GANDHI MARG

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RUSSIA'S INVASION OF Ukraine seems to be having no end in sight. The timing of the war when the world was recovering from the woes of the pandemic added to the severity of the problem. There has been an exodus of people from Ukraine to Europe, the like of which we have not witnessed in recent times. The conflict has exposed the weaknesses of our current international order. It also made the international community aware of the impotence of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security mandated by Article 1, Chapter 1 of the UN Charter. The veto power granted to the five permanent members by Article 27 has remained the foremost hurdle to realizing this goal. Therefore, many analysts are calling for urgent reform of the UN to make it better reflect the international opinion and become more effective tackling similar situations.

The lack of consensus in the Security Council led to the convening of the emergency UN General Assembly and the passing of the Uniting for Peace Resolution with 145 countries supporting it, five against, and 35 abstentions, including India and several African countries. The conflict has had its ramifications throughout the world. Many predict that their long-term implications are likely to be even graver. The early discussions came to nothing. No negotiations of substance at the highest level have taken place. Whatever discussions took place were more of a bilateral kind, it has become a war of attrition given the dogged civilian-based resistance put up by the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians have, in a way, responded to peace calls and have floated the idea of neutrality if other countries can provide them security guarantees. Such guarantees would appear as the equivalent of being in NATO.

The Indian abstention from successive votes in the Security Council, General Assembly, and Human Rights Council and refusal to pinpoint Russia as the aggressor has also elicited criticism. Its silence on the legitimacy of the use of force against a sovereign country was the main point of criticism. While India called for the immediate cessation

of the hostilities and an early return to the path of diplomacy and dialogue, India desisted from condemning Russia, which reflected her primary security concerns vis a vis Pakistan and China rather than adherence to principles. Critics would say that by not condemning the Russian action, the Indian government demonstrates greater closeness to the Putin regime rather than the Russian people.

This journal issue has six articles in the main section and a short article in the notes and comments part. In the first article, Shashwati Ghose provides an ethnographic account of a century of the Marwari Library in Chandni Chowk, New Delhi, founded under Gandhi's influence. The second article by Uttam Haldar looks at the question of food security in the light of the ideas of Gandhi and Kumarappa. The third article by G. Geethika revisits the influence of Gandhi on the Indian Constitution. The next article by Mulugu Neelotpal examines the concept of freedom of Gandhi, M N Roy, and Gora. The fifth article by Ramya Ranjan Patel discusses the neglect of Gandhi's ideas relating to the question of unemployment and says that China's success lay in the early adoption of such ideas. The next article by Saral Jhingran looks at the philosophical case for a basic universal morality. Finally, there is a rather provocative short piece by Klaus Schlichtmann on village peace constitutions.

JOHN S. MOOLAKKATTU
Chief Editor

Hundred plus Years of the Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk, Delhi: An Ethnographic Account

Shashwati Ghose

ABSTRACT

The Marwari community in Delhi's Chandni Chowk does not function as individuals but as a group sharing networks of trade and community relations so that their perpetuation as cloth merchants is possible. They have adapted to Delhi's cosmopolitan nature but have not been completely assimilated to function as just traders but as a unit or closed entity or a closed group whose identity as well as reputation/sakh is established and built primarily through a community-sponsored public library which has played a historical role in the freedom movement and also in the dissemination of the Hindi language. Subsequently, other institutions like schools and hospitals were added, all of which were organized through a community charitable trust. This paper aims to present an ethnographic account of one of the above institutions: the Marwari Public Library. Here ethnography refers to the social science method of contextualization. Even while bigger public libraries in the neighborhood, with greater recourse to resources, have not been able to maintain standards, the Marwari Public Library has survived for more than a hundred years and has established itself in the public eye as the symbol of the adaption, identity, and capital of the Marwari cloth merchants of Chandni Chowk.

Key words: Marwari, Chandni Chowk, Public Library, Gandhi, Charitable Trust

Introduction

GANDHIJI KINDLED THE spirit of sacrifice and selfless service

amongst his associates and followers without resorting to violent means. This was sort of an inspiration for many of his Marwari followers. Mahatma Gandhi inspired the Marwari community to further participate in every phase of the national struggle after 1915. He was close to Jamnalal Bajaj, who practised Gandhiji's concept of trusteeship. Krishna Das Jaju made a valuable contribution to the evolution of khadi philosophy.

At least we know of 25 Marwari families, besides Birlas and Bajaj, who supported the national movement under Mahatma Gandhi. It may be noted that some members of the Goenka family have also been quite active in many parts of India. For example, Kedar Nath Goenka in Delhi was the doyen of freedom fighters. He also realized the importance of knowledge to promote political and social change, so he set up a very good library, known as Marwari Public Library, in Delhi. When Mahatma Gandhi launched the Swadeshi movement, he got the wholehearted support of the Marwaris. This is particularly creditable because a large number of Marwaris were engaged in the textile business. The boycott of foreign goods and promotion of khadi directly affected the Marwari business interests. But these businessmen were too happy to pay the price. The members (both males and females) of Birla, Goenka, Jalan, Jajodia and Saraf families took a keen interest in the Swadeshi movement. Even collectively, the community took a determined stand against foreign goods through the Hindustani Merchants and Commission Agents Association.[1]

Approaching the Marwari Cloth Merchants and their Public Library at Chandni Chowk

The Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association (DHMA) is a united body of about 8,000 firms of Chandni Chowk cloth merchants, led by the Marwaris, for over 100 years since 1893, and is located just opposite *Katra Naya* near the Town Hall.

As I entered the DHMA recently to collect their directories and histories, my attention was drawn to its logo showing a *taraju* (weighing scale), a pair of *dawat-kalam* (ink-pot and pen), and the inscription *Satyam Sivam Sundaram* written below. I could make out that the logo depicted the tools of the trader, i.e., the weighing scale to weigh the goods in the transaction and the pen to record in the book of accounts (*Bahi-khata* usually in red colour with *Shubh Laabh* meaning auspicious profits boldly printed on top) the particulars of the commercial transactions of sale and purchase.

While the DHMA may be said to represent the organized (predominantly Marwari) merchant Capital in Chandni Chowk, the Marwari Public Library (MPL) located nearer the Fountain and the

Shishganj Gurudwara, which we shall soon find out, is a cooperative effort of the Marwari cloth merchants of Delhi's Chandni Chowk, and in this sense, represents their collective identity. The Marwari Public Library was founded in 1915 by a Marwari cloth merchant, Seth Kedar Nath Goenka, and his associates. Kedar Nath looked after it until 1931, thereafter by other Marwari cloth merchants till 1953, when the library's management was taken over by a public trust known as the Marwari Charitable Trust. This public trust was formed in 1949 for 'general public utility' by 41 Marwari firms[2] representing the Marwari community under the Indian Trusts Act 1882, as no Public Trust Act was functioning in the state of Delhi then or even now. At present, the Marwari Charitable Trust is managing four properties located in Chandni Chowk: Marwari Senior Secondary School, Marwari Public Library (founded in 1915), Marwari Primary School (established in 1908), and Marvadi Aushadhalaya (established in 1932). It may be mentioned that the management of this Trust is associated with the Nav Shri Dharmik Ramleela Committee, which organizes every year the joint event of a Ramleela and an annual Fair on the grounds of the Red Fort adjacent to Chandni Chowk. An ethnographic account of the Marwari Public Library is presented below. But first, there is a need to introduce the research method of Ethnography.

The Method of Ethnography

When anthropologist Clifford Geertz wrote about the Balinese Cockfight[3], the real meaning of what is termed 'Ethnography' started to become clear: Ethnography starts from the apparent and digs deep into reality; hence Geertz gave the title of his piece on culture as 'Deep play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight'. Ethnography is thus more than just observing the social behavior of a group and writing a description of it[4]; it is said to be the 'science of contextualization'[5] and it is also an explanation of 'something' that the ethnographer seeks to justify[6]. 'Participant Observation'[7] is the principal technique of Ethnography. A good example of ethnography in the area of the Marwari Community of Calcutta, through field-study, participant observation and building a historical narrative, is the celebrated work of Anne Hardgrove[8](2002). Ethnography includes 'thick description' referred to by Clifford Geertz as the interpretive study of culture[9], a term coined and introduced by Gilbert Ryle[10] in his philosophical writings and developed[11] by Clifford Geertz in his study of Balinese Cockfight. 'Thick description' is defined as, "Intensive, small-scale, dense description of social life from observation, through which broader cultural interpretation and generalizations can be made."[12]

In this context, William Roseberry[13] (1982) interjects a strong word

of caution on the extent and extremes to which Geertzian interpretation can land the anthropologist by separating interpretation from "what people say, what they do, what is done to them because culture cannot be separated." This, what Roseberry picturesquely articulates as "Balinese cockfights and the seduction of anthropology", needs to be avoided such that interpretation should not become limitless which will distract or digress from a basic understanding of the reality of culture, as to what it constitutes and is constitutive of.

Summing up this brief discussion, it is clear that the method of study to be employed, i.e., Ethnography being the science of contextualization, involves, at one and the same time, thick description, interpretation of culture, and deep play, digging deep into the many layers of reality even while taking care to avoid the trap of over-interpretation of culture, even popular culture that will distract, digress and divert from the reality of culture.

Who are the Marwaris? - Imagined Homeland and Origin Myths

a) Marwari Origins from Imagined Homeland[14]

The term 'Marwari' signifies a South Asian ethnolinguistic group originating from a broadly imagined homeland in Rajputana known as 'Marwar', which is conjectured to have been located around the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. Traders are known as Marwari only when they leave Rajasthan. Marwari is an umbrella term used for identifying the community, both Hindus and Jains, outside their home region, beginning with Bengal. Marwari includes primary groups (castes) such as Agarwals, Maheswaris, Oswals, Seraogis, Khandelwals and Porwals. The term Marwari became universally associated with 'Jagat Seth' a migrant Marwari banker of Murshidabad in the early 18th century. Over time these small traders and moneylenders became the forerunners of Indian industries as family firms and business houses such as Birla, Bajaj, Bangur, Goenka, Dalmia-Jain, Juggilal Kamlapat, etc.

b) Origin Myths

A group or community is known not only by the reality of its history but also by fiction woven around its group origins which reflect how the community perceives its social identity, who they are and how it came to be what they are. Origin myths are a type of myth long known to students of culture to be a canvas on which social groups depict their identity (Babb 2004). Such origin myths bolster the self-image of a community or group and its aspirations. In the case of the Marwaris, there is a vast literature about their myth of origin as armed warriors

who were transformed into peaceful, matter-of-fact businessmen or traders. As anthropologist Lawrence A. Babb[15] (2004)narrates, the story or the myth of origin pertains to the Maheshwari caste emanating from Mewar (Udaipur) in Rajasthan, who were originally from the armed warrior Rajput caste, whose weapons of war were transformed into the non-violent tools of the trade of businessmen. As the story goes, when they bathed in the *Surya Kund* following the command of Lord Siva, their swords became pen, and their spears and shields became scales.

The usage of the metaphor of non-violence to depict the Marwari Community is significant to this narrative due mainly for two reasons. First, traders are characteristically and historically seen to prefer peaceful and non-violent ways of life suitable to their trading profession in contrast to, say, the arms and guns of a soldier. Second, as we will see hereafter, it explains the proximity of the Marwari trading community to the role of Gandhi as an apostle of peace in the choice of *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*, his non-violent methods of struggle to grapple with the colonial rule and the armed might of the British Empire. This may also partly explain the close association of Gandhi with Seth Kedar Nath Goenka, the founder of Marwari Public Library, who Gandhi inspired to start the library.

The Itinerant Marwari Community: "Marwari goes even where a Bullock Cart does not"

Thomas Timberg who has written the fascinating 1978 book on *The Marwaris: From Traders to Industrialists,* traces the economic history of the Marwari community, its humble origins as moneylenders, its role as financiers and bankers to the Mughals and the British rulers, and its pan-Indian presence due to its internal migrations to different remote parts of the country.Timberg(1978) and also Claude Markovits (2006) find that the major "push" factors for Marwaris to move from their original homes are famine, drought, plague, war, communal or peasant riots, and adverse governance like bad laws and heavy taxes. Whereas the "pull" factors which have attracted the Marwaris to their destinations have been better economic opportunities, coinciding with the call or invitation of the rulers, whether Mughal, princely, or British.

c) Marwaris: from Adversity to Philanthropy and Public Reputation

As an itinerant community, the Marwaris have faced different economic and social situations in diverse places over the vast subcontinent, whether favorable or adverse. The Marwaris have not been discouraged or intimidated by the circumstances and have emerged richer from their experience, by drawing the appropriate

lessons. For instance, the Deccan revolt of 1875 by peasants in Maharashtra against Marwari money lenders forced a large-scale flight of the traders, attributed to business greed, charging high rates of usury and confiscating the peasants' produce. Anthropologist Anne Hardgrove says the Deccan revolt led to the creation of a national or pan-Indian identity of the Marwari community. In Calcutta, the Marwari traders became infamous for their practices of 'rain-gambling,' i.e. betting or speculating on when the monsoon would arrive and what would be its impact on paddy output. The amounts involved would be very large, which destroyed many a family, drew much public ire, and rain-gambling was subsequently banned in 1897. The Marwaris have gained global notoriety due to the incident of ghee adulteration in 1917, again in Bengal. This incident prompted Max Weber to refer to the baniya traders of Bengal as 'the Jews of India'.

These adverse incidents being part of the community's historical memory, have led them to take steps to maintain their *saakh* or reputation by acts of public charity and philanthropy. The Marwaris of Bengal established schools, colleges, and temples and launched newspapers in Hindi. In Delhi, the Birla Mandir, Jain bird hospital, several reputed schools and colleges, the three major newspapers both in English and Hindi, and the Marwari Public Library and its associated hospital, schools, and their participation in Ram Leela at Red Fort. These are the quintessential examples of the community adapting and adjusting to the local milieu through participation in the popular culture of the host city while maintaining their essential identity, community networks, and capital/ business ventures intact by creating public trusts of such charitable institutions.

d) Characteristics of the Marwari/ Baniya Identity

According to Anthropologist David Hardiman [16](1996), the Marwari can best be understood according to his Baniya identity. The term Baniya refers to members of a caste spelt as *baniyo* in the Marwari language (a local language of Jodhpur), which had emerged in the early medieval period during state formation in the Gujarat-Rajasthan region due to state patronage. The Baniya community had a strong sense of self–identity, rooted in a distinct way of life, commercial occupations and dress code, little hierarchy, and acted as a support group for its sub-castes, providing credit to each other at low rates of interest. Baniyas were known to help each other in times of difficulty. This sense of Baniya identity was further strengthened by their caste bodies, known as panchayats, which enforced kinship rules (such as Endogamy and Exogamy) and customary practices within the group.

The community spirit of Baniya commercial superiority was engendered by the community's various ways of inculcating business skills amongst Baniya males from childhood.

**e) History of Chandni Chowk and how it came to be?**

Old Delhi, where the Chandni Chowk is located, has a chequered recorded history of eight hundred years[17]. From *Indraprastha* of the *Mahabharat* period to the 16th century Lodhi kings. On their defeat by Babar in the battle of Panipat, the powerful Mughal empire was established, whose dominance over the subcontinent lasted through the rule of colourful emperors like Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. Shah Jahan shifted the capital from Agra to Delhi, constructing the new city of Shahjahanabad. The history of Delhi continued with Nadir Shah's invasion and mass massacre in the 18th century, to the advent of the British in the early nineteenth century and the Sepoy mutiny or first battle of Independence in 1857, to the capturing of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor. The imperial capital in Calcutta was shifted to Delhi in 1912. India gained Independence in 1947, marking the Partition of the sub-continent on the basis of religion, leading to bloody communal clashes, large-scale migration, and the incursion of lakhs of refugees into Delhi. Since then, Delhi has seen more peaceful times except for a couple of communal clashes and the most traumatic anti-Sikh carnage of November 1984, when about 2000 innocent Sikhs were killed in Delhi alone.

For the present study, a map of Chandni Chowk is needed to navigate the area, starting from the Chandni Chowk metro station. The most important from the point of the research is the Marwari Public Library above the Haldiram sweet shop and near the Gurudwara Shishganj, the fountain, and Sunehri Masjid. On the map are also located other institutions run by the Marwari Charitable Trust, which manages/ runs the library and the Marwari Senior Secondary school in Roshanpura and Marwari Primary School Naya Katara, Chandni Chowk; Marwari Hospital or Shri Marwari *Aushdhalaya* at Kinari Bazar. Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association is opposite Katara Naya. These places can be located in the cartographic map given below.

f) Marwari Influx to Chandni Chowk: The Mughal City of Old Delhi

Chandni Chowk is the focus of interest, where both the Marwari Public Library and the Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association are located. It was founded by Mughal emperor Shah Jahan as part of his

Map of The Marwari Public Library and Related Institutions In Chandni Chowk
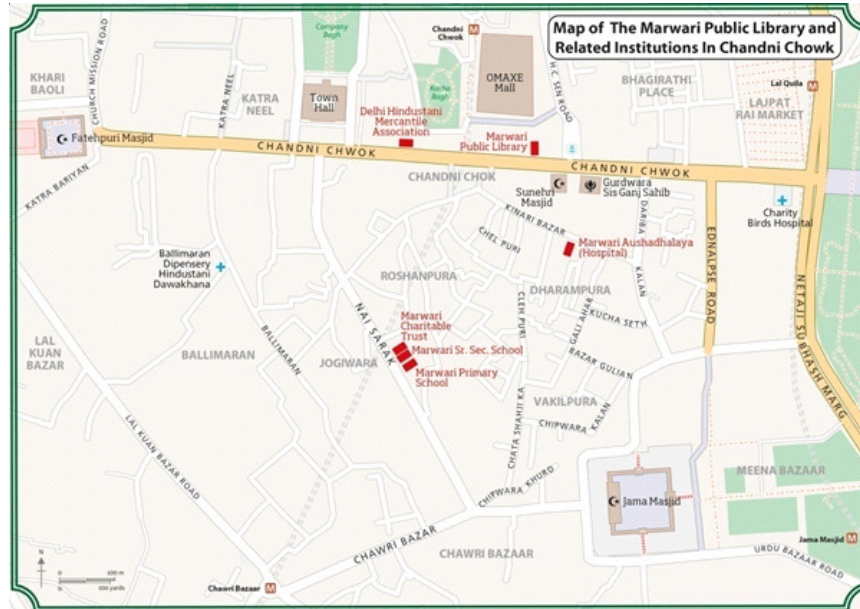
new capital city Shahjahanabad completed around 1648. Historian Swapna Liddle[18] gives a vivid description of the architecture of Chandni Chowk[19]

When Shah Jahan established his capital Shahjahanabad, he invited Dipchand Sah, a well-known Aggarwal Jain merchant of Hisar, to set up his business. He built Havelis for his 16 sons on the land allotted, quite close to the Red Fort. A major Jain temple was built in front of the Lahori Gate called Digambar Jain Lal Mandir, and another was built near the Delhi Gate of the city.

The Marwari influx from Rajasthan to Delhi started when the first settlers arrived soon after the British conquest in 1803. In any case, the influx began not later than the movement of traders from Rajasthan to Assam (1840), Bengal (After 1830;1834-Tarachand Ghanshyamdas, the father of G.D. Birla), and Bombay (after 1800). Like the river ports of UP, Delhi was an early point of migration for Marwaris. According to Thomas Timberg, throughout the 19th century, Delhi branches and shops were a feature of many Marwari resource groups, especially in the cloth trade: such as Parasaram Harnandan Rai Goenka – Kirana trader; the ancestors of Lakshminarayan Garodia – Cloth and Sugar traders; Satyanaryan Goenka – Founder of Goenka Cotton Mill in Delhi and Ramkumar Jaipuria –founder of another Cotton Textile Mill in Delhi. The cloth merchants of Chandni Chowk Delhi organized themselves into the Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association in 1893 primarily to assert their collective identity, settle disputes

peacefully through arbitration, and represent their common trade problems before the British administration. Enquiries reveal that the firm of Lakshminarayan Garodia became very prominent and spread to the different corners of India. Lakshminarayan Garodia himself was a leader among the cloth merchants of Chandni Chowk, became the President of the Marwari Public Library in 1932, and was also the chairman of the DHMA. His son Ram Gopal and grandson Tej Pal also flourished until the 1960s, when the firm dwindled abruptly.

Chandni Chowk developed into an active business center both before and after Independence. Partition in 1947 led to a massive influx of Punjabis, both Hindu, and Sikh, and the composition of the cloth merchants drastically changed. Nevertheless, though deprived of complete dominance, the Marwari Cloth Merchants were still able to carry the other communities in the trade association, like Punjabis, Agarwals, Sindhis, and some Muslims. The history of the DHMA from 1893, when the merchant association was registered till date in the 21st century, bears this out.

g) Public Libraries

There is a great tradition of Public Libraries throughout civilization over more than 2000 years, says historian Sohail Hashmi[20], like the 7th-century library in the city of Nineveh, the Library of Alexandria built by Ptolemy I in 295 BC, the Imperial Library of Constantinople built by Constantius II in 357 CE, the Library of Aristotle and the 4th century built Library of Nalanda. These public libraries were open to access; however, only the privileged could read and write. Even where the enslaved people or the Shudras/Dalits were lettered or literate, they were denied access to such libraries. However, India has seen many public libraries in different Presidencies or Cosmopolitan cities despite such limitations. The Asiatic Society of Bombay Library, set up in 1804, is the oldest public library in India. Other notable public libraries are 'The National Library – Calcutta' from 1953 (which was previously a proprietorial library, the Calcutta Public Library (established in 1835), the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library in Patna (established in 1875 and open to the public in 1891), the Connemara Public Library in Chennai begun in 1860 and at least two important Public Libraries in Delhi: the Delhi Public Library and the Hardayal Public Library. The object of our study, the Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk, belongs to this same genre of public libraries. Still, though it has lasted more than a century of its existence, it is a small and modest library.

Mapping the Marwari Public Library

The Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk, presently being managed by the Marwari Charitable Trust (Regd.), is like an oasis in the midst of a business hub of Delhi, says its Secretary Raj Narayan Saraf, where people come to quench their thirst for knowledge. The Library is a short walk from the Chandni Chowk metro station. Situated in Delhi's hub of trade, the Library is a treasure trove of books on Marwari community, Rajasthan, Marwar history, old manuscripts, genealogies of Bania families, etc.

The Marwari Public Library attained its 100th year in (17th) October 2015. It has stood the test of time and witnessed the changing times, i.e., it has seen the movement for freedom, its associated library movement, the Hindi language movement (*Hindi Prachar*), and the movement for women's rights.

a) History of The Marwari Public Library

Seth Kedar Nath Goenka, a Marwari cloth merchant, was inspired by Gandhi to start this library when Gandhi first came to Delhi in April 1915. He set up this library six months later with the help of his friends Seth Dwarika Prasad, Seth Naurang Ram, Seth Bassi Ram, and others on Dussehra as a public library where mostly Hindi books, newspapers, and journals were freely available. In the next two years, Kedar Nath was much influenced by the thoughts and actions of Gandhi and became active in various movements like Hindi dissemination, library movement, women's empowerment, and primarily the freedom movement under the banner of the Congress party in Delhi.

Under the able leadership of Kedar Nath Goenka, the membership of the Marwari Library multiplied rapidly, and its branches extended even to the rural areas of Delhi. The Marwari Library, which Kedar Nath planted and nurtured till his death, was declared a heritage library. Renovated in 2004, it now has a collection of 35,000 well-maintained books, old newspapers, 700 epics, and 21 rare manuscripts. Over time, scholars have flocked to this library to study and collect rare research materials on diverse subjects, including Thomas Timberg, an American researching Marwaris at Harvard University. It is important to mention that despite the lack of funds and resources, the library is neat and clean, and well organised. The Marwari Charitable Trust managing the Marwari Public Library also manages a hospital, two schools, a Dharamshala, and cooperates with the performance of a Ramleela every year during Dusshera in the Red Fort area.

b) Kedar Nath Goenka: The Founder

Kedar Nath Goenka's life shows that he was important as the organizer and activist of different front organisations which he formed, either himself or with the support of others. In 1907 at the age of 17, Kedar Nath participated in Bang Bhang Andolan, discarded foreign clothes, and started wearing Khadi. At the call of Gandhi, he lit a flame to his Godown containing imported British Goods. In 1910, Kedar Nath helped Lala Lajpat Rai in founding the 'Patitoddharek Vidyalaya" at Delhi for the upliftment of untouchables. He managed it for 18 years as an active member of its management committee. Between 1911 and 1914, he was an active member of Arya Samaj, Chawri Bazar, becoming its treasurer in 1913 and its joint secretary in 1914. From 1913 – to 1914, he formed the Marwari association and Indraprastha Sewak mandala.

In 1912, he along with the two sons of Swami Shradhanand, formed the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in Delhi. Nagari Pracharini Sabha was established in 1893 in Varanasi to promote the Devanagari script.

In 1914 he participated in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan meeting held at Lucknow. In February 1923, he attended the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan meeting in Delhi. In 1924, he was elected president of the reception committee of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi. In 1933 he inaugurated the Annual Meeting of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. In 1939, on 4th October, he was elected delegate to the 28th conference of All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at a meeting of Shri Hindi Pracharini Sabha. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Shri Hindi Pracharini Sabha were not independent organisations but were rather sister organisations of the Marwari Public Library. In 1927 he formed the Hindi Pracharini Sabha. In 1939 on 26th September he spoke at a meeting of Shri Hindi Pracharini Sabha.

The Marwari Public Library was founded at Dhulianwala Katra in 1915. In 1920 the Marwari Public Library shifted to its present location in Chandni Chowk. During 1941 – 1942, after the death of Kedar Nath Goenka, the management of the Marwari Public Library was taken over by the Marwari charitable trust, which also ran a DAV school and a public dispensary. Kedar Nath Goenka founded DAV public school in 1919, of which he was the vice-president of the Management Committee.

Kedar Nath Goenka was imprisoned several times in 1930, 1933, and 1941 when he became very ill and was granted parole on Gandhi's advice. After his release, he passed away on 29 March 1941. Other members of Kedar Nath's family who participated in a prominent manner in the freedom movement were his daughter-in-law Indumati

Goenka, his sister and brother-in-law, the Mussadis, all of whom went to jail on different occasions. Ann Hardgrove (2004) mentions in some detail the close association of Kedar Nath Goenka's daughter-in-law Indumati Goenka (1914—1971), the daughter of Padamraj Jain (1882-1946), with the non-violent freedom movement led by Gandhi.

c) My Visit to the Marwari Public Library

Though not easy to locate, the Marwari Public Library is one of those libraries frequented by young students preparing for entrance examinations such as Chartered Accountancy, UPSC, SSC, MBA, B.Ed., NIFT, JEE, MAT, DMRC, Bank, LIC, CTET, Indian Railway Board, Central Police Force, etc. There are two rooms, one reading room for readers of some English but mostly Hindi newspapers and journals and the other room for students preparing for entrance exams and one more small room/ seminar room for the visitors to meet the administrative head and Secretary of the Library - Shri Raj Narayan Saraf. The walls are adorned with the messages of leading figures and writers such as Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aruna Asaf Ali, Madan Mohan Malviya, Harivansh Rai Bachan, Maithili Sharan Gupta, etc. Thus, the Marwari Public Library is a heritage library representing performances of such disparate movements as the freedom struggle and the spread of the Hindi language that happened at the turn of the 20th century. Many research scholars, such as Thomas Timberg from Harvard University, researching the subject of the Marwari community, reach the steep steps of this library. It was founded by Seth Kedar Nath Goenka, a freedom fighter and cloth merchant. The Marwari Charitable Trust is presently managing it, a body formed mostly of Marwari cloth merchants of Chandni Chowk, which was established in 1949 by 41 Marwari firms and not by individuals, and it thus represents the community. From 1932 to 1947, the Marwari Public Library management changed many hands, beginning with Lakshmi Narayan Garodia Ji and ending with Sir Shankar Lal Ji of DCM (Delhi Cloth & General Mills). The Marwari Charitable Trust, formed in 1949, was located in a building at Nai Sarak where the Marwari Senior Secondary school already exists. In 1949, the trust had only one property to manage: this Senior Secondary School. It is only in 1953 that the Marwari Charitable Trust took over the Marwari Public Library (founded in 1915) above, Marwari Primary School at Naya Katra, Chandni Chowk (established in 1908), and the Marvadi Aushadhalaya (established in 1932).

There is nothing sparkling about this library. It is old, not necessarily falling apart. After climbing the steep steps, we come across a lobby. Here lies the bulletin board, a huge portrait of the founder of

the library Shri Kedarnath Goenka, hanging on the wall, and a write-up in Hindi describing and introducing us to the library. From here, one can either enter the study room through a door where one is asked to maintain silence or the reading room. Almost all the seats get occupied by 10 a.m. Some students have earplugs on listening to music while concentrating and pouring over their books. I notice both boys and girls studying together. The other room is for newspaper readers. Just as you enter, there is a reception on the left where members deposit their membership cards and make an entry in the register; one side of this room has huge windows overlooking the *bazaars* of Chandni Chowk selling colorful *saris* and *lehengas*.

On one corner is the idol of *Saraswati*– the goddess of learning. Next to the idol is the entrance to the seminar room, where I have often sat discussing my thesis topic with the head of the library, interviewing a Marwari respondent, or reading some important book in their collection. The room consists of a CCTV monitor showing footage from the two rooms and the lobby. On one wall of the room is the plaque giving details of the award of heritage building and the portraits of three leaders: Parvati Devi Didwania, Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, and Swargiya Bapu Ganpat Rai Ji. In this urban city, Marwari Public Library is jostling for its space in the choc-a-bloc marketplace of Chandni Chowk. It is bewildering and almost surprising that Marwari Public Library can survive amongst the urban jungle of markets and eateries. This is a library that is meant primarily for Hindi readers. Thus, the library has survived because of its Hindi readership and the Charitable Trust.

d) Profiling the Readership of the Marwari Public Library

In order to study the categories and classes of the users/ readership of the Marwari Public Library, we distributed a questionnaire to the persons reading/ studying in the library in the second week of June 2019. Of 30 questionnaires distributed, 22 persons obliged and voluntarily filled up the questionnaire. The questionnaire was in Hindi, and questions sought information on the respondent's name; age; gender; address; social profile, such as their financial position by income group: medium and upper-middle; social status: special or general category; reader type, whether student, general reader or clerk; whether college or school students; the language of the books and newspapers they read and their preferences; their favourite newspaper/ journal; the frequency of their visits to the library on a daily/ weekly/ monthly basis and the time spent per visit; if appearing for any entrance examination then which one: Chartered Accountancy/ MBA/ Bank P. O./ Company Secretary/ UPSC/ SSC/ Any other;

whether satisfied with the library and will refer it to their friends and family; what comes to their mind when they read the library's name: A community library/ A library for everyone/ Public welfare library/ any other; how would they rate the library and any further suggestions. For analysis, we inserted the data in an MS excel sheet.

There were 22 respondents out of a sample of 30. All the respondents are from Delhi or Delhi NCR (only one from Greater Noida) except one from Baghpat, western Uttar Pradesh, across the Yamuna. Four respondents are from Chandni Chowk itself and one from Chawri Bazaar. The age-wise analysis revealed that the maximum age was 51 years and the minimum was 18 years. Fifteen respondents or more than 2/3rds (68%) were below 39. The remaining 7 (32%) were between 40 and 51.

Considering the gender-wise distribution, 18 (81%) respondents were males, and the rest 4 (19 %) were females. Amongst the reader types, 11 (50%) were students, 8 (36%) were general readers, and 3 (14%) clerks. Amongst the females, 50% were students, and 50% general readers. Among the 18 males, 50% were students, 1/3rd (33.3%) were general readers, and the remaining 16.7% were clerks.

Maximum respondents are from the middle-income group, i.e., 18 (85.7%), and only three respondents belonged to the upper-middle-income group. On the general and special (reserved) social status question, out of 22 respondents, four did not disclose their status. Sixteen belonged to the general category, and two belonged to the reserved category.

Although school students who aim to enter medical or engineering programmes, may enroll themselves for IIT-JEE or Akash medical coaching classes, even while at school and below the age of 18, this is not true of students joining the Marwari Public Library. Entrance exams for Chartered Accountancy or Company Secretary-ship or Bank - PO or SSC are available only to graduate students. Hence, out of the 22 respondents, none are studying in school. 9 out of 22 respondents are college students, and the rest are general readers, clerks, or those trying for Chartered Accountancy or SSC after the usual age. Of the nine students studying in college, all are taking entrance exams. None of the respondents were from research or literary background. The utility of the library for entrance exams seems to be the main criteria for young people to frequent the Marwari Public Library.

As far as reading habits are concerned, 14 respondents chose the language of Newspaper/ Journal as Hindi, while six respondents preferred English. Two are open to either of the two languages- English and Hindi. Preference for Hindi is also more amongst the younger

readers as in the age group of 18-25, only 3 prefer English and 6 prefer Hindi.

Nine people prefer to read Navbharat Times, 4 read Dainik Jagran, two like (Hindi) Hindustan, one prefers Punjab Kesari, 4 select The Hindu, four others prefer The Hindustan Times, 2 read Indian Express and one the Economic Times. One person reads both Pratiyogita Darpan and The Hindu. While another general reader reads three newspapers together: Dainik Jagran, Navbharat Times, and Indian Express. Fourteen people devote more than 2 hours daily to the library, out of which nine people are in the age group range of 18-25 years, and five are in the age group 26-51 years.

Readers have expressed different grades of satisfaction with the facilities available in the library. As already mentioned, there are three rooms. One room is for the general readers of newspapers. Another room is filled with different genres of books on Hindi literature, the Rajasthan region, the Marwari community, and publications on various entrance examinations for students taking competitive examinations and researchers. There is a third room meant for seminars with a CCTV facility. Although the kind of facilities available was not specified in the questionnaire, the researcher observed the availability of reading desks and benches, tube lights and fans in every room, one air conditioner in the students' reading room and a drinking water-cooler and also a small, common washroom in the general readers room.

Eighteen people are satisfied with the library facilities. One is partially satisfied. Ten people say it is an excellent library, while six say it is a good library. 5 find it disappointing. Eighteen people will recommend this library to their family and friends. One person suggested that the Air conditioner should be switched on for more than 4 hours during the month of June. And two people have appreciated the services of the library staff.

As far as the library's name is concerned, what comes to the mind of the users? Twelve think it is a library for 'Public welfare.' Two think it is a 'community library.' Five think it is a 'library for everyone.'

Some conclusions can be reached from the limited information gathered through a small sample. The Marwari Public Library is both a general library as well as a purposeful library, meant mainly for students taking different competitive examinations mentioned above. The users of the library are mostly from Delhi, including some from the vicinity of Chandni Chowk and Chawri Bazar. The users have a diverse profile of age, gender, income groups, social position, the language of preference, and type of reader (student or general reader). Most of those who use the library are habitual or frequent

visitors and like its ambience and facilities. The users mostly do not think of it as a community library but rather look at it as a library for the 'public welfare' of 'everyone'. Many of them are ready to recommend the library to others. We may conclude that the Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk is popular and successful.

Significance of Gandhi's Visit to the Marwari Public Library in November 1917

When the present secretary of the Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk, Shri Raj Narayan Saraf, was interviewed, he said that the Marwari Public Library at Chandni Chowk is like an oasis in the midst of a business hub of Delhi where people come to quench their thirst for knowledge. Mahatma Gandhi inspired Kedar Nath Goenka to start this library when Gandhi first came to Delhi in April 1915. Kedar Nath set up this library six months later as a public library where mostly books, newspapers, and journals in the vernacular were freely available. Kedar Nath was much influenced by the thoughts and actions of Gandhi and became active in various movements like the library movement, women's empowerment, dissemination of the Hindi language, and most importantly, the freedom movement under the banner of the Congress party in Delhi. When Kedar Nath's invited Gandhi to visited the library on 27th November 1917 at its present location in Chandni Chowk close to the Gurudwara Shish Ganj and the historical Fountain, Gandhi accepted the invitation (presently the library is located above the Haldiram sweet shop, which is opposite the erstwhile Ghantewala sweet shop and it is located in the map of Chandni Chowk given below along with other important landmarks like Townhall, Gurudwara Shish Ganj, Fountain and the Sunehri Masjid). The library is located on the first floor. Gandhi was happy to visit the library and expected the library to grow by leaps and bounds in the future.

The Marwari Charitable Trust, which manages the library presently, commemorated Gandhi's visit to the library in 1917, on 27 November 2018, as a *Smriti Diwas,* during the 150th birth anniversary of Gandhi and Kasturba. The speeches and songs at the meeting reflected the holistic, secular, nationalist, humanitarian, and non-violent ideals of the Gandhian freedom movement, particularly in Gandhi's favourite bhajan "*Vaishnav Jan To Tene Kahiye*". This 15th-century *bhajan* written by Gujarati poet Narsi Mehta sends the message that God's true followers are those who understand the sorrows and woes of the downtrodden, the Dalits, and the backward and come forward to support them and alleviate their sufferings. There was some discussion on Gandhi's *Charkha* as a symbol of the *Swadeshi* movement,

as an intended economic and political transformation of a free India, which did not take off after Independence.

Gandhi's visit inspired Kedar Nath and his fellow freedom fighters. *Jathas* would be seen coming out of the Marwari Library. During the 1942 Quit India movement, Marwari women played a significant role, and Parvati Devi Didwania was the first Marwari woman to be jailed in Delhi. Kedar Nath was imprisoned several times, and so were his family members. In 1941, while in jail, he was taken very ill. On Gandhi's advice, he was granted parole. After his release, he passed away on 29 March 1941 at a relatively young age of 51. On his demise, Gandhi said: "Kedar Nath's demise is of course a sad matter, however he has fulfilled his life."

As I see it, the significance of Gandhi's visit to the Marwari Public Library a century back is that it acted as a catalyst for the coming storm of the freedom movement. It was part of a series of visits by Gandhi to different places in India where people needed him most.Gandhi visited Champaran in April 1917 to witness at first hand the extreme exploitation that the indigo workers of Champaran were subjected to by the British planters. Thus, started the historical Champaran Satyagraha, or the peaceful non-cooperation movement, which Gandhi halted in February 1922 only after the Chauri Chaura violence. In November 1917, Gandhi was at Delhi's Marwari Library. In 1918 Gandhi visited and participated in the struggle of the Mill workers of Ahmedabad and the Kheda peasant's Satyagraha. When the British levied a tax on the consumption of common salt, Gandhi led a march to the sea shore of Dandi (1930), where he and his fellow Satyagrahis broke the law on salt. In 1946 Gandhi went to Noakhali in the then East Bengal to quell and douse the fire of an all-engulfing, raging communal riot.

It is but natural that Gandhi, the apostle of peace, inspired the Marwari Community, which was closely associated with the Gandhian Freedom Movement based on the principles of non-violence. As we have already observed, the trading castes of Rajasthan became the symbol of non-violence.

Gandhian activist Ramesh Chand Sharma has said that Gandhi foresaw the combined strength of common citizens (*Sajjan*), the educated (*Bidwat*), and the business community (*Mahajans*), which the Marwari Public Library embodies, would be much bigger than the power of the rulers (*Shashan*). Indeed, by adopting this strategy, Gandhi was able to build a powerful, secular, peaceful movement to usher in Independence in 1947.

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    From the Kotwali Chowk onwards, the street was called Asharfi Bazaar, literally the 'money market'. This ended at a large octagonal square, called Chandni Chowk… *The chowk had a large pool in its centre, reflecting the moonlight, or chandni, which gave the square its name.*

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Mahatma Gandhi and Kumarappa's Approach to Food Security in India: Role of Common Pool Resources

Uttam Haldar

ABSTRACT

The paper aims to explore Mahatma Gandhi and Kumarappa's vision of food security and analyse the role of Common Pool Resources (CPRs) in achieving food security in drought-prone Bankura district, West Bengal, using primary data. Results show that CPRs supply supplementary and complementary inputs to agriculture, save paid-out costs, raise productivity, and sustain paddy cultivation. CPRs provide (through collection or production) diversified, nutritious food articles (milk, fruits, vegetables, fish, meat, egg) sufficiently to the large masses of rural people at a low cost. CPRs provide inputs for making handicrafts, the primary source of non-farm earning (purchasing power). Due to unawareness about personal hygiene, people are suffering from malnutrition, as they are using the same water bodies for bathing, washing cloth & utensils, cleaning livestock, and sanitation. The study draws important insight to combat ever-increasing hunger and malnutrition using local resources and local level self-sufficiency as Gandhiji and Kumarappa dreamed.

Key words: Common Pool Resources (CPRs), Food Security, Kumarappa, Mahatma Gandhi, Self-sufficiency, Village

Introduction

INDIA IS A developing country. Though its economy is growing, food security for Indians is still a challenging issue. Even after 74 years of independence, the numbers of undernourished people in India are the highest globally and even more than the number of people in pre-independent India[1]. Global Hunger Index (GHI) captures the trend

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of hunger and malnutrition across different countries based on four indicators – undernourishment, child wasting, child stunting, and child mortality. In 2021 India was ranked 101st out of 116 countries on GHI scale of 0-100 and classified as a 'serious category', capturing 27.5 points[2]. According to the GHI index, the prevalence of hunger and malnutrition in our neighbouring countries China, Nepal, Bangladesh, Srilanka, and Pakistan, is much lower than in India. The only positive side is that India's score is gradually falling over the years, indicating improved food security among Indians. According to the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World report 2020, the incidence of undernourishment among Indians has declined by 60 million, which accounts for a 7.7 percent decline from 21.7 percent in 2004-06 to 14 percent in 2017-19[3]. The recently published National Family Health Survey (NFSH-5)[4] in 2019-20 shows that this improvement in food security status among Indians is marginal from the earlier round NFSH-4 in 2015-165. The percentage of underweight children came down from 35.7 in NFSH-4 to 32.1 in NFSH-5. The proportion of stunted children reduced from 38.4 percent in the earlier round to 35.5 percent in the current round. Wasting in children declined from 21 percent in 2015-16 to 19.3 percent in 2019-20[6].

Food security is a multidimensional concept in which availability, accessibility, stability, and absorption are three main pillars[7,8]. Food production, trade, import and export, stock of food, and food aid are the important dimension of the availability of food. Purchasing power, employment opportunity, marketing, transport facility, inflation rate, and social programs, including school meals, are important for accessibility to food. Stability indicates inter-year or inter-seasonal fluctuation of availability and accessibility of food. Absorption means food safety and quality, clean water, proper sanitation, maternal and child care practice, etc. Along with long-term economic growth, India became self-sufficient in food grain production and eventually became an exporter of food-grains in the post-green revolution period[9]. Side by side, the buffer stocks of food grains in the Food Corporation of India (FCI) warehouses increased much more than the buffer norms[10]. As a result, India has become able to tackle inter-year fluctuation in food grains. Side by side, the incidence of multidimensional poverty significantly reduced from 54.7% in 2005 to 27.9% in 2021[11,] indicating increased purchasing power among Indians. Again, there is a long-term decline in per capita cereal consumption and diversification of the Indian diet favoring high-value food like fruits, vegetables, milk, egg, fish, and meat[12, 13]. To combat hunger and malnutrition, the Government of India also initiated many direct and indirect programs from time to time. Some of the direct programs are – Enactment and

implementation of the Food Security Act 2013, expansion of the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) program, launching of Rural Health Mission, midday meal for school children, and supply of staple food grains at a highly subsidized rate through the public distribution system. Indirect measures include poverty eradication schemes, employment generation schemes, National Rural Employment guarantee schemes etc.

Hence there is a co-existence of two opposite scenarios in the Indian food security situation. The fallacy is that self-sufficiency in food grains at the macro level does not imply food security at the micro-level. Macro-level self-sufficiency is an essential part of food security but not sufficient. Our view of food security is that every Indian has the constitutional right to food, and the government is the food provider. Little light has been focused on seeing what a person should do or by a household or community to combat food insecurity. There is a need to change our views about food security. Hundred years ago, Mahatma Gandhi addressed the issue of food security in his famous book "Hind Swaraj" [14]. Gandhiji said that India produces enough food for all of its citizens to feed, but still, millions of people in India remain hungry and malnourished. He argued that self-sufficiency in food production at local levels instead of national level would pave the way for food security among rural Indians [15]. In 1981, Amartya Sen published his famous 'Entitlement Theory' and argued that famine is not because of the shortage of food but rather due to a lack of enough command over food [16]. He observed that a person can avoid hunger if he owns a sufficient amount of food or enjoys a favourable exchange entitlement for his ownership bundle to acquire the food needed to avoid starvation. Amartya Sen's path-breaking work leads to the paradigmatic shift in the concept of food security, from food availability and stability to household food security. A new concept, 'food self-reliance', emerged instead of 'food self-sufficiency'. Professor Sen also argued in his theory that one could also purchase food from the market if one has enough money to buy it. Hence removal of poverty and the creation of employment opportunity has been given importance to increase a person's ability to purchase food from the market.

Again, not only the availability and accessibility of food but also nutrition security, i.e., consumption and absorption of micronutrients, are an integral part of the food security of an individual. As reported in GHI and NFHS, anthropometric food security measures are outcome measures of nutrition security. Undernourishment means the deficiency of calories and signifies a corresponding degree of hunger. In contrast, malnutrition indicates quality aspects of food that arise from a

deficiency in micronutrients in food like protein, vitamins, and minerals. The problem of chronic food insecurity is associated primarily with poverty and arises due to continuously inadequate diet. GHI report postulated that the main drivers of this food insecurity in India are vulnerability to shocks, structural weakness, and a high informal sector. This situation has aggravated following climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic, leading to disruption of production and distribution of food[17]. So, attention should be given to the individual and household level food security, focusing on consumption and absorption of micronutrients.

Target 2 of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG-2) aims to end all hunger and malnutrition by 2030, including children and the vulnerable. SDG-2 recommended promoting sustainable agricultural practices which will improve the livelihoods and capacities of small and marginal farmers, allowing equal access to land, technology, and markets[18]. The GHI 2021 argued that with active community participation, a small intervention in building resilience towards reducing vulnerability could also create conditions for local food security[19].

As per the 2011 census, most Indians (68.84%) lived in rural areas. Their livelihoods revolve around the agriculture and allied sectors, which produce food for local people with the help of primitive technology depending on the natural resources available. The present article emphasizes on Common Pool Resources (CPRs) as key attributes of natural resources, which provide a comprehensive picture of how poor rural households of drought-prone Bankura district of West Bengal lived and coped with a variety of risks and shocks in meeting their livelihoods and ensuring food security for their family. The study also explores Mahatma Gandhi and J.C Kumarappa's concept of food security and its relevance in the present context of India's food security concerns.

Common Pool Resources (CPRs)

The common ownership of renewable resources often creates a negative externality problem, which often goes by the name of tragedy of commons [20]. Common Pool Resources (CPRs) connote economic resources or facility communally or collectively owned/held by an identifiable community or a group of people either by de-facto or by de-jure accessible to and jointly used by all members of the community or group[21]. Common Property Resources (CPrR) and Common-Pool Resources (CPRs) are often used synonymously as commons. But in a true CPrR situation, user rights are shared equally and are exclusive to a well-defined group of people, where collective ownership of a

CPRs implies lack of well-defined private property rights of co-users in the CPRs. Sometime private property resources, and state property resources are pooled and used as common resources. In such cases pooled resources are treated as Common Pool Resources (CPRs). Thus, CPrR is a subset of CPRs[22]. In Indian villages, the resources falling in CPRs include community pastures, community forests, wastelands, common dumping and threshing grounds, watershed drainages, village ponds, rivers, and rivulets well as their banks and beds[23].

Mahatma Gandhi on Food Security in India

Mahatma Gandhi's idea about food security lies in his concept of rural development. Mahatma Gandhi believed that Indian means the people who lived in villages and said that destroying villages, their society, culture, economy, and habit would destroy India[24]. All the economic, political, and sociological thinking revolves around the people residing in villages. His target was the attainment of 'Village Swaraj', a complete republic without any exploitation, independent of neighbouring villages or countries for its vital wants, and cultivating interdependence among villagers[25]. He thought that any help from the outside would make the people more dependent, which is the source of exploitation and inequality. Gandhiji advocated a decentralized self-sufficient economy. Gandhiji dreamed of wiping out hunger and malnutrition from rural India by attaining village-level self-sufficiency[26]. To achieve food security, he advocated a sufficient supply of quality food produced locally, i.e., at village levels, to meet the dietary needs of villagers[27]. Diversified food like cereals, fruits, vegetables, and milk produced in the village makes villagers self-sufficient in nutritious food consumption at low cost and keeps them healthy. Small quantities of different vegetables in the diet are more beneficial to health compared to eating large quantities of one kind of food[28]. He prescribed a balanced diet containing germinating seeds to recover from various ailments. Inclusion of cereals, pulses, milk, and vegetables in the diet reduces the experience of constipation which in turn raises the absorption of nutrition from food and reduces malnutrition[29]. According to Gandhiji, rice is the most important cereal in the diet of Indians and the basis of body energy. Rice is produced in almost all Indian villages. He recognized that hand-ground rice was more nutritious compared to polished rice produced in a mill. This is because the bran of rice is a source of many vitamins and minerals. Side by side, it also helps in bowel movement[30]. After rice, wheat is the second most important cereal, followed by jowar, bajra and ragi. Mahatma Gandhi also felt the necessity of proteins, which provided nutrients for building muscles. For that, he relied on the

locally produced pulses and lentils[31]. Milk is the only source of animal protein for vegetarians. Gandhiji said that regular consumption of milk will wipe out weakness[32]. He realized the deficiency of Vitamin A, protein, and minerals in the Indian diet. He recommended goat milk to a weak person who was suffering from illness. Gandhiji also recognized the need for fat and oil in the diet. He preferred ghee to oil because oil is difficult to digest and less nutritious. An ounce of ghee is enough for a person for his/her daily necessity[33]. To ensure the availability and accessibility of milk and milk products in sufficient quantity to every household member, Gandhiji felt that village grazing land should be used for rearing cattle. Mahatma Gandhi relied on the consumption of locally produced fruits and vegetables. He felt that though fruits are costly and meant for the diet of the rich people of urban areas, seasonal fruits available in rural areas will meet the villagers' dietary needs. By "seasonal fruits available in rural areas", Gandhiji meant the diversified fruits and vegetables available in common-pool resources in the village. Fresh fruits and soaked dried fruits should be included in the diet of a person from the beginning of childhood[34]. Fruits are mostly needed to supply micronutrients for our body, keeping bowels healthy and active[35]. Gandhiji was surprised that scientists did not explore the hidden possibilities of innumerable seeds, leaves, and fruits for the nutrition of people [36]. Gandhi also emphasized cleanliness, sanitation, and personal hygiene, which are most essential for securing a person's nutrition. In his words, "everybody must be his own Scavenger."[37]

J.C. Kumarappa on food Security in India

A great Indian philosopher and economist, J.C. Kumarappa explored Gandhiji's alternative development model of decentralized self-sufficient economy, which is the main foundation of food and nutrition security among Indians. Not only food production, he also emphasized village industries for increasing income, which in turn increases the purchasing power of food. He formulated a plan for development by interlinking agriculture, village industries, exchange, democracy, and the state in relation to key industries, monopolies, and natural resources. Every village should prioritise agriculture to produce its own food and cotton. Each village should have a common pasture for cattle, a playground and school for children, and a community hall for recreation and to meet each other. Every village should flourish with cottage industries and handicrafts, which provide ample opportunities to create employment for villagers on the one hand and supply daily consumer goods for villagers on the other. To avoid fragmentation of land, Kumarappa encouraged cooperative farming[38].

He draws from the colonial era's legacy and argues that capitalism is exploitative in nature, wastes natural resources, destroys the small and cottage scale industries and local handicrafts, uproots workers from their home land, and paves the way for an increase in unemployment, poverty, and income inequality[39]. On the other hand, decentralized industrial production has a natural tendency to distribute income and wealth among people, and therefore it is needed in a poor country like India. Professor Schumacher, a great economist, shaped Kumarappa's idea of small-scale production as a theory in his famous book "Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered"[40]. Labor-intensive decentralized production will increase production diversity, raise individual artisan's personal dignity, increase the initiatives for entrepreneurship among rural masses and improve the scope of employment for all family members. All this leads to an increase in purchasing power, which raises the demand for locally produced goods. An increase in purchasing power is an important instrument of accessibility to a sufficient amount of nutritious food to avoid hunger and malnutrition among members of each household. The decentralized industry does not imply postponing of technology upgradation. He argued that invention, innovation, and incorporation of modern technology are inevitable to increase labor productivity and income, making the product more valuable and attractable to consumers, increasing the economy's growth. He prescribed that modernization should be done co-operatively. Otherwise, if you fail to increase the value of your product in the changing world, your industry will ruin. Kumarappa also argues that decentralized industrial production prevents rural-urban migration because people find their jobs and necessities in the locality itself[41].

In a seminar, Venu Madhav Govindu, Professor of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangaluru, said that Kumarappa emphasized local production for local consumption by focusing on self-reliance and self-sufficiency[42]. If every village cannot be self-sufficient in food, it is no use having Swaraj[43]. We must organize people to produce goods to satisfy their own wants(food), i.e., meeting an adequate balance diet. He raised the issue of environmental damage in agriculture, indicating the degrading of soil fertility, and recommended more use of cattle supplements for sustainable agriculture. To increase the production and supplies of diversified food in a village, Kumarappa advocated land reform and balanced cultivation in a decentralized manner[44].

According to Kumarappa, Indian people mostly live on cereals, which provide only calories. Cereals are poor suppliers of other nutrients and protective food factors. So, grains can be substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits, vegetables, milk and milk

products, nuts and oilseeds, etc. Per capita acreage allotted to cultivate fruits and vegetables is much lesser than cultivating food grains. With the increase in population, urbanization, and industrialization, cultivable land has become scarce in India. Therefore, there is an urgent need to distribute land in favour of fruits and vegetable cultivation so that local people meet their balanced diet[45]. He argued that land management and development plans must be centered around the farmer. The locality must try to produce all its food requirements and raw materials for primary life necessities and village industries. After producing sufficient food and fodder, surplus land can be used for commercial crops.

With an example,[46] he calculated that the total cultivable land of a locality could be distributed as follows: 65 percent for cereals, 8 percent for pulses, 1.8 percent for *gur*, 8.4 percent for nuts and oilseeds, 2.4 percent for vegetables, 1.4 percent for fruits, 1.5 percent for potatoes and 11.3 for cotton to meet balanced diet and provide 2860 calories per capita per day. Government-owned waste land unsuited for agriculture purposes and private fallow land should be utilized for raising palms and palm gur. Kumarappa also realized the power of the kitchen garden to produce nutritious food for family members.

According to Kumarappa, money should be used consciously as a medium of exchange. He believed that the monetary mechanism was the main reason behind the Bengal famine of 1943. It snatched away life-giving elements from starving people's mouths before they knew it. Villagers sell their produced nutritive food like rice, wheat, milk, egg, and honey in exchange for money, keeping their family members and children in food insecurity. Lack of deficiency in nutrients for a long time results in undernourishment. Before meeting own diet satisfactorily, producing food for export becomes a folly. Therefore, villagers should generate awareness about a balanced diet, nutritive value of different food items, and sell only surplus amounts after feeding their family members[47]. Kumarappa advocated that the flourish of cottage industries and handicrafts will increase non-farm employment and income, protecting against distress selling nutritious food articles. He realizes the essence of cooperatives. Farmers can exchange their surplus production for other necessities in cooperative societies. Improved seeds and costly modern machines should be distributed through cooperative societies.

In this way, Kumarappa emphasizes preventive measures rather than curative measures to tackle malnutrition. Balanced diet, personal and collective sanitation, healthy living with provisions for recreation and exercise should be given importance to wipe out food insecurity among rural masses. He was also worried about the wastage of food

grains by insects, rodents, and dampness caused by bad storage and urged to tackle the problem with earnestness and seriousness.

Let us see the role of common-pool resources in providing sufficient nutritious food for meeting a balanced diet to villagers of Bankura district and Ideas of food security of Mahatma Gandhi and J.C. Kumarapaa are still relevant.

Materials and methods

The present study is based on the primary data collected from 8 villages spread over four blocks of drought-prone Bankura District in West Bengal. Names of these blocks are Chhatna, Saltora, Ranibandh, and Raipur. The first three blocks are drought-prone. Two villages from each block are chosen for the survey. A total of 424 households were surveyed for the study (see Table 1). Households are selected on the basis of a stratified random sampling technique. Basis of stratifications is the degree of proneness to drought, the concentration of Schedule Caste (SC) and Schedule Tribe (ST) population and the prevalence of CPRs. A structured questionnaire along with group discussion was used for data collection. The two-stage classification procedure was undertaken to classify sample households to analyze the benefit of CPRs. In the first stage, households were classified as per their principal source of earnings, and in the second stage by the size of cultivable landholdings. According to National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) 68th round, employment and unemployment[48], the principal source of earnings -: 1) Self-employed in agriculture (C) 2) Non-Agricultural Labour (NAL) who are engaged in casual nonagriculture work 3) Self-employed in Non-agricultural work (SNA) 4) Agricultural Labour (AL) who are engaged in casual agriculture work and 5) Regular Salaried Job (RS). Households were further classified according to their cultivable land possessed (0.01-0.40 ha, 0.41-1.00 ha, 1.01-2.00 ha, 2.00-4.00 ha) as per NSSO.

In this study, paid out or operational costs are calculated as all actual expenses in cash and kind incurred. Income earned from common-pool resources (CPRs) is calculated as value-added, the gross benefit net intermediate inputs not including labour[49]. The contribution of CPRs is calculated as the percentage of paid-out cost savings due to the use of CPRs.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample households by village and block

Village	Block	No of sample households
Biskodar	Chhatana	60
Velani	Chhatna	56
Udaypur	Saltora	47
Bojapathar	Saltora	53
Kama	Ranibandh	56
Satnala	Ranibandh	47
Dhanara	Raipur	49
Karambera	Raipur	56
Total		424

Bankura district is located in the western part of West Bengal. Geographically, it lies between $23^0 38'$ to $22^0 38'$ North latitude and $86^0 36'$ to $87^0 46'$ East longitudes. It is part of the extended Chotonagpur plateau. Its land is interspersed with hillocks and broken up into low ridges and valleys[50]. Soils are lateritic in nature and very low in fertility. Agriculture is the main occupation of people in this district. Aman paddy is the pillar of agriculture controlled by the southwest monsoon. Fluctuation of rainfall is a common phenomenon leading to drought-like situations. Bankura has a lot of undulations and suffers from very high runoff. According to the 2011 census, 43 percent population belongs to SC and ST in the Bankura district. They are the most disadvantaged section of the society, with high illiteracy, poor health status, less conscious about sanitation and family planning, etc. Unemployment has increased among youth due to a lack of industries. The people largely depend on Common Pool Resources (CPRs) to earn their livelihood.

Results and Discussion

Socio-Economic features of sample households

The study is primarily based on 424 sample households spread over eight villages. The composition of sample households by the social group is Scheduled Tribe (42%), Scheduled Caste (25%), Other Backward Caste (OBC) (16%), and 'Others' (17%) (Table 2). The

average size of a household is 5.38. Sixty-four percent of the sample population belong to BPL, and 16 percent of the sample population are Antadaya Anna Yojana (AAY), the poorest of the poor. It is estimated that about 19 percent of sample populations are illiterate, which is higher among the SC population, followed by ST, 'Others' and OBC.   The average landholding size among sample households is 0.6710 ha, which is the highest among ST households. Seventy-two percent of households possess small and marginal landholdings. 21.7 percent of households have no cultivable land. Major occupations are agriculture labour (AL), self-employment in agriculture (C), and causal non-agricultural labour (NAL). The workforce participation rate is higher among ST, and SC households than OBC and 'Other' households. Hence sample households belong to poor, disadvantaged, marginal and small farming households.

Cereals: In Bankura district, rice is the basic and staple food. Mono cropping of paddy is the predominant practice in this drought-prone district. The present study observes that the accessibility of CPRs reduces cost, raises and stabilizes production and productivity, and sustains agriculture practices. It is the indirect contribution of CPRs in accessing cereals and to achieve food security at the household level. The study considers those components of the cost of cultivation that are supposed to save a rural household by accessing or utilizing CPRs. For example, plowing land is the fundamental paid-out cost. Those households with their own bullock can save the cost of ploughing by hired bullock labour and part of paid out cost (out-of-pocket expenses). Bullocks are mainly sustained by feeding on the grazing land. So, accessibility of grazing land saves the cost of ploughing, and the study considers it as CPRs related component of the cost of cultivation. Rearing of livestock also produces cow dung (Gobar). Homegrown and free collection of cow dung saves the cost of manure. Irrigation water is an inevitable part of cultivation. Sources of irrigation in drought-prone Bankura district are ponds, rivers, and rivulets. Accessibility of common pool water resources (CPWRs) substantially reduces irrigation costs and stabilizes production, productivity, and farmer's income. Plough and cart are made with timber. Most of the rural people collect timber for making carts from village woods. Expenditure on repairing and maintenance of cart and plough is part of the cost of cultivation. Accessibility of CPRs saves these costs. Timber from CPRs for making and repairing ploughs and carts indirectly benefits cultivation by saving resources. Thus, the most important contribution of CPRs is to save the paid-out cost of production in

Table 2: Socio-Economic features of sample households

Items	Social Groups				
	SC	**ST**	**OBC**	**Others**	**Total**
Percentage of households	106(25%)	180(42%)	68(16%)	70(17%)	424(100%)
Average size of households	5.30	5.71	4.70	5.17	5.38
APL	12(11%)	20(11%)	14(21%)	40(57%)	86(20%)
BPL	78(74%)	130(72%)	34(50%)	28(40%)	270(64%)
AAY	16(15%)	30(17%)	20(29%)	2(3%)	68(16%)
% of household head Illiterate	21.34	20.17	13.89	15.91	18.88
Average size of land (ha)	0.5496	0.8073	0.5987	0.5734	0.671

Source: Authors calculation from Primary data

agriculture resulting in an increase in gross farm income, which is the main driving force of continuation of farming even when net farm income is negative.

Table 3 shows that 66 percent of households get support from CPRs in their paddy cultivation. Except for agriculture labourers possessing land ranging from 0.01 to 0.40 hectare, 82 percent of households who are doing paddy cultivation got benefits from CPRs. The average contribution of CPRs is 45 percent of the paid-out cost. The maximum contribution of CPRs is 85 percent of the paid-out cost. Not only saving cost but also accessibility and availability of CPRs lift the productivity level. Different categories of households enjoy different productivity ranging from 24.92 to 49.84 quintal per hectare (see Table 3). In general, paddy's productivity (yield per hectare) increases with the increase in the size of holdings in each type of household. The yield rate is higher when the principal activity is cultivation (self-employed in agriculture work) compared to other households. The yield rate is higher for households who cultivate land with their own bullocks compared to those who cultivate by hiring bullock labour. The yield rate is higher, and the cost is lower in mechanized farming compared to traditional farming with bullock labour.

Again, the present study also found that a shift in dietary habits from home making Dheki chhata rice (rice converted from paddy using seesaw) to polished rice leads to deficiency in nutrition. Dheki chhata rice has a layer of bran, which is absent in rice produced in mills.

Pulses : Production of pulses is very much limited in the drought-prone Bankura district. This is due to the unavailability of irrigation water in the Rabi season. In that case, the role of common pool water resources (CPWRs) is much more important. In those villages, CPWRs are well maintained and well-managed; they store water in CPWRs and are used to produce pulses in the winter season.

Milk and Ghee: In the Bankura district main source of milk is home production. 55.66 percent of households keep more than one cow for getting milk. Milk production per household per day is 418 ml. Production of ghee, ghol and doi are best practices in the villages, as reported by the respondents during the field survey. Cows are fed by grazing land and maintained by family members. Grazing land is an essential component of CPRs and provides nutritious food to villagers.

Villagers consumed high-value food like fruits, vegetables, fish, and meat from three sources, either they produced using their land or purchased from the market or freely collected from CPRs. The

Table 3: Contribution of CPRs in paddy production by types of households

Type of household	Land (ha)	Yield (Q/ha)	Contribution of CPRs (% of paid out cost)
Self-employed in agriculture	0.01-0.40	37.38	84.84
	0.41-1.00	40.50	74.28
	1.01-2.00	43.61	44.73
	2.00-4.00	49.84	29.98
Non-Agriculture Labour,	0.01-0.40	31.15	10.83
Self-employed in non- agriculture	0.41-1.00	34.27	8.85
	1.01-2.00	43.61	47.69
Agriculture labour	0.01-0.40	24.92	0.00
	0.41-1.00	31.15	71.14
	1.01-2.00	37.38	66.67

Source: computed from primary data

percentage contribution of food items from their sources is presented in Table 4.

Fruits: The present study found that the accessibility of CPRs provides seasonal fruits to rural households in Bankura district. CPRs are the major sources of fruits for the villagers in Bankura (Table 4). The implication is that CPRs are the top nutrition provider in terms of fruits consumption. Generally, rural households collect various types of wild and non-wild edible fruits seasonally grown on locally available CPRs. Fruits like Mango, Guava, Custard-Apple, Hug-Plum, Date, Plum, Melon, Palm, fig, Tamarind, Wood-Apple etc., are grown either in households or open orchards or dividers of cultivated land, banks of rivers and ponds, roadside, social forests, etc. From the Mahua tree, villagers collect Mahua fruits and flowers. These items are used for vegetables, making country wine, or chapatti mixed with flour. Mahua added with flour makes nutritious bread. Sweet and Pokora can be made from Mahua. These are collected from other people's gardens, trees on the roadside, village forests and woods, paddy field dividers, etc., which belong to CPRs.

Table 4: Percentage contribution of food consumed by sources

Consumption by sources	Vegetables	Fruits	Fish	Meat
Home grown	49.41	18.1	26.64	12.03
Purchase from markets	18.46	23.7	30.24	31.06
Collection from CPRs	32.14	58.2	43.12	56.91
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Computed from primary data

Vegetables: The major source of vegetables is homestead cultivation, followed by CPRs and markets (see Table 4). Households used to collect a variety of wild vegetables produced at the bank and bed of rivers, ponds, paddy fields, and jungles of which leafy vegetables are at the top. Names of vegetables collected from CPRs are green vegetables like Sushni Shak, Kulekhara, Sajne Shak, Letus Shak, Kalmi Shak, Nate Shak, Methi Shak, Ghima Shak, and many more; roots and tubers, arum; mushroom, Kachra (fruits of Mahua tree); Parawl, etc. Again, homegrown vegetables are produced either in the field or on the homestead. Vegetables planted in the homestead are often called Kitchen gardens. Vegetables like Gourd, Pumpkin, Pui, Parawl, Jhinga, Seem, Cucumber, etc., are grown on the roof of

the households or on the artificial roof, called 'macha' made of bamboo or dry branches in most of the villages in Bankura. Leafy vegetables are produced in the pit of manure compost (locally called sarkur or gobar doba). Papaya, green chillies, tomato, lemon, etc., are also grown in a vacant part of the homestead. Sajne data, Sajne flower, and Sajne shak are also popular in the district. Survival of the kitchen garden also depends upon CPWRs. Thus, the above sources and basket of vegetables provide diversification in the diet of the rural households. This is an indirect contribution of CPRs to the village and household level nutritional security through the consumption of vegetables. The present study shows that CPRs have the power to supply diversified nutritious fruits and vegetables to the food basket of rural households.

Fish: The major source of fish consumption in the rural households in the study area is CPRs (see Table 4). Traditionally, rural households, particularly poor people, collected fish freely from CPWRs, including ponds, streams, rivers, and rivulets. Fishes are also available and accessible to rural people from paddy fields during the sowing period. Types of fish include Rui, Katala, Puti, Darka, Chingri, Mrigel, Sal, Sol (Chang, Gorai, Pekal), boal and many other types known by local names. A secondary source of fish consumption is the market. Fish culture in private ponds (small water structures locally called doba) is another source of fish consumption by the villagers. The role of CPRs is very important for providing diversified fish, an important source of protein, to villagers of Bankura district.

Meat: CPRs are also the prime source of meat consumption of rural people, followed by market and home-grown items (Table 4). The basket of meat collected from CPRs contains mainly snails (81 percent), rats (12 percent), frogs (4 percent), cockle or oyster (2 percent), and dove (1 percent). Again, meat purchased from the local market is mainly chicken. Villager's rear chicken and ducks for meat and eggs. Both ponds and fields are components of CPRs. So, accessing both meat and egg CPRs is crucial in rural areas of Bankura district.

Hygiene: The present study also looks at that matter. People draw drinking water from tube wells. They used pond water for washing utensils, washing clothes, washing livestock and bathing. This pond water is a source of water-borne disease. Even after two decades of globalization, people of Bankura district have limited access to sanitary toilets. To prevent water-borne diseases, some villages kept separate ponds for different uses.

Handicrafts: In the industrially backward Bankura district, the cottage industry and handicrafts are the most important non-farm employment and income source. There is an age-old tradition for

making numerous handicrafts items in villages. Some of these are Making mat from palm or date leaf; making broom from wild grass 'Jirgunda' or from the stick of 'Casful' or bamboo, or leaf of date tree; making hand fan from palm leaf, making plate from 'sal' leaf; making bidi from 'kendu' leaves; making toys and basket from bamboo; making clay pots and terracotta idols by the potters. Inputs of all these items are collected from village common pool resources.

Conclusion

According to Mahatma Gandhi and his disciple J.C. Kumarappa, a decentralized self-sufficient economy and maintaining personal hygiene are the main foundations of food and nutrition security among Indians. This study found that their ideas are still relevant in the present socio-economic scenarios of the drought-prone Bankura district. Village common pool resources (CPRs) plays an important role in decentralized production. Along with supplying innumerable nutritious seasonal fruits, vegetables, fish, and snails (meat) freely to the food basket, village-level common pool resources (CPRs) provide supplementary and complementary inputs for agricultural production and for making handicrafts. As industries are underdeveloped in Bankura district, handicrafts are the major source of non-farm income. Accessibility of CPRs (grazing land, private cultivable land lying fallow between two crops, ponds, river, rivulet, and forest) reduces cost, raises and stabilizes production and productivity, and sustains paddy cultivation in drought-prone Bankura district. Grazing land provides fodder to cows, the major source of milk and milk products to villagers. Small water reservoirs called 'doba' are the backbone of the kitchen gardens, production of pulse and other Rabi crops, and rearing ducks in villages of Bankura district. But due to commercialization and lack of proper management, CPRs are now degraded, leading to the threat of food insecurity. Due to a lack of awareness about personal hygiene, people are suffering from water borne disease and malnutrition as they are using the same water bodies for bathing, washing cloth & utensils, cleaning livestock, and sanitation. The management of CPRs (land, forest, and water bodies) with people's participation and awareness about personal hygiene among poor, small, and marginal farming households in rural areas is a necessary policy prescription to achieve food and nutrition security.

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Gandhi and the Indian Constitution: Realising the Idea of aVillage-based Polity

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ABSTRACT

As India celebrates seven decades of its commitment to constitutionalism, we revere the invaluable contributions of the Constituent Assembly in drafting a state of the art document. As we all understand, the Constitution of India is an amalgam of relevant ideas from constitutions across the world. Mahatma Gandhi played a crucial role in the setting up of the Constituent Assembly and was also a significant influence on the Constitution makers. Yet, upon an enquiry into the constitution, one cannot be but intrigued by how callously and superfluously his thoughts have been reflected in the Indian Constitution. This paper proposes to critically inquire into the nature and scope of how Gandhian principles, specifically the idea of village-based state-building, have been addressed by the Constituent Assembly, the Indian Constitution, and independent India.

Key words: Mahatma Gandhi, Indian Constitution, Grass root Democracy, Decentralisation, Panchayati Raj

Introduction

ON 26 NOVEMBER 2020, India celebrated Constitution Day[1], concluding the 70th anniversary of adopting the Indian Constitution. Our constitution has been revered the world over for many reasons. Scholars have extensively studied the significance of the efforts put in by the stalwarts of the Indian independence movement in drafting the constitution and how far it has stood the test of time in fostering democracy in the nation for seven decades. The contribution of each

member of the Constituent Assembly[2] is invaluable, commemorated, and cherished by the country. The constitution is the lengthiest[3] and was drafted by adopting relevant ideas from constitutions of many other countries. Yet, it has been reprised by many scholars, then and now, that our constitution severely fails to reflect the vision and mission postulated by the Mahatma.

This paper is structured into three parts. Firstly, we will attempt to understand Mahatma Gandhi's notions about a constitution for independent India and his vision of a village-centric grass-root democracy. Then, the paper shall explore how far the constitution-makers have sought inspiration from him while drafting the constitution. Finally, the paper proposes to critically enquire into the nature and scope of the assimilation of Gandhian principles in the Indian Constitution and the extent of incorporating Gandhian perspectives in State building in the past 70 years of independent India. The inquiry is centered on the predominant and most celebrated political facet of the Gandhian perspective of State building, the Panchayati Raj system. In 2018 we completed 25 years of nationwide adoption of decentralized governance through the monumental 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments and the Panchayati Raj Act, which came into force on 24 April 1993.[4] Primarily, the paper argues that the Constitution of India is predominantly short of his grand vision and aims to understand the reasons for the void.

II. Gandhi's Vision of a Constitution for India

Gandhi had a vision and perception about every aspect of humanity, which he unhesitantly shared with the world through his innumerable writings[5] and speeches. He was keen on initiating discourses with other leaders and laymen to communicate his ideas and amend himself. In this process, Gandhi also deliberated on the socio-political and economic approaches to be adopted by an independent India. He knew that India would need a constitution, which he perceived as a monumental document written in tune with the core principles of the Indian freedom struggle and the ethos and values nurtured by our rich socio-political traditions and culture.

Gandhi's role in shaping the constitution for India has to be understood in different phases. As early as 1909, Gandhi penned in 'Hind Swaraj' his views on the future constitution of India.[6] In it, he vehemently expressed his reservations about parliaments. Yet another, more prominent expression of Gandhi's perception of the structure and composition of a constitution was evidenced in the constitution he helped draft for the people of Aundh in 1923.[7]

In that constitution, Gandhi envisioned a decentralized

government, for he had often shared his disregard for centralized power, which he thought was expensive, inefficient, ruthless, and power-hungry.[8] The decentralized government envisaged by Gandhi had village panchayats, taluks formed by the panchayat presidents, and a legislative assembly constituted by the members sent by the taluks. This bottom-up approach ensured the chances of a village panchayat member becoming the prime minister of Aundh.[9] The other condition Gandhi insisted on practicing in Aundh was that only literate citizens might vote. Before the first election, he strictly instructed the ruler to make arrangements to help people become literate. He also insisted the prince should live and work in Aundh for ten years as a poor citizen of Aundh. Gandhi also ensured to include fundamental rights.[10]

Yet, until the 1930s, he continued to express serious reservations against the constitution and a parliamentary system in India. His observations about the constitution proposed by Motilal Nehru in the 1928 Nehru Report reflected the same. But, under the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi gradually began to take an interest in constitutional matters.[11] Gandhi represented India in the Second Round Table Conference and contributed his ideas for the future constitution of India.[12] He was also actively involved in the sessions held by Indian National Congress (Congress) to discuss constitutional reforms. On all these occasions, Gandhi voiced the idea of '*swaraj*', a stateless society, for he perceived the centralized, monolithic state as a 'soulless machine' that would abrogate citizens' rights. He disdained the corrupting nature of political power and the power politics of political parties. *Swaraj* was meant to empower the people and the state towards achieving his principles of reconstruction.

Again in *Young India* (10 September 1931), Gandhi shared some thoughts in this regard, specifically, his desire to ensure clauses pertaining to the prohibition of untouchability, gender equality, non-violence, elimination of caste-based discrimination, etc. He wrote, "I shall strive for a constitution, which will release India from all thralldom and patronage."[13]

In 1934, M.N. Roy demanded the setting up of a Constituent Assembly, which Congress soon advanced; Gandhi was skeptical. But, in 1939, he seconded Jawaharlal Nehru in including the demand for a Constituent Assembly in Congress resolutions, as he felt it was 'the only way' to "solve the communal problems and other distempers, besides being a vehicle for mass political and other education."[14] Later, in 1946, when the Cabinet Mission Plan put forth a Constituent Assembly and was rejected by the Indian political fraternity for its controversial provincial arrangements, Gandhi spoke in favour of

ratifying the Congress Working Committee resolution to join the Constituent Assembly. He understood that its composition had many defects and said, "The Constituent Assembly is going to be no bed of roses for you but only a bed of thorns". But, he continued to add that "…a satyagrahi cannot wait or delay action till perfect conditions are forthcoming" and urged the Congress Party to consider Constituent Assembly as the "substitute of Satyagraha", for he called it "constructive Satyagraha."[15]

Another documented compendium of Gandhi's ideas on the constitution is found in the book authored by Shriman Narayan Agarwal in 1946, *'Gandhian Constitution for Free India'*. Mahatma Gandhi wrote the foreword of the book, and it contained his reflections on a participatory form of governance, with village panchayat as the primary political unit, aimed at socio-cultural harmony and welfare as the goals of the polity.[16]

Agarwal (1946: 13) pronounces the Gandhian perception of the Indian Constitution as "a swadeshi constitution for *swaraj*". He identified and elaborated on the three dimensions of decentralization as proposed by Gandhi on various occasions. While the political aspect of decentralization of governance, prompted from the grass-root level, emphasized the promotion of "harmony of interests and spontaneity of political life", economic decentralization envisaged a production system that was simultaneous with consumption and distribution. The basic philosophy of decentralization was converged on "simple living and high thinking."[17]

Shriman Narayan Agarwal consolidated Gandhi's constitutional plan and enlisted the following features in the '*Swaraj* constitution', in consultation with Gandhi:

- 13 fundamental rights and three duties
- Panchayati Raj institutions
- Provincial governments (3-year term; composed of presidents of taluk panchayats)
- The disintegration of princely states
- A unicameral central government (3-year term; composed of presidents of provincial panchayats)
- Replace the colonial legal system with panchayat-level courts and such
- Rejected communal electorates and emphasized the relevance of literate voters
- Desired a foreign policy based on peace and world federation
- Special attention to the protection of minorities
- Economic decentralization, more spending on education and health, and a ceiling on wealth

- Free and compulsory basic education till 14 years of age, curriculum promoting awareness about health and hygiene, agriculture, social service, etc.[18]

One can also find that Gandhi wrote about the system of governance in his autobiography and *'India of My Dreams'*. The book *'India of My Dreams'*, published in 1947, with a foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, is a compilation by R.K. Prabhu of excerpts from Young India and other writings as well as speeches of Gandhi about the course of action envisaged for an India of his dreams, distinct from the conceptions of governance practiced by the West. Chapter 25 of the book quotes Gandhi from Harijan, July 1946, as saying "Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a Republic having full powers."[19]

In brief, Gandhi's criticisms of Western civilization anchored on industrialism and modernity made him conceive a notion of an independent India which was determined to eliminate the vices of poverty and violence through spiritual seeking and practical actions. It involved decentralization, rural uplift, cooperative farming, village industries, new education, women empowerment, etc. All this and more constitutes the Constructive Programme proposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

Now, let us explore how far the Constituent Assembly had imbibed the Gandhian thought while drafting the Indian Constitution.

III. Gandhi and the Drafting of the Constitution of India- Stage I

The Indian Constitution adopted features from constitutions worldwide to be enacted as one of the consummate legal texts for nation-building. Along with many provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, the constitution borrowed prominent features like parliamentary government, the post of Prime Minister, powerful Lower House, single citizenship, the rule of law, legislative procedure, fundamental rights, judicial review, independence of the judiciary, preamble, amendment procedures, federal features, ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, concurrent list, fundamental duties, etc.[20]

As the father of the nation, it is presumably appropriate that the most significant document of independent India should strive to uphold the dreams of the Mahatma. This, we find, was not a natural and easy occurrence for many reasons. First of all, in spite of writing profusely in various forums about his notions about an independent India, Gandhi had not jotted down or scripted a single text containing his views on provisions to be included in the constitution. It is a rather unbelievable truth that Gandhi was not a member of the Constituent

Assembly. Gandhi chose to keep away from the provincial elections, and while the Constituent Assembly met to draft the constitution, he was soon traveling to different parts of the country to pacify the communal riots. One could argue that this rather coincidental aloofness and the debatable inclination of the members of the Constituent Assembly towards the British and American Constitutions led to moderate neglect of Gandhi and his ideas during the early stage of drafting the constitution.

Despite prudent observations by many constitutionalists that it is illogical to import constitutions, one can find that the constitution of India has borrowed heavily from those of prominent liberal, parliamentary democracies, especially British. Since the 1916 Congress-League Scheme and the 'Outline Scheme of Swaraj' (1922) by Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Dr. Bhagavandas, the inclination toward the western pattern of governance was claiming centre-stage in Indian discussions.[21] Nanda writes that the Commonwealth of India Bill (1925) by Annie Besant, the Nehru Report (1928) by Motilal Nehru, and the Sapru Committee Report (1945) emphasized the centralized democratic parliamentary system of government with a convenient amalgamation of federal features.[22]

In the famous speech (Objectives Resolution) delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on 13 December 1946, proposing its aims and principles, he urged the assembly to remember Gandhi at every step of drafting the constitution. He said, "There is another person who is absent here and who must be in the minds of many of us today- the great leader of our people, the father of our nation- who has been the architect of this Assembly…He is not here because, in pursuit of his ideals, he is ceaselessly working in a far corner of India."[23] During the discussion on the resolution, a member of the Constituent Assembly, M.R. Masani referred to Gandhi to elucidate his notion of a democratic state. He quoted Gandhi's words, as spoken to Louis Fischer, "The centre of power now is in New Delhi, or in Calcutta or Bombay, in the big cities. I would have it distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages of India…There will then be voluntary co-operation between these seven hundred thousand units."[24] In the discussion that pursued, nearly all the speakers unanimously expressed gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi for his contributions.

But, while drafting the constitution, the Gandhian model of decentralization was perceived as impractical, utopian, and sidelined. Moreover, Nehru and many young leaders of the time vouched rapid industrialization and mechanization as the key strategy for the country. In 1947, Gandhi criticized the absence of even the term village

panchayats in the draft constitution. He said, "It is certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence is to reflect the peoples' voice. The greater the power of the panchayats, the better for the people." He also said, "What good will be the Constitution be if the village does not find its due place in it?"[25] But he added that the existing settings were not sufficient to realize this dream. He urged the Constructive Workers to pursue the mission to 'resuscitate the village' and establish a 'non-violent social order'. Gandhi may have reconciled himself to believe that the western model of centralized parliamentary system was unavoidable and was ready to keep aside his dreams of "parliamentary *swaraj* based on village republics." Yet, he continued to pursue the desire to practice the constructive programme to empower and reform the villages.[26]

Interestingly, many of the members soon realized the vacuum and insisted on incorporating Gandhian thoughts into the structure of the constitution. The latter stage of the drafting of the constitution found a slight leaning in the deliberations in terms of adopting Gandhian thoughts into the ambit of the constitution.

IV. Gandhi and the Drafting of the Constitution of India- Stage II

B.R. Nanda observes that the general skepticism about the practicality of Gandhi's ideas was reflected in the initial discourses of the Constituent Assembly. The stalwarts engaged in the drafting of the constitution "took little notice of Gandhi's views."[27] None of Gandhi's cherished dreams of a village-centric decentralized India, striving on cooperative farming and village industries, found a place in the early stage of the drafting of the constitution. The framers of the constitution, including B.R. Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel, were diligently seeking ways to get the country together, rid of poverty and other pertinent information issues of the time, and resorted to the conventional package of 'centralised government and rapid industrialization'. The developed countries, which inflicted the world with the worst catastrophes, were modelled upon to achieve progress.[28]

The Constituent Assembly debates of November 1948, incidentally after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, steered the attention towards the absence of Gandhian perceptions in the draft constitution. One cannot ignore the vehement arguments by some of the members. While moving a motion, Damodar Swarup Seth pointed out "The constitution of a free country should be based on local self-government" and "our Indian Republic should have been a union of small autonomous republics." He also said, "Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the fact that too much centralisation of power makes that

power totalitarian." Some of the other members supported that his motion should be permitted. Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena, on two occasions, said he was, "pained to hear from Dr. Ambedkar that he rather despised the system in which villages had a paramount voice" and remarked that the portion should be "amended properly."[29] H.V. Kamath curtly said, "[I]f we do not cultivate sympathy and love and affection for our villages and rural folk I do not see how we can uplift our country. Mahatma Gandhi taught us in almost the last mantra that he gave in the last days of his life to strive for panchayat raj. If Dr. Ambedkar cannot see his way to accept this, I do not see what remedy or panacea he has got for uplifting our villages."[30]

Arun Chandra Guha emphatically pointed out the grave absence of "Gandhian social and political outlook". He also shared his apprehensions about how silent B.R. Ambedkar has been in this regard. Guha elaborated on the relevance of "pyramidal structure based on the village panchayats" and expressed his displeasure about Ambedkar's view that the villages have been the ruination of India. He felt it convenient to have a strong centre and a strong panchayat-based mechanism of administration.[31] T. Prakasam also mentioned the inappropriateness of the constitution being distanced from the "wish and desires of those who had fought the battle of freedom for thirty years…under the leadership of the departed Mahatma Gandhi". He commented, "The Drafting Committee had not the mind of Gandhiji, had not the mind of those who think that India's teeming millions should be reflected through this camera." He talked about the relevance of Gandhi's constructive programme and drew attention to the fallacies of the capitalist monetary system. Further, he urged Ambedkar to replace it with the Gandhian model of an economy based on self-sustained villages.[32] Prof. N.G. Ranga was concerned about choosing a strong centre instead of decentralization and that "freed from the shackles of ignorance and superstition, the panchayat of the Gandhian village will certainly be the backbone of the structure of this country's Constitution." Mahavir Tyagi expressed his disappointment that he saw "nothing Gandhian in this Constitution" and projected the concepts of prohibition, cottage industries, etc.[33]

Statesmen like K. Hanumanthaiya expressed displeasure in overtly embracing the centralized state system while ignoring the Gandhian idea of provincial governance. He said, "…we wanted the music of veena or sitar, but here we have the music of English band" during the Constituent Assembly debates of 17 November, 1948.[34] People like him were adept with Gandhi's views on how the constitution should be drafted. V.I. Muniswamy Pillai, while praising the "efforts and the services rendered by the Drafting Committee," also believed

that "we will be unjust to our people and to our country" if Mahatma Gandhi was not duly represented in the constitution.[35] I. Krishaswami Bharathi was the last member to raise the matter and elaborated on the idea of village swaraj and concluded by reminding that, "for Gandhi, India could live only if the villages live."[36] Other members, Syamanandan Sahaya, B.P. Jhunjhunwala and O.V. Alagesan, also expressed dissatisfaction with the draft constitution for not sufficiently delivering Gandhian idea of the village during the third reading in 1949.[37]

It cannot be claimed that the observations made during the constitutional debates of 1948 bore fruit, for one could still sense a coldness in reverting to the Gandhian vision of decentralized democratic structure through directly elected village panchayats. One could assume that the dire economic and social inequalities prevalent in the Indian society of the time prevented the statesmen from doubting the appropriateness of adopting the decentralized village-centric political economy. Gandhi was hopeful of casteless villages which flourished through the democratic environment created by the panchayati raj system. Friedman recollects Nehru's response to Gandhi's economic views as, "utterly wrong…..and impossible of achievement."[38] Ambedkar was also reluctant to absorb the Gandhian notion of the village and openly expressed a preference for the individual as the primary unit instead of the village.[39] Ambedkar was skeptical of the future of decentralization and participatory grassroots democracy in Indian villages, given the villages' historically embedded caste contradictions and power equations and the implications on the weaker sections. A paradigm shift had been made in favour of the individual rather than the village, probably reliant on liberal and Marxian notions.

Eventually, towards the waning of the Constitutional Debates, Ambedkar agreed to accept the resolution proposed by K. Santhanam, and subsequently seconded by many honourable members of the Constituent Assembly to add Article 31-A, envisaging the state to "take steps to organize village panchayats."[40] Further, the interventions succeeded in accommodating Gandhian ideas in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, etc. The following sections aim at searching how far effectively we have adopted the Gandhian ideas of state-building into the ambit of the Constitution of India.

V. Gandhian Principles in the Constitution of India

The Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) is unique for many reasons. The fifteen articles included in Part IV (Art.36-51) of the

constitution along with four amendments, direct the states to adopt and execute social, economic, and political programmes for a 'modern, welfare state'. These non-justiciable principles were drafted in line with the 'Instrument of Instructions' given in the Government of India Act, 1935. Interestingly, the DPSP has assimilated some of the Gandhian ideas he envisaged for the country's holistic development. While Art.39 aims to secure the equal right to livelihood and resources and discourages the concentration of wealth, Art. 43 and 43B promote cottage industries and cooperative societies, respectively. Art. 46 intends to uphold the educational and economic interests of weaker sections. Art.47 encourages the state to make policies to prohibit the consumption of intoxicants, and Art. 48 prohibits the slaughter of cows and other milch cattle etc. And, Art. 51 enlists the promotion of international peace and honourable relations between nations.[41] The most prominent inclusion is Art.40, which envisages the implementation of village panchayats following the Constituent Assembly Debates of 22 November, 1948.

The Fundamental Rights also reflect the influence of Gandhi. Articles have been incorporated to prevent discrimination (Art. 15), abolish untouchability (Art.17), promote secularism (Art. 25), and protect the interests of minorities (Art. 29-30).[42] The Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002, to promote education through Art.21A provisioning the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years is another welcome step.[43] Similarly, the adoption of universal adult suffrage and the accommodation of regional languages are in line with Gandhian views of devolution of power to the masses and respecting the multicultural nature of the country. Though Gandhi openly criticised the Drafting Committee for omitting fundamental duties, its addition under Article 51A, occurred through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment in 1976.[44]

In the past seven decades, central and state governments have implemented various projects, schemes, regulations, and acts to achieve the dreams of the father of the nation. In spite of these efforts, a close comparison of the principles and provisions envisaged by Gandhi and those incorporated in the actual constitution and those implemented by the governments would reveal a deliberate gap. The reasons are beyond the scope of this paper. This paper focuses on how intensely Art.40 has been appropriated to pursue Mahatma Gandhi's vision of an India of self-sufficient villages.

VI. Gandhi's Village Panchayats and Article 40: Gauging the gaps

As has already been said, Gandhi dreamt of an independent India,

Swaraj, from within, built on the prospects of village autonomy. This idea of decentralization envisioned a self-sustained and equitable village republic pillared on the values of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*, progressing through sufficient cultivation, *khadi and* cottage industries, inclusive education, clean water, waste management and sanitation, cooperative finance management, and simple living. He also proposed village governance ingrained in grassroots political and economic democracy.[45] He said, "My purpose is to present an outline of village government. Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government."[46] His desire for the country to be an enlightened anarchy "endowed with apolitical and self-sustaining villages."[47] In a subsequent *Harijan (1946),* Gandhi is said to have commented that "I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought." Gandhi knew that such a village could be realized if someone can "take up a village, treat it as his world and sole work, and he will find good results."[48]

The most prominent Gandhian principle which found a place in the Indian Constitution is the directive to implement decentralisation through village panchayats (Art.40). At this point, it will be worthwhile to delve into the meaning of decenralisation as understood by Mahatma Gandhi, his compatriots, and independent India. M.S. John writes that while liberalism envisaged decentralization as a tool to foster accountability and stability in democracy, adopting the perspectives of Tocqueville and J.S. Mill, the contemporary perception is more reliant on the ideas of devolution and delegation. Further, John argues that "the potential for privatisation and the transfer of service provision to the shoulders of the local bodies" make decentralization attractive for neoliberal agencies. What deserves attention is that these perceptions of decentralisation are quite distanced from the philosophical anarchism and normative perspective held by Gandhi.[49]

Gandhi dreamt of an India empowered through decentralization (Grama Swaraj) and grassroots democracy, where the power will trickle upwards. It was intended to promote rural empowerment as an alternative to industry-based modernism and centralized system of government. It also embodied non-violence and communal harmony. This system of decentralization anchored on village panchayats was not only accountable to the people but also devoid of political factions. Even though the post-independent India earnestly picturised panchayati raj as a Gandhian idea, his idea appears to have got smothered by the corpulent quasi-federal parliamentary form of

government based on the party system. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar opposed the village-centric system because of his serious reservations about its impact on the depressed castes. Following him, independent India argued for the inclusion of a strong District Panchayat and a multi-tier hierarchical system as a measure to facilitate requisite intervention by the centre. The intention was to eliminate the possibilities of hegemonisation by high caste landlords and ensure compliance with national development goals.[50] In the early decades, a few states, namely Rajasthan (1959) and Andhra Pradesh (1959), introduced the system following the launch of the Community Development Programme in 1952 and the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee in 1957.[51] Iyer comments that Nehru tried to embrace the possibility of institutionalising panchayati raj as an instrument of development. The second five year plan associated this system of decentralization as a mechanism necessary for rural progress and upliftment of the weaker sections.[52]

But, in no time, the institution staggered and exhibited signs of state patronage and misappropriation by power brokers. The Asoka Mehta Committee (1978), while observing the flaws of corruption and politicization, recommended concrete refinement of the panchayati raj institutions (PRIs). The foremost recommendation was to empower the local bodies by transferring more powers. Also, the Committee suggested a two-tier system comprising a Zilla Parishad and a Mandal Panchayat constituted by grouping villages. In this model, the Gram Sabha would play a crucial role in enriching the grass-root democracy. The Committee further expected systematic changes in administration and resource management.[53] The GVK Rao Committee (1985) also recommended the district as the basic unit of planning and emphasized the relevance of regular elections. The L. M. Singhvi Committee (1986) realised the system could be strengthened only by providing it constitutional status. Subsequently, the nationwide implementation of the three-tier system was initiated by adopting the Panchayati Raj Act of 1994 following the 73rd and 74th amendments of the constitution passed by the Parliament in 1992. The Act aims to achieve social justice and good governance through local self-governments enjoined by co-responsibility instead of hierarchy.[54]

Articles 243 to 243-O of Part IX of the constitution list the duties and composition of the panchayats. The powers and functions of the panchayats were enumerated in the eleventh Schedule. As established by the Act, the relevant features of the panchayats include Grama Sabha, three tiers of administration, reservation for women, and SCs and STs. The duration of the panchayats was specified as five years unless dissolved on specific grounds in accordance with the state

legislations. The states could legislate provisions to disqualify the members. The finance commission appointed by the state every five years would review the distribution of taxes, allocation of funds, and grant-in aids.[55]

In 2018, the Panchayati Raj system completed 25 years, and it is a bag of successes and stutters. Around 3,100,804 representatives were elected across the country to administer the development of about 260,512 Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local bodies (2,53,268 Grama Panchayats, 6,614 Block Panchayats, and 630 District Panchayats), according to 2017-18 GOI statistics.[56]. Since seats are reserved for women (1,375,914) and SC/ST candidates, the empowerment it facilitates is immeasurable.[57] The Panchayats are expected to enhance economic development and social justice by facilitating the smooth execution of central and state government schemes, including the 29 subjects listed in Schedule XI. So far, various rural development schemes worth crores of rupees have been implemented through the Grama Panchayats. In the past five years, about 180,263 crores were allocated as a basic grant and 20,029 crores as a performance grant to rural local bodies. The annual Grama Sabha meetings and the Grama Panchayat Development Plans have also contributed immensely to customizing development in favour of the local community. On an average, two lakh plans are submitted across the country per year.[58]

In spite of the magnitude of the financial, structural, and administrative dimensions the Panchayati Raj system has acquired in the last 25 years, there are many pitfalls that delineate it from Mahatma Gandhi's vision and objectives towards achieving grass-root level political empowerment. One of the system's drawbacks is that the state governments have legislated variedly on the devolution of the powers of the panchayats (Art. 243). The present system continues to follow the conventional top to bottom approach, which is a total departure from the ideas of Gandhi. Consequently, as against the vision of Gandhi, the local self-governments are refrained in many ways from generating and utilizing revenue autonomously. The state governments are still unwilling to fully transfer powers to the local bodies in the true spirit of the Act of 1992.[59] Pradhan and Joseph (2013) observed that "this scenario had practically resulted in decentralization of corruption and not the true decentralization of power."[60]

Also, direct democracy had become a farce in many village panchayats. The overbearing control wielded by the political parties and illiteracy continues to be an issue stalling the efficient participation of the people. The incongruities in elaborating the role of the state

government and bureaucracy limit the viability immensely, leaving the panchayats contingent on the political will of the states. One could be relieved that reservation in representation for women and SC/ST has helped augment political participation as well as address their issues.

In his villages, the devolution of financial powers to the panchayats has also not been implemented in the manner suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. The State Finance Commissions, constituted as per the Act, concedes the panchayats to collect a share of the state taxes on land revenue, entertainment tax, additional stamp duty, and other such taxes that are less buoyant while excluding the sales tax and other more buoyant taxes. This severely impairs the mobilization of revenue at the local level, and this, along with the dependence on the state government, is in contradiction to the resource autonomy Gandhi preferred for the panchayats.[61]

Similarly, with respect to the devolution of functions, while some states have transferred many schemes and related departments to the PRIs, other states have been implementing the decentralization through the state bureaucracy, denying the true spirit of the system. The undue role of the bureaucracy, as well as the deficit of means to monitor transparency and accountability, severely hampers the efficiency of the decentralisation process.[62]

The most crucial denial of Gandhian ideals in this respect has been with regard to the status of Grama Sabhas. One finds that the Grama Sabhas meetings were "minimal and mere formality." The quantity and quality of participation were compromised. Grama Sabhas were expected to contribute enormously to amass the will of the villagers and streamline progress through the opinions generated, but the state laws were such that these Grama Sabhas were inherently weakened by being assigned "ritualistic functions" which could be "ignored by the Grama Panchayat."[63] Two states, Madhya Pradesh and Kerala stand out for making the recommendations of the Grama Sabha mandatory on the Grama Panchayat.

To overcome the faults, a few initiatives have been launched. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj was formed in 2004. On the 25th anniversary of the Panchayati Raj system, the government of India launched the five-year Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan to equip the institutions for achieving Sustainable Development Goals. Another step has been strengthening the People's Plan Campaign called 'Sabki Yojana Sabka Vikas'.[64] Some states have also put to practice noteworthy models, such as the 'People's Planning' campaign and the concept of 'neighbourhood groups' implemented by the State of Kerala in 1996. Organized under six phases, the people's campaign facilitates the local

bodies to formulate and execute devolution of up to 40% of the state's plan outlay for projects.

VII. Conclusion

Gandhism is an amalgamation of myriad theoretical concepts and their empirical ramifications. One can find Gandhi often handling contrasting ideas with ease and balance. He yearned for justice, freedom, and equality while reminding people about their duties, selfless work, and non-possession. The responsibilities of the state were perceived upon the tenets of realism, liberalism, socialism, economic justice, etc., to envision a deconstruction of state-centric power structures. The predominant disdain towards positivism and modernity for disfiguring pluralism and decentralization is felt throughout his writings. He firmly held on to tradition, morality, and ethics.

When we delve deep into Gandhian thought, we can understand that he was concerned with uplifting the vulnerable sections and protecting the environment to foster international peace in the larger interest. The Constitution makers have, after many deliberations, strived to encourage and direct the states to conceive steps to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, and discrimination, while fostering economic and social uplift, based on his ideas of Sarvodaya and Constructive Programme. Yet, we have significantly failed to comprehend his ideas.

Gandhi envisioned a 'trickle up' strategy for the comprehensive and holistic development of the country, incorporating sustainability and equality. The lawmakers and the executive must forgo political differences and undergo attitudinal changes to fathom this Gandhian dream. Many procedural and legislative modifications are necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the programmes manifesting the Gandhian principles. While people continue to be optimistic about the strengths of the PRIs, vested interests of those in the rungs of power and reluctance in true devolution of power by the state, have largely impaired the initiative in delivering the vision of Gandhi in its true spirit. Suppose the intention is a self-reliant village republic based panchayati raj system. In that case, there is a dire need to dissociate the system from partisan politics as well as take more rigourous actions to make villages generate resources locally.

As decades passed by, India, and the world in general, realized the relevance of Gandhian thought. We have been at fault for not having given due significance to his aspirations about independent India. It is reflected in his minimal presence in the Indian Constitution. Nanda points out how Jawaharlal Nehru, M.N. Roy, and Jayprakash Narayan had later expressed their failings for not understanding

Gandhi while comprehending the concepts of progress, secularism, scientific growth, etc.[65]

Over the years, we have tried to do justice to him through constitutional amendments, jurisprudence, and development schemes. Now, it is time that we pay attention to executing the provisions of the constitution with utmost emphasis on attaining Gandhi's values or Talisman, for he is the father of the nation, and the country is obliged to enliven his dreams of 'swaraj' and 'sarvodaya' to the fullest.

Notes and References

1. The Constitution of India came into effect on January 26, 1950, but it was adopted on November 26, 1949, as stated in the Preamble. On November 19, 2015, the government of India formally notified November 26 as Constitution Day or 'Samvidhan Divas'. The day is also observed as National Law Day.

2. The Constituent Assembly of India was established to write the Constitution of India. It functioned from 6 December 1946 to 24 January 1950. Initially, there were 389 members, of which 93 were from princely states and upon the adoption of the Indian Independence Act 1947 announcing two separate nations of India and Pakistan, the number was reduced to 299 in June 1947.

3. Indian Constitution is the lengthiest constitution among sovereign nations, with 395 articles in 22 parts and 8 schedules. The total word count is about 145,000.

4. The Panchayati Raj system was implemented through the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992. The states of Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram, as well as Scheduled areas of a few other states, have been exempted from the operation of the Act allowing traditional Gram Sabhas. Please refer to the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, for more details. Available at https://legislative.gov.in/sites/default/files/A1996-40.pdf

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The Concept of Freedom: Ideas of Gandhi, M. N. Roy and Gora

Mulugu Subrahmanya Neelotpal

ABSTRACT

Both philosophically and practically, the idea of freedom is an interesting aspect of 20th-century political theory. The idea has undergone a lot of defining and redefining in the parlance of India's freedom struggle. This paper examines the idea of freedom through the prism of three original thinkers: Mahatma Gandhi, M.N. Roy (the great communist turned political thinker), and Gora (the man who redefined the concept of atheism in Independent India). These thinkers represent three thought streams: Mahatma Gandhi's moral idealism, M.N. Roy's radical humanism, and Gora's atheism. The paper also examines how Gandhi shaped two different philosophies of India's two distinct intellectual minds and how they implemented the Gandhian aspects in their thought.

Key words: Freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, M.N.Roy, Gora, Satyagraha

Freedom: An Eternal Concept

THE GENERAL AIM of any social or political philosophy is to find solutions to the problems human life generate in this world. When propounded by profound thinkers, such concepts show a way or put up a road map for the development of human society. India is a country where many ideas were redefined and reinvented to suit the needs of the common people in a particular period. Various socially and politically involved thinkers have contributed to contextualising western ideas and Indianized them to suit the psyche of India. Right from the days of ancient India, the idea of freedom was one that emanated from the concept of *Dharma* or being righteous to the canonical texts (The Dharma Sastra).[1] Epics like the *Mahabharatha*

emphasize the freedom of subjects of a state depends on the rules of the law book. Indian definition of freedom involved the recognition of divine law. One such idea which stands in a pivotal position is the idea of freedom[2]. Generally, this idea is defined as the disappearance of any bonds or shackles for the progress of the human mind. According to Western political theory, freedom is the basic tenet of human life and is a natural right. Philosophers like Epictetus defined freedom as a method of following a course, which his desire leads to what he can do within his capability and power, meaning a sense of duty.[3]It is here that the Indianization of this idea, in the era of freedom struggle gains significance. Generally, it is believed that freedom in a period of fighting British rule does not mean gaining political independence from a foreign government. It involves a broader connotation of developing a strong moral force, being rational, and having the faculty to differentiate between what is good and what must be eschewed to come out of inhibiting ideas like religion and belief in God, which are symbols of being subordinate to a force unseen. Though political thought of Kautilya gave importance to both Sastras and also to the rational principles of people to adjust law to their changing needs, theoreticians like Sukra gave the people a right to oust the king if he did not behave virtuously and morally. So Indian political thought did not overrule the possibility of overpowering the monarch with people's consolidated power.[4] The aspect of a welfare state was interpreted by political thinkers like Gandhi using native symbols and vocabulary. This aspect of freedom has been defined by three outstanding original thinkers in India in the 20th century who belonged to different social backgrounds and who, through their personal experiences, have contributed to reinterpreting the idea of freedom to suit the needs of an independent India. These thinkers were Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), Manabendra Nath Roy (M.N.Roy), the radical patriot (1887-1954), and Gora, the pioneer in atheist thought (1902-1975).

All three individuals interacted through their original perspectives on truth, morality and Freedom and have contributed to the intellectual history of Indian political philosophy. Gandhi and Roy were active in the national movement when Roy was a member of the Congress Socialist Party (part of the Indian National Congress) until the late 1930s[5]. Gora, a principal philosopher and an academic, who reinterpreted atheism for modern democracy, was a close follower of Gandhi and his method of Satyagraha, which Gandhi used very effectively to bring a moral change in the mind of the adversary in the form of the British. Gora was the forerunner in making a bold move of reinterpreting the concept of atheism, as not mere disbelief

in God, to a concept of protecting the freedom of the individual.[6]

The basic contribution of these philosophers is that all three strove to find a solution to the vagaries of the relationship between the individual and society. All three had their own visions about individual and society, and their role in the society. Most importantly, all of them did not stop with just propounding an idea but went to the extent of making it practicable for Indians, who were on the threshold of achieving independence from the British.

The Contribution of Gandhi: His concept of Freedom

Indian ethos and public life were very much influenced by the history of its religious faith. Not surprisingly, religious symbols and the ancient Indian philosophy made a deeper impact on the concept of freedom in the era of social reform (late 18th century –early 19th century).

Traditional Indian thought of sacred texts, most notably that of the Upanishads preached about being free from the shackles of the daily life of working to earn livelihood and making a family, a kind of liberation(freedom). The knowledge of the inner being, which these texts call the soul, is important, and the body is impermanent. To release one's soul from the bondage of *Samsara*(the mundane life) or the mortal world is known as freedom, which the word *Moksha*(salvation, liberation literally) signified. This meaning of inner freedom was difficult to achieve, for which the ancient texts prescribed various rules and observances to train the body to get to this state of freedom. This ancient Indian concept of freedom served as a forerunner for many social reformers and intellectuals like Raja Rammohan Roy and Govind Ranade, who started their reform activities by invoking the intellectual tradition of Indian thinking. But they were forced to include western ideals of liberty, equality, and freedom when they were working on their social reform programmes through petition and prayer.[7]

The English education introduced in late 18th century brought out the ideals of Individual freedom and the concepts of rights into the Indian psyche. According to the idea every human was born equal and had the right to develop.[8] The ideas of thinkers like Thomas Paine, that individual is the centre of the universe and his inherent sense of being born free influenced his path of progress, made a lasting impact on the first generation thinkers like Aurobindo Ghosh, Balagangadhar Tilak, etc., but it was left to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to interpret the concept of freedom by integrating both Indian religious aspects and western ideals to suit the understanding levels of the masses of India[9].Gandhi's idea of freedom started from the

premise of the time he was active in public life. After a stint as a lawyer-activist in South Africa, Gandhi returned to India in 1915, when he constantly understood the situation of Indian society under British rule. The background of using his Satyagraha, an aspect of imposing pain on one's own body as a protest, to win over the adversary made a lasting impact on the anti-racist endeavours of Gandhi in South Africa. Now, Gandhi had a business to convey it in a language that the commoners of the commoners would understand[10].Gandhi proposed an unflinching belief in truth and nonviolence as key words to achieve freedom of a being. In this way he clubbed the concepts of individual freedom as both spiritual freedom and political freedom from an external obstructing concept like the British rule.[11]

Gandhi based his concept of truth as equal to God, by being moral to one's own being, one is practicing the ideals of truth and the most effective way of implementing it is by the nonviolent methods which he named as Satyagraha or the truth force. It was this concept which Gandhi implemented all his life, and this was the method he advocated which gives a freedom of both inner and outer being[12]. This concept of freedom which Gandhi defined was in sync with the Indian society he was dealing with, which consisted of majority of villages and people revelled in knowing the traditional vocabulary. This vocabulary traced its origins in the thought of Vivekananda who averred that speaking in the terms of religion was the effective way of getting into the psyche of the Indian mind. The spiritual equality of individual and attaining self realisation was pivotal for Vivekananda for development of a society.[13]Gandhi clubbed this concept of spiritual freedom to the political milieu he was living in, and made it to political and social equality concept, by emphasizing on the duty of an individual contributing to the society. He used to make them aware of what they wanted from the British[14]. To be truthful one should employ the force of truth in the form of nonviolence. The most effective way of implementing it is in the form of Satyagraha. Gandhi called this way of bringing a moral change in the mind of the adversary, as the truth force. In other words, freedom for Gandhi as he mentions in his classic essay 'Hind Swaraj' is *Swaraj*, a form of winning one's own being by practising nonviolence. An individual can achieve spiritual freedom of gaining the moral force through practice of this Satyagraha. This contribution of Gandhi to India's intellectual tradition of philosophy is significant, and this aspect of nonviolence was also praised and taken as his important contribution by his ideological rivals like M.N.Roy, who maintained that though Gandhi invoked religion and its symbols to add vigour to his philosophy, the aspect of morality in the idea of Satyagraha, was one of the most important contributions

made by him to the independent India, which chose democracy as its guiding principle[15]. This thought of Gandhi influenced and gave rise for other thinkers who proposed their own ideas of freedom in their philosophies to suit the needs of independent India. One of the chief contributors to this idea is M.N.Roy, who went through many experiments before synthesizing ideas into a single proclamation, which he called radical humanism.

M.N.Roy : His Idea of Freedom

Roy began as an extremist leader of the Indian independence struggle, influenced by the thinkers like Aurobindo Ghosh, who propounded a direct action to eliminate foreign rule in India[16].His contributions to the communist ideology in his earlier phase also are significant as he was a close associate in the circles of the great Russian leader, Lenin. There is evidence that both Lenin and Roy discussed Gandhi and his leadership. Roy took an opposite view to Lenin on Gandhi's use of religion and metaphors from religion to drive his point home[17]. Lenin, who initiated a successful communist revolution in Russia, was a father figure for Roy. But soon after 1917, Roy noticed that even Marxian ideas were manipulated by Lenin and the government of Russia in the era of Stalin, leading to a dictatorship, which was quite opposite to the true ideals of leadership of the proletariat. Roy returned to India with the idea of involving himself in the Indian freedom struggle through his ideology of communism in its true sense of the term. Roy, for a short stint, was a sympathiser of the Socialist Party, a wing of the Congress party(called the Congress Socialist Party ,CSP), but had his reservations about the half-hearted attitude of socialist leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan in promoting socialist ideas in India[18]. Soon enough, Roy came out of the Congress and established his group of 'League of Radical congressmen (LRC)', a former entity that later gave rise to his political unit called the Radical Democratic Party in 1939, which he disbanded in 1948. The time between these nine years shaped an original philosophy of Roy to solve the Indian independence problem and promote the ideal of freedom in the minds of the people. While many disillusioned communists turned to religion after leaving communism, some reverted to nationalism[19]. But Roy devised a concept of radical humanism. Freedom for Roy is the basic idea that ran in humans by birth. The entire universe moved in a set pattern that naturally inculcates a sense of freedom in individuals born rational. In other words, a human is born free and has an eternal quest to enhance his state of being free. In this struggle to promote freedom, he meets with many obstacles that try to inhibit or hinder his freedom[20]. These obstacles range from religion, blind faith,

acceptance of authority, etc. Roy wanted men to let go of any domination, be it in ideas or in the form of society/state, to achieve freedom. Freedom for Roy meant the absence of any obstacles to human development. The chief aspect which helps humans to overcome obstacles is rational thought. To see is to believe, with adequate proof, this argument Roy further associated with an ideology of new humanism, which he mentions in his seminal work Reason, Romanticism, and Revolution. The axiology of new humanism deduces all values from the supreme value of freedom. Freedom is the supreme value of life; because the urge for freedom is the essence of human existence....all ethical values are derived from man's biological existence. Hence, they need no sanction which transcends human existence[21].

This concept involves three steps: rationality, atheism, and radical humanism. The first step is recognising a man being born free, being in a state to recognise he is free from any internal/external authority, and one must be a rational thinker to achieve this. Modern technology and science are the main tools that help humans enhance and preserve their rational thought[22]. The second step follows this: one must overcome the chief obstacle to freedom, religion, and idea of an external authority called God. This involves the man becoming an atheist. The third and final step in realising one's freedom is being a radical humanist.

Radical humanism is a concept that recognises individual as the centre of the society or state. The concept places the theory of the individual's natural rights at the top. It proposes to implement this eternal quest for freedom in a democratic republic like India with the help of science and technology. The knowledge of both science and technology makes the individual know the level to which he can go, to protect and promote his natural right of freedom. This aspect of science and technology is the best gift that western thought gave to the Indian people, felt Roy. The knowledge of man's inherent freedom and his eternal quest for freedom makes man seek rational thought, which presupposes on believing in things verified with evidence. It is here that the aspect of science and technology reigns supreme. The thought of freedom is indestructible in the human mind, and an individual should strive to realize this freedom by overcoming the adversaries, be it the society or the state. Roy clearly states that modern man should adopt science to overcome prejudices like religious beliefs etc., which stand as obstacles in his realisation of freedom.

"Scientific knowledge liberates man from time honoured prejudices about the essence of his being and the purpose of life. It reveals the truth about human nature".[23]

Roy wanted to be the principal player in the Indian political scene in the 1920s, but at the same time, Gandhi's leadership was gaining prominence, with the Indian National Congress ruling the roost in the popular imagination. With his idea of silent protests with Satyagraha, Gandhi was recognised as the undisputed leader of the Indian ethos. Initially, as mentioned earlier, Roy was a part of the Socialist wing of the Congress (a sympathizer) but had differences of opinion regarding the party's activities, and the main stance party had to take while dealing with the British. This attitude of the party, coupled with the fact that Gandhi never openly mentioned or acknowledged Roy and his contribution to initiating intellectual debates within the party, made Roy disillusioned with the CSP, and started his party, the Radical Democratic Party, to which he clubbed his philosophy of freedom, which he called new /radical humanism. Roy had conducted elaborate camps espousing his philosophy of new humanism and incorporated a thesis of 14 principles of radical humanism[24]. The chief goals were that man should overcome all forms of domination and fight for his natural right to freedom. Roy centred the man/individual as the prime player of the universe: in turn, the universe is a natural physical phenomenon that is governed by a defined precision and law. Man is the measure of any attempt to form a society, and the development of the individual is the prime goal of any society. To achieve this, man should possess rational thought and overcome hindrances like the institutions of state, society, religion, etc., to fulfil his needs and achieve his natural right of freedom[25]. In conducting camps and sessions on his philosophy, Roy noticed the period of national upheaval and the general elections were announced in India in 1946. Slowly the, party politics were in vogue, and people started voting for their favourite candidates[26]. The factors of caste, social status, and personal charisma were the strong aspects of the Indian political scene during the elections in India, which stole the spirit of democracy and undermined the supremacy of people who are the main masters of their governance. These practices of political parties made Roy totally dismiss the concept of political parties and convert his radical democratic party into a radical democratic movement[27]. This change in his stance was based on his concept of freedom which he so dearly cherished as the sole aim of human life.

In an independent India, which chose democracy as a prime principle of governance, political parties that ought to serve people started getting dictatorial and using public money for their personal comforts instead of acting as people's representatives[28]? This ideal of serving people and inculcating in them a feeling of orderliness is important. This teaches the true spirit of human freedom and the

way one should make a state abide by the rules of freedom. Hence Roy envisaged his concept of radical humanism as an effective process of getting redressed the individual's grievances in a state filled with lucrative political parties. Roy envisioned a state which includes a public life without politics and political parties but as a practical antidote to the growing leverage of political parties and their propagandist politics. Roy chose to propound a theme of radical humanism as the only theory to promote freedom of the individual. This freedom, Roy felt, did not stop with only individual freedom of a citizen(in independent democratic India) but also getting good opportunities for employment which meant economic freedom and the right to choose one's leader in a democratic set up, which is political freedom according to Roy. So radical humanism is an all-encompassing concept which holds the individual as the main player in the world, and a great lesson the concept gives to people is that one should be in search of freedom, through the truth of rational thought, and preserve it. Even the society and state are in a lesser position than the individual.

Most importantly, Roy differed from communism as it mostly drifted from a dictatorship of proletariat to a party domination in Russia. With the advent of Stalin, it further deteriorated into a total authoritarian exercise with no individual freedom. Similarly, Gandhi's religious symbols to explain his political philosophy and spiritualisation of politics led Roy to denounce Gandhi as a moral apologist. Religion makes man and his intelligence low, and the understanding relationship between man and society becomes a part of freedom[29].

Hence to realise the aspect of freedom, one needs a minimalist state with leaders who are elected by the franchise to be answerable to the people who voted. This idea of freedom, in a way, was identical to some ideas of Gandhi, in the sense that both Gandhi and Roy wanted a minimalist state to govern people and people having the say in promoting their freedom[30]. The idea of a decentralised system from village groups to the state apex machinery was one of the main aspects of both Roy and Gandhi. Some scholars on Roy termed this belief in cooperative village groups as basic units of decentralised governance as a cooperative socialism[31].It was only that Gandhi wanted a *Ram Rajya,* and Roy wanted a state of freedom. There is a subtle difference in both views on villages and their governance through smaller units of people. Gandhi encouraged the traditional fabric of Indian village with its clearly defined occupations of cobblers, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., and preferred people of these hereditary positions to practise them without searching for other professions[32]. Some critics point out that Gandhi and other political thinkers like Balagangadhar Tilak did not give the idea of freedom a complete

picture. They both gave importance to the term Swaraj, as a spiritual concept but not a spiritual concept that promoted social freedom. They argue that Gandhi invented religious terminology to address the issue of untouchability and wanted them to develop their skills within the fabric of Hindu society. Even Tilak's idea of freedom included versions of following the practices of ancient Dharma and living within the caste boundaries. Tilak also employed this version in cases of gender too, where his open defence of age-old practices regarding the gender question and freedom of the backward classes was questionable.[33] Thinkers like Roy and later Gora did away with the very concept of spiritual freedom of Gandhi and took the theory forward with their concepts of radical humanism and positive atheism, where social freedom was guaranteed by employing certain techniques. Here, Roy wanted everyone to have an education and use their rationality through adapting to modern science and technology. The first step Roy wanted an individual to be rational was to eschew all notions of faith, religion, God, etc., through rational thought. This argument was taken to its further step by another great thinker who contributed original thought to Indian intellectual history tradition, Gora(1902-1975), a crusader educationist who made painstaking efforts to redefine the concept of atheism to suit the modern age and to make it a daily practice to be followed by people to enhance their freedom.

Gora: His Atheism and Freedom

Gora was a truly original thinker who, for the first time, saw atheism as a positive connotation, not negative as its usual meaning shows[34]. Atheism is a concept that basically focuses on having no faith in concepts like God, the other world, and religious beliefs. But Gora was the first thinker who found a positive aspect of this concept as the assertion of human freedom, from any hindrance. Is it natural or manmade? This includes the state, society, and its institutions[35]. An interesting aspect of this concept is the belief in one's self and gaining mastery over even the natural environment. In Gora's view, any mindset of being influenced by external factors is theism. Hence, atheism is a way of asserting freedom from any influences through using their free will. Here the individual is the centre of the universe, as envisaged by philosophers like Roy. Gora also connected with Gandhi as an atheist and had fruitful discussions with him regarding the efficacy of Satyagraha and nonviolence and their effect on enhancing individual freedom[36]. This is another aspect where both Roy and Gora appreciated Gandhi's view of asserting freedom through a nonviolent method like the Satyagraha. This use of the moral power of an

individual was seen as an assertion of free will by Gora. Like Roy, Gora had a problem with Gandhi invoking religious vocabulary like the establishment of *Ram Rajya*, uttering theistic statements like "truth is god", etc. Both the philosophers were sure that Satyagraha was an original contribution of Gandhi for the assertion of freedom[37]. The whole crux of the philosophies of Gandhi, Roy, and Gora rests on the idea of freedom and free will of the individual to overcome the hindrances he faces in society. Gora says: "Gandhi's Satyagraha and existentialist philosophy are large scale attempts to recognise the freedom of individual... insistence on it implies the exercise of free will as the need of social obligation."[38]

Gora, who started as a theist, got exposed to western ideals of thinkers like Jean-Paul Satre owho penly denounced theism and the concept of God[39]. In establishing freedom as the prime principle of human life, Gora eschewed the concepts of historical determinism and Marxism. Such concepts accorded primacy to economic forces or rule of the majority in states like Russia, which spelt a death knell for the concept of Marxism altogether. Like Gandhi, Gora was a person who wanted a minimalist state, which facilitated the free will of the individual. He first started camping in Andhra villages to inculcate knowledge about education and to remove all caste differences and the privileges granted to individuals based on their birth. Gora's experiment included arranging programmes of inter-caste dining and mingling of all castes, including untouchables in the village. He first wanted freedom from the belief of superior birth, then from religion and dominance of class superiority[40]. Gora's monumental contribution to institutionalise his concept of freedom was the starting of the Atheist Centre in Vijayawada in 1943, to carry on his crusade against methods of dominance. A training centre was started to train villagers in vocational skills like weaving, typewriting, and handicrafts, as part of the larger programme of making atheism a way of life. Individuals achieve mastery over his surroundings through self-discipline and morality[41]. Like Roy, who proposed the theory of all-around development of individuals, Gora took the idea of freedom a step further by organising practical programmes to inculcate the spirit of freedom among people. First, Gora conducted his march from Vijayawada to New Delhi, aiming at the political leaders, including Chief Ministers and members of Parliament, to eschew all comforts of first-class travel and palatial houses Gora strongly believed that unless and until citizens started a drive to assert that they are the masters of the environment of a democratic state, the state and its machinery will not budge down to redress their grievances. Not only this, but Gora also started the pioneering criminal rehabilitation work

in Andhra Pradesh to make them free from any concept of immoral activity and to indulge in securing self-employment based on their skills. Criminals who were involved in pick pocketing and theft were provided training in skills like weaving, embroidery, and type writing.[42]. One of the aspects in which Gora differed from Gandhi is that he wanted a casteless society, and Gandhi wanted a society where castes/professions remained in their original form without assuming a hereditary character. In other words, Gandhi felt that practising one's profession handed down through generations was a promoting factor for equality[43]. But Gora wanted outright disbanding of the castes. This he achieved through encouraging inter-caste marriages, his logic being that if a child is born to two different caste individuals, the whole logic of deciding the caste will become redundant. Gora believed that unwed motherhood also played an important role in making caste differences sound useless. These instances of Gora made his stances clear about his approach to atheism[44].An important aspect of Gora is that he extended his concept of atheism to every aspect of life in Democratic India. Starting from atheistic politics, he said people should question their elected representatives to get their needs addressed. His view was that an atheistic government was a democracy, and it is through this government people should get equal opportunities to develop, and all the resources should be distributed equally among the needy people[45]. Gora, like Gandhi and Roy envisaged small communities for the distribution of economic resources like food, water, and health to reach more rural areas. Here, Gora brings in the Satyagraha aspect of Gandhi and says that an individual should use his moral force through self-discipline to get things done by the government[46]. Here Gora differs from Roy in the sense that Roy wants a direct mobilisation of people demanding what they need from the government. Gora believed in a democratic India, but wanted Gandhian ways to establish an atheistic society. He visualised it as a world of freedom based on individuals overcoming their environment and using even technology to overcome hindrances that inhibit their freedom. Gora was a student, admirer, and a debater of Gandhi, as narrated in his memoirs of Gandhi, '*An Atheist with Gandhi*'. Gora first interacted with Gandhi through correspondence and later started a personal dialogue and debate with Gandhi in Sevagram in 1944[47]. Gora impressed upon Gandhi with the programmes he carried out in Andhra villages, including removing untouchability and promoting adult education. The most beneficial and important aspect of this debate was that Gandhi and Gora discussed atheism and the idea of God. Gandhi, as one knows, used a lot of religious metaphors to make his point of good administration and a welfare

state (though this western concept came into currency quite later). Terms like God, *Swaraj*, *Ramrajya,* etc., were part of Gandhi's vocabulary, to which both Roy and Gora took offence[48]. But as a master philosopher who made his ideas reach the common public, Gandhi inculcated this vocabulary to make his stance on freedom and its meaning clear. Gandhi believed in a practical theory couched in simple terms, not a lofty dictum of sorts that preached high truths but was not practicable. Both Gandhi and Gora discussed on the concepts of Truth, God, prayer, belief, etc. Though Gora did not succeed in influencing Gandhi, he created a spark that atheist thought, if used in the right way, could help create a healthy society[49]. Hence Gandhi invited Gora to the Sevagram in 1945, when an education programme was arranged for the volunteers. His sessions in the name of God and chanting any hymns in praise of Gandhi's god, Rama, were the highlight at the Ashram, to which Gora did not subscribe but had fruitful discussions with Gandhi on areas of rehabilitation work. The long-lasting impact of Gandhi on Gora was based on the conviction with which Gandhi stood for the ideals he believed in and the method of nonviolence he employed in making the method practically a moral force to win over enemies[50]. Gandhi and his concept of addressing the question of untouchables as *Harijan*s and his efforts in taking these people to temples made a lasting impression on Gora. As a botany professor, Gora knew the environment and its importance in developing an individual's personality. Gora himself was born in a Brahmin family and got his daughter married to an untouchable volunteer in Sevagram. Similarly, his son Lavanam, an activist himself, got married to a Dalit Christian woman. Gora felt Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha and nonviolence needed an atheistic fine tuning[51]. Gora defined atheism as the assertion of individual freedom and individual development as the main goals of life. Both Roy and Gora have devised a plan for independent India, which chose democracy as the main form of governance[52]. But as mentioned earlier, the concept of political parties and the Indian political system of adult suffrage, instead of introducing people to inculcate a tendency to appreciate getting things done, instilled in them a feeling of being the masters of the democracy as they vote. This is one of the hallmarks of this philosophy. Roy argued that though a social revolutionary, Gandhi also had the traits of a cultural revivalist who used religious symbols and metaphors in a modern era, which demanded the use of scientific and rational vocabulary[53]. Roy also thought such a revolutionary social idea like nonviolence, cannot lead to mass action, as it is couched in religious jargon. But it may be very well recognised that both Gandhi and Roy had a moralistic outlook on the world and longed for the ethical well-

being of society. Interestingly, both Roy and Gora recognised the element of truth and nonviolence as the most original contributions of Gandhian thought. Roy mentions in his obituary of Gandhi in 1948 that, "Essentially Gandhi's message is of moral humanist cosmopolitan appeal. His vision overpowers his role in nationalist movement in India."[54]

In other words, Roy wanted Gandhi to be viewed as a humanist who wished for a morally governed state with the trusteeship principle. As he was opposed to party politics and its tactics, Roy found Gandhi's idea of decentralised village administration the most rewarding thing, which eschewed class differences. Roy felt this aspect would lead to great democracy. Roy recognized Gandhi's role in introducing ethics in the field of political Science in modern India and noted it as a game-changing contribution. Similarly, Gora was an academic activist who thoroughly studied Gandhi and directly interacted with him to discuss his atheistic politics. Like Roy, who equated Gandhi's truth and nonviolence to radical humanism, Gora equated the method of Satyagraha and nonviolence as the main means to achieve an atheistic society, where individuals gain mastery over their surroundings as the true inheritors of democracy. Gora used Satyagraha several times to inculcate confidence among the citizens to recognise their roles in democracy. Here are some examples of Gora's practical experiments with Satyagraha that proved quite consequential[55].

1. A true Gandhian that he was, Gora was for a simple life and high thought. To pester the political parties to cut down on their railway and air travel expenses, and use that money for public welfare, Gora along with his associates organised a Satyagraha march from his atheist centre to Railway station in Vijayawada in 1959, urging the state ministers to travel in third class instead of first-class compartments. Some ministers agreed to his demands.

2. Gora, like Gandhi and Roy, was a strong believer in party-less democracy. To makes this point clear, he contested as an independent candidate in 1952, in the first General elections.

In the same wake, in 1960, Gora led a march from Vijayawada to Hyderabad and organised a Satyagraha in front of the then Andhra Pradesh State Legislative Assembly, demanding the removal of party blocs and whips from the assembly. Gora educated the people and legislators alongside his travel to maintain a simple life as administrators and to vote for those who carry out true work for the masses. Gora's constant refrain was that ministers were people's servants and citizens were real masters.

3. Gora organized several Satyagraha marches in Hyderabad in

1963 and 1964 to persuade the Chief Minister to eschew pomp in living and inculcate party-less democracy.

4. Gora advocated growing vegetables more than growing floral vegetation as it stood only for beauty and not for any other use, whereas the vegetables satiated human needs. To prove this point, Gora conducted a march to Hyderabad in 1968 with his associates. In the state public gardens, Gora planted vegetable seeds and removed flower orchids from the gardens. This led to his arrest, and he was lodged in jail for a month.

This way, both Roy and Gora, were public intellectuals who proposed innovative philosophies of radical humanism and positive atheism for humanity in general and democracy like India. They were quite influenced by Gandhi and his thought on key issues of morality, truth, and nonviolence. The way Gandhi became the touchstone of truth and morality in the intellectual tradition of Indian public life is a verified fact. Many philosophers of his generation, including statesmen like Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, M.N.Roy, and Gora, were inspired to take an aspect of Gandhi's thought and interpret it in a way which is in the larger interest of Indian citizens, who were experiencing the newfound political independence. Thus, it makes it rewarding to revisit his influence on Roy and Gora as a continuum in the tradition of Indian intellectual history.

Acknowledgements

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Resolving Employment Challenges in India: Stunned by China, Oblivious to M.K. Gandhi

Ramya Ranjan Patel

ABSTRACT

Employment creation has become a formidable challenge for many countries, including India. The problem has become dire during COVID-19, especially in the context of the onset of Premature Deindustrialisation and Industrial Revolution 4.0. On the other hand, China has transformed into an upper-middle-income country and surfaced as the manufacturing house of the world, providing better jobs to its workers despite similar economic indicators until 1990. The entire world is stunned today by Chinese success. However, the foundation of the Chinese model, the crucial role of agricultural productivity and labour-intensive manufacturing, goes overlooked. The same was underscored by M. K. Gandhi many decades before Chinese success, the oblivion to which is the perils of present employment challenges in India.

Key words: Employment-Unemployment, Industrial Revolution 4.0, Premature Deindustrialisation, Labour-Intensive Manufacturing, M.K.Gandhi

Introduction

"Full employment is more desirable than increased production combined with unemployment".[1]

PEOPLE REMAIN POOR either because they do not get sufficient alternative work at the prevailing wage rate or their household resource base is so inadequate to engage them productively at home.

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The lack of 'ownership entitlement,' i.e. lack of assets/land, although pushes someone below the poverty line, people may not remain poor even in their absence if find sufficient opportunities to exchange their labour power.[2] Given the property structure, it is less likely to expect everyone to own ample assets to escape poverty. Availability of decent employment opportunities, therefore, becomes imperative for poverty reduction. Work and employment have been a fundamental driver for reducing poverty also highlighted by Todaro[3]. The same was realised by M.K. Gandhi, the father of India, much earlier. According to him, labour is the money, and any person who can use his labour owns that money and "converts his labour into cloth and grain".[4] Gandhi further mentioned that the disease of the masses is not want of money so much as want of work.[5]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (Art.23), says that everyone has the right to work, free choice of employment, and just and favourable conditions of work and protection against unemployment. The Employment Policy Convention No. 122-Article 1 (1964) of ILO says each member country should pursue policies that promote full, productive and freely chosen employment.

Notwithstanding the pivotal role of employment in public policy, many countries in the developing world are grappling with the challenge to find the right set of policies for decent employment growth. In India, albeit the importance of labour and employment has been distinctly underscored by the father of the nation, the situation is challenging. China, on the other hand, which was similar to India in many economic/development indicators until 1990 (apart from geographical and population size), has moved far ahead. The per capita income has been nearly five times (see Fig. 1) of India, and the poverty rate has remained below one percent. The scale and speed of poverty reduction in China are unparalleled in human history.[6] It has passed the Lewis turning point and exhausted the era of surplus labour[7] and has come up as the manufacturing house of the world, provided superior jobs to the workers. The accomplishment is the result of chasing after the right set of policies at the right pace and sequence. Those policies metamorphosed the Chinese economy, predominantly rural and agricultural, into a higher middle-income country. The achievements of attracting the highest FDI (that is very much given the credit for Chinese success) and sustaining higher economic growth go back to the history of implementing two decisive policy reforms.

The focus of the reform initially was placed on the agriculture sector, where success was most likely.[8] The sector was crucial in terms of employment and had been severely repressed during the period of central planning. The reform started with the implementation of

HRS (Household Responsibility System) in the early 1980s. The outcome was considerable improvements in output, productivity and rural income, which accelerated on an average by 10 percent a year between 1981 and 1984. Most of the drop in poverty happened during the HRS reform period. Rural poverty dropped sharply from 76 percent in 1980 to 24 percent in 1986 lifting more than 400 million people out of poverty in that short period.[9] Furthermore, rural income rose twice as fast as the urban centres during that period. Such growth of higher rural income in contrast to urban income is an isolated phenomenon in the history of economic development.

The augmented rural income gave rise to considerable rural savings and capital for investment in Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs), the second important constituent and the premise of its current success.[10] The TVEs developed rapidly after 1984 and became a significant source of exports and employment, creating millions of new jobs, diversifying the rural economic base and enhancing rural industrial development. The TVEs were the growth engine of the 1980s, and early 1990s.[11] The growth of agriculture, in addition to the growth of TVEs, established the classical pattern of structural transformation, i.e. the declining share of both GDP and employment in agriculture replaced with a rising share of the manufacturing sector. The surplus labourers released from low productive agriculture were relocated for employment in the highly productive rural industries (TVEs).

Nonetheless, embracing the right economic policies has never come easy for China. China's development experience should be seen as a process through gradual reforms, experimentation, and learning-by-doing.[12] The successful strategies were implemented only after experimenting with a series of (disastrous) policies; prominent among them are the 'Great Leap Forward' and the 'Cultural Revolution'. The Great Leap Forward attempts to rapidly industrialise China's peasant economy failed and led to the death of 10-40 million people during 1959-1961.[13] It is one of the most costly famines in human history and one of the biggest humanitarian disasters of the 20th Century. The Cultural Revolution followed this in the 1960s, which ended up wiping out the Chinese economy and plunged China into bloodshed, hunger and stagnation. It is believed that between 500,000 and two million people lost their lives during the Cultural Revolution.[14]

The present situation however is entirely different. The world is stunned today by the Chinese development experience. The same happened when Japan and other East Asian Tigers registered identical experiences a few decades before (widely known as the 'East Asian Miracle'). The Chinese success model was nothing but aping the East

Asian Model[15] that has emerged triumphant compared to the Soviet or World Bank/IMF prescribed 'Market model'. Neither the Soviet nor the Market model has transformed any economy to the level of upper high/middle-income countries in a time frame as done by Japan, Korea Rep. or China (see Fig. 1). The Latin American (Argentina and Brazil) countries remained trapped in the middle-income range despite being the early follower of the World Bank/IMF model. India, on the other hand, although has explored both the Soviet and the Market model substantially for a longer period of time remained as a lower-middle-income country.

The successful foundation of the Chinese or (East Asian) model, however, lies on prioritising the reform initially in the rural sector (land productivity) and labour-intensive manufacturing[16] without relying on big bang reform like India. The importance of the rural sector, both agriculture and rural industries, was known to Gandhi without any experiments. He understood the situation of India better than anyone else. Nayak[17] submits that hardly anyone in the country's firmament in the last hundred years knew the farmlands and the factories, the peasants and factory workers, of the country as intimately as M. K. Gandhi. A model akin to China or East Asia that is more suitable to the Indian situation was suggested by Gandhi long before the Chinese or Japanese success. The predicament of India is presumably the result of taking no notice of those suggestions.

Fig 1: GNI Per Capita of Emerging and Newly Developed Countries (current US$), (Source: WDI)
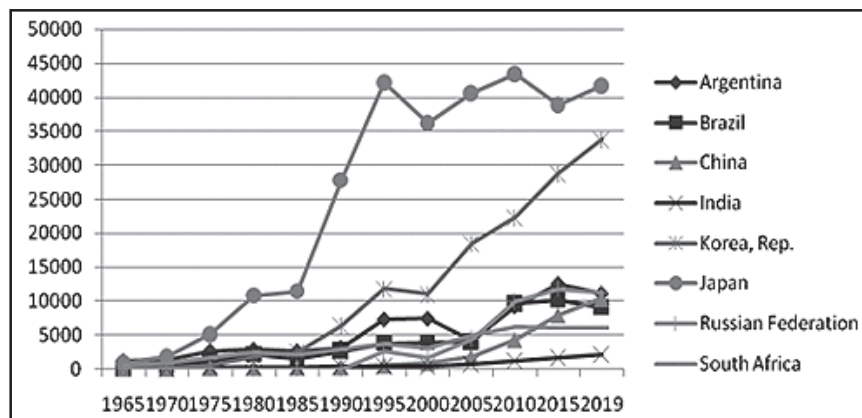
Akthough India has advanced with respect to many development indicators, the achievements have been less than satisfactory compatred to many economies once at the same level of development. The

experiments with two distinguished economic strategies (Soviet and Market models) remained less successful in rectifying the economic challenges. Prominent among them are the issues of unemployment, underemployment and informal employment. The complications have magnified after COVID-19 and due to the onset of 'Premature Deindustrialisation' and 'Industrial Revolution 4.0' (IR 4.0). The consensus seems to have emerged in favour of the more profound and intense pursuance of the same 'Market Model'. The belief somewhat goes the partial implementation of Washington Consensus policy as the failure of India realising its potential. This is particularly the case when its creators abandon those principles; the USA and U.K..[18] An alternative policy in this context could have been the model suggested by Gandhi.

The paper in this context looks into the employment situation in India in comparison to South Asia and few of its similar counterparts like China. Secondly, the employment scenario has further been critically analysed in the context of COVID-19 and the onset of Premature Deindustrialisation and Industrial Revolution 4.0. Thirdly, it looks into the views and opinions of Gandhi on the issues of labour/employment to see if we could still learn from him to resolve the present exigencies of unemployment/underemployment. The paper makes an effort to highlight the solution and suggestions of the great visionary, the father of the nation, on the critical issue of employment that India chose to disregard.

The paper uses time-series data for major countries of South Asia, China and other NICs (Newly Industrialised Countries). The data sources used are ILOSTAT (ILO) and World Development Indicators-WDI (World Bank). Introducing the context in the first section, the paper analyses the employment situation in India in the context of COVID-19, Premature Deindistrialisation and IR 4.0. The third section highlights the role of manufacturing in development planning, followed by Gandhi's view on development in the fourth section. The next two sections discuss why Gandhi was apprehensive of Industrialism and favoured cottage and khadi industries as an answer to poverty and unemployment.

Employment Situation in South Asia and India

The percentage of working poor is still very high in India compared to the other South Asian countries. The working poverty rate was highest for Nepal (48.33 percent) compared to India (40.47 percent) and China (37.62 percent) in the year 2000 (see Table 1). In 2018, it reduced to 0.56 percent in China, 6.66 percent in Nepal and it remained the highest in India at 11.76 percent. The working poverty rate, on

the other hand, has a direct association with the wage rate and the distribution of the wage income. The wage rate is lowest in India among all the major South Asian countries during the period 2000-2013 (Table 2). The wage rate, although has increased from 26$ per month to 51$, the wage rate in China during the same period increased more than four times (50$ to 226$). The labour income distribution has also been highly adverse in India (Table 3). The first and tenth deciles share respectively lowest and highest among all the major South Asian countries.

Table 1: Working Poverty Rate (US$1.90 PPP), Age 15+ (Youth, Adults)

Year	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2018
Bangladesh	30.46	24.02	18.18	14.95	12.43	10.16
India	40.47	36.44	30.56	19.62	14.33	11.76
Nepal	48.33	35.97	18.95	10.93	8.17	6.66
Pakistan	25.98	18.20	11.05	6.60	3.29	2.44
Sri Lanka	7.16	4.68	2.46	1.42	0.38	0.29
China	37.62	23.96	16.30	7.64	0.74	0.56
World	26.31	20.34	16.19	11.04	8.04	7.39

Source: ILOSTAT, Modelled estimate

Table 2: Monthly Minimum Wages (U.S. Dollars)

	2000	2005	2010	2013
Bangladesh			43	68
India	26	39	57	51
Nepal	27	34	63	86
Pakistan	28	50	82	98
Sri Lanka	29	30	51 (2009)	na
China	50	71	142	226

Source: ILOSTAT

Table 3: Labour Income Distribution, July 2019

	Decile 1	Decile 2	Decile 9	Decile 10
Bangladesh	2.38	3.78	15.14	30.48
India	0.25	0.63	13.53	69.42
Nepal	0.38	0.85	18.87	50.81
Sri Lanka	0.70	1.88	18.12	32.23
Pakistan	0.48	1.04	17.70	43.50
China	0.44	1.11	18.24	42.62

Source: ILOSTAT, Modelled estimate

Wage rate and its distribution are intimately related to employment and its quality. The higher the rate of employment and better the quality, the higher the wage rate and decent earning. The employment situation in India, even before the COVID-19, does not appear to be so bright. The rate of unemployment was 5.33 percent in 2018 (Periodic Labour Force Survey-PLFS) escalated from 2.31 percent (National Sample Survey Organisation-NSSO) in 2012 (see Table 4). There is an absolute decline of nearly 6.6 million people in the workforce in 2017-18 over 2011-12.[19] The employment situation is better captured through two crucial variables: youth unemployment and informal employment. It was 8.98 percent in 2012, which shot up to 22.53 percent in 2018, the highest among South Asian countries in recent years (Table 5).

Informal employment or quality of employment is a major challenge for developing countries as unemployment for developed countries. The poor in the developing countries accept any form of employment to avoid hunger and starvation. A single meal a day is considered to be a better choice compared to two square meals. Streeten[20] argues,

> 'employment' and 'unemployment'…does not apply to the poorest developing countries, in which livelihoods are more important than wage employment… Many of the moderately poor are not unemployed but work very hard and long hours in unremunerative, unproductive forms of activity. The root problem, it was found, is low-productivity employment, not unemployment. Thus, Gunnar Myrdal, tried to replace the concept of 'employment by the concept of 'labour utilisation'.

The high unemployment rate and vulnerable/informal employment pose a serious challenge to the ILO's 'Decent Work Agenda'. Decent

employment, although, is of immense importance for the economic betterment of the poor workers, India is battling with a fairly high rate of informal employment, which has increased from 74.82 percent in 2012 to 80.28 in 2018 (see Table 6).

Table 4: Unemployment (National Estimate)

	1994	2000	2005	2010	2012	2018
Bangladesh	2.51 (1996)	3.27	4.25	3.38	4.37 (2017)	na
India	2.15	2.73	2.42	2.11	2.31	5.33
Pakistan	4.26	7.16	7.05	0.65	Na	4.08
Sri Lanka	13.03	7.74	7.67	4.78	3.88	na
China	2.80	3.10	4.20	4.10	4.10	3.80

Source: ILOSTAT

Table 5: Unemployment, Youth (15-24) (National Estimate)

	1994	2000	2005	2010	2012	2018
Bangladesh	7.02 (1996)	10.73	9.27	6.36	na	12.76 (2017)
India	6.23	8.06	7.48	8.12	8.98	22.53
Pakistan	7.42	13.34	0.98 (2008)	1.28	na	7.85
Sri Lanka	34.86	23.65	26.36	18.97	17.29	na

Source: ILOSTAT

Employment during COVID-19 and Premature Deindustrialisation

The COVID-19 induced lockdown has made the employment scenario more critical. The unprecedented migrants' crisis and the scale of job losses have been great human tragedies. There were 410.5 million people employed in January 2020, which declined to 282.2 million in April post lockdown (see Fig. 2). According to the same data sources, 30.5 million jobs were lost in November (2020) alone. Although it has improved after the gradual easing of lockdown, there is continuous shedding of jobs.[21] Many eminent experts anticipate the uncertainty of employment, and the shedding of jobs is likely to stay through a

few more years.

**Table 6: Informal Employment
(% of total non-agricultural employment)**

	2010	2012	2013	2017	2018
Bangladesh	82.20		82.39	91.30	na
India	75.30	74.82	na	na	80.28
Pakistan	67.57	na	68.97	na	71.23
Sri Lanka	63.48	na	66.67	na	na

Source: ILOSTAT

**Figure 2: Employment and Unemployed (15 years and above)
2020, CMIE, CPHS Monthly Data** (Source: Mamgain, 2021)
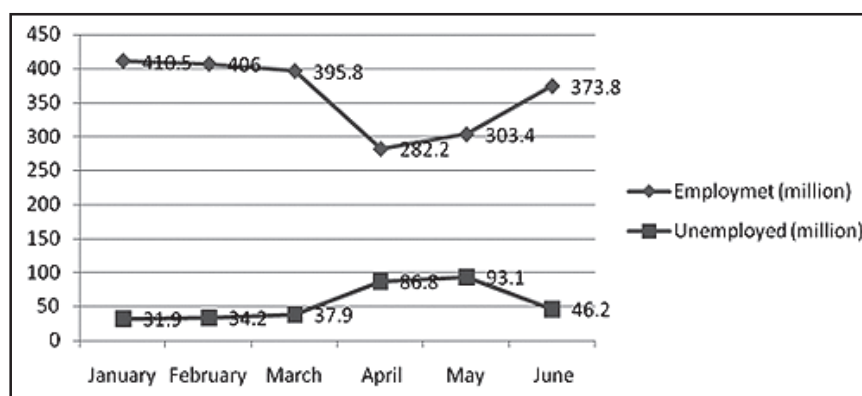
Premature Deindustrialisation

In many late industrialising countries, most of those leaving agriculture do not find gainful employment in the manufacturing or services sector. It is claimed, therefore, labour surplus is likely to stay, and decent work for all will remain elusive.[22] The foremost reason cited is, many of the late industrialisers are prematurely de-industrialising or not rightly industrialising.[23] Premature Deindustrialisation is a phenomenon of a falling share of industrial (manufacturing) employment as well as value-added in the GDP. Rodrik[24], who first documented this trend of premature deindustrialisation defined it as, 'as developing countries opened up to trade, their manufacturing sectors were hit by a double whammy of both strong reductions in employment and output shares.'

India is not unaffected by this trend.[25] The share of the industry, after reaching highest during 2008-10, has started decelerating (see Fig. 3). Similarly, the peak share of manufacturing in 1995 has never been realised for more than two decades in India (Fig. 4). The declining share of manufacturing has also been noticed from global experiences (see Fig. 5). Although it has not contracted, the employment share in the industry has flattened in India since 2012 (Fig. 6). The same pattern has been evident across major South Asian countries. The world experience, however, exhibits a declining employment share in the industry. The waning share of manufacturing employment in the case of China is not unanticipated as it has already set foot in the last stage of structural transformation.

Figure 3: Sectoral Contribution of GDP, India 1960-2017
(Source: WDI)
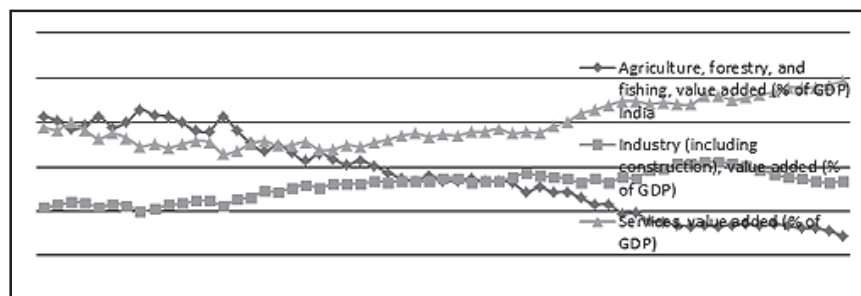
Figure 4: Manufacturing Contribution of GDP (Source: WDI)
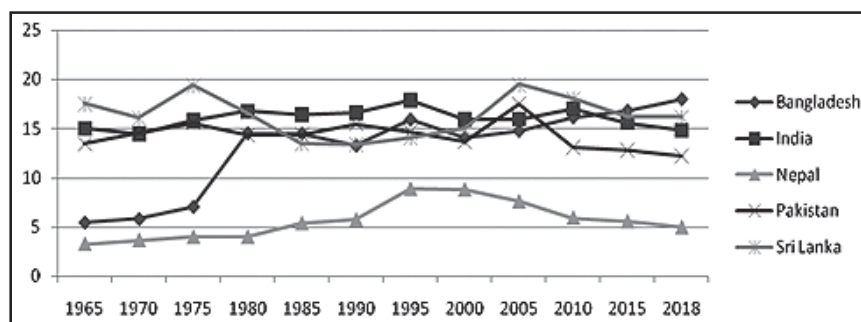
Premature deindustrialisation and the absence of structural transformation constitute two sides of the same coin[26] that have been reinforced by labour-saving technologies massively used during IR 4.0. Rodrik[27] suggests that both globalisation and labour-saving technological progress in manufacturing have been the reason behind the grim performance in employment creation. The widespread

Figure 5: Sectoral Contribution of GDP, World, 1995-2017
(Source: WDI)
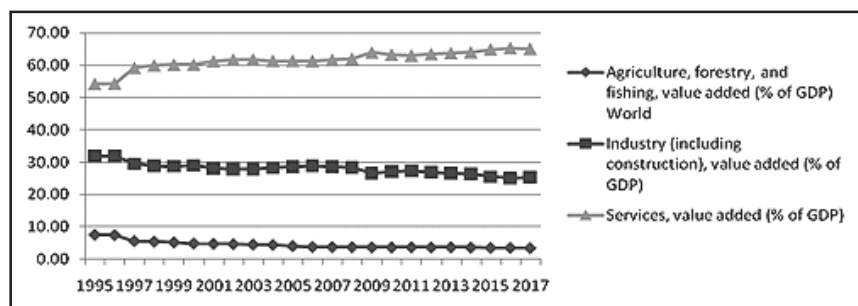
Figure 6: Employment in industry (modelled ILO estimate)
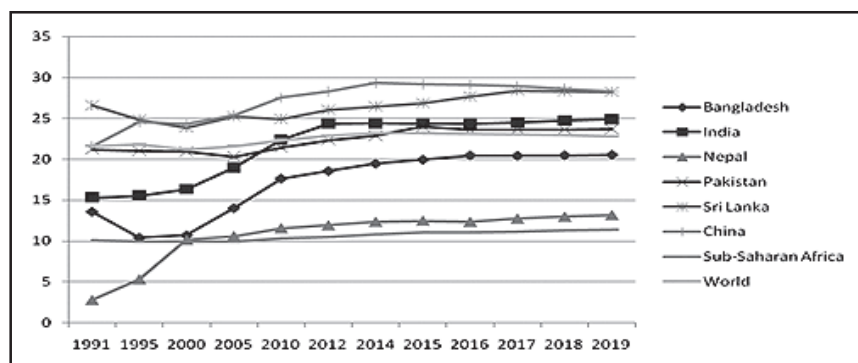
adoption of IR 4.0 could be advantageous for businesses to gain a competitive edge but has major implications, particularly for the labourers of the developing countries who wish to join the productive industrial sector. Yglesias[28] argues that this trend toward automation (under IR 4.0) can be painful for workers in any economy and especially dreadful for the developing economies that could have expected manufacturing would help them get on the ladder to prosperity.

Role of Manufacturing in Development Planning

The experiences of presently developed countries show that, as the economy grows, the share of the agriculture sector in total output declines, whereas the share of the industrial sector rises.[29] It could happen both from the side of demand and supply. In the case of agriculture, the demand for its product declines because of the low elasticity of demand (both price and income). On the supply side, it suffers from land augmentation and limits to technological improvement. On the other hand, the manufacturing activity enjoys the advantage of the 'law of increasing returns'.

Underlining the urgency of the industrial sector, Kaldor[30] proposes, the manufacturing industry is the engine of growth (first law), and manufacturing growth induces productivity growth outside manufacturing by absorbing idle or low productivity resources in other sectors (third law). The third law is further simplified as the faster the growth rate of manufacturing output, the faster the rate of labour from other sectors of the economy where there are either diminishing returns or where no relationship exists between employment growth and output growth.[31] A reduction in the amount of labour in these sectors will raise productivity growth outside manufacturing.

There was a general consensus among all classes on two issues: (i) that industrialisation was the key to economic growth and (ii) that the state must take the lead to initiate the process of economic growth. High industrial growth thus remained the major policy objective of all the countries getting independence during the 1950s and 60s. Both the 'Bombay Plan' prepared by leading industrialists even before independence and the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 bore testimony to this consensus. After getting independence, most of the countries, including India, imbibed the capital-intensive heavy industrialisation model from the USSR. Four major steel plants in Odisha (Rourkela), Chhattisgarh (Bhilai), Jharkhand (Bokaro) and West Bengal (Durgapur) were established during that period. Although the economy grew appreciably well after the Soviet model, people benefitted less either from employment growth or productivity growth as desired. In terms of payoff, the very regions in which the 'temples of modern India' were established are still known as the most backward states in India. Although the tribals constitute more than 50 percent of the total population in those regions, not more than 5 percent of them are in the industrial working force.[32]

Saith[33] explained this phenomenon as all developing countries having adopted industrialisation-led development strategies essentially in the 1950s and 1960s, with respect to outcomes, most of them have posted disappointing results. The same was earlier pointed out by M.K.Gandhi.[34] Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished, and it is an evil where there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case of India.

The failure of the Soviet model accomplishing the expectations dramatically shifted the policy focus in favour of market-driven economic policy. The Market model results in a spectacular GDP growth rate, although it failed to convert into desired employment creation. It led to a phenomenon called 'jobless-growth' or growth-less jobs.

Figure 7: Primary Sector Share in GDP and Employment, India and China (1995-2017) (Source: WDI)
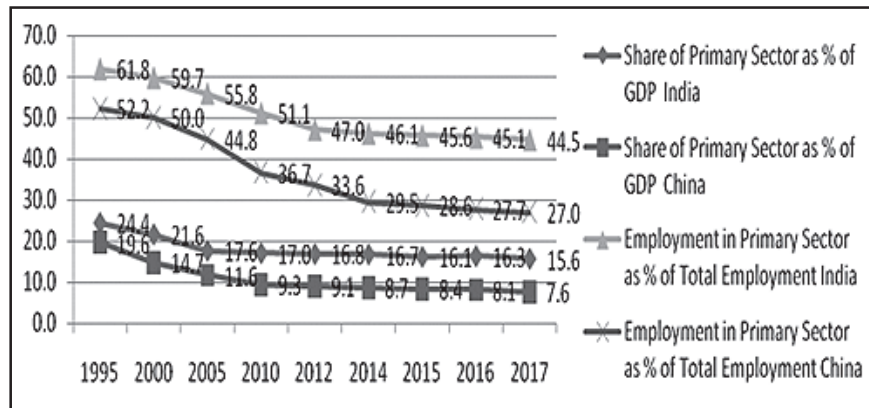
The share of the agriculture sector in GDP steadily declined, but there was no corresponding decline in the concentration of the workforce (Fig. 7). The non-agriculture sectors of the economy, whose share in GDP rose sharply, did not generate opportunities for productive employment on a scale necessary to ease pressure on agriculture. In China, for instance, although the rate of fall in the share of the primary sector in the GDP is nearly the same, the rate of decline in the share of employment is quite impressive. This asymmetry between economic growth and employment growth is the key to the paradox of economic growth and the persistence of absolute unemployment/ underemployment in India.

The apprehension that Gandhi raised still continues to be astonishingly relevant[35],

> modern economic systems rooted as they are in self-indulgence, multiplicity of wants and divorces of ethics from economics are large-scale mechanised, centralised, complicated organisations. They are disfigured by unemployment, under-employment, pauperism, exploitation, a mad race for capturing markets and conquering lands for raw materials. They involve enslavement of the individual, treating man only as a hand feeding the machine, reducing him to a mere adjunct of the machine.

Gandhi's View on Development

Have we ever planned for the poor labourers or villagers? We have planned that they will benefit as an after-effect of the betterment of the urban rich, the model splendidly known as 'Trickle-Down

Economics'. Neither the Soviet model nor the SAPs metamorphosed India into an industrialised country and left with the present challenges of decent employment creation. The reason being the premise of both the models lie in trickle-down economics. The conception of development is based on the relationship that industrialisation promotes economic growth, and the best way to help the poor is to make the economy grow. There was/is excessive 'urban bias' in development planning. The planners' belief that growth will trickle down did not happen. Stiglitz[36] claims trickle-down economics is nothing but a belief, an article of faith, seldom found in the real world. If at all it exists, initially and essentially, it will benefit the better-off section of the society, which in the next stage, marginally translates into other sections in the form of the construction workers, domestic workers and other lower-end petty jobs. The same has otherwise been mentioned by Galbraith[37] as, "if you feed the horse enough oats, some will pass through to the road for the sparrows."

Gandhi knew it from the very outset; 'Industrialism' would not work and had a concrete plan for the poor labourers and the villagers. In fact he planned only for them and considered that the urban rich will benefit only after the betterment of the poor labourers and villagers. Gandhi believes, village people are poor and exploited not only by the foreign government but also by the city people. He said that city people may be getting big profits and good wages, but all that has become possible by sucking the blood of villagers.[38]

Gandhi's primary focus was rural and village industries, to make the villages self-sufficient and self-reliant. Gandhi said[39], "Pandit Nehru wants industrialisation because he thinks that if it is socialised, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialisation can eradicate them." He believed[40], India is to be found not in its few cities but in its seven lakh villages; but the town-dwellers believe that India is to be found in its towns and the villages were created to cater to their needs. His views were unequivocally opposed to the trickle-down model. This was distinctly contrary to what Indian economic policy followed ever since its independence.

Secondly, the use of hands/labour and the realisation of human potential (employment) was central and paramount to Gandhi's idea of economic freedom. The considerations like profit maximisation/cost minimisation were either secondary or non-existent, according to him. He said the machine should not be allowed to make waste of the human limbs (Y.I., 1924: 378).[41] The dead machinery may be used to assist human efforts and must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers.[42] He firmly believes any

plan which exploited the raw materials of a country and neglected the potentially more powerful manpower is lop-sided and could never establish human equality. Thus, real planning consists of the best utilisation of the whole manpower of India.[43] Thus, he suggested the problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages; rather, the problem is how to utilise their idle hours.[44]

Why Apprehensive of Industrialism

Industries and technologies have become a crucial and integral part of our life and livelihood. There is rapid and incessant technological progress taking place in the field of production and industrial development. The global production chain has entered the phase of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which is known as the digital transformation of manufacturing and other industries through the use of Artificial Intelligence and Robotics for value creation processes. In this process, smart machines have started replacing the (stupid) labour with the capability of replacing half of the workforce in the future. *Fredy and Osborne* suggest that almost half of the U.S. workers would face risks of their job being automated by 2030.[45] Similarly, Mckinsey Global Institute[46] estimated that about half of all the activities people are paid to do in the world's workforce could potentially be automated by adapting currently demonstrated technologies. It amounts to almost $15 trillion in wages that are likely to be withdrawn from the income share of workers.

The IR 4.0 may create many new jobs, some of which we may not even imagine today, but it poses a severe challenge to the countries that have not yet completed their industrial transformations.[47] There are apprehensions that the net effect would be depletion of employment opportunities, particularly in the unskilled and routine works.[48] The lowly-industrialised developing countries are not immune from this trend either (either through domestic production or through international competition). According to the Mckinsey report, India has the technical potential of automation in the case of the job of 52 percent of the employees (235.1 million employees) adopting currently demonstrated technology. Vashist and Rani[49] argue that technically robotics ('Sewbot' and other machines) can displace 80 percent of labour employed in the Indian garment industry, the most labour-intensive sector.

It may further pave the way for severe recessionary trends in employment creation and worsening the job situation. The challenges are immense for the youth and the poor, the majority of whom are illiterate and unskilled, and look for manufacturing jobs to escape

poverty. Helping workers to acquire new skills in this regard has become crucial. The identity of individuals that comes through the work (and its nature) has come under threat. The view of Gandhi in this context is worth noting, "as I look at Russia where the apotheosis of industrialisation has been reached, the life there does not appeal to me. In modern terms, it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society."[50]

Responding to the question, whether he is against all machinery? He says, "No, but, I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machineries".[51] He further clarifies[52],

> what I object to is the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such. The *craze* is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all; I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour but greed.

When he was asked if he would industrialise India? He replied I would indeed industrialise but in my sense of the term. The village industries must be industrialised first but in a different way.[53] The same is further elaborated as "I know that man cannot live without industry. Therefore, I cannot be opposed to industrialisation. But I have a great concern about introducing the machine industry. …There are many, too many idle hands…We want industry, let us become industrious".[54]

Another reason Gandhi was not in favour of Industrialism is because it creates wealth inequality and thereby breeds millionaire employers and half-starved employees. He submits, the present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths (Harijan, 1935: 244).[55] Thus, he never favoured machinery, which is meant to enrich the few at the expense of the many.

Why in favour of Rural and Khadi Industries

The history of the first developed country (U.K.) shows, the textile industry made a notable contribution during the first phase of

industrialisation. Modern cities like Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, and Lancashire flourished because of cotton and textiles mills. Rostow[56] noted that cotton textile is a leading sector for many countries, including Britain and New England, at the early and 'take-off' stages of development. The size of the market for textile products is huge as it is a mass product consumed by everyone in multiple pairs, irrespective of economic class. Britain earns significant revenue exporting its textile products in colonial markets like India.

Gandhi was in favour of cottage industries because it utilises human hands and thus realised the primacy of the khadi industry. Other than utilising human hands, Gandhi chose Charkha because it utilises indigenous technology and addresses the concerns of cotton growers.[57] According to Gandhi, khadi is a means of emancipation for the poor class. He says[58],

> khadi connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country. It is a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers. Moreover, khadi mentality means decentralisation of the production and distribution of the necessaries of life.

He was convinced that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and moral regeneration of India. Therefore, he suggested, villages must develop a simple industry to supplement agriculture to save millions from starvation[59] and the only universal industry, according to him, could be spinning and no other. He clarifies, other industries may be more remunerative and fascinating, but they may not be employment-intensive or may be of no use to the millions of villagers.[60]

According to Gandhi, the agriculture sector and labour-intensive industries could substantially help resolve the major problems of poverty and unemployment in India. Gandhi suggested that if the poor produce their own food and make their own cloth to cover their nakedness and drive away hunger, the eyes of the whole world would turn towards India.[61] With the prosperity of agriculture and village industries, every village will become the nerve- centre of independent India, and it will then not be known by her cities like Bombay and Calcutta, but by her 400 million inhabiting the seven lakh villages.[62]

Conclusion

India is passing through a recessionary trend in employment creation along with an exceptionally high level of informality. The challenges have intensified in the context of COVID-19 and particularly during

the phase of Premature Deindustrialisation and IR 4.0. Other economies like China, standing on similar economic strength until three decades back, have made substantial headway and emerged as the factory of the world. The employment scenario is remarkably superior in contrast to India. The road to current accomplishment, nonetheless, has been largely disastrous for China. The reason generally known is the sustainable period of high economic growth led by a higher rate of savings, investment, FDI and economic openness. The lesser-known facts, the crucial importance of higher land productivity and the growth of TVEs that initially laid the foundation in scaling up domestic saving/investment and enlarging the size of the market are overlooked.

The experiments with both the distinguished development strategies in India nonetheless remained disappointing. The growth story is primarily explained by the service sector or capital-intensive heavy industries. Land productivity and labour-intensive industries have never been the priority in the development strategy. Gandhi sensed the importance of agriculture and cottage industry not through any experiments but through his true understanding of the Indian situation. He realised India lives in villages, and it needs to be self-sufficient that could only happen through sufficient food and cloth production. He firmly believes, if mass production is carried out by the masses, people will get work, income and realise their human potential. Thus, he always favoured decentralised production that could lead to decentralised income, employment and well-being.

In the present situation, production and wealth creation has become extremely centralised. Technologies that earlier used to assist labourers now aim to get rid of them under the aegis of the fourth industrial revolution. Decent employment creation thus has become a daunting task for the policy-makers. The apprehensions Gandhi raised about technologies in relation to employment is even relevant today. His economic ideas have been virtually ignored in terms of development planning. The father of the nation prescribed the appropriate economic strategy almost a century ago, the ignorance to which are the consequences of the present economic situation in general and employment in particular. Time has come to learn from him.

Note

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organisation he is affiliated with.

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A Search for
Basic Universal Morality

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ABSTRACT

There are immense differences between human beings- cultural, linguistic, religious, and even moral. But there are equally immense affinities between man and man in their physical, social, and psychological needs. In order to fulfill those needs, we require a morality that can help humans realize their potential for being virtuous and create a society that can make this possible. While cultural and ethical relativists insist upon the uniqueness and closed character of various cultures and their moralities, a large number of ethicists, from Sidgwick, Kant, and Hume to contemporary ones like Baier, Stace, Nielsen, Williams, and Nagel, argue for a basic universal morality which is applicable to all human beings and would lead to the general welfare of all. I agree with the latter view and am trying to argue for the possibility of such a morality. My main contention is that there is basic equality, an affinity between and interdependence of all human beings, recognition of which would naturally inspire a core universal morality. I find support for my views on some aspects of Indian philosophy, including medieval Bhakti saints and Mahatma Gandhi.

Key words: differences, equality, affinity, universality, interdependence, universal morality, God in all, service of dumb millions

I. Introduction

I. 1. WHAT IS MORALITY? I cannot add anything new to what so many ethicists have been saying. But to keep our discussion clear, let me repeat what I mean by morality. Morality or ethics is that branch of human thinking that tells us what the right course of conduct is and the right goal (good) that we should seek through our conduct.

In other words, morality or ethics is the discipline that tells us what to do and what to' be.' [1] Morality consists of some fundamental/ foundational moral principles which are universal; that is, apply to all human beings in similar circumstances; or preferably which must apply to all human beings in almost all circumstances, not only in like circumstances only, like prohibition of killing or torturing some innocent person, especially a child. It means that cultural and temporal differences would not count in applying these universal moral principles.

I. 2. Moralities vs. Universal Morality: There are immense differences among human beings—cultural, religious, linguistic, and even moral. Differences being more striking, we recognize them more easily than the similarities in human nature. My main contention is that in as much as all human beings are intrinsically akin to each other in their needs, desires, and responses to life situations, there must be some ethical imperatives that in some way are based on human nature or its universal basic needs, and are therefore necessarily common to all cultures. I am asserting: First, the affinity between man and man, and their right to perfect equality of treatment. And second, a core universal morality that both apply to and aims at the good of all human beings alike. This universal morality does not deny the existence of different cultures and their customary moralities, but claims supremacy for itself in case of any conflict between the two. It also claims to judge the rightness or wrongness of various moralities.

Let us take even a cursory look at different moralities in various cultures. We will find that their age-old traditions have been responsible for immense suffering loss of freedom and dignity to a large section of the populace of that culture. Most of the imperatives of customary moralities generally go against minimum humanitarian beliefs and values of modern times. I firmly believe that if philosophers engage in serious dialogue, we can arrive at a rational conceptualization of the right moral point of view and certain moral tenets or imperatives which are shared by all or most rational and 'humane' persons, and which can tell us what to do, or what to be ourselves.

But in order even to attempt to enter into dialogue with various points of view in morality we would have first to confront the uncompromising cultural relativists of the Continent who declare the impossibility of even understanding other's views, interests, and values.[2] But I disagree with their thesis—first and foremost because I have an intuitive faith in the affinity of different peoples sharing the same humanity. Second, their claim that culture is an integrated and homogeneous whole falsifies any culture's complexity, multi-

dimensionality, and dynamic nature. No culture is a homogeneous whole; no culture is a fossilized one or an enclosed entity. And third, the entire history of humanity provides evidence of different people, including pre-historic ones, traveling to far-off lands, trading and communicating with people speaking different languages, practising very different customs and mores, and learning from them. There is constant mutual communication, understanding, and give and take between various people, and each culture is constantly changing or remoulding itself due to outer influences and inner tensions.

My main emphasis is on the truth of inherent equality of and essential affinity between all human beings. Torture and, of course, loss of life, or even some life-threatening deception, are unpleasant to us as much as they are so to people inhabiting other very different cultures. If so, the prohibition against them should be right for all cultures. And such prohibitions and some positive injunctions in accordance with the needs of our common humanity make up what I call universal morality. W.T. Stace contends that we mean by a universal morality :

> A moral principle which is applicable to all men in the sense that, even if
> they do not accept it, they ought to do so. […] We have to show that
> what really is right is the same for all men. We do not have to show that
> what men think right is everywhere the same.[3]

I am trying to argue that some fundamental principles of morality are independent of differences in cultures and individual idiosyncrasies. If human life has value so that destroying it is morally wrong, then it is so whether one is killing or destroying human lives in Iraq or India. If suffering is evil and undesirable to us, then causing suffering to human beings is an immoral act everywhere. If keeping one's promise or speaking truth is an important virtue in one society, it must be so in all others, as its opposite would destroy the socio-moral fabric of mutual trust in every society

When faced with the differences in the (mostly customary) moralities, we would have to distinguish between fundamental universal moral principles and the culturally conditioned moral rules that apply to those circumstances or institutions alone. This is a distinction between what I would call the essence and the peripheral rules of morality.

II. Can There be Some Universal, Basic Common Morality?

II.1. **Classical Utilitarians** stressed the importance of consequences

of any action, which was conceived as 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' Of course, such an idea creates problems, but as affirmed by Bentham, the general idea is a worthwhile contribution to morality. It is, 'each man is to count for one, and no one is to count for more than one.' Henry Sidgwick asserted that from the Universe's point of view, there is no difference between the happiness of one person and that of the other.'[4] All these assertions affirm the perfect equality of every man and woman. Thus utilitarianism is a theory that extols every effort to achieve the greatest welfare of all human beings, and since in any given circumstances, we cannot achieve that grand and rather abstract goal, we should try to achieve as much happiness or welfare of as many people as we can.

As against the Utilitarians, Deontologists believe that the moral worth of an action is not derived from the end or consequences thereof but from its being in accordance with the moral law, that is, the rightness of an action. According to Immanuel Kant, not the consequences of any action but the moral principle by which the given action is directed decide its moral worth.[5] The Bhagavad Gita's main message is that — an agent has only the right to do her duty, not to the consequences that may depend on many external circumstances beyond the agent's control.[6] Kantian principle of respecting every human being as a person in her own right, so that she cannot be made a means of another resembles closely the early utilitarian principle of 'every one is to count for one and no one is to count for more than one'. By this, they all meant that no one who judges himself as 'more than one' can make another a means of his interests. Both Kantian and utilitarian principles thus express the ideal of perfect notional equality of all human beings before the law and in our interpersonal dealings. R. M. Hare has rightly observed that the universalizability principle of deontologists and rationalists, and utilitarians' emphasis on welfare (happiness) of maximum possible number of people implying the absolute equality of all human beings and their welfare, are the same.[7]

II. 2   Kant has long back declared that we human beings are inter-related since God has sent us to live in one dwelling place to help each other.[8] Hare has argued in great detail that in any moral deliberation, the interests of all others should be considered as equal to our own. But why should we do so? Hare contends that all human beings' basic interests and inclinations are the same. To understand them, we need imagination; and he goes on giving his famous example of someone wanting to send his debtor to prison; but if only he could imagine how he himself would feel in that situation, he would immediately desist from his intended action because he has realized

that basically the needs and inclinations of all men are the same. Hare derives the principle of total equality from his prior commitment to the law of universalizability.[9] He also makes a very important observation here. According to him, universalizability of moral judgments implies their prescriptivism; that is, any moral law, in so far as it applies to everyone, must be obeyed by all, including the subject. He clarifies that if someone affirms a moral imperative but does not intend to act accordingly, she contradicts herself.[10] Kurt Baier, says that 'all moral rules must be— first, applicable to everyone; and second, must be for the good of everyone.[11] It means that universalizability of all moral judgments, so important for deontologists, and conduciveness to the good of all, the central thesis of utilitarians, and equally recognized by modern Kantian thinkers as Kurt Baier and Kai Nielsen, are not contradictory but can be seen as complementary and combined in a more comprehensive rational moral thesis.

Kai Nielsen endorses this view. Here Nielsen gives a valuable suggestion that though the principle of universalizability is very important for ethical judgments, as it is for every other rational argument, it is the principle of utility or the greatest good of human beings that alone can provide a test of the truth or validity of any moral rule or judgment. He explains that if we want to decide whether certain rules., actions or practices are good or bad (moral or not), we have to decide whether' they are […] in the best interests of everyone, and in talking about the best interests of everyone, we are talking about their most extensive welfare and well-being.' And 'if they cannot be for the good of everyone alike they could not be compatible with the moral point of view.'[12] He asserts that any kind of empirical differences cannot justify differentiation of treatment; rather,

> …from the point of view of morality, men are simply to be counted as men. As
> members of human species, they have a prima facie right to equal treatment.[13]

In normal life, and everyday moral dilemmas, the deontologist and the utilitarian principle of the worth of everyone counting the same, so that the moral agent cannot make an exception of oneself, or make others a means of his/her interests, is the most valuable criterion for judging an action or character morally. If the decision to act in a certain manner has been taken in a disinterested manner, that is, without any reference to one's selfish interests and personal bias, it would be a right moral judgment.

Bernard Williams contradicts the early utilitarians' contention of the end of moral action being the greatest happiness (welfare) of the greatest number. He argues that we also have obligations towards our family and friends; neglecting them would be equally blame-worthy. But Thomas Nagel has convincingly countered Williams' contention, saying that in morality, we have to look for the welfare of all human beings as much as is practically possible, meaning that we can not make any exceptions for our family or friends.. [14] Actually, Williams does not always stick to his view and contends that :

> …there are some ethical demands that seem to be satisfied only by a universal concern, one that extends to all human beings, and perhaps beyond the human race.[15]

He adds that 'For morality, ethical constituency is always the same, universal constituency.'[16] The basic thesis of all these philosophers belonging to very different ethical schools, from Bentham, Sidgwick, and Hume on the one hand and Kant and most contemporary Kantian or rationalist thinkers, such as Bair, Stace, and Nielsen, is one— the innate similarity and equality of all human beings. It follows that there is no rational basis for discrimination between different humans, including oneself.

Mahatma Gandhi insisted that the welfare of entire humanity is his goal, and of them most important is the welfare and uplifting of the downtrodden. He kept the latter as his first priority, much ahead of the national goal of Independence. To quote him:

> Man's ultimate aim is to realize God [….] The immediate service of all human
> beings becomes a necessary part of endeavour simply because the only way to
> find God is to see Him in His creation, and be one with it. This can be done by
> service of all.[17]

Significantly, he transformed the Vedantic vision of one Self (Atman) in all, which the ancient Upanishadic seers understood only at a rational level (perhaps not applicable to practical life) into a useful way of life. Gandhi simply contended that if the same God resides in all humans, there is left no basis of discrimination between man and man. If so, mistreatment of 'lower' castes whom he called Harijans (children of God) is both immoral and against the religious vision of one God in all. To quote him:

I am endeavouring to see God through the service of humanity, for I
know that
God is neither in heaven, nor down below, but in every one. […]
I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the
rest of
humanity. [18]
I recognize no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the
dumb
millions. […] I worship the God that is Truth through the service of these
millions.[19]

We may not like to use the concept of God to justify the obligations
of morality. But I find that basic philosophical tenet of innate similarity
and equality of all human beings and an honest recognition of some
profounder aspect of human self give natural incentive for being moral.
And being moral means helping the downtrodden and sharing the
lot of others as much as we can.

II. 3. A related problem, which has indirectly been discussed by
utilitarians, and more fully discussed by Kant, would be whether the
intention of the moral agent is more important in judging the moral
worth of the action, or its consequences are more so. For the
deontologist, the intention of the moral agent is very important, as it
determines the moral merit or demerit of the agent. Except Kant, all
other deontologists, such as W.D Ross and Henry Prichard recognize
the need to consider both the circumstances and the possible
consequences of our contemplated action, though the worth of
intention or motive remains equally important. Ross contends that
every moral judgment contains prior deliberation of the demands of
the circumstances, the possible consequences of the contemplated
action, as well as the relevant prima facie duty (recognized by
intuition). But once all this is done, our duty sans phrase is definite
and recognized by our intuition.[20] On the other hand, for contemporary
consequentialists and ethicists like Bernard Gert, the outcome or
consequences of our actions are alone important in judging the moral
worth of an action or conduct of some person and not the intention.[21]
Now, suppose a politician does some good work for the public, but
his intention is only to win their votes in the forthcoming elections.
For the deontologist, his insincerity and using the gratitude of the
masses as a means of winning elections means the loss of any moral
merit. But for the consequentialist, his actions have all the moral worth.
Even so, good intentions alone are not sufficient. They must be
accompanied by careful consideration of which course of action would
most likely bring the right desirable results. This has happened in the
case of Christian missionaries who went to far-off tribes with the

pious intention of 'saving their souls' but have in the process destroyed whole tribes by the infections they were inadvertently carrying and the tribes not being immune to them.

II. 4.   Another related question is whether the goal of any action alone has moral worth or the rightness of the means is more important. In Western philosophy, this issue is not much discussed except by the consequentialists who try to argue by giving fantastic examples that consequences alone are important, whatever the means. Revolutionaries, Marxists, and others have had idealist goals, and violence has been their preferred means, as for them, means do not matter.

Here Mahatma Gandhi's views again are very relevant. He rejected any violent means to gain India's Independence, and insisted on total non-violence as the guiding and determining principle of struggle for freedom. It was so because Gandhi believed:

> Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind.[…] Every murder or
> other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a
> crime against humanity.[22]

He called his non-violence the way of the brave and explained that only those willing to undergo suffering could take up the way of non-violence. He contended that non-violence or ahimsa is a virtue to be practised both at a personal level and in interpersonal relations in the society. Gandhi named the way of non-violence as Satyagraha— the endeavour to realize the Truth, or any other morally justified goal, as India's Freedom. There was no place for violence or hatred against the opposite party in Satyagraha. And so Indians made a unique experiment in their struggle for Independence by non-violent means in which many of them made great sacrifices (like leaving their educational institutes, and more, leaving their jobs). They went to prison for long years got beaten or killed, but none of them were killed in retaliation (except for a few failed revolutionaries). Perhaps the Mahatma's conceptualization of ahimsa was a little too difficult and too idealistic, but his way of ahimsa shines like a beacon of light in the present global darkness of mutual hatred and violence.

III. The Source and Authority of Moral Judgment

Several theories advocate some form or the other of inherent universally shared reason, moral sense, emotions, instinctive approval, or disapproval, which are claimed to signify to us the moral qualities

of the object of our moral judgment. These various elements or faculties of our selves are claimed by their different proponents to be both the source and criterion of justification of the moral way of life that an individual or society adopts.

III. 1. Kant, of course, is the paradigmatic thinker advocating universal reason, shared by all normal (rational) persons, as the ultimate source and justification of moral laws. He believes that all differences of culture and times are irrelevant when we are talking of fundamental moral principles. These moral principles have their source both in the universal transcendental reason and our equally universally shared legislative will. Being thus declared by something within ourselves, they have spontaneous authority for us.[23] Post-Kantian advocates of the Good reasons approach, such as S.E. Toulmin, Kurt Baier, M.G. Singer, and Kai Nielsen, do not so much declare reason as the source of our moral principles and stress the role of reason in justifying them. These philosophers criticize the advocates of emotive and approbation theories. They point out that our saying that something has value, or some act is right does not depend upon the speaker's pro or con attitude; rather, a person's having a pro or con attitude towards something or some conduct is justified on the basis of her prior evaluation of that thing or act being good or right. This evaluation is, in turn, justified only when we can provide good reasons for it. They believe that in a unique way moral discourse is a cognitive activity. In the words of Nielsen, the post- Kantian rationalist ethicists believe: 'that there is knowledge of good and evil, and that some moral claims have a perfectly respectable objectivity.'[24] Any moral assertion can be justified by giving right or good reasons for our moral judgment. They further believe in the necessity of universality of any moral law or assertion, which they call universalizability. In all rational thinking, we can only make a valid moral assertion if applicable to all human beings, at least in similar circumstances.[25] Hare, Baier, and other rationalist ethicists have contended that a moral law should be such that it would be acceptable to any agent whether she is at the giving or receiving end of a given action. They call this condition reversibility; that is, any rule or judgment should be such that the object of the moral subject has an equal right to pay him/ her back in the same terms.[26] Baier, Nielsen, and Nagel insist on every moral principle or rule being universally applicable and person-neutral or objective. It implies the total equality of all human beings. In the words of Thomas Nagel, in ethics we need to adopt a 'A universal standpoint that does not distinguish between oneself and anyone else.' Ethical principles, therefore must be such that apply to oneself as they apply to every one else.'[27]

Importantly, all rationalist ethicists (except Kant) accept moral rules' exceptions. They contend that if a situation is such that applying a given moral rule seems to be unjust or even immoral, then the original rule is modified (Hare), or some other moral law is applied in that situation (Stace and Taylor). But whatever law is applied, or an exception is justified, it must be universalizable. I would like to add that unless there is some vitally important reason to act otherwise, a moral law holds for all human beings alike. If killing or hurting any innocent person is morally wrong in a given society, then it is wrong in all societies, in at least most circumstances. Otherwise, moral thinking becomes some kind of existentialism or an arbitrary play with words.

However, reason can either turn into mere intellectual argumentation (seen in contemporary philosophical writings), which gives us no clue as to any moral criterion to judge our actions by; or becomes a continuous effort to give justification at every stage of moral reasoning, resulting in infinite regress, thus failing to offer some basic moral values / principles/ criteria to guide us in morally relevant situations. Therefore, reason alone cannot give us the most fundamental moral laws which would be applicable to all human beings, either as such or with the rider of similar circumstances.

In view of the difficulty in proving fundamental moral principles through reason, the ethicists of the Good reasons approach have not even tried to do that. Baier simply says that second-order moral principles (which he calls consideration-making beliefs) are major premises in any moral reasoning, while facts or circumstances are minor premises. He contends that the second-order principles or consideration-making beliefs are necessarily person-neutral, that is, they are prior to our giving any reason for any moral assertion (in an unspoken way—transcendental). He assumes that the major premises in any argument are the starting point that do not require any rational justification.[28] This is true in all rational arguments, including moral ones. If so, moral principles as major premises need not be further justified while they become the ground for other moral rules.

Ethicists Hare and Taylor have contended that once every moral principle is understood, as well as the relevant facts of the situation, final moral decision is the individual agent's as to which way of life or which moral principle one wants to adopt. Hare has argued that since moral argumentation cannot be carried on indefinitely, we have to tell our questioner that she would have to decide for herself what way of life she wants to lead.[29] Taylor, having developed in great detail the process of moral reasoning, says that finally we cannot decide as to which one of the several points of view is correct, that is,

there cannot be any final justification of our moral contentions, and moral commitment is a person's own.[30] He argues for tolerance of different points of view, without realizing that tolerance he is advocating seems to undermine the very justifiability and authority of morality.

I have a problem with this approach; it is that we are concerned here with general principles of morality applicable to every human being (of course, in like circumstances), and the personal decision does not come in the picture here, even though it is required at the personal level when one is trying to decide which course of action she should take, as clearly put forth by Ross.

Interestingly, while Kant declared universal moral reason as the source of fundamental moral laws, and found no need to justify them; later Kantian rationalists are almost exclusively concerned to justify moral laws or morality, but do not contend that reason alone is the source or foundation of moral laws. They rightly acknowledge that though we justify several moral rules and practices on the basis of some fundamental moral principles, the latter cannot be justified by reason alone. Though these ethicists do not always say this, it is mostly suggested or implied that these ultimate moral principles are in some unique way 'given' to us by our common nature. I fully agree.

III. 2. As against the rationalists' assertion of some (transcendental?) reason common to the entire humanity, many philosophers have declared our emotional responses, generally called approval theories of either the individual or the society. Then some believe that one understands the moral principles or the rightness or wrongness of any action by one's intuition. Not going into details, let me quote Butler, a pioneer of intuition theories:

> There is a simple principle of reflection or conscience in every man. […] which
> pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just right, good,
> others to be in themselves wrong, evil, unjust; which without being
> consulted[…] magisterially exerts itself and approves or condemns him,[31]

But individual's emotions, attitudes, or approval and disapproval cannot provide any source or basis of true and universal morality. However, Hume's theory of our natural sympathy, common to the entire mankind, which makes us approve or disapprove of any action on the basis of whether it leads to the good of human beings or not, is worth taking cognizance of. Hume believes that every heart tends to feel pleasure at the sight of 'a noble and generous action;' and feel

abhorrence when confronted by some cruel and treacherous action.'
He concludes that 'Morality therefore is more felt than judged.'[32] If
he had said only this much, it would have meant an ordinary un-
philosophical approbation theory, that is, there is no good or evil in
actual life, only our emotions make it so; and emotions are notoriously
multifarious and unreliable. But Hume says something far more
profound. According to him, our approval or disapproval are not
random; rather they are naturally governed by our realization that a
given action is for the good of mankind, or against it. These emotions
or emotional responses to actions or character are not culturally
conditioned or mutually contradictory. Rather, they are a part of human
psyche ; and are universally shared. That is, if I am repulsed by the
sight of some one's cruelly torturing a hapless man, most other human
beings would have the same reaction to that sight. Hume goes on to
contend that our sentiments of pleasure and uneasiness are very real
to us; and they are always favourable to virtue and unfavourable to
vice. If so, nothing else is needed for us to differentiate between
virtue and vice.[33]

Hume also rightly observes that we can judge a character to be
morally good or bad only if we consider that character independent
of our personal interests. This is a very important suggestion because
morality demands that we be free from our personal concerns. Hume
is an advocate of approval theories, and approval or disapproval are
notoriously relative and fortuitous. And yet he believes that the
sentiment of morality is natural and therefore universal. Sympathy
with our fellow beings is natural or inherent in us. Our approval or
disapproval are directly related to the welfare of mankind.

To quote him:

> These sentiments are so rooted in our constitution and temper that
> without
> entirely confounding the human mind by disease or madness, it is
> impossible
> to extirpate or destroy them.[34]

His faith in the universal presence of moral sentiments, which
always support deeds done for the good of mankind, and
disapprove any actions which may harm fellow human beings is
not only unique, it gives us some hope for the future of humanity.
Hume stresses the *sentiment of sympathy* for the entire humankind;
also, this sympathy is present in all hearts. This sentiment of
sympathy binds the entire human race to feel for the good or harm
of the remotest people. Hume believes that sympathy is a very

powerful sentiment in human nature, and it provides us our sentiment of morals. 'Sympathy', contends Hume, 'which takes us so far from ourselves to give us the same pleasure or unease in the character of others as if they had a tendency to our own advantage or loss.' [35] Hume said this two hundred years before Thomas Nagel proposed the need for self-transcendence for being moral. Very few philosophers have realized and asserted this as Hume has done. He believes that these sentiments are so universal that no nation, no individual, can be without them. He believes :

> It cannot be denied without the greatest absurdity that there is some benevolence
> howsoever small, infused in our bosoms, some spark of friendship for humankind,
> some particle of the dove along with the wolf and the serpent. Let these generous
> sentiments be supposed ever so weak, they must still direct the determinations
> of our minds […] and produce a direct preference of what is useful and serviceable
> to mankind above what is pernicious and dangerous to mankind.'[35]

The faith of Hume in the potential goodness of mankind is perhaps idealistic, and there are men whose cruelty and conduct contradict Hume's assertion that every man has sympathy and humanity. And yet, in spite of these exceptions, the rest of humankind does have some element of goodness, sympathy and compassion, which may be covered and overwhelmed by their stronger negative tendencies or basic self-interest. If someone just tries a little, the positive humanitarian elements can easily come to the fore and become a source and inspiration for moral behaviour. Thus Hume's approbation theory is unique in its advocacy of universal morality.

Then there are social approval theories that believe that the society's code is the right criterion of moral judgments. S. E. Toulmin seems to uphold some such theory when he says that the moral code of one's society is the final criterion of judging one's moral norms and conduct.[36] The real proponents of social approbation theories are some anthropologists and many postmodern relativists. They have argued for a strong ethical relativism, according to which whatever is believed and practised in one's community is true and right for its members. This approach, as rightly pointed out by Paul W. Taylor, does not seem to make any distinction between what is believed and what is true, or what is practised and what is right[37] It is a position to end all moral claims to be either true, universal, or overriding.

Therefore, it is not acceptable to us as a participant in the moral discourse.

III. 3. The worth of intuition, or an intuitive perception of what is the right course of action in a given situation, cannot be denied. Some of our intuitions (which can be understood as instinctive disapproval) as an aversion to killing or torturing innocent people, especially children, cheating or hurting the poor, not heeding the cries of help by someone in dire need of it, etc. are both true and universal. However, our intuitions often differ due to various sociological and psychological reasons.

As we have seen above, though very important, reason alone cannot be both the source and criterion of judgment in the universal morality that we seek to justify. To acknowledge ultimate ethical principles, experience, intuition, sympathetic imagination, or sensitive conscience are also needed. If we suffer in a certain situation, we accept that such suffering is terrible; and a spontaneous moral rule emerges that such suffering must not be meted out to any human being. For that, sympathetic imagination is required. Generally, it is intuition that endorses these basic universal moral rules. Reason and intuition must work together. The subjective approval or even reasoning can count only for personal decisions; it cannot finally justify any moral rule or principle. Ultimate moral principles have to be recognized and decided by reason and intuition working together. Often, we do so without being aware of it.

Notes and References

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2. For critical discussion of cultural relativism, please see Saral Jhingran, *Ethical Relativism and Universalism*, 2001, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, Chs. I. to III.
3. W.T. Stace, *The Concept of Morals*,(New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952),pp. 88-89, 98, 102 ff.
4. H. Sidgwick, "Methods of Ethics" in W.T. Jones, Frederick Sontag, Morton O. Beckner, and Robert J. Fogelin , *Approaches to Ethics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977)
5. Immanuel Kant, *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals*, tr., Thomas K Abbott & Marvin Fox (New York: Boobs-Merril co., 9th Reprint , 1949) p. 17.
6. *Bhagwad Gita*, II.47, tr., S Radhakrishan,(Bombay, Blackie & Sons,1977).
7. 'Men should be considered fellow- men, that is rational men with

needs, united by nature in one dwelling place for the purpose of helping one another.' *The Doctrine of Virtue, Part II of The Metaphysics of Morals*, tr. Mary J. Gregor, reprint, 1964, pp.121 and 117 ff.

8. R. M. Hare, *Freedom and Reason*,(London: Oxford University Press,1963), pp. 108 ff., 122 ff.

9. Ibid, pp .33 ff., 52 ff., 73 ff., 90.

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15. Bernard Williams, *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, (London: Collins, 1985), p. 14.

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18. M .K. Gandhi, *Young India*, 6. 8. 1925, p. 52.

19. M .K. Gandhi, *Young India*, 4.8. 1927; *Harijan*, 14, 5. 1928, p. 53

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24. Kai Nielsen, "Some Recent Views," in "Ethics, History of," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Volume 3,*(1972), pp. 110-111.

25. 'The Supreme principle of the application of moral rules is that in the absence of morally relevant differences between people, moral rules must be applied to every one alike.' Kurt Baier, *The Moral Point of View,* op. cit., pp. 100, 109; Also, Baier, "The Point of View of Morality" in *Readings in Contemporary Ethical Theory,* eds., Kenneth Pahel and Marvin Schiller ,(New York: Prentice Hall,1970), pp. 100 ff.

26. Baier, 1967,op.cit., pp. 29 ff,; 34 ff.; 108.

27. Nagel, 1986, op. cit., p. 177.

28. Baier, 1967, op. cit., p. 82 ff.

29. R.M. Hare, *The Language of Morals*, (London: Oxford University Press,1952), pp.69 ff.

30. Paul W. Taylor, *The Normative Discourse,* (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1961), pp. 318 ff., 330.

31. Quoted in W.D. Hudson, *Ethical Intuitionism,* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 29.

32. David Hume, "Of Virtue and Vice in General" in W.T. Jones et al., 1977, op.cit., pp. 262-264.
33. Ibid, p. 266.
34. Ibid, pp 268-269.
35. David Hume, "Moral Distinctions Derive from Moral Sense", in R.B. Brandt, *A Theory of Good and Right*, (Oxford: Prometheus Books, 1979) p. 401
36. Ibid, p. 391.

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Notes & Comments

A Security Regime for our Global Village Peace Constitutions, the Abolition of War and the UN Charter

Klaus Schlichtmann

THE UN CHARTER provides for member states to "confer primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" on the Security Council (Art. 24). The Council acts on the assumption that it has the authority to take "prompt and effective action" on behalf of its members, if and when the necessity arises, provided that nine of the 15 members of the Council are in agreement. However, a controversy exists as to whether article 24 is really binding, means what it says, and even whether it has actually been implemented. In fact, article 106 suggests that the UNSC's powers are arbitrary, and the institution has strictly speaking not been empowered "by law"[1] to exercise its responsibilities. John Foster Dulles stated: "The Security Council is not a body that merely enforces agreed law. It is a law unto itself." Dulles further: "No principles of law are laid down to guide it; it can decide in accordance with what it thinks is expedient."[2] The purpose from the beginning should have been that member states

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define and lay down the laws and principles that should guide the Council by specifying its competencies in a transfer bill. However, nations have been reluctant to give up any part of their national sovereignty that would affect their war-making powers and the right to maintain powerful and costly military institutions which train to defend against and kill presumed enemies. This is a far cry from what the drafters of the Charter had originally intended. If article 24 had been implemented, nations by now would have been mostly disarmed, and the UN System of collective security would be in operation.

The narrative presented here suggests that provisions in national constitutions, notably the war-renouncing Japanese article 9 (A9),[3] and the UN Charter must interact, being closely related, complementing each other, and capable of overcoming the apparent shortcomings of the United Nations and remedying its defects. But this can happen only if and when the relevant provisions are implemented. Furthermore, research conducted over the years has led to the realisation that there is a vital connection between the legal status of the five permanent members of the Security Council ("P5"), and constitutional provisions like A9, forming part of what I have called "the normative current," i.e. the more than 20 European Nations whose constitutions provide for the delegation of sovereign powers to international organizations such as the UN.

For example, article 24 of the German Constitution provides for legislation to empower the United Nations; article 11 of the 1948 Italian Constitution has Italy agreeing to the "limitations of her sovereignty necessary to an organization which will ensure peace and justice among nations;" Denmark's 1953 article 20 enables the legislator to transfer powers to international authorities "through a bill, to promote international legal order and cooperation;" the 1965 Norwegian Constitution's article 93 (today's article 115), permitting limitations of national sovereignty with the aim "to secure international peace and security" and "promote international law and order and cooperation between nations;" the 1946 French Constitution accepting "the limitations of sovereignty necessary for the organization and defense of peace" (albeit "under condition of reciprocity"). Similarly, Japan's Constitution aims for "an international peace based on justice and order." Also worth mentioning is India's article 51 which wants, among other things, to "promote international peace and security," settle "international disputes by arbitration," and "foster respect for international law."

Historians have found that important discussions and planning for the Post-WW2 International organisation took place in the League of Nations' *Committee for Intellectual Cooperation* (ICIC, the predecessor

of UNESCO). Documents of the ICIC are available in the archive of the United Nations University (UNU), the academic and research arm of the United Nations, headquartered in Shibuya, Tokyo. Besides prominent members like Albert Einstein, Madame Curie, Henri Bergson and Inazo Nitobe, the Indian representative in the ICIC was Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Oxford University professor, philosopher, and post-war President of India.[4] Historian Donald Mackenzie Brown points out that Radhakrishnan, having been nominated a member of the ICIC for the first time in 1931, subsequently became, especially in the eyes of Western political thinkers and intellectuals, "the recognized Hindu authority on Indian ideas and a persuasive interpreter of the role of Eastern institutions in contemporary society."[5] What kind of institutions from Indian traditional political culture was Mackenzie Brown thinking of that might qualify, and were widely practiced even under British administration? The suggestion here is that the only one that qualifies is the Panchayati Raj, the system of self-government practised in the villages throughout India. Professor Radhakrishnan's mandate was renewed for a period of three years in 1936, beginning July 1, 1936 and terminating on December 31, 1938. From June 28 to July 3, 1937, invited by the French 'Commission des Hautes Etudes internationales', a "general debate dealing with 'peaceful change' [the theme adopted in London in 1935] considered from the philosophic and psychological angle" took place at the tenth session of the Permanent International Studies Conference convened at the Sorbonne in Paris. It dealt, among other items, with "Legal questions and procedure," relating to the organization of peace—another item on the ICIC's agenda. Indeed, "most recent subjects dealt with by the Conference [were] … the possibility and conditions of an organization of collective security, and peaceful methods of change as applied to particular problems."[6] Subjects to be studied at a next conference were to include "reciprocity, regionalism, and self-sufficiency in commercial politics in the modern world, their relation to the problem of national security" etc.,[7] all relevant to our inquiry.

A coincidence? Is it not possible that Radhakrishnan, familiar with the concept of the village Panchayat,[8] introduced the idea of a 'Global Village Panchayat' for the UN as the Security Council's central authority, meant to consist of the "wise and respected elders,"[9] chosen and endowed—as was the case in India—with "large powers, both executive and judicial."[10] The Panchayat system may be the most basic democratic political concept India has ever produced. Mahatma Gandhi advocated the system as the "foundation of India's political system."[11] Decisions of the village Panchayat are based on the principle of unanimity, just as happens to be the case with the "P5." A similar

concept of our world as a 'global village' or "noosphere" was developed in the interwar period.[12] Like a virus, the idea was 'in the air'. Authors David Long and Peter Wilson contradict the negativity of realists like E.H. Carr who doubted the feasibility of the international peace efforts in the interwar period.[13] Inspired by democratic considerations, the Security Council opened itself to allow member states to take legislative action toward its future constitution.[14] The League did not have this option.

But are the "P5" sufficiently experienced and qualified to be recognised as "wise and respected?" I would like to argue that since they are the same world powers that at the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907 were in favor of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of international disputes by an international court with binding powers, once given the task, their collective memories would ensure that they are, and also would in the future be, responsible and reliable actors.[15]

Furthermore, group size matters, has to be taken into account, argued and investigated, in order to ensure to what extent optimal conditions for problem solving can be guaranteed. A study published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* suggests that small groups not bigger than five are optimal.[16] Any number higher than "5" would make it more difficult to achieve consensus. A smaller number would make it more difficult to accord with the principle of equitable geographic representation. (It has been suggested that Europe, being overrepresented, should have a single shared seat, allowing the seat that becomes vacant to go to a representative of the Global South, preferably India.[17])

An indispensable Charter principle commentators have neglected and misrepresented[18] is article 106, which stipulates a transition from the present state of armed peace to one of complete disarmament, where the UN's system of collective security guarantees peace among nations by policing the planet.[19] It is highly relevant, too, in this context, since during the transition measures taken by the Security Council to keep the peace, operating under the authority of the "P5," have to be taken unanimously.[20] I believe it can be proven that five is the ideal number for a system of decision-making operating on the principle of unanimity.

Even if more research needs to be done to confirm these findings, it is obvious that the Panchayat Raj is empirical proof that such a system works. It is effective. International peace and security cannot be preserved, and the Security Council cannot function effectively, if its authority and standing is based on power-politics and arbitrary decision-making alone. What Hermann Hesse wrote in 1917 in his

Swiss exile, describing the prevailing attitude at the time, may still be valid today: "If perpetual peace [is] not to be had, perpetual war [is] decidedly preferred."[21]

The process of the transition toward genuine peace and security can be initiated if article 9 and the European constitutions that provide for conferring "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" on the UN are followed up and implemented.

It was Radhakrishnan who wrote:

> We must surrender a part of our sovereignty, work together for the elimination of every kind of injustice... The United Nations is the first step towards the creation of an authoritative world order. It has not got the power to enforce the rule of law... Military solutions to political problems are good for nothing. Ultimately they will leave bitterness behind... The challenge that is open to us is survival or annihilation... but what are we doing to bring about that survival? Are we prepared to surrender a fraction of our national sovereignty for the sake of a world order? Are we prepared to submit our disputes and quarrels to arbitration, to negotiation and settlement by peaceful methods? Have we set up a machinery by which peaceful changes could be easily brought about in this world? So long as we do not have it, it is no use merely talking.[22]

For all intents and purposes, it should be seriously taken into consideration that following up on article 9 is the key to achieving the purposes of the UN Charter. This probably is the reason why the Japanese have upheld the article for so long, and have preserved their Constitution unchanged since its original inception in 1946.[23]

Notes and References

1. The German Constitution's Article 24 provides for delegating sovereign powers "by law" to international organizations like the UN.
2. John Foster Dulles, *War or Peace* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 194, quoted in Mohammed Bedjaoui, *The New World Order and the Security Council, Testing the Legality of Its Acts*(Dordrecht, Boston and London: Martimus Nijhoff, 1994), p. 1.
3. Shidehara Kijuro, the pacifist post-war Prime Minister, proposed the Article to General Douglas MacArthur on January 24, 1946. Seven days later it appeared in machine-typed form, known as the MacArthur Memo.
4. Another Indian representative was Sir Jagadis C. Bose, who was replaced by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in 1931.

5. Donald Mackenzie Brown, *The Nationalist Movement: Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave* (California:University of California Press, 1970), p. 153.

6. "The Permanent International Studies Conference", *Nature*, volume 138, (28 November 1936), pp. 915–916.

7. *League of Nations—Official Journal*, 98th and 99th Sessions, December 1937, p. 988.

8. Young Radhakrishnan studied for seven years in the Tiruttani Panchayat Union School in the Tamil Nadu State, South India; the school was recently renovated and inaugurated in 2010, on September 5, his birth anniversary, which is observed as Teachers' Day in India. The school was renamed "Dr. Radhakrishnan Panchayat Union Middle School." It is also worth noting that Radhakrishnan was nominated 11 times for the Nobel Peace Prize.

9. Anupama Mohan, *Utopia and the Village in South Asian Literatures* (London:Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 190, n. 3. Gandhi's vision of panchayat self-governance is discussed in Terchek, 198-227. http://panchayat.nic.in

10. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 248.

11. Mamta Chandrashekhar, *Political and Social Change and Women in India*,(Germany: Anchor Academic Publishing, 2016), p. 118.

12. Teilhard de Chardin, *The Vision of the Past*(London: Collins, 1966)p. 63: wrote: "And this amounts to imagining, in one way or another, above the animal biosphere a human sphere, a sphere of reflection, of conscious invention, of conscious souls (the noosphere, if you will)," (original in an essay "Hominization," 1923) See also Wyndham Lewis, *America and Cosmic Man* (London :Nicholson & Watson, 1948), and Raphaël Josset, Inconscient collectif et noosphère. Du 'monde imaginal' au 'village global' (Collective Subconscious and Noosphere: From "Imaginal World" to "Global Village"), *Sociétés*, vol. no 111, no. 1, (2011), pp. 35-48.

13. In contradistinction to E.H. Carr authors David Long and Peter Wilson, Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed**,** Clarendon Press 1996, p. vii, explain the "feeling, partly brought on by recent reassessments of realism ... borne out by our research, that the 'idealists' were not as naïve in their assumptions, as simplistic in their analysis, nor as uniform in their outlook, as the received wisdom suggests." The realists' arguments seem after all not very convincing and well-founded.

14. The UN Charter is not a Constitution, but it had moved in that direction, significantly because the International Court had become part of the system, which had not been the case during the League of Nations.

15. S. Klaus Schlichtmann, Japan, "Germany and the Idea of the two Hague Peace Conferences", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2003), pp. 377-394.

16. Patrick Laughlin, Erin Hatch, Jonathan Silver, and Lee Boh, "Groups Perform Better Than the Best Individuals on Letters-to-Numbers Problems: Effects of Group Size", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 90, No. 4, (2006), pp 644-651.

17. This is what I have argued in A Draft on Security Council Reform, *Peace and Change*, vol. 24, no. 4 (October 1999), pp. 505-535.

18. Rudolf Geiger, Chapter XVII, Transitional Security Arrangements, Article 106, in Bruno Simma, Daniel Erasmus Khan, Georg Nolte, and Andreas Paulus (eds.), *The Charter of the United Nations*, *A Commentary*, Third Edition (Oxford Commentaries on International Law), 2012, Vol. II, pp. 2179-2182, fails to do justice to the Article.

19. See Second Report: The Transitional Period (February 1942), pp. 11-30, in *Building Peace*, *Reports of the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace 1939-1972*, The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1973. Notably, the REPORT does not have the seminal article by Quincy Wright, Political Conditions of the Period of Transition: Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. *International Conciliation*, no. 379, pp. 264-279. See Q. Wright's text at http://www.unfor.info/transition_text.pdf.

20. James T. Ranney, *World Peace Through Law: Replacing War with the Global Rule of Law* (London:Routledge, 2017), pp. 72-73,refers to Professor Forsberg who "outlines the international structures that would need to be put in place: 'The rule of law must be preeminent. Secondly, there could be vastly strengthened means of nonmilitary conflict resolution ... Finally, on the military side there needs to be a process by which reliance on national force ... is replaced by reliance on multinational forces' ... and envisioned a ten-year 'transitional regime' during which 'we can practice sharing power while we still maintain our own unilateral military power or our legal right to use power unilaterally'." And on p. 8, note 4, Forsberg is quoted as anticipating the "eventual transition to standing UN peace force." See also Elise Boulding and Randall Forsberg, *Abolishing War*, *Dialogue with peace scholars*, Cambridge, MA, Boston Research Center for the 21st Century, 1998, with more on the 'transitional period'.

21. "Gegen einen Frieden, der möglicherweise nicht ewig währen konnte, war man überall sehr eingenommen — wenn der ewige Friede nicht zu haben war, so zog man mit Entschiedenheit den ewigen Krieg vor." Hermann Hesse, *Krieg und Frieden. Betrachtungen zu Krieg und Politik seit 1914*, Zürich 1946, p. 30.

22. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *Towards a New World*(New Delhi and Bombay: Orient Paperbacks 1980), pp. 14, 45, 52, 135.

23. This is the idea of the "Second Article 9 Campaign" (SA-9), which is supported by a Japanese group of peace activists, founded in 2017/18 by Mikihiko Ohmori (recently sadly deceased). The "Second Article 9 Campaign" interprets the Japanese Article as a 'motion' with a program to abolish war as a sovereign right of the nation. To

achieve its purpose it should be 'seconded' in the UN General Assembly. The Campaign has received a lot of media attention in Japan and abroad. Some countries have shown interest in the idea. The Campaign has been twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. There is hope that this year's nomination may provide the Campaign with enough leverage to be able to find a country bold enough to stand up in the UN General Assembly and second the Japanese Article. To do this later may no longer be an option. Or, as Greta Thunberg said: "Doing our best is no longer good enough. We must now do the seemingly impossible."

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