicitis or some such other disease. He found such diagnostic methods, as practised by vaidas and hakims, false and incomplete in most of the cases [CWMG, Vol 31: 282]. In fact, in one of his letters to Vallabhram Vaidya (dated June 28, 1942) Gandhi went on to claim, 'Ayurveda has not yet become science. In a science there is always room for progress. Where is any progress here?' [CWMG, Vol 83: 60].

Such views of Gandhi on Ayurvedic practitioners attracted the ire of many prominent vaidas of the time. In fact, Gananath Sen, the famous vaid from Bengal, sought clarification from Gandhi regarding his position vis-à-vis Ayurveda after his controversial speech at the Ashtanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya, Calcutta. Replying to him, Gandhi made it clear that he was not against Ayurveda as such, rather he was critical of the way Ayurvedic practitioners were conducting themselves viz. their lack of humility and the absence of a spirit of enquiry [CWMG, Vol 31: 460-62]. Thus, Gandhi emerged as the 'internal critique' of the contemporary state of Ayurvedic system of healing on several occasions. The very fact that he accepted the invitations to inaugurate and to deliver speeches at the institutions meant for propagating Ayurveda shows that he was not at all antithetical to the healing system itself, rather he found himself duty-bound to show the vaidas and hakims mirror regarding their limitations and shortcomings. Had he been absolutely hostile to the Ayurvedic movement, he would not have accepted these invitations.

Furthermore, Gandhi never endorsed the typical claim of the practitioners of 'indigenous' medicine, whereby they held the colonial regime responsible for the decline of 'indigenous' systems of medicine. According to Gandhi, Ayurveda could not be saved either by money or by the state. He believed that it is only through 'yajna', which implied ceaseless selfless devotion and labour of vaidas, that Ayurveda could be rescued. That is why Gandhi was critical of the exorbitant fees charged by eminent vaidas like Gananath Sen [CWMG, Vol 83: 60]. Reiterating this, in his response (dated August 4, 1946) to the letter of Brijlal Nehru

who had condemned the colonial government and its lack of patronage for the decline of Ayurveda, Gandhi argued that 'I am unable to subscribe to the condemnation of the state for not providing institutions for research. I have always blamed the vaid's apathy in the matter of real research. The top ones are busy making money. The others are too ignorant to do so or are easily satisfied with what they find in the orthodox Ayurvedic books. I am sorry for this view. I come to it, in spite of my great regard for the Ayurvedic system and Unani which are suited to the soil' [CWMG, Vol 91: 415]. In the same letter, Gandhi further stated that 'My love of nature care and of indigenous systems does not blind me to advance that western medicine has made in spite of the fact that I have stigmatised it as black magic' [CWMG, Vol 91: 415].

In fact, Gandhi was the advocate of bringing together the 'goods' of all the three systems viz. Ayurveda, Unani and western medicine. He believed that such union of the three systems would result in a 'harmonious blending and in purging each of its special defects' [CWMG, Vol 22: 342]. Furthermore, it is interesting to look at the correspondence between Gandhi and Vallabhram Vaidya within whom he found his ideal of 'satyagarhi scientist' in the field of medicine. He wished Vallabhram to make Ayurveda as cheaper as possible through constant exploration and research. He even advised Vallabhram to tour the Himalayas and collect medicinal herbs [CWMG, Vol 80: 120]. In one of his letters (dated May 28, 1942) guiding Vallabhram, Gandhi stated: 'You should show, if you can, that indigenous medicine is simple, inexpensive and capable of giving relief to 99 patients out of a hundred. If you feel that this cannot be done, then you should give up the profession' [CWMG, Vol 82: 340]. Meanwhile, keeping this in mind, Gandhi experimented with 'nature cure' as well. Actually, Gandhi wanted everybody to be his or her own doctor. In general, he was against the very profession of 'medical practitioner', be it of any system, as all of them in his opinion solely focused on gaining money and neglected the 'soul' and 'self-control' [Gandhi 2005: 50-52]. That is why he continuously insisted on 'nature cure'. Nevertheless, frustrated by his attempts to develop a 'cohesive' and 'humane' system of healing and despite his advocacy and personal love for nature cure Gandhi, on the eve of independence, in his letter to Sankaran (dated July 21, 1947), stated that 'Of course some harm has been done by allopathy, but the benefits are obvious. Otherwise there could never have been so many hospitals. *Allopathy suits well the present atmosphere*' [CWMG, Vol 96: 98, emphasis added].

So far as Gandhian dietetics is concerned Mahatma Gandhi was constantly in search of a 'perfect' diet which could respect many connections between the food, physical health, social and political environments. In this regard, Nico Slate in his recent book, following the newly emerged genre of food history, intertwines dietary experiments of Mahatma Gandhi with the values propounded by him like non-violence, religious tolerance and rural sustainability [Slate 2019]. Slate sheds new light on development of Gandhi's food ethics connecting them to various phases of his life such as his student years in London, his politicisation as a young lawyer in South Africa, the 1930 Dandi March, and his numerous fasts as means of self-purification. Furthermore, as Nico Slate emphatically argues that Gandhi's rejection of sugar, chocolate and salt was not merely a matter of dietary choice; rather it was a conscious device to oppose the economics based on slavery, indentured labour and imperialism. In other words, the pillars of Gandhian diet like vegetarianism, limiting salt and sweet, rejecting processed food, eating raw food, fasting, etc. had profound socio-political ramifications as well.

The aforesaid connection between Gandhian dietetics and socio-political milieu of the time can also be seen in his prohibitionist stance. Even at the height of non cooperation movement he linked boycott of liquor with the goal of attainment of *swaraj*. On January 23, 1921 targeting the liquor sale he categorically issued the statement saying that 'If this vice is abandoned it will give purity to our non-co-operation movement: it will help towards obtaining *swaraj*. Notices will come out shortly for the sale of liquor shops. Nobody should attend the auction nor take out a licence. If anybody takes out a licence, none should visit his shop to buy liquor. By this means the wicked vice will be everywhere destroyed' [CWMG, Vol 22: 243]. In fact, prohibition and boycott of liquor sale remained a recurrent theme throughout the Gandhian movement and figured prominently even during the civil disobedience movement. In this regard, the *Indian Prohibition Manual* which

was written in 1931 by his disciple and 'conscience keeper' C. Rajagopalachari chalked out the Gandhian arguments and blueprint for prohibition in India in detail.

Another significant aspect which is noticeable in relation with Gandhian health ethics is the omnipotent existence of the element of 'compassion' while serving the diseased. It was best exemplified through services imparted by him to lepers. In this regard, Pragji Dosa delineates an interesting instance when during his Satyagraha campaign in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi was addressing a gathering at Natal on the occasion of the founding of the Indian Congress. Gandhi noticed a few people standing at a distance under a tree listening to him intently. In spite of his request to come forward and join others, they did not come. Hence, Gandhi decided to go to them. The moment he started walking towards them, one of them cried out, 'Gandhibhai, do not come near us, we are lepers.' Even after hearing this, Gandhi went to meet them. Some of them had lost their fingers, some their toes, some had no hair left of their heads. Gandhi asked them about the treatment they were receiving for their ailments. Their answer shocked Gandhi. They said, 'No doctor was willing to treat us, we treat ourselves with the juice of bitter neem.' When asked if that was helping, they replied in the negative and said they were dying a slow death'.

This entire incident moved Mahatma Gandhi so much that he made serving the lepers as one of his life missions. The compassionate attitude of Gandhi towards the lepers was scrupulously embodied through his relationship with D.V. Parachure Shastri. Shastri was a noted Sanskrit scholar who was infected with a highly infectious type of leprosy. In 1932 he was also present in Yervada jail along with Gandhi, although in a separate ward. Mahatma Gandhi requested the jail personnel to see Parachure Shastri, but the extant laws did not allow that. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi was permitted to write to him and thus established a chain of communication between him and Shastri. Incidentally, Gandhi broke his historic fast unto death which he had undertaken from 20 to 26 September 1932 (which eventually led to Poona Pact) in presence of Rabindranath Tagore and Parachure Shastri. The breaking of fast was preceded by the incantation from the Upanishads by Shastri [CWMG, Vol 57: 123]. Later on Mahatma Gandhi personally nursed Shastri between 1939 and 1942 at the Sevagram Ashram (Wardha) when he had been suffering with advanced stage of leprosy and was almost on his death-bed. It was because of the diligent care work taken by Gandhi that Shastri's health not only recovered significantly, but he also solemnized many marriage ceremonies in the Ashram as well.

Concluding Remarks

The above discussion clearly demarcates three major pillars of Gandhian health ethics: sustainability, self-control and compassion. His discourse around a healthy life and disease primarily revolved around these three themes. In fact, if we look at the major problems which the contemporary health infrastructure of the country has been facing we will find that they are in some way or other associated with the neglect of these three fundamental pointers inherent to Gandhian health ethics. Hence, any effort towards the accomplishment of a healthy nation essentially requires incorporating these elementary aspects of Gandhian health ethics.

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Gandhi's Civic Nationalism and the Renewed Debate on Citizenship in India

Shiraz Sheikh

In this chapter an attempt has been made to contrast the Gandhian idea of citizenship based on civic-nationalism vis-à-vis religion-based citizenship espoused by Savarkar and expanded by Modi regime. Following the passage of Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) 2019 its proponents have wrongly quoted Gandhi to legitimize the exclusionary framework of the Act, which accords citizenship to Hindus, Sikhs, Christian and Buddhists from the three Muslim neighbouring countries but excludes Muslims. On the contrary, this chapter argues that Gandhi's conception of citizenship was based on democratic, pluralistic and multiethnic civic-nation. Religion was never a criterion for citizenship in his conception of civic nationalism rather attributing Gandhi to defend the exclusivist framework based on majoritarian nationalism is betrayal to the ideal he bequeathed to India.

Introduction

In December 2019, during the winter session of the Parliament, both the houses have passed a constitutional amendment to the existing Citizenship Act, 1955. The amendment is officially known as Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 henceforth CAA. Under the provision of CAA as notified in the *Gazette of India* that any person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, who entered into India on or before the 31st day of December...shall not be treated as illegal migrant for the purposes of this Act.¹ Therefore by virtue of this amendment any such person as stated in the gazette notification becomes eligible to be accorded Indian citizenship. Only Muslims were kept out of its remit.

The provision of the amendment which accords as well as denies citizenship based on religion generated debate in the Indian public sphere. The proponents of the Act justified the provision calling it inclusive by addressing the injustice done to the minorities in the three neighbouring countries. On the contrary the opponents of the Act criticize the provision for having exclusionary framework and for making faith a criterion to accord citizenship. Their central objection was that accepting religion as basis to grant citizenship goes against the secular component of the Indian constitution. Amidst this debate, the proponents have quoted or rather misquoted Mahatma Gandhi to legitimize their claim. The sequence of construction of false narrative through manufactured quotes began with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. On 22 December 2019 in a public address at Delhi's Ramlila Maidan Prime Minister Modi taunted the political opponents saying:

The citizenship law has been brought to render some concessions to those minorities - from three neighbouring countries - who escaped the ire of persecution and took refuge in India. The concessions given to them are not product of Modi's thinking. It is not the idea developed in Modi's mind overnight. These concessions are in accordance with spirit of Gandhi's thought. Gandhiji had said that Sikhs and Hindus living in Pakistan will always be welcomed in India. You believe me or not but at least believe Gandhiji. This Act is in line with the promise the Government of India made after independence...Now that we're fulfilling the decades-old promise, why are they protesting against it?²

It is no secret that Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) which had adopted Hindutva as its official credo in 1989 Palampur Resolution³ and its parent organization RSS of which Modi is a product do not share Gandhi's ideological moorings. Therefore, when PM Modi wrongly quoted Gandhi to defend the citizenship law, it was seen more as taunting to Congress than his conviction in Gandhi's principles. The tonality was certainly mocking

when he said “Mind you, I am not the one saying this but our venerable Mahatma Gandhi.”⁴ However Modi’s reference to Gandhi ensued coordinated attempt to appropriate Gandhi and his quotes by BJP leaders. In this sequence the Union Home Minister Amit Shah addressing a pro-CAA rally in Bihar’s Vaishali district on 16 January 2020 echoed what Modi had said by reading that:

Mahatma Gandhi said, on September 26, 1947, that from every point of view the Hindus and Sikhs living in Pakistan were qualified to come to India. The first and foremost duty of independent India was to see that they got jobs, the amenities required for a comfortable existence, and citizenship.⁵

In this speech Amit Shah referred to Gandhiji’s *Prarthana Pravachan* or post-Prayer Discourse. The referred date is true but not the text he attributed. In the subsequent section the shenanigans of these manufactured quotes which are attributed to Gandhi will be examined by revisiting his writings and addresses. With the help of his writings the following section will also demonstrate how Gandhi’s civic nationalism and conception of citizenship was in contestation with the majoritarian-nationalism based on Hindutva. Before moving to the next section there was another speech by then BJP working president JP Nadda a day after Shah’s speech. On 18 January 2020 addressing a gathering of Bharatiya Baudh Sangh in New Delhi he said, “Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi had supported the idea of helping persecuted minorities in Pakistan in 1947.”⁶ Nadda was right in recalling the concerns of Gandhiji with regard to the minorities; however, his attempt to defend citizenship law by referring to his concerns would not have been approved by Gandhiji due to its exclusionary framework.

Gandhi’s Civic Nationalism and Citizenship

The correlation of nationalism and citizenship is interlinked to two complementary processes in modern Europe. The first process was the formation of modern nation-state out of complex societies. The second process was the transformation of absolute monarchies into parliamentary democracies. This transformation turned subject into citizen by giving them choice to elect their representative. In the beginning only propertied men had the right to vote. The 19th century political reforms brought the practice of universal adult franchise. This new political arrangement was inherited by post-colonial states from their colonial experience and superimposed on their nascent states. The adoption of political institutions without traversing the process of political modernization also brought in the unsettled social faultlines.

Gandhi, who was aware of violent evolution of modern nation-state in Europe and who also, experienced racial discrimination understood that India where nation-building was still in process will see contestation of identities. He observed that British nationalism encompassed Scottish, Irish and English nations within it. Therefore he envisioned India as a nation-state with possibility of encompassing different identities. He saw Indian citizenship as unifying force of contesting identities as best explained in the case of advocating equal rights for minorities. Before the partition of India, he witnessed widespread communal violence and hence could foresee possibility of institutional and societal bias against minorities who remained in India. Therefore one could see conscious efforts in his writings and addresses to build a just society based on social harmony and egalitarianism.

Today the proponents of the new citizenship law are referring to Gandhi inside and outside Parliament to prove their point that Gandhi wanted to accord citizenship to non-Muslims from Pakistan. His words are selectively presented to give the impression that he only spoke for non-Muslims and not Muslims. This assertion is blatant distortion of his principle and conception of inclusive India. Let us begin with Gandhi’s view on religion and state’s relation a day after independence. On 16 August 1947, responding to a question of missionary friend Rev. John Kellas, Principal of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, Gandhi said:

If I were a dictator, religion and state would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The state has nothing to do with it. The state would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody’s personal concern.⁷

To emphasize that these are not mere words he said to Rev. Kellas that “You must watch my life, how I live, eat, sit, talk, behave in general. The sum total of all those in me is my religion.” It is not that he spoke of his emotion only. For him the citizenship had to be free from cultural identities. Speaking at Federal Structure Committee in London Gandhi said “The definition of “citizen” is a terrific job” and “...we (Congress) do not want any racial discrimination” in defining it.⁸ He reserved his opinion on the definition of citizen. He though did not categorically define it but reflected on it constructively in his later works and speeches. In 1934 in a statement to the press he asserted that:

...The root meaning of politics is the science of citizenship... since the boundaries of citizenship have been extended to cover continents, the science of politics includes attainment of advancement of humanity along all lines, social, moral, economic and political...⁹

Gandhi always argued for inclusive and composite nationalism and his idea of India as outlined in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj* is testimony of his informed mind and secular vision. In *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* in 1909 Mahatma Gandhi cautioned that:

India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. ...If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dream-land. ...In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.¹⁰

However, the partition of India based on religion was a setback to Gandhi’s conviction in composite nation. On the other hand it was apparent triumph of Muslim’ League’s narrative of “two-nation theory” that India consists of two nations - Hindus and Muslims.¹¹ But Gandhi who not only preached but practised secularism was not dissuaded by this setback. He kept on working on his principles advocating Hindu-Muslim unity in India. In his post-prayer discourses Gandhi advocated equal rights for minorities. For his secular ideals he had to pay with his life. After seven decades of his martyrdom his discourses are invoked by BJP leaders to defend citizenship law based on religion with exclusionary framework. Did Gandhi say it the way BJP leaders are attributing to him? They are claiming that CAA is fulfilling the vision of Mahatma Gandhi by selectively quoting part of his post-prayer discourse deliberated on 26 September 1947. It is instructive to see the exact words of the quote to examine how it has been distorted to suit their claim. On that day Gandhi said:

If we regard all the Muslims as fifth-columnists, will not the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan be also considered fifth-columnists? That would not do. The Hindus and the Sikhs staying there can come here by all means if they do not wish to continue staying there. In that case, it is the first duty of the Indian Government to give them jobs and make their lives comfortable. But they cannot continue to stay there and become petty spies and work for us and not for Pakistan. Such a thing cannot be done and I would not be a party to it.¹²

In one sense the BJP leaders were right that Gandhi spoke on the day they were referring to. However, two lines cited by Modi and Shah were out of the context. On that day Gandhi narrated the woes of Pandit Thakur Datt who had to flee Lahore. Gandhi was categorical that he would never approve that Hindus and Sikhs stay in Pakistan and spy for India and similarly Muslims in India do the same for Pakistan and both are seen as untrustworthy of loyalty and fifth-columnist. In that context he said if Hindus and Sikhs could not stay in Pakistan and wished to come to India the government must help them to settle here with ease. But this concession was not only for Hindus and Sikhs. On 10 July 1947 before the partition, addressing a prayer meeting, Gandhi said that if people from areas which were to be Pakistan come to India they must be welcomed. He did not exclude Muslims rather he mentioned them categorically. On that day he said:

But if people do leave their houses in Sind and other places and come to India, must we drive them out? If we do that, how can we call ourselves Indians? ...They will be our guests. We shall welcome them saying that India is their country as much as Pakistan. If Nationalist Muslims also have to leave Pakistan we shall welcome them here. As Indians we all have the same status.¹³

Then occurred the partition of India causing the largest population transfer in human history accompanied by bloodied communal riots. In those charged moments he appealed to Indians to refrain from committing violence against Muslim who stayed behind in India. In a speech at the prayer meeting on 10 September 1947 he said: "Just because the Muslims of Pakistan have committed atrocities, let us not be frightened by the Muslims living here. Let us not frighten them either. There are also some Muslims who just cannot live in Pakistan."¹⁴ His views were seen as appeasement to Muslims and in the prayer meeting on 25 September 1947 he was asked a question that when Pakistan was driving away Hindus and Sikhs how could he advise the government to let the Muslims stay in India as equal citizens? Gandhi responded to this question saying that:

... he did not propose that the Indian Union Government should ignore the ill-treatment of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. They were bound to do their utmost to save them. But the answer was undoubtedly not that they were to drive away Muslims and copy reputed methods of Pakistan.¹⁵

A day after this speech he wanted Thakur Datt whose anecdote is narrated above and other Hindu and Sikh friends to help him in restoring real peace in Delhi. After which he intended to visit parts of Western Pakistan with fresh strength. Gandhi wanted to travel to Pakistan without security arrangement. He desired that: "I want to go to Lahore. I do not want to go with any police or military escort. ...I want to go with faith and trust in the Muslims there. Let them kill me if they want."¹⁶ But why Gandhi wanted to visit Pakistan in that communally charged environment? According to a Delhi-based scholar at CSDS, "Gandhi's proposal to visit Pakistan as a proud Hindu is consistent with his critique of representation. His lifelong commitment to practising his belief and ideas could have been tested and indeed achieved by practising his version of Hinduism in a 'Muslim homeland'".¹⁷ The intended visit had symbolic meaning, this could have convinced him and his followers that his belief in harmony was not misplaced.

Gandhi was a practicing Hindu but he also believed in mutual coexistence of different faiths. The meaning of Rama Raj for him was equal respect to other religion as he said "his Hinduism taught him to respect all religions. In that lay the secret of Rama Raj."¹⁸ Reflecting on Minority Problems he wrote in *Harijan* in 1942 that "Hindustan belongs to... non-Hindus as much as to Hindus. *Free India will be no Hindu raj, it will be India raj* (emphasis added) based not on the majority of any religious sect or community but on the representatives of the whole people without distinction of religion."¹⁹ Till his last days he fought for this 'India raj' and ten days before his martyrdom he cautioned against the lure of majoritarianism saying: "It would spell the ruin of both the Hindu religion and the majority community if the latter, in the intoxication of power, entertains the belief that it can crush the minority community and establish a purely Hindu Raj."²⁰ His constant advocacy convinced the Congress leadership to build India of Gandhi's dream.

Conclusion

Gandhi had a dream of India. His India was to be the land of peace and social harmony. But his dream was not shared by everyone. They wanted to shape India as Pakistan was built based on religion. Through his essays, books and addresses Gandhi strived to convince masses and his opponents for the realization of his dream. He believed in syncretic tradition of India and intended to forge a Hindu-Muslim unity. However, his assassin, Nathuram Godse did not believe in Gandhi's idea. During his trial Godse submitted a four page statement before the Punjab High Court titled as 'Why I Killed Gandhi?' In his statement he spelled out the rationale for his crime. He wrote that he was pained to see "Gandhi's persistent policy of appeasement towards the Muslims." He further said "I had no respect for the present government owing to their policy which was unfairly favourable towards the Muslims. But at the same time I could clearly see that the policy was entirely due to the presence of Gandhi." He believed Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence made him weak and he betrayed the nation by agreeing to the partition of India saying:

Gandhi is being referred to as the Father of the Nation. But if that is so, he had failed his paternal duty in as much as he has acted very treacherously to the nation by his consenting to the partitioning of it. I stoutly maintain that Gandhi has failed in his duty. He has proved to be the Father of Pakistan.

Nathuram Godse, *Why I Killed Gandhi?*

The purpose of bringing this discussion here is to contrast two diabolically opposite ideas. First, we look at the idea of Gandhi opposed to the notion that Hindus and Muslims constituted two separate nations within Indian society. He wanted to create a collective national identity on the basis of civic nationalism. Within his paradigm of civic nationalism religion was not to bestow identity. He knew that religion will only create schism in a heterogeneous society like India. Gandhi knew that nation and nationalism are not given but constructed so he endeavored to build Indian nation on the basis of civic identity.

On the other hand was the idea of his assassin based on Hindu-civilizational identity of Hindutva. Hindutva is a form of cultural nationalism based on the exclusivist assumption that the sacred land of India belongs to Hindus and rest are alien invaders. This idea sees India as one ancient Hindu *rashtra* - one people, one culture. And a Hindu is one who considers this land of Bharat as his *Pithrubhumi* (fatherland) and *Punyabhumi* (holyland).²¹ So in the notion of this exclusivist cultural nationalism Muslims do not belong here. However, the leaders of free India built India on Gandhi's idea of civic nationalism. But recently Gandhi was invoked to defend the citizenship law based on the notion of religious-cultural nationalism which is against his ideals.

In the two preceding sections it has been illustrated how the proponents of the citizenship law selectively quoted Gandhi to suit their narrative and also original quotes were put in context to demonstrate how these claims are misleading. The biographer of Gandhi, Rajmohan Gandhi said anyone who claim that Gandhi wanted support confined to non-Muslims, or he wished to exclude Muslims from relief, is inversion of historical facts.²² He further wrote that Gandhi wanted India to protect its minorities and "Studiously excluding Muslims from its benefits, the CAA does not carry out the Mahatma's wishes; it brazenly defies them."²³

The contrast drawn between two competing ideas as illustrated in this chapter establishes that Gandhi never considered religion as determining marker of citizenship. He understood that the British policy of "divide and rule" that strengthened religious identities cannot be the binding glue in free India. He therefore advocated civic nationalism in which citizenship was not based on religion. Even after partition he advocated a secular India without any identity based discrimination. Thus, the argument and defense of proponents of new citizenship law (CAA) which excludes Muslims by quoting Gandhi falls on its head. Gandhi's concept of citizenship was secular, plural and inclusive. Any attempt to invert his ideal for such parochial approach like CAA is triumph of Godse's dream and would amount to Gandhi's second assassination.

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Gandhi's Economic Thought: A Revisit

Sudarshan Iyengar

Gandhiji is against any approach which ignores the individual significantly with respect to cause of duty and responsibility. The approach ignores the individual significantly with respect to sense of duty and responsibility. The approach presumes that systems, technologies and institutions will regulate individual behaviour. Gandhiji's approach begins from individual. He has laid primary responsibility with the individual. The individual has to be educated around his behaviour so that he can work towards sustainable development of self, others and nature. In Indian cultural nuance to which Gandhiji referred to, the actors are vyakti, samashti and Srushti, ie, individual, society and nature. Self-regulated individuals would build sustainable practices and institutions. This in essence is the philosophy in Gandhi's economic thought.

The historian Yuval Noah Harari has mentioned Mahatma Gandhi in discussing potential of religions to solve the problems of humanity in the present. He writes:

"Not that there aren't any economic ideas in the Bible, the Quran or the Vedas - it is just that these ideas are not up to date. Mahatma Gandhi's reading of the Vedas caused him to envision independent India as a collection of self-sufficient agrarian communities, each spinning its own khadi clothes, exporting little and importing even less. The most famous photograph of him shows him spinning cotton with his own hands, and he made the humble spinning wheel the symbol of the Indian nationalist movement. Yet this Arcadian vision was simply incompatible with the realities of modern economics, and hence not much has remained of it save for Gandhi's radiant image on billions of rupee notes."¹

Harari had indeed misjudged the potency of Gandhi's vision of sustainable economy for any society. For Gandhiji, economic system is one of the sub systems of human society. This is accepted even under the modern thought, but it has become so dominant that other sub systems are deeply influenced leading to some significant negative impact on the human life. For instance, sustainability in terms of environment and ecology, inter personal relations, relations with self and inter regional conflicts have been rising as the world in general has experienced growth in the economy. Gandhiji shaped his economic thought based on the prominence of moral or ethical values. For him both were inseparable. With respect to explaining economic behaviour, mainstream economics tradition excludes moral values. Conventional economists do not agree with Gandhiji's argument of incorporating ethics in economics². It must be noted that he was not presenting an idealistic thought devoid of pragmatic elements. For him, ethics that did not make good economics was useless and economics that did not consider ethical values would also be bad economics. Eradication of hunger and poverty, livelihood for one and all were important and without markets and exchange compassion of the haves alone would not make good economics. Similarly, economic interest alone has often taken the form of pure selfishness and limitless greed not caring for other's welfare. Thus, Gandhiji's thoughts on economics are born out of his philosophical concerns for the well being of every human-being and the society. Secondly, it should also be remembered that he was not a conventional economist. We should also be aware that Gandhiji "was seeking communication primarily with the masses rather than with the sophisticated experts and specialists in the field and with the subject. This fact influenced the choice of his idioms, his phraseology and symbolism."³

I will try to share my understanding of Gandhi's economic thought using a trinity which is used often in Indian culture. Gandhiji was addressing *vyakti, Samashti and Srushti* - Individual, Society and Nature. He

sought harmony among them and according to his philosophy it could be attained only through formation of non-violent society. A non-violent society could be formed with an economic system that was non-violent too. Let us now examine how Gandhiji's economic thought reflected in the three components of the trinity of Individual, Society and Nature.

Vyakti – Individual

In the mainstream tradition of economics an individual as producer and as a consumer has to have rational behaviour. An individual or the economic agent is called the 'economic man'. His/her aim is to maximize profit as producer and utility as consumer. When this state is reached for every producer and consumer, there is maximum welfare in the society and the distribution is assumed to be equitable. There is full employment and resources are most efficiently allocated. This equilibrium is possible only when factor markets and product markets are allowed to function freely guided only by the price signals. Obviously this is theory. In practice there are many noises and the state has to intervene with monetary and fiscal policies and various other regulations to regulate the deviant behaviour of the actors.

Gandhi's economic thought framework views individual in a different way with respect to the economic man. It is important to note at the outset that Gandhi's focus is on individual. All decisions and choices are to be made by an individual. In this sense he rejects collective choice. He firmly believes that individual is the best agent to take care of his or her welfare. Thus far he is with the mainstream economics tradition. However, the departure comes when he assumes that an economic agent is human and also simultaneously a moral agent. It is an interesting and decisive departure. Interesting because mainstream economics assumes that choices and preferences are given and therefore they have to be treated as such. An individual is totally free to make the choices of goods and services that he/she needs for satisfaction. In Gandhi's opinion such unbridled freedom leads to licentious behaviour generating negative externalities in the society. Gandhi's rational economic agent has to combine the moral agent and then make choices and preferences. For instance, an individual through self-regulation would prefer and choose necessities only and not prefer luxuries. Simple life is the value underlying the behaviour of the moral agent. Gandhi would be challenged on this because individual economic behaviour no longer remains objective. Economics is considered as a science and hence it has to be objective. It is emphasized that economics is value neutral. However, in reality it is not so. Individual preferences and choices are influenced by the advertisement world. It is considered fair practice in marketing. Two aspects are involved in this. One is influencing the choice and preference by adding some non-economic value to the product. Consumption is promoted not because it has utility only, but using such product enhances pride, status, competitive spirit, prestige etc. A steam pressure cooker producing company in India has its brand name as Prestige! Second aspect is that of creating a want that was non-existent⁴. It is not that economists were not aware that demand was being artificially created in the system but the discourse continued to hold that the discipline is objective.

The economic man and the economic society are so defined that one always feels poor, no matter how rich he or she is. The core of this contradiction lies in the consumption theory and not in the production theory. Let us remember what Marshall the master craftsman of the consumption theory had to say,

"Although it is man's wants in the earliest stages of his development that give rise to his activities, yet afterwards each new step is to be regarded as the development of activities giving rise to new wants rather than of new wants giving rise to new activities."⁵

Marshall has not been alone in this. Professor Kenneth Boulding has also said the following.

"Man requires both heroic and economic elements in his institutions, in his learning process and in his decision making... The familiar tools (in economic theory) like the Indifference Map and the Edgeworth Box can be easily explained to include benevolence or malevolence. The assumption in demand theory that "tastes are given" is a great illusion and would literally be true for the "birds" whose tastes are largely determined by

their genetic structure and can therefore be treated as constant. In human society the genetic component is very small and the largest part of human preferences is learned, by means of mutation-selection process.”⁶

The great economist Keynes also had realized the problem. Joshi has quoted him in the context of unlimited demand.

“Now it is true that the needs of human beings may be seen to be insatiable. But they fall in two classes: those needs which are absolute in the sense that we feel them whatever the situation or our fellow human beings may be, and those which are relative in the sense that we feel them only if their satisfaction lifts us above, makes us feel superior to, our fellows. Needs of second class, which satisfy the desire for superiority, may indeed be insatiable, for the higher than general level. But this is not so true of the absolute needs; a point may soon be reached much sooner than we are aware of, when these needs are satisfied in the sense that we prefer to devote our further energies to non-economic purposes....We shall once more value ends above means and prefer good to the useful.”⁷

Economists have also recognized that demand patterns also differ with income brackets of families and there is a kind of group behaviour where demand gets created. Veblen pointed out that there was a tendency of emulation in consumption. He brought out that there was and would be a ‘vulgar display of wealth’ by the richer few of the society. This tendency was an important constraint on free choice. Dussenbury carried this analysis further and studied cross-sections variation in consumption expenditure of different income groups and termed this phenomenon as a ‘demonstration effect’. Since the idea originated in Veblen’s analysis this was also be termed as the ‘Veblen effect’. Drawing parallel to this Raval has argued that since the behaviour related to getting influenced, Gandhi was also trying to argue for changing behaviour in a way in which wants could be curtailed. It can be moderated by ascetic and paternalistic values. Raval has termed this as ‘Gandhi Effect’⁸. Gandhiji had categorical suggestions for preferences. Dasgupta has also emphasized the point that Gandhi’s was normative concept of preference and it lied at the heart of the Gandhian approach to economic theory⁹. Brahmananda has made a theoretical point that by influencing groups with more income, (more than what is necessary to meet the basics of living); one may construct demand curves for them that become income inelastic after a certain point. This would imply that after certain levels of consumption have been reached, additional income does not give rise to any new demand including leisure. Control on demand would free certain resources that can be used to produce the requirements of those who will continue to have downward sloping demand curve. It will also help in controlling the use of resources some of which may be overexploited¹⁰.

Most recently a well-known economist of present times Prof. Pulin Nayak delivering Prof. A.K. Dasgupta Memorial Lecture revisited the above theme in the following way.

...Gandhi was all for limitation of wants. This was the exact obverse of the central idea of mainstream economics which is wedded to the idea of the expansion of the goods space to satisfy unlimited wants. Modern capitalism is substantially about mass consumption of goods and services. It is not uncommon to find more than a hundred varieties of breakfast cereals in an American or West European grocery store. In the Gandhian approach, just a few would do. In a somewhat similar vein, Thorstein Veblen talked of ‘conspicuous consumption’ - a social waste - in his ‘Theory of the Leisure Class’. But, at the time he wrote the book, 1924, Veblen was dismissed as a crank by the American academic establishment. It is possible to hold the view that it is this Gandhian notion of ‘limitation of wants’ linked fundamentally to the notion of austerity, which may ultimately be consistent with ecological sustainability in the centuries to come¹¹.

Let me illustrate a case of contrived demand and how it is created in a society in a most benign but sure way. You may be watching advertisements on television very often. There is a reputed firm producing fast moving consumer goods which has always adopted ‘aggressive marketing strategy’. One of the products is toothpaste. The advertisement for it conveys a message that eating chocolate and ice-creams any number

of times in a day is just fine because the mother should leave the worry of tooth decay to the toothpaste producer who guarantees that the product that they sell will fight the germs 24 hours and arrest tooth decay. The advertisement simultaneously promotes chocolates, ice-creams and in short, uncontrolled eating (read consumption) and promotes its own item of sale which is a brand of toothpaste. Interestingly, there is also a claim in the advertisement that their product uses the latest technology for fighting tooth decay. Such unbridled consumption clearly implies use of resources (that the neo classical theory would promise us to believe has been optimally allocated!) that are indeed scarce. The modern parents who believe in the merits and objectivity of science and technology with regard to human welfare are happy that unlike their parents they do not have to restrict their children from consuming more chocolates and ice-creams because the new toothpaste using the most modern scientific technology will provide the necessary protection. May be they would also like to pop in their mouths a chocolate or two without any worry for the dentists fee! The rise in demand for chocolates, ice creams and a particular brand of toothpaste in response to the advertisement is a case of contrived demand. Science and the dentists would tell us that there is no need for any toothpaste to keep healthy teeth and gums. What you require is a brush for cleaning teeth.

Yet another example would be illustrative of how the outer looks of individuals is made so important by the fashion products that a person feels deprived if he or she is not able to use the product. Germaine Greer, a feminist scholar, argued how consumer behaviour was influenced by the beauty products. She wrote:

“The UK beauty industry takes pound 8.9 billion a year out of women’s pockets. Magazines financed by the beauty industry teach little girls that they need make-up and train them to use it, so establishing their lifelong reliance on beauty products. Not content with showing pre-teens how to use foundations, powders, concealers, blushers, eye-shadows, eye-liners, lip-liners, lipstick and lip gloss, the magazines identify problems of dryness, flakiness, blackheads, shininess, dullness, blemishes, puffiness, oiliness, spots, greasiness, that little girls are meant to treat with moisturizers fresheners, masks, packs, washes, lotions, cleansers, toners, scrubs, astringents, none of which will make the slightest difference and all of which would cost money the child does not have. Pre-teen cosmetics are relatively cheap but within a few years more sophisticated marketing will have persuaded the most level-headed young women to throw money away on alchemical preparations containing anything from silk to cashmere, pearls, proteins, royal jelly, placenta extracts, ceramides, biotin, collagen, ‘phyto-tensers’, bisabolol, jojoba, ‘hydra-captors’, serine, fruit hydroxyl-acids, oleo spheres, corneospheres, nanovectors, glycerol, anything real or phony that might fend off her imminent collapse into hideous decrepitude.”¹²

More recently, *The Economist* issue of April 17th 2010 notes the following in an article *A Special Report on Innovation in Emerging Markets*. “Because of the lack of brand loyalty, companies have to put even more thought into marketing than they do in West. Shanghai plastered with advertisements on everything from airport trolleys to lavatory walls. Companies project giant logos on to the sides of skyscrapers. Many lifts and cabs have televisions that pour out a constant stream of commercials. Mobile phones are bombarded with texts advertising holidays, massages and much more. Emerging market companies are particularly adept in adding the human touch. Most consumer-goods firms, and a growing number of electronic ones, use sales representatives to demonstrate their products to consumer.”

Companies are now trying to woo all types of consumers. The demonstration effect is a matter of yesteryears. Now in the present the catch phrase seems to be ‘you also can buy and be in the league’. To continue the quote from the same article of *the Economist*:

“The most difficult tricks of all are what some call “straddling the pyramid” or “playing the piano”: serving both the people at the bottom and those at the top. The acknowledged masters of this are consumer-goods giants such as P&G and Unilever. These companies not only rigorously segment their markets by income level; they also lead consumers up the value chain as they become richer. A couple of decades ago Unilever noted that rural Indians were in the habit of washing their clothes with bars of soap, so it first offered detergents in a bar, and then started introducing its customers to washing powder. The company is trying to pull off a

similar trick with tea in Middle East. Most people in the region prepare tea from leaves, but Unilever has introduced tea bags that appeal to local tastes and has started selling them in trendy cafes”.

Thus in practice modern or mainstream tradition of economics also is subjective to the extent to which it promotes certain set of values that lead to consumerism of sorts. Gandhiji understood this aspect and criticized it by calling it body focused. He did not think that individual liberty meant increasing bodily pleasure. For him liberty of an individual was achieved when one practiced eleven vows in life to elevate the self into non material state. The eleven vows or observances were practice of

Satya - Truth

Ahimsa or Love - Nonviolence

Brahmacharya or Chastity

Aswada - Control of the Palate

Asteya - Non-Stealing

Aparigraha - Non-possession or Poverty

Abhaya - Fearlessness

Sprushyabhavna - removal of untouchability

Shram - Bread Labour

Sarvadharm Samabhava - Tolerance i.e. Equality of Religions

Swadeshi - Serving the neighbour first

By practicing or observing the vows, the individual's economic behaviour is going to change to ethical preferences of economic goods and services. This way the Gandhian thought based economic theory can be constructed. It will help for building non-violent economic system. It would be consistent with the sustainable economic system also.

Samashti - Society

Gandhiji was certain that a society that promoted and tried to sustain material consumption endlessly would not augur well for the humanity. He criticized the materialistic focus of the modern civilization. It is relevant to know his comments and criticism on the economic system or civilization based on materialistic values in order to appreciate his vision of economic system and the modern civilization. His central and major criticism of modern civilization is contained in the book *Hind Swaraj* written in 1909. He wrote,

“Let us first consider what state of things is described by the word “civilization”. Its true test lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life. We will take some examples. The people of Europe today live in better-built 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. If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery”¹³.

In 1909, India was still mostly rural. Agriculture and animal husbandry was the mainstay. People lived simply and dressed in their traditional clothes. But today one can see how true Gandhiji then was. We have mostly copied the west in almost every walks of life. Our lifestyle also is almost similar. One may argue that what was so wrong about it? It is indeed more comfortable now compared to the hardships in life in the

past. While it is true to some extent, Gandhiji's main criticism has stuck. He argued that the main object was bodily welfare which was ultimately not desirable for forming a non-violent society.

Gandhiji was also prophetic about future. He wrote:

"Formerly, men travelled in wagons. Now, they fly through the air and 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 airships 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 civilization¹⁴.

Today's civilization world over is characterized by fancy food, fancy clothes and accessories, motorized vehicles, luxurious houses, machines for all types of work including those that can be easily done using hands and legs and nuclear armaments for war. There is constant threat to the very existence of human beings on earth. Gandhiji certainly did not argue for such a civilization. Describing what he considered a true civilization Gandhiji wrote:

"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. So doing, we know ourselves."¹⁵

One may wonder that how does Gandhi's discourse on economics relate with the sense of duty. From the above quote of Gandhiji one can clearly see his emphasis on the responsibility of every citizen to be conscious about his/her and duty and commitment to perform it. A true civilization is one where every citizen is performing his/her duty with utmost sincerity. In the Western discourse the emphasis is on rights. It arose in the context of citizen's rights – political and legal, against the government. But it has in present times connected to economic rights as well when welfare economics is discussed. Questions are raised in the literature about Gandhi's concern about rights as he insisted on duties rather rights. Did Gandhi neglect rights? It is from the sense of duty that Gandhiji arrived at the right of an individual to offer Satyagraha against group or the state. But such right was derived from duties.

The moral agent in an individual has a duty to observe morality all through his behaviour. In simple terms he calls it good conduct of an individual. If a person allows the mind to wander anywhere and everywhere it is likely to get focused more and more on material things. The more one indulges in one's passions, the more unbridled they become. It is here that Gandhi indicates that the ancestors in India drew a line or set a limit to one's indulgence. He agreed with the ancestral wisdom that happiness was largely a mental state. Rich is not always happy because he is rich and poor is not unhappy because he is poor. Gross national product or GDP was not so much popular in Gandhiji's times. It became popular only after the Second World War was over and Bretton Woods Institutions the World Bank and International Monetary Fund were formed by the winner countries. It became fashionable to talk about country's economic progress, prosperity and happiness with rising GDP. Competition, market based free trade economies, and privatization of all economic activities became buzz words. In 1990 a powerful experiment in communism and socialism ended in USSR. Almost all countries embraced free enterprise and free trade. However, with the beginning of the twenty first century GDP came under question and the problems of humanity surfaced. Despite impressive economic growth in many large countries such as China and India, large scale hunger, poverty, unemployment, sickness, illiteracy, unfair trade, exploitative modes of production, consumerism, and environmental and ecological degradation etc. surfaced prominently. Interestingly, a tiny country on the world map, Bhutan talked about happiness index and the idea and concept gained currency. Gandhiji was also talking about happiness as

the indicator for gauging the health of a society. In *Hind Swaraj* he made reference to ancient wisdom about it. It might feel somewhat archaic to refer to what he wrote about the ancient wisdom, but a revisit would help us gain insight in how he visualized reconstruction of non-violent society where the basic needs of each and everyone was met and no one was to live in vulgar luxury. Gandhi wrote:

... Our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures... We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages. They saw that kings and their swords were inferior to the sword of ethics, and they, therefore, held the sovereigns of the earth to be inferior to the Rishis and the Fakirs. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from others. This nation had courts, lawyers and doctors, but they were all within bounds. Everybody knew that these professions were not particularly superior; moreover, these vakils and *vaids* did not rob people; they were considered people's dependants, not their masters. Justice was tolerably fair. The ordinary rule was to avoid courts. There were no touts to lure people into them. This evil, too, was noticeable only in and around capitals. The common people lived independently and followed their agricultural occupation. They enjoyed true Home Rule¹⁶.

Thus for *Samashti* or society Gandhiji introduced the concept of *Swadeshi* and established as a value necessary for Home Rule or *Swaraj*. Gandhiji's *Samashti* consisted of largely a rural society. Village was the unit for political, social and economic systems to function with non-violence. He thus talked about Gram Swarajya. The condition of villages in India during Gandhiji's time was bad. Jawaharlal Nehru was highly critical of the Indian villages. People were poor, backward looking and illiterate and showed no signs of enlightenment. Similarly, another prominent leader of the untouchables (Dalits) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar thought that the villages were the place where caste system was practiced fiercely and dalits suffered and were forced to live lives worse than animals. He gave a clarion call to his dalit brethrens to quit villages and move to urban areas to gain dignity and livelihood. Gandhiji was not ignorant about the problem and the state of affairs in Indian villages, but in his dream each and every village of India consistent of enlightened men and women. In a letter to Nehru in October 1945 he wrote:

You must not imagine that I am envisaging our village life as it is today. The village of my dreams is still in my mind. After all every man lives in the world of his dreams. My ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and darkness as animals. Men and women will be free and able to hold their own against anyone in the world. There will be neither plague, nor smallpox; no one will be idle, no one will wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to contribute his quota of manual labour. I do not want to draw a large scale picture in detail. It is possible to envisage railways, post and telegraph offices etc. For me it is material to obtain the real article and the rest will fit into the picture afterwards. If I let go the real thing, all else goes¹⁷.

Gram Swarajya was the key to reach such a state in Indian villages. By Swarajya at the national level he implied the government of India voted by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled. By visualizing such a state at national level he recognized the individual without any other identities. He wanted sovereignty of people and based on moral authority. Therefore the political economy of free India was also to be based on moral values. Gandhiji's vision of the political economy was made of agriculture based rural habitations. He disfavored urban society. Of course he understood that for the purpose of specific governance and other services some urban areas would be there. But village for him was the unit for politico-economic governance. Gandhian economic thought's central theme is decentralized

livelihood and governance institutions. He did recognize next levels of economic, social and political units such as district, state and nation, but the structure he envisaged was parallel like an oceanic circle and not like a pyramid where top pressurizes the bottom. He dreamed for swarajya for each and every person in the country irrespective of caste, class, religion, sect and gender. In economic realm therefore, Gandhiji was a strong votary of freedom of enterprise and free enterprise. He did see role of the state in controlling people who had disproportionate wealth and did not distribute it voluntarily, but his ideal position was that of voluntary sharing. In fact, decentralized production systems in a decentralized governance environment would severely restrict the chances of wealth concentration in the hands of few.

Let me now turn to the basic principles that he advocated for Gram Swarajya which also contain working economic principles. It should be noted that the moral values underlying the principles would also necessarily apply at the higher levels of integration of the polity, economy and society. The principles that would govern reconstruction of such a village society are:

- Supremacy of Man - Full Employment
- Body Labour
- Equality
- Trusteeship
- Decentralization
- Swadeshi
- Self-Sufficiency
- Co-operation
- Satyagraha
- Equality of Religions
- Panchayat Raj
- Nai Talim

Full Employment, Body Labour and Equality

A huge debate is raging on the employment situation today in the country. Gandhiji would again appear archaic to modern economists whether believing in free Market or full state control. But if we try to grasp the central point that Gandhiji made about providing gainful employment to any person who sought work, we will be able to appreciate his view on linking employment with body labour. He had understood the concept from Tolstoy who called it 'Bread Labour'. It means applying body labour to earn once own food. Gandhiji believed and advocated this as a cardinal principle for building a humane and moral society. Acceptance of this value would discourage over mechanization in any mode of production. It does not imply that Gandhiji ignored drudgery in body labour. He was in favour of all innovations that reduced drudgery. His argument on full employment was that unless the village community decided to ensure work to each and every person, the technology should not be decided. However, today techno-economic determinism prevails and employment generation within this framework would hardly ever solve the unemployment problem.

Long before our highest judiciary recognized that the Article 21 also guaranteed right to livelihood, Gandhiji had said that every human being had a right to live, and therefore to find wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary, to cloth and house himself¹⁸. There is deeper argument in Gandhiji's assertion. He argued that any society that exploited the natural resources and neglected man-power would never be able to move towards establishing equality of human beings. If planning was to be adhered to then the real planning would consist of best utilization of the whole man-power of the country. In terms of economics Gandhiji was

arguing a case for full employment. It should be remembered that he argued for full employment not in a technical sense of the economics discipline where full employment is achieved as long as any person who seeks work at the going wage rate in the market would be employed. It has been stated earlier that Gandhiji brought rights in the context of duty. Discussing full employment and the right to work Gandhiji mentions corresponding duties. A person fighting for his right to livelihood had a corresponding duty to use his/her limbs to work. And if the work was denied then the corresponding duty also involved offering resistance, Satyagraha and non-cooperation.

Equality for Gandhiji was a deep ethical value. Any economics that enabled some to amass wealth at the expense of those who were weak in the game, was a false and dismal science. True economics he said stood for social justice. Gandhiji is said to be a pragmatic idealist. His feet were rooted firmly on the ground. Discussing equality in general and economic equality in particular he stated that while his ideal was equal distribution, he realized that it would ever be a reality and hence he worked for equitable distribution. His opinion is consistent with the mainstream tradition of welfare economics. His insistence of economic equality was to resolve forever, the eternal conflict between capital and labour which then would lead to non-violent economic system. Gandhiji was intensely concerned about the issue of inequality. He wrote on it almost like a revolutionary:

A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor, labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the rich in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is voluntary abdication of riches and the power that rich give and sharing them for the common good¹⁹.

Trusteeship

Gandhiji developed the theory of Trusteeship while dealing with economic equality. He argued that both capitalism and communism were founded on violence. In capitalism, wealth creation process generated violence. In Communism equity is established through direct violence. The trusteeship principle is based on non-violence. Ajit Dasgupta notes, "It was however with trusteeship as a theory, an idea, a social and moral norm that he (Gandhiji) was concerned". Gandhiji describes a society based on trusteeship where the rich man would be left in possession of wealth of which he will use when he necessarily requires and reasonably satisfies his personal needs and then acts as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society and by the society. The fundamental assumption in Trusteeship 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. M. L. Dantwala, a well-known scholar, 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. According to Dantwala the principle was 'absolute' but application of it could 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 was not operational. However, Gandhi was not arguing of the workability of the trusteeship, but he was only promulgating the theory. 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 Gandhiji belabors. It has so happened that the positive economics, as it evolved, has ignored values. But for Gandhiji '*aparigraha*' becomes the integral part of the human behaviour and it was to be considered part of the behaviour of the economic man. An '*aparigrahi*', i.e., the person who is acquiring wealth but is not acquisitive, has a variety of uses with his wealth. One would be to use it for self satisfaction-gratification of the needs. The other part of utility involves an individual deriving satisfaction and utility by satisfying the needs of others. In this case, he takes

into consideration the satisfaction of family members, relatives, neighbourhood, society at large and the whole world by his actions. Thus practice of '*aparigraha*' involves multi-utility concept. The concept is different and qualitative in nature. For maximisation of satisfaction, this multi-order utility has to be considered rather than focusing only on maximising utility by consuming for bodily self. Trusteeship is not against creation and possession of wealth. Creation of wealth is permitted in the Trusteeship scheme provided it is done through proper means. Gandhiji imposes moral responsibility on the producer. As a trustee, a producer should make an offer to fellow human beings who are part of the production process for their decent standards of living. Decent standards of living, in this context, would mean provision for wages in cash and kind to cover food, clothing, shelter, education and health. Similarly, Gandhiji was against overexploitation of natural resources. Means mattered to him most irrespective of the enormity of ends with potential to add to welfare. In fact, for Gandhiji purity of means in itself was end. Hence, any kind of exploitation of labour and over exploitation of natural resources would be accounted as unacceptable means in his scheme.

Decentralization and Industrialization

Gandhiji believed and suggested that for forming a non-violent society decentralization in political and economic sphere was a prerequisite. He argued that centralization could not be sustained without adequate force which he called brute force in *Hind Swaraj*. According to him factory civilization could not build a non-violent society. Agriculture, and animal husbandry, forestry and fisheries, economic activities based on natural resources were historically decentralized. With industrial revolution use of fossil fuel and machinery changed the production patterns and scale was considered an important economic variable. Gandhiji rejected the scale and machinery with a clear perspective that the scale brought centralization of economic and political governance and centralization was not possible without force. Force inherently contained violence direct, manifest or indirect known as structural violence²⁰. Gandhiji's rejection of machinery and scale has been a subject of controversy. Even during his times he was criticized for his opposition to machinery.

Siddharthan has recounted an encounter of G. Ramachandran with Gandhiji on the issue of machines and modernization²¹. Gandhiji was bluntly asked whether he was against all machinery. Gandhiji had categorically said that he was not against machinery as such, but he was certainly against all machinery that exploited people. He also opposed the craze for machinery. He would have certainly frowned upon the gadgets and the gizmos that had very little utility in transacting day to day work. But anything that reduced drudgery and added value to human labour he would welcome. Not surprisingly his comment on the invention of sewing machine by Singer was the following. "It is one of the few useful things ever invented and there is a romance about the device itself. He (Singer) devised the sewing machine in order to save her (his wife) from unnecessary labour. He, however, saved not only her labour but also the labour of everyone who could purchase a sewing machine. Siddharthan has analyzed Gandhi's thoughts on machines and industry in four areas: Labour displacement and the consequent unemployment, factor proportions and resource advantage, drudgery of work, and problems relating to distribution. He argues that in the first stages of the industrial revolution, which England and other countries in the west went through, Gandhiji's concerns and criticism was perhaps relevant and right. He also compares it with the Marxian analysis and says that both men at one level had similar apprehensions. In a postscript Siddharthan writes that the fourth industrial revolution (the fourth stage) was the information revolution. Gandhi's views are a little out of place where this revolution is concerned. Machinery in the form of computer hardware and software skills would be the key to economic progress. He then laments lack of literacy and educational drives in the country. Indeed in 1985 with the 1981 literacy statistics that he quotes, the levels were low indeed. He argues that with increased literacy and skill levels there would be increasing employment. He predicts that India might be short of skilled labour supply as the demand was going to be huge. It is about 20 years since Siddharthan made the predictions. He has turned out to be both right and wrong. India has responded to the fourth or information revolution in an overwhelming fashion and yet we have to contend with the unemployment problem. What would have been Gandhiji's response to information revolution and knowledge economy? The basic principle would have

remained. Any machine or mechanical system that displaced labour is to be rejected in favour of labour work. Any machine or mechanical system that aids the working of hands of the labour is welcome. One could be certain that Gandhiji in present times would have used computer and mobile for communication effectively. He may have chosen the gadgets that were fully functional and rejected the ones with unnecessary frills and were expensive. Technology that was useful, accessible and affordable to all was a welcome proposition for him.

Gandhiji's concern about the type of economic development model was thus relevant then and relevant now. In a labour surplus economy, technology and industry have to be one supporting production by masses rather than mass production. Gandhiji had not anticipated the western type of industrialization even in the 1930s when the population was around 350 million. According to him India could never industrialize unless its population was reduced to 35 million or hit upon markets wider than our own and dependent on us. Thus, Gandhiji was clear that capturing markets in other countries was one possible goal and removing the drudgery and using the capital in a labour scarce economy was another. Interestingly, today with even 1300 million plus population in India the argument would alter only slightly. Less than forty per cent people in India have the purchasing power for most of the industrial and consumer goods that are produced and the mega Indian companies are raring to capture the global markets and that is how there is such a tremendous leaning towards globalization. Poverty and unemployment persist albeit at much lower proportions than what they were during Gandhiji's times. Industrialization of the fourth generation i.e. the Information and Technology (IT) type also has had limited advantage in solving the problems of poverty and unemployment. The virtual world, machine, learning and artificial intelligence have arrived with a bang and the knowledge economy is the current currency. Here too, if the basic instincts of greed and centralization are not tamed, the consequences will continue to aid economic inequality. The number of billionaires and the proportion of wealth they control have been rising over time and there does not seem any possible hurdle on the way.

Gandhiji advocated village industries for farm based and non-farm goods commodities and services. He thus encouraged production by masses. Interestingly, all the basic necessities for bare survival that is food, clothing and shelter small units at village level can viably produce. The financial advantages of scale economies are known, but the social and environmental costs are ignored in the mainstream economics tradition and it is either passed on to the state or postponed to coming generations. If such costs are added to large scale industries' cost, then smaller village level or cluster level viabilities could be established. 'Small is beautiful' and also relevant during present times.

Swadeshi, Svavalamban, and Cooperation

The philosophical foundation for the idea of Swadeshi was first given by Gandhiji in February 1916 when he addressed the Missionaries in the then Madras. He shared with them religious, political and economic elements in Swadeshi. He emphasized on the autonomy of village panchayats and recommended organising economic activities around it. He shared his belief that if the centuries old wisdom of India would have been propagated in vernaculars, India would have made its own mark. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from swadeshi in the economic and industrial life... I think of swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all...The handloom industry is in a dying condition... I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once-flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible...²² Going back to the systems of village panchayats, functioning socially under the occupation based associations with commonly agreed sets of rules and regulations, decentralized production of goods and services and consumption of local goods and services

were the key features of Swadeshi. Gandhiji communicated the universality of his concept. While commenting upon the English system of production, he was basically criticizing modernity and its fallout. He wanted the Christian missionaries to understand that by proving their religion superior to the native religions and praising the lifestyle of their people (obviously of English back home) they also became salespersons for the goods produced in England.

Gandhiji argued that Swadeshi was a spirit that helped in serving our immediate surroundings first. One should first offer his/her labour and produce to neighbour first and accept their labour and produce in priority over distant source. In this sense, each village has a potential to become self-reliant and self-sufficient exchanging only such necessary commodities that cannot be produced, with other villages. Did this mean that one carried some competitive animosity with distant humanity? Gandhiji's answer was in negative. He said,

A true votary of Swadeshi will not harbor ill-will towards a foreigner and not be actuated by antagonism towards anybody on the earth. Swadeshi is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest Ahimsa, i.e., love²³.

The principle of Swadeshi has to be read together with self reliance or *Svavalamban*. Gandhiji's argument against the modern industrialized and urbanized economy was that simple living and high thinking was inconsistent with complex and complicated economic activities. For the basic necessities of life which consist of food, clothing and shelter and some essential services such as education and health, a village or a cluster of village should be self reliant. This makes logical sense. Take the food supply. Our country today has a public distribution system (PDS) to help the poor who cannot access food for survival. There is a procurement system under which the Government of India procures Rice and Wheat from irrigation rich regions of Punjab and Haryana and stored in the huge warehouses of Food Corporation of India. The warehouses are built and maintained by Central Warehousing Corporation. These are public sector institutions. Wastage and leakages are plenty and then of course there is rail and road transport network which is used to truck the food first to the warehouses of the state government civil supply department's structure and then to the Fair Price Shops in the cities and villages. The leakages, sabotage and corruption apart an appalling amount of fossil fuel is burnt to carry the foodgrains and other food items. Instead, each village has an agricultural land and a clear understanding can be developed that the food requirement of a village has to be met with the village lands on priority. The landless families who offer their labour within the village should be paid part of their wages in kind and if there is still a shortfall, the governments can resort to direct benefit transfers. The villages may also create their own buffer stocks to tie over manmade or natural calamities and stress. In fact, in the traditional agricultural societies such buffers were created and indigenous storage methods and objects made of local material were robust and had reasonably long life. Let us remember that it will be ecologically sustainable. By introducing foodgrains in consumption that cannot grow in particular eco-regions would create such dependence that the local grains and pulses will be ignored in favour of cash crops. Such development may look progressive for economic growth but would create new disasters when food cannot to be transported from distance.

Gandhiji has been very methodic in his approach, He has argued that a believer in Swadeshi would carefully study his environment, and give preference to local manufacturers even if they are of somewhat inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere. He considered it sinful to eat American wheat and let the local foodgrain grower in the neighborhood starve for want of customers. Similiar was the case for clothing for him. He wanted to promote local spinners, weavers and dyers. Gandhiji was realistic enough to admit that no village or for that matter a country was capable of producing all that it needed. The emphasis on need is added because he was also clear that he was not talking about demands. Need, according to Gandhiji, is not demand because the former is weighed in terms of the ethical values and the principles of non-violence involved in its production. Non-violent production systems work not with competition but with cooperation. In India after independence there are shining examples of cooperatives such as milk

producers' union AMUL. There are also failures, but when the centralized industrialization gives way to small and tiny village and cottage enterprises, cooperatives hold promise.

Srushti - Nature

The science and the philosophy behind economics does not recognize spiritual values. Spirituality has been kept outside economics. The material prosperity increased immensely in the world and it was assumed that it can go on relentlessly. However, during closing decades of twentieth century some scientists warned that unbridled and continuous exploitation of natural resources at an increasing rate and converting them into goods would have its backlash. Many ignored it. However, over time burning of fossil fuels and other emissions in the atmosphere created environmental crisis. Debates raged and initially the empiricists argued that threat of environment and ecological disasters were unfounded and the system had great resilience. Humanity had capacity to innovate technologies that would lead to cleaner production. Slowly climate change has set in and there is recognition although reluctant and slow. Industrialization and urbanization are energy intensive systems and use fossil fuels for energy. Notable fossil fuel consumption began in 1850 with coal being the major fossil fuel. Measured in Terawatt hours, coal consumption rose from a very small amount in 1850 to more than 40,000 terawatt hours in 2017. Similarly, crude oil and natural gas's use began in early decades of 1900. From an insignificant amount it has risen to 90,000 terawatts in case of crude oil and 130,000 terawatts in case of natural gas during 2010-17.²⁴ So the total fossil fuel energy used every year amounted to more than 260,000 terawatt hours. In terms of per capita energy consumption Gulf countries top the list followed by Canada and US. Although China and India rank way below at 73 and 126 respectively among 158 countries listed,²⁵ the total energy consumption is high due to huge population. The high per capita energy consuming countries consume more than 7000 kg of oil equivalent (2017). In China the per capita consumption is 1695 kg of oil equivalent and in India the consumption is 560 kg of oil equivalent. In China the consumption is three times higher and hence China's contribution to global warming is higher. The point to be understood is that per capita energy consumption is associated with material production and consumption. It should be conceded that the humanity is at work to make the physical material production as low carbon emitting as possible, but the volume of total physical material production is very high and increasing. Hence, the amount of carbon dioxide that is released in the atmosphere is increasing at a faster rate.

Where would Gandhiji figure in all these affairs? These problems and concerns were absent when Gandhiji and his generation of mainstream economists lived. Gandhiji was not an environmentalist or an ecologist by profession or fashion. In fact during his times environmental concerns were hardly raised. But he pointed out intensive resource use inherent in the Western model of development and civilisation. The minds in the West since the times of industrialization have worked hard and even successfully in improving the production efficiency to reduce the marginal cost per unit. Since environment and pollution concerns have arisen and as science has kept advancing the minds are engaged in devising technologies that would reduce the pollution component in production. Unfortunately, Consumption is not on agenda. Only in very recent times lifestyles are coming to be recognised as problematic. Gandhiji had raised it during his times. Today the development economics has begun to discuss sustainability of economic progress. United Nations has resolved to set and accomplish Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. These goals include

- Ensure sustainable availability and management of water and sanitation for all
- Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
- Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
- Reduce inequality with and among countries
- Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

- Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development
- Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
- Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

The first reading gives one an impression that the goals are set well. They have striking similarity with Gandhiji's vision of harmonious and non-violent societies. However, the devil is in details. Take for instance the goal of ensuring sustainable consumption and production patterns. The details are almost silent on behavioural aspects of individuals. Sustainable production is all clean production and efficiency; it says nothing about scale and level. There is hardly anything to decide as it is techno-deterministic. In case of consumption the only advice is about reducing wasteful consumption and recycling materials. The SDG promoters have practically assumed that whatever technologies develop in the developed world they are necessarily good for the humanity and therefore they should be transferred for the betterment of all humanity. This is being uncritical and lacking in scrutiny in the context of cultural differences in the societies. In modern development cultural nuances are completely ignored. It is here that Gandhian thought framework views production and consumption differently.

Gandhiji suggests alternative methods of production. As mentioned earlier the alternative is decentralized production for local units of human settlements taking account of the surrounding ecosystem services. It does not completely forbid regional, national and international trade and exchange of goods and services, but it definitely insists on prioritizing the local level production and consumption of the goods and services. This production has to consider the overall constraints that the local eco-systems impose on the survival of species in harmony with all other species that constitute the total eco system.

SDGs are dominated by forces that focus mainly on production. It needs to address and tackle important conceptual issues, such as "What exactly is consumption?" "Which consumer activities are most ecologically significant?" and "What strategies for changing consumer behaviour actually work?" All along from the way we have defined the mainstream economics, we have assumed that for economic analyses preferences are given and wants are unlimited. Further and more importantly, we believe that consumption is an end in itself. We forget that it is not an end in itself. The end depends upon ethics, culture and philosophy that govern a society. Gandhian thought has discussed this as its central theme. Gandhiji has to his credit the famous quote which says that there is enough for everyone's need, but there isn't enough for even one person's greed. Wants have to be limited and limiting wants and limiting the choices would definitely solve lot of problems that have arisen in the present day functioning of the economies. It is the determination of wants and types of preference that will support the local economies that function within the overall constraints of the local ecosystem services. SDGs should thus put consumption on its agenda, because Gandhi's economic thought has something very original and unique to offer to the world. Resource use is highly dependent on what is being preferred, demanded and consumed. In Gandhian framework prosperity is decent material survival with limited wants and fulfilling lives is with respect to non-material quality of life.

Gandhiji is consistent in his approach. In non-violent society peace and harmony has to be built from below. Starting from a village and an urban neighbourhood people have to work hard for peace applying soul force. Their efforts will bear fruit if the economic structure is also inherently non-violent in its approach. As observed in previous section, the development paradigm that has evolved in modern times by design leads to conflicts and disharmony. SDGs do not question the design directly and forcefully. Gandhiji is also deeply concerned with people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership as the SDGs are. But SDGs have total focus on governments, institutions, technologies and systems to guide sustainable human development. The approach ignores the individual significantly with respect to sense of duty and responsibility. The approach presumes that systems, technologies and institutions will regulate individual behaviour. This approach is not

likely to lead to the full achievement of SDGs. Gandhiji's approach begins from individual. He has laid primary responsibility with the individual. The individual has to be educated around his behaviour so that he can work towards sustainable development of self, others and nature. In Indian cultural nuance to which Gandhiji referred to, the actors are *vyakti, samashti and Srushti*, ie, Individual, society and nature. Self-regulated individuals would build sustainable practices and institutions. This in essence is the philosophy in Gandhi's economic thought.

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The Gandhi Magic

T.P. Sreenivasan

We gave Gandhiji the status of an avatar as we could not imagine that any human being could have accomplished so much in one lifetime. Our evening prayers in our childhood referred to him as the immortal Gandhi Deva, together with Rama, Krishna and Shiva. But he was a man in flesh and blood, with the imperfections and weaknesses that go with men. But we found it convenient to consider him divine because we wanted to escape the responsibility of emulating him and be the change we want to be. Gandhi was what he was because he was a superman, we averred. Today, Gandhiji is the most important instrument of our soft power, which is also known as the smart power, together with the Buddha, Swami Vivekananda and other towering personalities India has produced. The immense benefit that India gains from those icons helps us to project India as the nation, which has shown the way to the world.

Everything that can be said about Gandhiji has been said. Much that should not have been said also has been spoken and written about him. But I consider Mahakavi Vallathol's poem '*Ente Gurunadhan*' the ultimate tribute to Gandhiji. It surpasses even Albert Einstein's immortal words about him: "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth." Vallathol went to the extent of describing Gandhiji's personality as a happy combination of the attributes of all the best in gods and human beings. Christ's sacrifice, Krishna's strategy for the protection of dharma, the Buddha's non-violence, Sankaracharya's mighty intellect, Harischandra's truth, Prophet Mohammad's determination and Ranthideva's compassion had never merged together in one human being before. And more, only the land that is mother to *Gita* could have given birth to a *Karma Yogi* like him and so on.

We gave Gandhiji the status of an *avatar* as we could not imagine that any human being could have accomplished so much in one lifetime. Our evening prayers in our childhood referred to him as the immortal Gandhi Deva, together with Rama, Krishna and Shiva. But he was a man in flesh and blood, with the imperfections and weaknesses that go with men. But we found it convenient to consider him divine because we wanted to escape the responsibility of emulating him and be the change we want to be. Gandhi was what he was because he was a superman, we averred.

I have seen evidence of the Gandhi magic wherever I went in the world from South Africa, where he sharpened the weapon of non-violence, to the tiny Turks and Caicos Islands in the Caribbean, whose leader practiced smuggling as his pastime with a picture of the toothless smile of Gandhi behind him. The very magic, that mesmerised millions of Indians to take up his call to fight with bare hands and made the British might unable to extinguish the fire in him, still illumines the world. Without reading his writings or the massive material on him that has accumulated over the years, many countries and continents declared him the Man of the Twentieth century. He is the greatest peacemaker in the world, without being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

I have seen an Italian commercial of a telecommunication company recently. Gandhiji is shown for a few seconds, speaking to a few disciples in his soft and squeaky voice about leaving the doors and windows of our homes open for new ideas to flow in. In the next shot, the scene is the same and he says the same thing in the same voice, but now there is a little sophisticated device in front of him which is quite out of place in the Ashram. The next scene is of millions of people watching Gandhiji on giant screens in Madison Square Garden, the Red Square, the cafes in Paris, the bars in Havana and the beaches of Brazil. Then the

screen becomes dark and the following words appear: "If Gandhi could communicate like this, what would have happened to the world?" and then stunned silence.

The commercial was striking in its imagination, but it did not take into account the fact that he changed the world without the internet, twitter, facebook and Instagram, with a two page journal, hand printed and distributed to a few. His moral force was such that his message travelled far and wide without a million followers on twitter. He put the telecommunications revolution to shame by reaching the hearts of mankind. Nobody could troll him or hack him to seek donations in Crypto currency or to tarnish his image. His life was an open book, in which nothing could be interpolated. The Internet has not yet found a way to communicate with God as he appeared to do.

I witnessed how the Gandhi Magic worked wonders in the US Congress. The year was 1998. We were engaged in setting up a statue of Gandhiji in front of the Indian Embassy in Washington on Government land, a process which had started fifty years ago. The Massachusetts Avenue on which the Indian Embassy stood has many statues, some on horseback, flashing their swords, other writing poetry and others contemplating on the future of the world. Each step was arduous as various Congressional Committees scrutinised everything including the accuracy of the length of Gandhiji's nose. I was quite worried as to what Gandhiji would look like in the final product. The statue could not be taller than the statue of Sir Winston Churchill at the other end of the Avenue in the compound of the British Embassy and so we had to cut the height of the pedestal as nothing else could be done to reduce the height of the statue.

One day before the final meeting of the Congressional Committee to approve the installation of the statue, India announced its nuclear weapon tests and declared itself a nuclear weapon state. President Clinton came down on us like a ton of bricks and imposed sanctions against India. India suddenly became persona non grata in the eyes of the Americans and most of the rest of the world. Among all the woes of the Embassy was the worry about the fate of the statue of Gandhiji. The first surprise was that the meeting was not postponed. But that was no guarantee that the approval would be given. We expected to hear lectures on non-violence and a decision that the statue could wait till India learnt to live in accordance with Gandhiji's teachings.

The first Congressman to speak was a Latino, who was known to be tough. As expected, he lamented India's nuclear tests, which showed that India did not follow Gandhiji's teachings anymore. Much to our relief, however, he went on to say that it was all the more necessary to erect Gandhiji's statue in front of the Indian Embassy to urge those inside and outside to return to Gandhiji's path. He strongly urged that the proposal should be approved. Several others spoke in the same vein, as though India should be reminded of its own heritage. We appeared chastised, but jumped with joy that the Gandhi magic had worked once again. There are many more instances of the Gandhi Magic I have experienced in different parts of the globe.

Today, Gandhiji is the most important instrument of our soft power, which is also known as the smart power, together with the Buddha, Swami Vivekananda and other towering personalities India has produced. The immense benefit that India gains from those icons helps us to project India as the nation, which has shown the way to the world.

The Swaraj Unrealised-Revisiting Gandhi

V. Ragupathy

Swaraj cannot be given by anybody to the masses. It must be achieved by them through constant struggles. Swaraj has to be cultivated at the individual level and at the community level. The message of Gandhi in his last will and testament is more relevant to India today. An army of social activists, intellectuals, workers and peasants has to work at the grassroots for social and economic freedom of the people. This work will generate colossal political power and shake the politics of the nation. In constructive work civil disobedience also has a place. To Gandhi constructive work and satyagraha are the two sides of the same coin. Constructive work gives strength to political struggles. Gandhiji's swaraj is to be achieved only with constructive work and satyagraha.

Few hours before his assassination, in the midnight of 29th January 1948, Gandhi finalized the draft of Lok Sevak Sangh popularly called as his last will and testament. This document is his vision statement for the future of India. It is his final departing call to Indian National Congress and National leaders who participated along with him in the Indian freedom struggle. It also has a message to the people of India and to the entire human race.

To understand his last will and testament, one has to read *Hind Swaraj* his monumental publication. *Hind Swaraj* was written by Gandhi during his South African days as a rejoinder to militant Indian Nationalists. During his visit to London from South Africa, Gandhi had an opportunity to discuss with a few militant Indian nationalists like V.D. Savarkar on the freedom of India from British Colonial rule. In his *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi gives new and alternative approaches to the concepts like freedom, self rule and progress of India. *Hind Swaraj* gives a framework for Gandhi's concept of freedom, self-governance and progress. *Lok Sevak Sangh*, gives a specific action plan towards realising his vision for India.

Freedom vs Swaraj

Most of his associates and contemporary leaders rejected the idea suggested by Gandhi in his *Hind Swaraj*. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, his political guru, rejected the core idea of *Hind Swaraj*. Two great leaders of India at the time, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh had completely different views. Even his closest disciples like Nehru and Patel never accepted Gandhi's views in *Hind Swaraj* on India's freedom, self governance and progress.

Nehru was much impressed by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Stalin. Subhash Chandra Bose wanted to get freedom for India with the help of Nazi leader Hitler. Patel was interested in building a centralised powerful nation state as a replacement for the British Colonial rule. Russia, America and Germany were their inspiring models. Gandhi was much against powerful, dominant and centralized modern Nation States. He did not want to replace British colonial rule with an Indian rule with colonial nature. He said "We want English rule without English man. You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger..... This is not my swaraj".¹

On October 15th 1945 three years before India's independence Gandhi wrote a historic letter to Jawaharlal Nehru on the future of India after independence. Nehru promptly replied to the letter. These two letters reveal the fundamental differences between Gandhi and Nehru. Most of the national leaders at that time like Nehru rejected Gandhi's approach to freedom, self-governance and progress.

Gandhi wrote in his letter:

"The first thing, I want to write about is the difference of outlook between us, if the difference is

fundamental then I feel the public should also be made aware of it. It would be detrimental to our work for *Swaraj* to keep them in dark”²

Gandhi could guess that most of his closest followers were not ready to accept his core ideas. Gandhi was accepted as a leader and his core ideas were rejected by his followers.

Gandhi in his letter reminded that “It is essential only to know what I feel today. I am convinced that if India is to attain freedom and through India the world also, the sooner or later the fact must be recognised that people will have to live in villages, not in towns, in huts and not in palaces”³

Gandhi connects freedom with a way of life. He wants to bring village life as the core of civilization and progress. To him towns, cities and palaces are threats to the freedom of the poor. Strangely Gandhi wants to apply the idea of village to the freedom of the entire human race.

He says “Crores of people will never be able to live in peace with each other in towns and palaces. They will then have no recourse but resort to both violence and untruth. I hold that without truth and nonviolence there can be nothing but destruction of humanity”⁴

He considers that modern nation state is based on untruth and violence. One day or another modern nation state could be a hazard to humanity. To him “we can realise truth and nonviolence only in the simplicity of village life”... “I must not fear if the world today is going the wrong way. It may be that India too will go that way and like the proverbial moth burn itself eventually in the flame around which it dances more and more furiously”.⁵ Gandhi believed that he has the duty to tell the truth, not only to India but also to the entire world. So he wrote; “it’s my boundless duty up to my last breath to try and protect India and through India the entire world from such a doom”. He sees the dangers, threats and the perils human race is facing. He says that the future of India and the world is endangered by the modern ideas of progress and civilization. He asserts this idea further : “The essence of what I have said is that, the man should rest content with what are his real needs and become self-sufficient. If he does not have the control he cannot save himself”.⁶

On his vision of ideal village Gandhi wrote : “My ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and darkness as animals. Men and women will be free and able to hold their own against anyone in the world. There will be neither plague, nor cholera nor small pox; no one will be idle, no one will wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to contribute his quota of manual labour. I do not want to draw a large scale picture in detail. It is possible to envisage Railways, Post and Telegraph offices etc. For me it is material to obtain the real article and the rest will fit into the picture afterwards”

Gandhi was trying very hard to explain his dream of the new India to Nehru based on self-governance and self-reliance. He had the vision of a new modern India built on lakhs of new modern villages. Not only Nehru, most of Gandhi’s friends and critics could not understand the vision of Gandhi. He wanted to liberate the world from the clutches of the modern civilization. He wants to free human race from the tentacles of the greed of modern civilization. It was during the Post war period of destruction and moral crisis that Gandhi gave his vision for new India. In his reply to Gandhi, on October 1945 Nehru rejected the major proposition of Gandhi on ideal village life. Nehru replied to Gandhi “I do not understand why a village should necessarily embody truth and nonviolence. A village normally speaking is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward environment. Narrow minded people are much more likely to be untruthful and violent”⁷

Nehru insisted “we have to... encourage the village to approximate more to the culture of town”⁸. Nehru completely rejected the core message of Gandhi in the *Hind Swaraj*. Nehru said “It is many years ago since I read *Hind Swaraj* and I have only a vague picture in my mind. But even when I read it twenty or more years ago it seemed to be completely unreal”⁹. Nehru represented most of the national leaders of India at that time. Not only Nehru but also other national leaders like Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose and Rajendra Prasad could not accept Gandhi’s ideas on ‘New India’.

Building a Common Ground

On 12th November 1945, Gandhi and Nehru had a meeting on the future of India, after independence. Gandhi was a born negotiator and had the skill to discover points of agreements with his rivals. To him for a seeker of truth, there are no barriers in dialogue and negotiation. Next day after their discussion, Gandhi wrote a letter to Nehru on 13th November 1945 which said; “The impression that I have gathered from your yesterday’s talk is that there is not much difference in our outlook”¹⁰

Gandhi in his letter pointed out the points of agreement with Nehru. They included;

1. The real question is to how to bring about man’s highest intellectual economic, political and moral development.
2. To achieve man’s highest potential, every human being in the world must have equal rights and opportunities.
3. There should be perfect equality in the living condition of people residing in cities, towns, hamlets, village, palaces and huts.
4. All of them must have equal opportunities and resources to independently access the basic essentials of life like food, shelter, clothing, housing and energy without undue external dependence.
5. Dependency for essentials of life on external sources opens the door for enslavement.
6. Man must live collectively. Man is essentially dependent on each other. He cannot live in isolation.
7. Each unit of society must guarantee equality, freedom, self-reliance and decent living conditions to all the members of the society.
8. Gandhi argues

“if we try to work out the necessary conditions for such a life, we are forced to the conclusion that the unit of society should be a village or call it a small manageable group of people who would, in the ideal, be self-sufficient, in the matters of vital requirements, as a unit and bound together in bonds of mutual cooperation and interdependence”¹¹.

9. Gandhi did not insist that only the existing villages should be the basic unit of new India.
10. Any small manageable community of people with self-reliance and self-sufficiency can form the basic unit.
11. He had a vision for creating self-sufficient, self-reliant and self-governing micro grassroots republics as the base for the Union of India.
12. A country without the practice of democracy and culture of democracy at the bottom cannot guarantee a democratic state.

Conclusion

In Gandhian parlance, India got freedom from the British Colonial rule in 1947, but Indians could not realise *Swaraj*. There is a vast difference between freedom of a country and *Swaraj* of the people of that country. To Gandhi “complete independence through truth and nonviolence means the independence of every unit; be it the humblest of the nation...”¹²

Swaraj cannot be given by anybody to the masses. It must be achieved by them through constant struggles. *Swaraj* has to be cultivated at the individual level and at the community level. “At the individual level *Swaraj* is vitally connected with the capacity for dispassionate self assessment, ceaseless self purification and growing self reliance.”¹³ People must have the capacity to accept sufferings, in the process without becoming annoyed. Gandhi gives concrete steps to realise the *Swaraj* of his dreams. The eighteen point constructive programme is an illustrative list of activities given by him in 1941. He says “constructive

programmes may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of *poorna swaraj* or complete independence by truthful and non violent means.”¹⁴ The eighteen point’s constructive programme, a vehicle for self governance is predominantly social and economical in nature. It has limited space for political action. It touches vital issues affecting the Indian society. Gandhi suggested that an army of volunteers under Lok Sevak Sangh silently could undertake constructive work in lakhs of villages of India. In his last will and testament he says “India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascending of civil over military power is bound to take place in India’s progress towards its democratic goal.”¹⁵

He further writes: “It must kept out of unhealthy competitions within political parties and communal bodies.”¹⁶ The message of Gandhi in his last will and testament is more relevant to India today. An army of social activists, intellectuals, workers and peasants has to work at the grassroots for social and economic freedom of the people. This work will generate colossal political power and shake the politics of the nation. In constructive work civil disobedience also has a place. To Gandhi constructive work and satyagraha are the two sides of the same coin. Constructive work gives strength to political struggles.

Gandhi says “For my handling of civil disobedience without constructive programme will be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a spoon.”¹⁷ Gandhiji’s *Swaraj* is to be achieved only with constructive work and satyagraha. There are no shortcuts to *Swaraj*.

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