Chapter – II

Review of Literature

Methodological issues are of two types. Those relating to the selection of one’s research theme, the process of evolving one’s conceptual-theoretical framework, the relationship between empirical research, concept formation and theory construction, the relationship between micro-and macro-dimensions, and the processual linkage between different aspect such as leadership, ideology, and organization constitute one set. Thus, issues relating to the boundary demarcation of movements, the differing levels of involvement in movements by a wide variety of participants, the tendency to mistake the part (one event in the long chain of a movement) for the whole, the factors which determine the scale of a movement, etc., all the which pose genuine problems to the students of on-going movements, are identified and discussed.

An important methodological issue in social science research is the problem of value. The student of social movements faces several peculiar problems in this context. First, the very perception about a ‘movement’ may very drastically across people and time. To recall a ‘movement’ may vary drastically across people and time. To recall a familiar example, what was the sepoy Mutiny in colonial historiography became the First War of Independence in nationalist historiography. While the first defined it in terms of who was involved, the second defined it in terms of what was involved. But both mistook the part for the whole in that the events of 1857 constituted just one link in the long chain of the colonial struggle.

Second, the importance accorded to a movement may be based on the perceived direct threat it poses to the establishment. Thus, the violent Naxalite movement evinced much more interest among the intelligentsia than did the non-violent Bhooden-Gramdan movement, although the agrarian poor perhaps benefited much more form the latter. It is not easy to reconcile the information from the committed follower and the virulent critic of the movement. Finally, the position of the researcher who undertakes the study of on-going movements is not enviable. His attributes and identities are at once assets and liabilities, depending upon the context in which the operates.

The internal milieu of a movement will be influenced by the ups and downs in its career. But the specific manifestations of these will depend on a wide variety of
factors. For example, the sudden demise of an all-powerful leader or the erosion of his charisma might pose the crisis of succession. On the other hand, even when a leader is alive and entrenched, an ambitious associate may pose an effective challenge to his supremacy. Often the challenge is occasioned because the leader commits fatal errors in terms of his personal life-style, or compromises on the basic goals or means of the movement. In either, the development of a faction within the movement, which might eventuate in its split, cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, it is likely that two or more collective actors sharing the same ideals combine to meet the challenge they face from a common and powerful enemy. In this process, they may fuse together to make a unified movement. That is, fission and fusion are strategies which surface in the career of movements to maintain their original purity and to augment their striking power. But movements need to maintain their stability and for this they should inculcate appropriate values in the involved individuals. Through adequate socialization, movements constantly endeavour to produce a band of committed participants who usually would identify themselves with them. Eventually, the participants would also develop a new self-definition of themselves and may become martyrs of the movements, if need be.

So, all marriages which were not celebrated according to Christian rites were invalid marriages. Mass meeting was held and Gandhi referring to Justice Searle’s judgement. With a view to broaden the base of his struggle, Gandhi concentrated mainly on the following:

(a) Abolition of Three Pound Tax,
(b) Acceptance of the legal validity of all monogamous marriages performed according to Indian rites,
(c) Retention of the rights of South Africa born Indians to enter to Cape by the reason of birth

Struggle was intensified, a number of workers were imprisoned leaders were arrested, strikes were held but throughout all this, option for compromise was kept open. The blood and iron policy of government attracted the attention of the other world. In India, Gokhale broadcast the news of these outrages from his sick bed. Even the Viceroy felt indignant and identified himself with the sentiments of the Indians. Gokhale sent C.F. Andrews and Pearson to South Africa on learning that all the persons guiding the movement had been arrested. The British pres and the secretary of
State showed sympathy with the struggle of the Indians in South Africa. As a result, the Union Government of South Africa was caught in the net of its own. A commission was appointed by the government with Justice Sir W. Soloman as its chairman to inquire into the causes of the Natal Indian strikes. The result of the negotiations was the provisional settlements which covered some of the major demands of Indians. In the meantime, the Commission of Inquiry also made certain recommendations for the removal of some of the grievances of the Indians. The Indian Relief Act was passed by the South African Parliament in pursuance of the recommendation of the Commission and provisional settlements. Although a few issues like those of locations, the Gold Law, Trade Licensing Laws, the bar on the purchase of landed property, continued yet Gandhi did not insists on the abolition of all the restrictions as satyagraha had been started with limited objectives and in that limited content, the movement was a success.

During this struggle, Gandhi’s approach to legal justice involved the following stages:

1. Identifying the discrimination problem area;
2. Educating the masses about discrimination;
3. Formulating public opinion and justifying the claim;
4. Advocating justice in equity;
5. Removing all the apprehensions of the opposite party;
6. Winning the confidence of the authorities, offering co-operation and willingness to compromise;
7. Resorting to constitutional remedies before taking any step beyond the modalities of law;
8. In case of final step resorting to satyagraha.

As the fight for justice ended in South Africa, Gandhi sailed for India and landed here in 1915. In India also, Gandhi applied the same methodology whether it was Champaran Movement, Kheda Satyagraha or Campaign against Rowlatt Act in 1919. But in India Gandhi’s activities were more of political nature. Although he had left practice in 1912 but after the first civil imprisonment in 1922, he was debarred by his Inn and would not apply for re-instatement, as he regarded himself a farmer and handicraft man.

The principal idea in Gandhi’s approach is, thus, that law shall be socially just or suffer civil disobedience. A number of pragmatic political theorists and imperative school jurisprudents have a advocated that ‘might is right’ and indeed, ought to be but
a little man in colonial country bared his bosom to the leonine violence of an Empire and declared that right has might. The moral order of cosmos is more patent than the muscular mandate of the sovereign. Society, a ‘dharmakshetra’ where the duel between good and evil is dramatized, Gandhi focused and directed his militant resistance of the deprived and depressed and inspired an insurgency of novel type for human justice. In Gandhi’s moral jurisprudence, rule of law shall not, without peril to its own life, rob its consumer, the common man, of his rights of inalienable liberties and conditions of survival which make man manly.

To break the satanic law, to make a humane law is one of the styagraha innovation. Daniel’s disregard of law of the Medes and Persian and his meek submission to penalty, Socrates preached truth as conceived by him and for that he preferred suffering punishment of death, Prahalad disregard the orders of his father being against his conscience, Mirabai’s conduct towards the circumstances in the family of her husband and then separation from her husband were all the purest form of satyagraha in their approach.

Gandhi’s approach here was to make the framers of law realise the injustice as a consequence of the law drafted by them. He first showed the evil result to the law by self suffering till the framers accepted their mistake. In Gandhi’s moral jurisprudence, law and conscience, law and humanism, law and religion did not belong to watertight compartments of human life rather these vibrate on the same wavelength. His simple answer to the rulers was to non-cooperate with them when they displease, through the weapon of satyagraha. Gandhi’s approach was developed from Thoreau’s advocacy of the essentially revolutionary principle of action based on conscience. In his way, approach to justice could not be effected only by petitions to government or by other indirect democratic means but only if each right minded individual takes direct action in his own capacity. In Thoreau’s scale, if the law by its nature, rendered one to be an agent of injustice to another then it deserved disobedience and non-cooperation. Gandhi raised the status of this doctrine on a cosmic scale and added multidimensional application.

Gandhi’s approach to justice supported the use of soul force and sacrifice of self as a method of securing rights. No doubt Gandhi advocated disobedience to law opposed to conscience and non-cooperation to the framers of law but he also stressed that non-cooperation must be ordered, disciplined and with a cooperation among non-
cooperator. He said, “but the greatest thing in the campaign of non-cooperation is to evolve order, discipline, cooperation among the people, coordination among the workers. Effective non-cooperation depends upon complete organisation.”

This is one aspect of Gandhi’s approach to legal justice, where government is on one side passing discriminatory laws and individuals or group of individuals on the opposing end. The second aspect of legal justice is legal justice between two individuals or individuals or group/groups or between two or more groups. Here also, Gandhi stuck to his basic philosophy of truth and non-violence besides other fundamentals. Insistence on truth was considered as indispensable for the practice of law and in his approach to justice. Right from the beginning of his career, he was utterly uncompromising in his attitude of rejecting all practices to earn a living in the profession of law. As such, he had a problem about functioning within the exiting norms, one such being but system.

As a student, Gandhi had learned that lawyer’s profession was a liar’s profession but when in profession, for him the central issue was whether a lawyer could remain truthful and honest and yet earn a living through the practice of law. Whatever might be the problem, Gandhi has one focus and that was not to make it a business to lie on behalf of his client. He even went out of the way to tell the truth even though it was going to course considerable damage to the cause of his client. Two famous instances of this are in:

(a) the case of cost award, and
(b) the case of Parsi Rustomji.

Gandhi insisted that the error in calculations should be admitted. The senior counsel disagreed with Gandhi. The confession was made before the Customs Officer as well as before the Attorney General. Gandhi pleaded Parsi’s case, the Parsi was scared from the ordeal of going to jail and was ordered to pay a penalty equal to twice the amount he had confessed for having smuggled.

The issue after the above two cases, before us is two fold:

(a) how far can a lawyer insist on truth on the part of the client and on his own part in the practice of law to achieve justice? and
(b) how for a lawyer can insist his client to tell the truth to himself and to the court?
Gandhi’s answer to these is that when the client is guilty, the lawyer should not take the advantage of legal lacunas to save him and when the client is right, he ought not to be proved so by false representation or in other such ways.

Two inferences can be drawn from this, that for Gandhi truth was not merely a personal demand. For him, truth was essential if law and the lawyers are to perform their function in society in regard to the court, the client and to themselves in order to attain legal justice. In this opinion, one should not resort to telling deliberate lies, tutoring witnesses, evidence and so on in order to get a particular decision. Secondly, the means used must be in consonance with the end. Right goal should not be achieved through evil means. When a person is right, he ought not to resort to unfair means to defend himself rather he should stick to his righteousness.

There is no doubt that there is bound to be a conflict between a lawyer’s duty to the court and duty to his conscience or their might be conflict between his duty to his client and his duty to his conscience, according to Gandhi duty to conscience overrides both. Gandhi not only said that the lawyer should not tell lies for the sake of either his client or for himself. He also stresses that lawyers should not take help to the legal lacunas and technicalities to secure their clients due, when he is morally certain or when he knows that clients are guilty. Gandhi wanted the law to be used to secure justice and to prevent the perpetuation or occurrence of injustice, by two means: that is truth and fair means.

Now, one can say that doctor’s duty, once he accepts someone as a patient, is to serve his patient’s interest, similarly a lawyer’s duty is to serve the interest of the person who engages him. The analogy is based upon the view that no matter whether the person is guilty or not, a lawyer must defend him so as to serve the ends of justice just as it is doctor’s duty to cure his patient in order to restore him to health. But this analogical reasoning will not do with Gandhi, as there is a difference between a doctor-patient and a lawyer-client relationship. The ends of the patient coincide with the ends of the doctor. But this is not so in lawyer-client relationship. The lawyer being an officer of the court functions to help the cause of justice, and within this framework, he is to help the cause of his client and not to help him at the cost of the framework of justice.

So, Gandhi’s insistence on truth is not a matter of personal conviction. It is a matter, which is inherent in the proper functioning of law and society and, above all, in the proper dispensation of legal justice. In Gandhi’s definition, justice is an inquiry into
truth by using fair means as to what is due to whom and who is entitled to what within the established framework, when the framework itself is not faulty or discriminatory. For Gandhi, Justice is not only confined to what is within the ambit of a legal framework rather it also covers even the dealings between a lawyer and his client relating to fees, etc. If he is not truth, he is more than ready and willing to see that the lawyer does not exploit the client any way which may lead to further litigation or if the litigation is indispensable then by charging unreasonable fee, etc. Litigation means approaching the court of law to settle a dispute. Here, the dispute is between ordinary citizens and not between the citizens on one side and the state on the other or between the two states or between two corporate entities. Though in the best of the legal systems, litigation is unavoidable but it should be avoided as far as possible because of its economic, social, and moral consequences. Gandhi, though, is against litigation but, in his opinion, the best of advocacy requires to advise clients either not to proceed or to come to an agreement rather than to keep it open with legal proceeding. For Gandhi, another reason for not resorting to litigation is to see it as ‘not moral’. People become unmanly when they resort to settle their dispute through courts. But when it is inevitable then what is to be done? Gandhi’s answer is simple: “one must suffer injustice and be happy about it.”

This brings about a secondary and dependent position Gandhi gives to law. Resort to law is nothing but helplessness and law is to function primarily for justice and not for law itself. Here, this understanding of justice and not for law itself. Here, this understanding of justice by Gandhi is quite different from what is generally conceptualised. Generally, justice is supposed to replace violence of personal conflicts or revenge and is a civilizing agent in the community, but, according to Gandhi, justice is to serve the purpose of morality, which, in turn, is in line with Gandhi’s insistence on truth in legal framework. Although it is a burden on the state to perform judicial functions in the modern kind of polity yet Gandhi was not very much in favour of this. He himself, being a trained lawyer, was aware of its basic problems. He felt that it was an expensive procedure, led to unnecessary delays and was bureaucratic. It also failed to treat human beings with dignity and considered them only as litigants or as objects in the system and there was little realisation of the human sufferings that delays led to. In other words, it was basically not sympathetic to the people, especially the poor, who fell ill at ease in the legal chambers and could ill afford hiring of expensive lawyers.
Gandhi felt that the process should be decentralised and as much of judicial work as possible should be transferred to Panchayats, i.e. of *ad hoc* arbitration tribunals, members of which are to be determined by the parties themselves. He advocated basically a new system in which the people affected would resolve their disputed themselves quickly and without being intimidated by the formal structure of the courts and the legal process. This will also help create a conductive climate, which would avoid bitterness and ill will. Only when the conflicts were of more serious nature and could not be resolved in this informal way should local courts be set-up. These would consist of men and women of integrity and enjoying people’s trust and confidence and would the dispute be settle expeditiously, possibly in one or two sittings but would also lead to permanent resolution of the basic cause of the conflict.

Gandhi severely criticized lawyers and judges and called them ‘first cousins’ as Bentham calls them’ Judges and CO.’ Gandhi says, “the legal system teaches immorality. Their interests exists in multiplying disputed. Infact Gandhi held lawyers responsible to tighten the grip of foreign government on Indian.

The object of the court is the performance of the authority of the government, which they represent. Gandhi was not of the view that lawyers should be totally out. In his opinion wherever they are required they act as social servants. Lawyers may remain but not claim any superiority for their profession. The true function of lawyers is to unite parties given asunder. Ideally, Gandhi’s doctrine of ‘Bread Labour’ demands that judges and lawyers should perform their judicial functions without any payment. They must depend for their living on some form of bread labour and serve people free.

Under the Gandhian Constitution, the scheme of Government was to be as follows.

1. First, the primary political unit was to be the village panchayat, whose members would be elected by the adults of the village. The panchayat would control Chowkidars (watchman), Patwaris (the men who kept the land and tax assessment register), Police and Schools. It would also assess and collect land revenue, supervise, cooperative farming, irrigation and interest rates as well as khadi and other village industries.

2. Secondly, above the village panchayat came a hierarchy of indirectly elected bodies. First came Taluka and District Panchayats, each comprising of the Sarpanches of the next lower Panchayats and having only advisory powers over them. Members from district Municipal Panchayats would make up the provincial panchayat, which
elect president to serve as head of the provincial government. President of Provincial Panchayats would comprise All India Panchayat. Among the responsibilities of provincial panchayat would be transport, irrigation, natural resources and a cooperative bank.

As a result, the whole system is to be based on voluntary cooperation, people’s initiative and indirectly elected bodies. This kind of panchayat system acquired great significance during non-cooperation movement when it provided an alternative to the English judicial system, settled the disputes through arbitration in order to dispense speedy justice to the parties.

Therefore, Gandhi’s conception of the revival of ancient village panchayat system with up-to-date changes was to end exploitation and the carry out functions and responsibilities with the cooperation of the villagers. Gandhi’s another way to end the concentration of wealth and riches, disparities among the constituents was the concept of Swadeshi, i.e. the concept of village self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Under this approach of Swadeshi, the whole scenario of life was inter-related and intermixed. Beside engaging himself in agriculture, the farmer family also took part in other activities like domestic spinning and the artisan also carried on agriculture for some time of the year. As a result, the basic needs were fulfilled within the village, for example, the village artisans secured locally the raw material required for their crafts, wood available from nearby cobbler. By Swadeshi, Gandhi meant to create such conditions within its own jurisdiction as are essential for creating a world order based on justice and love of mankind. His spirit lays emphasis on the production and consumption of unutilized resources in the country. He did not want that a nation should be dependent on foreign countries for her basic needs. But at the same time, he did not discard every foreign thing. He wrote, have never considered the exclusion of everything that is foreign under every conceivable circumstances as a par of Swadeshi. The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all homemade things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such us is necessary for the protection of home-industry, more especially those industries without which India will become pauperised."

This kind of interpretation has multifacet aspects. If on the one had it catered the basic needs and services to immediate neighbours, simultaneously, on the other hand, acting on the concept of global outlook with local perspective. it started with personal relationship to international interdependence. For Gandhi, the exclusion of foreign
goods was not intended as a punishment rather it was a necessity for natural existence. He said, “… I shall buy from every part of the world what is needed for my growth, but by the same token, I refuse to buy from anybody anything, however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom nature has made my first case.

It is true that we have duties to all humankind, but the duties we owe to all the segments of it are not of equal importance. There is an hierarchy of duties based on the degree of proximity. Proximity is the decisive elements in forming ties in terms of both closeness of feeling and knowledge to circumstances. Accordingly, we must start with service to neighbours. An individual’s service to his country and humanity consist in serving his neighbours. One cannot serve one’s neighbours and claim to serve one’s distant cousin in Antarctica, for one must not serve one’s distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest. Asked if a man can serve his immediate neighbour and yet serve the whole humanity, Gandhi replied that he cannot provide the services if neighbour was not itself exploitative of others. The neighbour would, in return, serve his neighbours and in this way the chain of services would be expanded to include the world, rather than shut it out.

Gandhi’s Swadeshi was mainly based upon the three principles:
- human capacity is limited;
- law of humility and love; and
- spiritual unity of human beings.

He regarded it as law of laws which required no enactment. He said, “In its ultimate and spiritual sense, Swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the soul from her earthly bondage.” Hence Gandhi’s approach to justice included creation of a society which could provide human beings an opportunity for the fullest development, a non-violent society free from all kinds of exploitation and a functional society where justice emanated from the collectivism and helped the weak equal to the strongest in terms of all efforts for well being of the society itself. Gandhi, being a practical man, knew that this is an ideal, almost impossible to be achieved but he did not stop his efforts on the way.

Cynics might rightly remind me that we should bring India into the twentieth century preferably before we redesign it for the twenty-first. Today India lives in a moral vacuum. Bold surgery is needed to treat the diseased heart of a nation which was once
great. It is a vast subject which has to be looked at politically, socially and economically. We may cast a quick glance at what may be called “The Seven Pillars of Redesigned India”. They are considered below, not necessarily in the order of importance.

The first and foremost of the seven pillars is a sense of national identity. We have not found it even after thirty-eight years of independence. We have millions of Bengalis, millions of Maharashtrains, millions of Northerners and Southerners—but very few Indians. Parochial loyalties and communal fanaticism are the order of the day. They are a sure prescription for national disintegration. The greatest enemy of India today is not Pakistan or China, but Indians themselves. No enemy can possibly weaken the country so effectively as Indians can. The defences of our democracy may be impregnable from without, but they are dangerously vulnerable from within. However, hope springs eternal in the human breast. The poets, the patriots, the prophets and the rishis—who have loved India deeply and intensely—have predicted that Indians will acquire a sense of national identity and unity in the foreseeable future. Sri Aurobindo said, “I believe firmly that a great and united future is the destiny of this nation and its people. The power that brought us thorough so much struggle and suffering to freedom, will achieve also, through whatever strife or trouble. [this] aim… as it brought us freedom, it will bring us unity. A free and united India will be there and the Mother will gather around her her sons and weld them into a single national strength in the life of great and united people.” The second pillar is the maintenance of law and order, which is the basic duty of every government. Law and order has broken down in most parts of India. In some parts, the situation is so serious that the army is in occupation, not in change. The statistics given to Parliament last year showed that on an average the army was called out in India once every four days to do some job or the other. If you have to call out the army so often, you are likely to put ideas into the heads of military officers, which ideas they had better be without. It is true that the government is on the horns of a dilemma as in a Greek tragedy: whichever way they decide, they would be wrong. If they do not call out the army, they would be unable to cope with disorder and bloodshed. If they do call out the army fairly frequently, the very survival of democracy would be endangered.

The essential point is that while we cannot avoid calling out the army, let us avoid the necessity of calling out the army. We could avoid the necessity, if we have an
efficient and honest police force. In order to have an honest and efficient police force, it is imperative that it should be fully insulated from political domination. But in reality, in most States the professional autonomy of the police force has been completely destroyed by political directives, political influences and political interferences.

The only alternative is to make the police force as autonomous as the judiciary or the auditor-general. Unless the politicization of the police is ended, the frequent resort to the army will be unavoidable. A professional and honourable police force is valuable in every society, but it is invaluable in a society like ours which is marked by three characteristics – divisiveness, indiscipline and noncooperation. Look at our divisiveness. We must have something to divide us – religion, language, caste, or whatever. If we have nothing to divide us, we would invent something which can possibly feed our devisiveness. Indiscipline is somehow ingrained in Indian character. We are all individuals, and not the citizens of a cohesive society. The way we behave with total carelessness about public property, the propensity to walk on the road rather than on the footpath, the motorist making the maximum noise with the horn in the silence zone are some the regular, maddening manifestations of our total lack of discipline. Disorderly and undisciplined conditions are fatal to development.

Non-cooperation is the other distressing feature. People love not to co-operate with the forces of law and order. When we were fighting for our freedom, non-cooperation was a valuable weapon. But the persistence if this habit after we become a republic is most reprehensible, whether it takes the form of non-payment or evasion of taxes or any other form. The third prority of a redesigned Indian had to be family planning. India can never make significant progress so long as the population keeps on increasing at the present rate. Family planning is not only desirable but amounts to a moral duty both of the Government and the people. It has been estimated that a couple at the level of subsistence must have an average of 6.3 children in order to have a reasonable chance that one son survives till the father is sixty-five years old. There is old the other unfortunate fact that in parts of India female infanticide is prevalent as a means of restricting the size of the family. There is no gainsaying the fact that the problem is fraught with enormous difficulties. However, methods—humane but firm and effective—have to be found to restrict the rise in our population. Come to the fourth pillar – education. It is closely linked to the necessity of family planning – the lowest birth rate is in Kerala where the level of education is the highest. Education is
Confucius wrote, “If you plan for a year, plant a seed. If for ten years, plant a tree. If for one hundred years, teach the people.”

Literacy is not enough. It is good to have a population which is able to read; but infinitely better to have people able to distinguish what is worth reading. Education is a subject included in the Concurrent List; but is vital that value-based education should become a national preoccupation. One self-complacency is too overpowering to permit us to entertain such a self-critical thought.

Constitutional integrity, which must be sharply distinguished from constitutional fundamentalism, may be named as the fifth pillar. While Pakistan has gone is for religious fundamentalism, India’s besetting sin is secular fundamentalism. We interpret our Constitution as if it were an exercise in grammar. We are intelligent enough to know full well that we are abusing and mocking at the Constitution by merely construing it literally – e.g. when issuing ordinances, or when the Centre dismisses Governors or governments of states. But we are so lacking in intellectual integrity that we pretend to have complied with the Constitution.

The sixth column of a redesigned India be egalitarianism. Fecund egalitarianism is in sharp contrast to the moss-grown, outworn creed of socialism. I wish India would be the first country in the world to call itself not socialist but egalitarian. We are in desperate need of a new route-map. Today India is the poorhouse of Asia; it can, an should, become the powerhouse of the continent. When a country is bumping along the bottom, there are only two ways to make the economy buoyant-change the policy and change the policy. While ideological socialism is within the reach of any fifth-rate politician, the translation of egalitarianism into action demands intellect and knowledge, character and dedication, of a very high order.

The late Mr. G.D. Birla once said, “I am interested in anything that creates more wealth, more employment. “Socially responsible business” may be termed the seventh pillar of a redesigned Indian. What a transformation one could effect in this country if only business houses were socially responsible! As Vinoba Bhave pointed out to a group of businessmen some years ago, in ancient Indian society the businessman was looked upon with respect for many centuries. He was considered to be next only to the king. The kind was known as Shahenshah while the businessman was known as Shah. People confidently left their property with the businessman, when they went for a yatra (pilgrimage). If they died, they were confident that the businessman would
make a fair distribution among the heirs. If they returned, they were equally confident that the businessman could be trusted to return safely all their properties.

Today the malpractices of many businessmen have made society hostile to the class. Let the business community try to recapture that image to honour and integrity which made the trader the repository of implicit public confidence in centuries past.

This is the gripping of a man who worked his way up from scratch to vertiginous heights. A displaced person, who had lost practically everything, rose to become a first-generation entrepreneur with the second largest industrial complex to his credit. Hari Nanda has chosen his parents wisely. His father has an irrepressible spirit of adventure and an inexhaustible fund of good humour; and the eldest child inherited these qualities in his genes. Unfortunately, the father knew as much of ill-luck as Hari was ordained to know of good fortune. It is an absorbing saga, filled to the brim with human interest. The book is marked by candour, veracity and sincerity, and with malice to none. It should serve as a source of encouragement and inspiration to those who are the threshold of their careers and to whom the India of tomorrow belongs.

The historical importance of this autobiography is considerable. One of the builders of a new democracy out of an old nation tells the tale in his own words. The serried, kaleidoscopic changes follow in quick succession. The inhumanity and the mindless horrors of the Partition. The refugee – his faith and courage inviolate – determined to play his part in the land which gave him refuge. The urge to become a surge. Tractorloads of destiny’s favours in an unending caravan. Over the decades, well-deserved tributes have been paid to Hari Nanda and his achievements. High honours came to him thick and fast from home and abroad. The unknown refugee was rubbing shoulders on equal terms with the greats of the world.

“And one man in his time plays parts”. Hari Nanda once ventured into the mired and treacherous field of politics. He lost the election at Gurgaon/Faridabad so dismally that he had to forfeit his deposit. This tells you more about the common voter’s aversion to meritocracy than about Hari’s own fitness to be a lawmaker. He began to understand the psychology of the “mass man”, a malleable class of people, unthinking and easily exploited. As Bryce remarked, the greatest drawback of democracy is its tendency to throw mediocrity into power.

After his defeat, Hari Nanda adopted several villagers in his erstwhile constituency and upgraded their infrastructure. He gave them improved roads,
sanitation, and medical centres; he planted trees and dug tubewells. In short, after he lost he did all the things that politicians piously promise when seeking election and invariably forget after they win.

The raid on Hari Nanda’s residence and offices, and the Caparo incident, provide two of the most disgraceful examples of the raw abuse of power, which must make every Indian hold down his head in shame. The section on Caparo – THE F(R)IGHT OF HARI’S LIFE – deserves the close attention of every student of public administration and public ethics. The only way to preserve democracy, said James Reston, is to raise hell about its shortcomings. The Caparo episode is a disgusting chapter in the history of our public financial institutions. If affords a striking illustration of the depths of degradation and favouritism to which India’s public life had fallen: the arrogance of power, the shameless servility of the bureaucracy, the spinelessness of the shameless servility of the bureaucracy, the spinelessness of the spectators (the Indian business community) who knew what was right but did what was wrong. Only the press stood up courageously for the basic norms of decency in our public life. It was one man who suffered the onslaught of the entire governmental apparatus, and still remained unbowed and unsubdued. Strength comes as naturally to the strong as weakness comes to the weak. Hari Nanda had the inner strength, the courage never to submit or yield: the tiny yet searing flame which no Niagara of oppression, no dereliction of duty by those in authority, no miscarriage of justice, could ever extinguish. In the end, it was the victory of that one man over overwhelming odds.

The most lasting and valuable contributions of Hari Nanda have been prompted by his enlightened awareness of social responsibility both to his employees and to the community at large. You give back to the people in time, energy and care a part of what you have received from them. “Escorts’ bottom line is not profits,” says Hari, and even the most sceptical and unsympathetic of his readers will agree. If he had done nothing but founded the Escorts Employees Ancillaries Ltd., a historic venture in industrial democracy, and the Escorts Heart Institute and Research Centre, the finest institute of its kind in India, he would have deserved the lasting gratitude of the nation.

“No man lives life so wise

But unto time he throws

Morsels to hunger for
At his life’s close.”

In the price of their success is neglect of their closest and dearest. The majority are insensitive to the enormity of the price. But Hari, a fine human being, is one of the few to whom this consciousness has come home in the evening of his life. His self-effacing helpmeet, Raj passed away two years ago. As the casts a longing, lingering look behind, his wisdom aerates.

This warm-hearted man looks back on the tumultuous years gathered to the past – 75 crowded years of adventure and enterprise – and singles out friendship as his enduring treasure.

From quiet homes and first beginning,
Out to the undiscovered ends,
There’s nothing worth the wear of winning,
But laughter and the love of friends.
So, read on…..

Role of Social Service in Society

I think the word “Talk” would be preferable to “Oration”. A talk can be serious, but an oration is usually solemn.

In seven years’ time we shall reach not only the end of the decade, not only the end of the century later the history of our times comes to be written, the twentieth century will be referred to as the Age of Compassion and Social Service. The awakening of the heart is reflected in the worldwide urge to activize character, to channelize service, and to institutionalize fellowship. Today there are more organizations dedicated to social service than ever before. In this century we have seen the birth of private global movements like the Rotary International, the Lions International, and the Giants International which strive to live up to the ideal of human unity.

Even communism and socialism, though totally misguided in their methods, had their roots in compassion for the poor and in the ideal of a just and fair society. They strove to give fair deal to

the ranker, the tramp of the road,
The slave with the sack on his shoulders
picked on with the goad,
The man with too weighty a burden,
too weary a load.

Social service is the offspring of compassion and of love, when it is not rooted in self-advertisement.

Mother Teresa in her Acceptance Speech at Oslo in 1979, on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, said “Humanitarian service brings peace to the heart.” In that Address, the Mother related two stories which deserve to be etched on our memories:

The Mother gave a bowl of rice to a Hindu beggar woman with eight children. The beggar said she would like to excuse herself for five minutes. She went and gave a part of the rice to a Muslim woman whose children were also starving. Such is the harmony and goodwill among the common people of India.

There are two types of people in the world: those who expect the political system to produce humanity and care, and those who practise humanity and care knowing that one distant day it will produce the system. Those who rely upon the government to alleviate the miseries of the people are indulging in a pipe dream.

It is typical of the sloppy individual that he expects in his neighbour the standard of behaviour which he will not impose attitude of the self-centred man at time of invasion, are worth recalling:

“I was playing golf the day
The Germans landed.
All our soldiers ran away,
All our ships were stranded;
And the sense of England’s shame
Nearly put me off my game.”

Character is integrity plus altruism. Fame is a vapour; popularity an accident; riches take wings; and those who cheer you today will curse you tomorrow. Only one thing endures – character.

Business has four great advantages in the field of social service. It can give leadership, can supply organization, can marshal human resources, and provide financial support. This represents the attractive face of capitalism. The nation needs to
have men in business without a mercenary outlook- those who are as keen to add to
gross national happiness as to gross national product.

**Democracy or Boobocracy?**

There is a strong case for recalling – periodically, soberly and sombrely – events that
the have been gathered to the past and have become increasing distant, remote and
forgotten. Nations which do not remember their past are condemned to repeat it.
Fernand Braudel, the French historian, said that history is like a river. On the surface
is flows rapidly and disappears; but down below there is a deep stream which moves
more slowly and does not change quickly but is the more important level because it
drives the whole river. The crowded years of this century have been momentous. The
rapid flow on the surface has been sinking daily into oblivion. But *The Times of India*
also mirrored the deep stream below as it flowed silently each night. Here are
gathered those reflections in the mirror which are of more than evanescent interest.

The panorama extends over eighty years. The first forty years (pre-independence) represent the period when India rightly asserted that good government is no substitute for self-government. In the last forty years, thinking India became equally conscious that self-government is no substitute for good government. H.L. Mencken described American democracy as a “boobocracy” of, by and for the “vast herd of human blanks” who have neither the interest nor the capacity for intelligent self-government. This style of expression is both impolitic and impolite. But as you thumb through these pages and see how government after government succumbed to populism when what the country needed what is impolite and impolitic has to be said in a country whose national motto is “Truth Shall Prevail”. A story of deep human interest is compacted and telescoped within the covers of the book. Each piece has the special imprint of the author’s style. Here are movers of people, mobilizers of opinion, dealing with events which have helped to shape history and mould the future. They write for a country which can launch a medium range ballistic missile but where forty million families do not have a steady income; a country where, in the late Dr. H. D. Sankalia’s words, “the past lies with the present”.

“Footfalls echo in the memory… “The evocative flavours and colours of times past, the concerns of the moment and the concerns that will not go away, are all arrayed here. The story of resilience and endurance, and of what is truly vital when
life is pared down to its essence. The pattern of alternation, the ebb and flow of human history. The saga of wars – the hell where youth and laughter go. The death of Stalin – recalled without regret in these heady days of glasnost and perestroika. The brief, unhappy interlude of the Chinese war. Ephemeral political upheavals which had once loomed so large and then shrunk to insignificance. The problems of going nuclear. Communal tensions leading to the partition of India and its unending backlash. Violence and fanaticism, fundamentalism and belief in the single truth. The dread night of the Emergency when freedom was measured out with coffee spoons. A nation with an imperishable heritage, but still in search of its national identity. The sleeping sickness of theological socialism afflicting a country rich by nature but poor by policy.

The pitiless lesson is, what taught two thousand years ago, that “there is no new thing under the sun”. The problems of today have been with us all through the corridors of decades. Poverty and unemployment have haunted India continuously within living memory. The cities may now be dotted with pockets of enormous affluence, but the lot of the small farmer, the rural labourer, remains unchanged:

This has been done as part of an effort to improve our understanding of the idea of indigenous models of social development in conjunction with attempting to improve the applicability of social work as a profession in the development science. The Social Work professional in an attempt to improve the social functioning of individuals, groups and communities is obviously concerned with social development in all its spheres including the planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation. It is believed that the various methods of working with people used in the social work profession consist of the ways of bringing about growth and development in local communities and the Gandhian philosophical base is being examined in this paper to evolve, if possible, a unified approach towards Gandhian philosophy of social development.

THE PREMISE OF GANDHIAN INDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

It is believed that any discussion on Gandhian ideology and practice must precede with an analysis of two basic assumption which may be considered crucial to understanding of Gandhian approach to social development. These are:
firstly, in relation to individual, society and state, Gandhi considered the individual as the pivot of all social concerns and secondly, moral progress was accorded a higher place than economic progress under Gandhian ideology.

Gandhi maintained that since the individual is superior to a system alleviation of his suffering should be the central focus of all developmental efforts. He believed that once the individual is perfected, his sufferings alleviated, the society will acquire an enlightened state of perfection, called ‘Ram Rajya’. Gandhi’s concept of individual perfection does not confine to a state of utmost comfort and happiness by acquisition of material benefits to an individual but also extends to achievement of moral and ethical standards (non-material culture) in one’s life. Thus, a bias towards non-material progress was central to Gandhi’s view of development. The whole concept of social development under Gandhian ideology is based upon emphasizing investment in man in terms of restoration of human and ethical values. In other words, any change in the material culture of the society has to be preceded by change in the human being concerned in his heart, in his mind and, in his attitude towards one another and towards the social fabric which included collection of individuals or groups at the level of the society or the nation as a whole.

THE APPROACH

The Gandhian approach to social development has been distinguished by its holistic perspective in the sense that various facets or aspects of human life are not to be treated as unrelated compartments and that these can never be tackled in an isolated way. In his opinion, human life is an integral whole and any change in human being that is being induced, manipulated or planned, will, obviously, involve enforcements at many corresponding points. Viewed in this context, he longed very much for the basic changes in the country’s policies and programmes emphasizing upon all aspects of individual, social and national life. Further, Gandhi was in favour of a development strategy which calls for wide-spread distribution of material benefits reaching every individual including the lowliest and the humblest member of the society. He maintained that these benefits should be aimed, not for raising any further one’s status or standards but for uplifting the poorest of the poor, called the ‘daridranarayan’, a Hindi word the used to humanize the God, who appear in the
form of the poor people. Drawing his conclusion from Rushin’s ‘Unto This Last’ he was very much concerned with reducing socio-economic disparities in the society.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK ORGANIZATION- A HISTORICAL NECESSITY

When Gandhi appeared on the national scene, many social evils has crept in the life of the people in our society. The socio-cultural institutions which had stood the test of the time through several centuries, started showing symptoms of breakdown. To add to the impending collapse, there came the British rule of about two hundred years in India. And thus there was an urgent need for adopting programmes which would not only help in amelioration of specific social evils but also in an attempt to achieve a state of physical, mental and social well-being of the members of Indian society. A series of social reform movements were launched during eighteenth centuries and some of them did succeed to reach ‘intended groups’ of people at certain levels yet none of them had succeeded in inducing changes at mass level. It was true that some of the reforms had made dent in arousing consciousness among the urban middle or the educated class of people yet their fruits confined to only limited perspectives. Inspired by the spirit of social, economic and political resurgence, Gandhi’s aim was to lay the foundation of a ‘sarvodaya society’ which meant; ‘the good of the creed of ‘reform’ of individuals or groups to the concept of ‘development’, calling upon the masses to participate in nation-wide struggle for socio-economic and political emancipation.

Viewed in this context, Gandhi formulated constructive work programmes on different aspects of national life. Although these contained ‘eighteen point’, there was nothing rigid about the number and nature of activities. The essential component in these programmes centred around adoption of ‘fundamentally non-violent means’, by which the strength and will of the people was sought to be generated and sharpened. Gandhi felt that the involvement of constructive organization would serve two basic purposes. Firstly, these programmes would substitute dependence on government for socio-economic development with reliance on people themselves and secondly, voluntary organization because of their dedicated services would be able to win the support and sympathy of all sections of the society and thus would help in creation of necessary climate for socio-economic development of the people.
This political context of the constructive work programme was also not far to seek. It was felt that if the programmes, done effectively, should enable people to be aware of new horizons in their own strength and power. This awareness in various sections of society would hasten the process of social development and the need and motivation for constructive work movement would permeate the body politic of the country. He had advised the constructive workers that “their duty was to forge ahead, remove in a co-operative spirit the obstacles in the Government’s path and mould the country’s politics by building up by constructive work the power of non-violence among the masses”. Thus, it may be of interest to emphasize that Gandhi’s constructive work programme came closer to many popular concepts of Professional Social Work minus the ‘political stimuli’ that the programmes was possessed with as part of the national movement. The political stimuli of Gandhi’s constructive work programme should, however, be not equated with obtaining merely the political freedom for the masses but in the background of a socio-ethical movement to supply the dynamic for the urge for social development. “Gandhi conceived of his revolution not in terms of political action but of social action : that is to say in terms of revolution by constructive social work. As far as the context of Social Service (Lok Seva) of Gandhian variant is concerned, it meant nothing less than the social, moral and economic independence of the people of India”. The concept of ‘help’ did not exist in constructive work terminology. The word there was ‘service’. About different forms of service it ranged from personal service to the service of entire community.

As Louius Fischer pointed out in his famous treatise “Life of Mahatma Gandhi” the years 1924-28 were of special significance to Gandhi as he devoted himself almost entirely to constructive work movement. It seemed that the question of foreign rule appeared irrelevant to him during this period. Under his guidance, the All India Spinners’ Association was formed in the year 1925 to push forward the ‘instrument of salvation’ –the spinning wheel. The other specialized agencies under which the constructive work activities were carried out included : All India Village Industries, Hind-Kusht Nivaran Sangh, Adim Jati-Sangh, etc. Preparation and equipment of personnel for various aspects of constructive work had received important consideration alongwith its formulation and expansion. Inculcation of attitude of service coupled with conduct of personal life and appropriate skills of
methods of working with people was emphasized in Gandhi’s idea of development work. Ashram institutions were established to prepare the personnel for the development activities to be pursued in constructive work movement. An ashram, placed under the charge of a person acting as its leader and possessing a father image for the trainees was required to inspire a community life based on the well-known eleven vows. They were as follows: Truth (Satya), Non-violence, continuance, non-possession (aparigraha), control of palate, non-stealing, fearlessness, removal of untouchability, bread labour, equality of different religions and the use of home-made goods. The workers were expected to engage in productive as well as educational activity and to undertake in the surrounding cluster of villages the social development activities. The famous organization, such as Charkha Sangh, Gramodyog Sangh, Talimi Sangh and Kasturba Sangh, which were founded by Gandhi, undertook the training activities for the personnel to be engaged in the social development work. Building of service attitudes and personnel to be engaged in the social development work. Building of service attitudes and democratic functioning, practising skills of productive work, understanding of new social order based on Gandhian principles, studying nature and composition of rural problems and undertaking activities with regard to community cleanliness, community kitchen, inter-religion worship, etc. formed part of the common core of the training programme for these personnel to engage in socio-economic development on Gandhian lines and ideology. The emphasis was largely on developing a cluster of villages to function as laboratory units for the workers under training. In course of the experiences of social development work, the earlier courses of imparting training to the workers underwent modification to give shape to Gandhi’s concept of Samagra Gram Seva (Comprehensive Village Service). Most of these training course developed into units emphasizing a science of methodology and technique rather than merely undertaking practicing skills of some craft or an industry. It may be of interest to note that some of the institutions and organisation, such as Sarva Seva Sangh, Khadi and Village Industries Board and Shanti Sena engaged in post-Gandhian development work inherited and crystallized the Gandhian principles and objectives laid under the constructive work which meant: “not merely to solve a particular problem.

**THE CONCEPT OF SWADESHI AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**
The discussion on tracing roots of Gandhi’s philosophy on social development leads us to yet another important concept, called Swadeshi which was included by him in the list of eleven vows for the development workers. Last of the vows emphasized the use of home made goods or swadeshi which represent a movement towards developing one’s ownself and thus reducing dependence on others. Using Swadeshi as an ‘umbrella term’ Gandhi emphasized it in economic, cultural, social and political dimensions. In this opinion, the concept of Swadeshi would promote decentralized planning as principally it implied dependence on the goods produced in one’s neighbourhood rather than in remote areas. Besides, it included non-possession or voluntary poverty, simplicity in life, and resource conservation. For various reasons, Gandhi believed that in order to humanize the process of development, it has to be indigenous, holistic and culturally rooted. Equating the concept of ‘Swadeshi’ with his one of the important principles, i.e., ‘Ahimsa’ Gandhi called upon the political leaders to wear Khaddar (Khadi) “not only because there were possibilities of deception in the manufacture of mill clothes (whether they were manufactured in Manchester or India) but also because violence was involved in the method of manufacture with the use of fire (excessive) which caused enormous destruction of life and killed many labourers before their time”. Thus, the use of foreign goods was not inconsistent with his concept of non-violence. At the latent level, the Swadeshi movement helps in the growth of cottage industry and circulation of self employed workers, alongwith becoming symbols of nationalism and patriotic sentiments. The spinning wheel became a symbol of liberation from poverty and an emblem in the national movement. Sunil Sahasrabudhey said : “In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi talks of the handloom, which is later replaced by Charkha, a very definitive concept. And we find that use of Charkha is advocated on two grounds. One, the economic need of the people and the unemployment due to British invasion in industry could partly ameliorated. And the other is that it is Swadeshi that it breeds love, humility and cooperation. And it is worth noting that the first type of argument is sparse and the second type simply dominates”. The idea of spinning wheel was linked with the process of decentralization. Gandhi wanted every village to become ‘self-autonomous’ capable of producing enough to meet its own requirements and then to have little surplus as a contribution to the requirement of cities.

INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION- A DISEASED GROWTH
Gandhi found a definite relationship between industrial-urban concentrated growth, Lopsided development and social problems. In understanding the twin problems of poverty and inequality, one has to examine the development process as whole. By the same token developmental clues in Gandhi’s writings was found in the context of his overall denunciation of modern industrial civilization. A strong current against the modern industrial civilization in Gandhi’s though can be found in the valuable compilation of his writings by R.K. Prabhu under the title ‘Industrialize and Perish.’ As early as 1909 he had noted in Hind Swaraj that “it would be folly to assume that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than the American Rockefeller”, and hence he characterized the modern Civilization based on industrial growth and development, ‘a disease’. Challenging Nehru’s claim that public ownership would be free of the evils of exploitative aspect of industrialization of the idea of the capitalist world, Gandhi remarked in the year 1940 : My own view in that the evils are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialization can eradicate them”. Should India industrialize, Gandhi remarkably wrote in Young India of 20\textsuperscript{th} December 1928 “God forbid that India should ever take to industrialization after the manner of the West. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island Kingdom (England) is today keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 million took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts”.

Viewed in this context, Gandhiji believed that large scale industrialization or mass-production was positively harmful and therefore, cottage industries should be organized as these unit would not only increase the solidarity of the family by encouraging a domestic mode of production, but would offer an opportunity to every Indian to contribute towards the nation’s economy.

A BIAS TOWARDS RURAL BASED DEVELOPMENT

In the Gandhian conception of social development, the village was attributed as central place as the believed that 7,00,000 villages constituted the real India. A bias towards urban-industrial development was recognised by him as institution of one-sided exploitation of rural society. In 1946 he expressed this with explicit alacrity : “The blood of the village is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built”.

On an earlier occasion, addressing a gathering at Indore, Gandhi warned: “We are setting in this fine pandal under a blaze of electric lights, but we do not know we are burning these lights at the expense of the poor.” The rural-urban contradiction in the Gandhian though was based on the foundations of ecological exploitation as he believed that the development components that means for reaching the villages were often thwarted from reaching there by the economic forces of the urban-industrial development, depriving the rural community of their traditional rights of access and use. Thus, Gandhi expressed his bias towards rural based development as, in his opinion, it represented the characteristic edifice of his scheme of social reconstruction. In the Gandhian conception of an ideal society, every unit among the innumerable villages was contained in the bigger one with a functional ties and bonds in which every unit was fully integrated with rest ones, where the individual, being the centre of the development activities, was ready to sacrifice for the village, the village for the circle of villages and so on. In explaining the relationship between the individual, villages and innumerable villages on the one side and the moral fabric of the society that finds roots in voluntary readiness for sacrifice helped Gandhi in evolving his famous principle of ‘ocean inc circle’. To quote him: “In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, over ascending circles. Life will not by pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the circle of the villages, till at last the whole become one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units. Therefore, the outmost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its strength from it… No… one…. (will) be the first and none the last”.

Gandhi held that it was the task of developmentalists to be concerned with promotion of participation and release of creative energy of the rural people, and carefully husband the natural resources available there to sustain the agrarian-based growth. Ant rightly to be, so many of his specific recommendations revealed through his innumerable discourses and writings, have recently been well-received especially by environmental developmentalists, in areas related to village management of forests, resource conservation and recycling, superiority of organic manure, etc.
SPIRITUAL CONTENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Gandhi emphasized upon the spiritual nature of man as basis for social development. He felt that body and mind are prone to change and the only changeless from is the man’s spirit. In ascribing an important place to spirituality in social development he is, however, more on ethical and moral norms than on religion. Spiritualism was increasingly used as a technique and tool of constructive work in re-fashioning the prayer meeting, emphasizing mantras and vows for constructive workers. He did not, however, undermine, but increasingly recognized the role that science-social and psychological, could play in expediting the process of social development and consequently he stressed the need for inculcation of scientific insight of the workers into the social and psychological aspects of human life. The Gandhian concept of social development would look to spiritual nature of man as the main key to the unfoldment of his potentialities of growth.

It may be interesting to note that Gandhi is now not alone to have spoken of the spiritual nature of man. Some of the studies, particularly in social work education that have come is U.S.A. in sixties and seventies emphasized upon man’s spiritual nature. To quota the remarks made in one of such studies: “Man is a physiological, intellectual, emotional, cultural, social and spiritual being. All these aspects much be understood in order to understand the whole person as revealed in his social functioning”. Another publication entitled ‘Religious Content in Social Work Education’ under the auspices of Council of Social Work Education, U.S.A., has found the spiritual content of man as important conception in Social Work Education. Miss Cameron, one of the contributors to this publication, writes: “We still have much to learn about all aspects of man’s nature including the spiritual.” Back to the India scene the new orientation of the concept of spirituality, alongwith that of science inspired Vinoba to design his prayers in Sarvodaya organisations and institutions. Thus, it may be noted that the spiritual content of social development has found recognition not only in Gandhian thought but also in Indian and American literature published in the fields of social action and administration.

THE CONCEPT OF LOKA SHAKTI AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Gandhi realized that the basic task in reconstruction of the Indian society is to bring back the dynamism of the society. Thus, equating the concept of social development with concerted social action, he emphasized upon the use of techniques and methods designed to enable the individuals, groups and communities to solve their problems through collective and cooperative endeavour with an overall aim to cast the society in a new mould and to end socio-economic disparities. The concerted social action in this respect will not merely help the people to adjust themselves to the needs and requirements of a changing society but also, if needed, to re-structure to social fabric enabling the members to have a more happy and satisfying life. Such a situation generally implies development of groups and communities through education, through service and through participating in their lives and activate them. It is in this context the concept of Loka Shakti was formulated by Gandhi which was further developed by Vinoba.

In the Gandhian perspective, there will be mainly three different ways to use the word, Loka Shakti. In the first sense, loka shakti may be used as a voluntary, collective endeavour of masses in order to arouse the level of their consciousness about their problems and solutions. In its second sense, loka shakti may be used to build up people’s capacities to resist any wrong or to resist any authority when it is abused, or to fight the evil forces-social and economic. The third concept of loka shakti looks for mobilization of people’s power to bring about changes in institutions or social situations in which people find themselves dissatisfied and exploited. As noted above, Vinoba further developed the concept of Lok Shakti, adding the fourth dimension to the above said three sub-concepts. Vinoba strongly believed that if people did not become a reckoned force to make themselves self governing on political front, the real Loka Shakti would remain only an ideal to be cherished. Viewed in this perspective, he developed the concept in the form of a political institution, enjoining upon every member of the community to participate actively in management of the political affairs. Vinoba termed this dimension as Loka Niti. In Sarvodaya terminology, Loka Niti implied Gram Raj or Nagar Raj based on the ideals of ‘part-less democracy’ and of ‘whithering of the state’ in which the state shall to reduce its area of decision making to allow nurturing of people’s capacity to manage their own affairs, in the sense Lenin emphasized the principle of ‘management of things by men and not men by men’. From the nature of the goals and from the
concept of Loka Shakti in its fourth dimension, called Loka Niti in the Sarvodaya terminology, it is implicit that a major part is to be played by masses themselves and the role assigned to the Rajya Shakti in the task of development is minor one.

TOWARDS A UNIFIED APPROACH TO GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

As all academic exercises try and draw some logical conclusions, the question remains whether Gandhi has any message to social developmental sits of today. In other words, was Gandhi himself, a social developmentalist? Here, we must take into account two basic references. Firstly, Gandhi was not a systematic thinker who offered a unified and consistent social philosophy, instead his ideas should be considered as contextual response to socio-economic and political questions relevant to those days. Secondly, it was inappropriate to expect Gandhi to have used the modern ‘phrases’ or idioms’ or ‘terminologies’ considered crucial to satisfy the social developmentalists of today. With these observations in view, we can legitimately ask- does the vocabulary or premise of Gandhism thought offer any philosophy of social development?

At the time of Gandhi centenary celebrations in the year 1969, the noted historian Nihar Ranjan Ray had remarked sorrowfully : “The Gandhian way of life has been obliged to confine itself in a handful of workers in half a dozen voluntary organization”. A decade later Gandhi and his thought started influencing, though marginally, the policy makers and planners of Indian Union. Jayaprakash Marayan outlined his ‘total revolution’ on the premise of Gandhian ideology and thinking. Contemporary social movements in constructive work had been significantly influenced by Gandhi. But this renewal of Gandhian social movements is most visible in the environmental movements led Baba Amte, Chandi Prasad Bhatt and Sunderlal Bahuguna. In heavily on Gandhian methods of hunger fast (bhokh hartal), the walking tour (padyatra) & non-violent protest (Satyagraha), these leaders have acknowledged their allegiance and debt to Gandhian thought and ideology. Following Gandhi’s emphasis on simple technology, the scientists of today are becoming more and more critic of the dehumanizing character of modern industrialization.
There is, then, more than little evidence to justify the claims of many developmentalists that their own work lies in direct conformity with Gandhi’s and that his ideas can be taken up for consideration as the basis for application of an indigenous social development methodology. In Gandhian terminology, the individual ‘self’, is reckoned as the basic of all efforts taken towards achieving the increased social functioning of the society. The concern for social development work will grow out of a basic conviction about the need for social change and an instinctive respect for the common man as well as from the ultimate dissociation of the worker from the system in which he operates. In tailoring programmes of development, the catalyst bodies will have to draw mainly from the tradition and culture of the region as also from science and technology. It only explains that the various programmes tailored by the catalyst bodies should provide and unique dovetailing of religion and spirituality on the one hand and of the operational content on the other. The programmes of social development in micro area should possess the obvious link with the overall national goals of social reconstruction. The workers of small communities should have a ‘feel’ of working for a bigger goal. He will disappear from the scene when the desired activities from the basis for the people to come together and take upon the organization themselves. Accordingly, Gandhi had recommended, in what has now come to be known as his ‘last will and testament’, the dissolution of the congress party so that it could in the new set-up, flower into a ‘Loka Sevak Sangh’ or a ‘People’s Servants Society’ and devote its whole time to social development activities. With a view to transferring the onus of development of local community on communities themselves, the growth of the spirit of self-help in considered essential in all the programmes of social development in Gandhian ideology. Planning for village democracy (Loka Niti) and programmes of self-help shall be aligned with development of village organisations and village leadership. The catalyst bodies should not only concentrate on the development of productive capacities of the local population but also on changing its attitudes, beliefs and social relations. This urge for synthesis between material and non-material culture is a land-mark of the Gandhian philosophy of social development. To the armory of traditional and well-known methods-called the community organization, group work and extension services, the Gandhian methods of social development seeks to add Satyagrah, or direct non-violent social action as new innovative methods for the implementation of social development programmes, especially designed for the problems of weaker sections
and lowly placed members of the society. It may be noted that all through the phase of adoption of the non-violent social action as method of implementation of any particular programme the channels of communication between the catalyst body and the local vested interests who often stand between them and the clientele have not to be de-linked. The struggle orientation of the ‘methods’ for social development is thus a contribution of the Gandhian ideology. Conclusively, it can be said that under the Gandhian philosophy of social development, the local level democracy is the training ground for the vast masses in the spirit of ‘Swaraj’ i.e., the capacity of self-rule and in this view the growing unrests and awakening of the people at the lower levels should be channelized into a positive force (Loka Shakti) for reconstruction at the grass-roots by building up the new and activising the existing local institutions, coupled with harnessing of local dedicated, forward looking, and mass-oriented leadership which should be capable of relating the national goals to the local milieu by active consideration of micro level needs, problems and requirements in a national perspective. To reiterate, the Gandhian philosophy of social development cannot be better explained than by the remarks of Tagore who had said: “I am thankful that I am not one of the wheels of power but I am one amongst those crushed by it”. Gandhi was clearly a step ahead to Tagore. he would in instead, favour curbing the wheels of power and not become part of those who are crushed by it.

**Conflict and Society**

Society is a system of social relationships. It is the multitude of interaction of human beings. These social relationship are not of the same kind. Some of them are simple are simple and some complex, some are permanent and some temporary. These relationship include behaviour, customs, models of operation, authority, assistance and other types of relation: man is social being. His very existence and development is only possible in the society. He has to establish relation with other members of society for fulfillment his own needs. These relations, leading to mutual behaviour, become progressively complex and takes on the form of usage and custom through which each new generation comes into possession of definite patterns of behaviour. These customs are so important in the social life of man that they are the determinants of the actions of individual members of society, in respect habits, marriage, festivals, educations, rituals, behavior and what not. The differences discernible between the members of two different societies can be ascribed to differences in respect of various usages and customs. Maclver has stated that in
American society the basis of custom is not law, but general agreement on the part of the public. Principles of good behaviour are determined with reference to custom and not by law. However, because of their divergence, customs in different societies vary to widely that an action looked upon as commendable and laudable in one society can even be condemned in another. Nevertheless, each society strives to uphold its own customs and organises the life of society in accordance with them.

Model of action or procedures appear to be the second element in the organisation of society. It may be asserted that Maclver has used the word procedures for institutions like marriages, inheritance, education, religious beliefs, political parties, etc. which indispensable for any society.

As an essential element of society, authority is indicative of the relation regulating or controlling the related individuals or classes in such a way that a sense of respect, faith and subordination towards the other is established. Inevitable inequality is found in every society in some form or the other. In the family, race, status and roles and many other things the members of society enjoy different prerogatives consequent upon which is an inequality in their social position. This inequality is invariably present in society. This inequality and authority is as much evident today in the relations between industrialists and labourers as it was in the relations between the landlords and serfs, masters and slaves in the ancient days. Even in communist countries there is a vast difference between the rulers and the ruled. In real terms, as an organisational pre-requisite in society, the system of authority is properly distributed in the modern society. Allocation of authority, in very society, is made on the basis of some specific conditions which determine social relationships of the people.

However, social inequality does not isolate people altogether. Rather it makes them interdependent. It provides them with mutual assistance and establishes mutual relationships. People possessing diverse characteristics often assume complementary roles. Even people of opposite sexes establish more intense and intimate relations than individuals of the same sex by fulfilling the deficiency of each other. In the like manner people in possession of different level of income, status, wealth, education, etc. help and assist each other. Mutual assistance has got major significance in social relations. People having the same interest and objectives are grouped together and achieve their objectives through mutual assistance on the basis of the assistance human civilization and culture develop. It is the assistance which gives birth to the
individual and nourishes and develops him. Thus, one finds many groups and division in each society. The groups may be natural or voluntarily constituted keeping in view some specific objectives. However, for the development of social life, both primary groups like trade unions, labour union, etc. are extremely important. Organisation and system in society are dependent upon them. That apart, groups may be constituted according to geographic divisions as well. In this way the human beings are divided into countries, provinces, districts, villages, etc. Apart from groups, the human social systems are also categorised into various classes according to heritage, wealth, social status, etc. Thus, groups and classes constitute various parts of the social organisation.

Man’s social life is not free from regulation. It cannot progress properly without control over behaviour. In society and individual cannot behave just in the manner he wishes because he has to bear in mind the consequences of his actions upon other people. In order to bring the individual to the right path, the society has to exercise to bring the individual to the right path, the society has to exercise certain restrictions upon the individuals. This control of human behaviour is exercised through traditions, mores, folkways, taboos, laws and norms. Society desires that all its members must behave in a way consistent with traditions, mores and folkways of their own society. A person deserves respects and a good name only when he indulges in actions which are not condemned by society. Social control is indispensable for the organisation of society. Alongwith control of human behaviour, society also gives liberty. If there are no liberties to balance the restrictions, the society and individuals cannot develop. Human society being dynamic, its life force lies in the change. Hence, society makes provision of liberty for the individuals in respect of many kinds of changes. In a civilised society of the world people are free to get education, choose a desired profession, enter the wedlock and reproduce offsprings, think independently and express their thoughts in an appropriate manner. Therefore, social control is designed not to suppress his liberties but to makes his adjustment between his own interests and the interest of his fellow being in society. Maclver and Page have, therefore, rightly said, “Society is a system of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions of control of human behaviour and of liberties”. Since, the social system is not stationary or immobile but always carried in the current in dynamism, at one particular time in different social systems and at different times within the same social system the forms or nature of social usages, procedures, authority and mutual aid, groupings and the control and liberties of
human behaviour are continually undergoing in the process of transformation, providing the involvements of both likeness and difference.

Likeness and differences are undoubtedly mutually contradictory but they are both essential for society which is a dynamic and evolving organisation. As society is a complex network of social relationships, this nexus sometimes produces differences that are more attractive than similarities since different individuals or classes are sometimes the complements of one another by virtue of these differences. One finds similarities of social relationships on the basis of interests, objectives, mores, needs, etc. The human beings do not make a social system in association with animals because their interests, mores, objectives, etc. are dissimilar and widely divergent. Hence, the human beings who can share many characteristics in common such as interests, aptitudes, tendencies, etc. can from a social system so much so that little variation is perceived in respect of society, the fundamental elements of human psychology at all times and places. For example, the natural attraction of the men and women for each other have been experienced and exhibited in all ages and in all countries. And even in future nothing contrary to this prevailing condition will exist. Family, the bed-rock of human society solety rests upon this mutual attraction of the male and the female. The different societies of the world which show vast variations in interests, traditions, behaviours, etc impel people of one society to look upon an individual from another society as a stranger. But as regards the people within a particular society, one finds strong social relations which springs out of analogous traditions, folkways, mores, etc. Thus in real terms, the foundation of human society rests upon similarity.

It cannot be maintained that similarity alone is enough for social organisation. One evince difference in all the sub-systems of society is for its progress. The economic subsistence of society is dependent upon division of labour in which the professions and economic activities of people are dissimilar. The social structure of humanity is based upon the institution of the family, based upon the mutual attraction between individuals of sexes. The culture of society grows on the basis of the difference in thoughts, ideals, view points, etc. Father-son, man-woman, husband-wife, brother-sister, ruler-ruled, in brief, in all relationship in society, the rights and duties of individual differ from each other and for this reason completely wide variations are perceived among individuals in respect of their interests, capacities, abilities, predilections, tendencies, etc. These variations do not reflect mutual conflict,
rather they strengthen the organisation of society. It would not be a misnomer to say that in the absence of differentiation, the very resistance of society may be threatened. That, is why the importance of differences among individuals is society becomes readily apparent. Thus both likeness and difference are found in human society. Both these elements are indispensable for the existence, organisation and development of society. Notwithstanding the fact that the world today comprises different races, nations and countries, there is a growing consciousness of ‘one universe’ and a ‘universal government’. Although it may not be an impossibility in future, this utility of the world cannot be achieved by abolishing the difference of the various cultures. One in the many is a profound truth of universal existence. Hence, the creation of a prosperous world society is conceivable through synthesis of differences, not only by unity. As it is said, ‘society is a web of human relationship’, a harmonious and prosperous relationship necessitates both similarity and differences. For example, the underlying cause of the intimacy between husband and wife is difference, but had there been no similarity or concurrence whatsoever between them, they would not have been able to jointly create a happy home.