

GANDHIAN THOUGHT



Edited by

R. Balasubramanian

E. S. Devadoss

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The Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute for
Advanced Study in Philosophy

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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R. BALASUBRAMANIAN
and
T. S. DEVADOSS



THE Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN INSTITUTE
FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1981

First published, 1981

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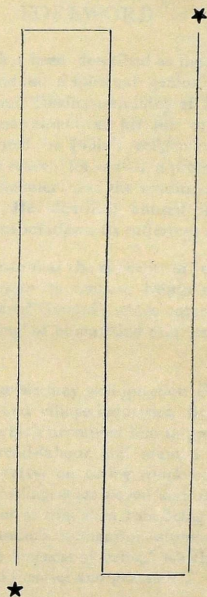
Price Rs. 19/-

PRINTED IN INDIA

AT AVVAI ACHUKKODAM, 17, P. V. KOIL STREET, MADRAS-600013

'My life is my message.'

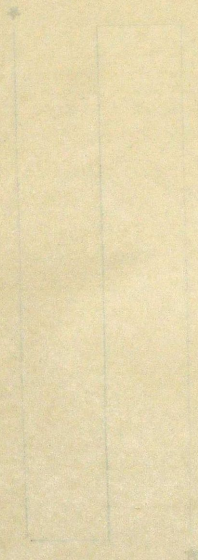
M. K. Gandhi



*'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is
in the minds of men that the defences of peace
must be constructed.'*

Constitution of UNESCO

1907-1908



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FOREWORD

Mahatma Gandhi has been described as the type of a man who is born once in a millennium, a spiritual genius who lived in constant awareness of the cosmic Reality unfolding all in infinite love and truth, and who at the same time lived his life to render service to others. His life was rooted in India's religious tradition with its emphasis on a passionate search for truth, a profound reverence for life, the ideal of non-attachment and the readiness to sacrifice all for the knowledge of God. He identified himself with the whole of humanity, its trials and tribulations, its sufferings and its aspirations.

It is interesting to note that the concept of non-violence in its negative aspect of non-injury to sentient beings and in its positive aspect of love for all inspired Gandhi's whole approach in the service of truth, the 'Law of Being' of humankind and its progress towards higher levels of being.

Some modern economists may well question Gandhi's economic ideas, his cult of *charkha* and village industries. But one has to probe deeper into the motives which prompted him to propagate a seemingly outdated theory of bread-labour and manual work. His stress was on the removal of poverty, on giving work to the unemployed millions, on trying to get villagers employed and make them happy without uprooting them, on saving man from being exploited through the machine. It was Gandhi's humanism, ultimately based on the spiritual experience of the 'oneness of being,' which was at the root of his economic and social theories and practice.

Gandhi, the prophet that he was, played temporarily the part of a statesman rather than that of a politician. He believed that it was only an independent India which could play an historical role in the world to come. He succeeded in that first part of the dream. As for spiritualizing politics which was his other dream, Gandhi could not make much headway with his followers. As for establishing a casteless society in India, we are still far off.

Gandhi's views about the uses of science and technology were quite clear: he would use them only if they were consistent with

human values and the spiritual betterment of man — not of a few, but of the whole of humanity.

In the present volume, several scholars have argued for non-violence as an implication or inference from the dominant aspects of nature, God and man. A deeper reflection will lead us to recognize that violence needs to be justified while non-violence does not. History verifies this too.

The struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace is a key prerequisite of human rights because it is only in conditions of peace and international cooperation that the basic rights of all people can be guaranteed. In short, this scholarly volume probes Gandhian perspectives on the various current problems and promotes discussion among people for a progressive acceptance of ideas and programmes inspired by Gandhian values.

The editors have done a good job in bringing out such a valuable collection of papers which should be of use both to the academics and the planners.

G. R. DAMODARAN

Vice-Chancellor

University of Madras

May 5, 1981

PRESENTING THE VOLUME

The Editors

The select essays included in this volume represent the proceedings of the Fourth All-India Conference of the Indian Society of Gandhian Studies held in January 1979, under the auspices of the Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy at the University of Madras.

The Gandhian Thought makes a notable attempt to come to grips with the problems of peace and delves into the many facets and problems of social and economic life as prevailing in India to-day. The contributors are specialists in the field of Gandhian thought but they do not hold identical views.

The issues examined in this volume are basic to the survival of mankind. We live in an age of compounded crises, an age of hot and cold war and the constant threat of total annihilation by the weapons that we ourselves have perfected. It is an age more and more bereft of authentic human existence, and even the image of such existence increasingly deserts us.

The greatest task of contemporary man is not to build enlightened utopias, but to preserve peace in the context in which he finds himself.

Gandhi's thought must be evaluated on its merits and not always on the basis of his arguments. His conduct was often more revealing than the arguments advanced by him for a particular course of action. It is not our purpose to examine Gandhian ideas in retrospect; we have to examine them in the perspective of the timeless values and verities for which he stood.

We are grateful to Professor G. R. Damodaran, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras for his valuable foreword to this volume. We also thank him and other authorities of the University as well as

the Government of Tamil Nadu for providing funds for the publication of this volume. We thank our colleague Dr. V. K. S. N. Raghavan for seeing the matter through the press. We also thank Mr. S. Lakshmanan and Miss V. Jayashree, Research scholars at the Institute for going through the proofs. Lastly, we would like to thank the printers, Messrs Avvai Achukkoodam, Madras for the neat execution of printing.

May 4, 1981
University of Madras

R. BALASUBRAMANIAN
T. S. DEVADOSS

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MODERN SEARCH FOR PEACE

K. ARUNACHALAM

The quest for peace is as old as humanity itself. Nevertheless *danḍa-sakti* has been accepted as the *final arbiter*. *Danḍa* is the order in which human relationship has been built. Ordinarily peace prevailed in society. Peace is and has been the normal characteristic of life. But due to differences of opinion and due to aberrations in the thinking and attitudes of individuals, conflicts arise off and on. When other attempts like compromise, persuasion, placating through gifts, and separation of partitioning failed to bring about amity, then the only thing left was to resort to violence. Differences between individuals led to quarrels, between groups in society led to civil war and between states led to war. Thinkers explored the possibility of reducing the effect of war and violence on society. Over a period of time several steps were taken to reduce to the minimum, the losses due to warfare. International laws, religious restrictions, moral codes, etc., were made, to see that the day-to-day activities of the citizens were not in any way interfered with while the war was going on between those who were participating in fighting.

During the ancient times, particularly the Purāṇic period, we find that only a particular group of people were trained in the art of warfare while the rest of the community were ordained to look after their profession in safety. Thus the severity of violence was restricted to

a set of persons designated as *Kṣatriyas*. They alone armed themselves and undertook the responsibility of defending the country. Internecine warfare and personal quarrels were settled with physical might.

With the development and the growth of knowledge the situation changed. People began to think about other ways of settling disputes and differences. The horrors of violence became more and more, with discoveries of weapons of violence. Many got disgusted with war as such. They opposed war in all its respects. But they could not suggest a more viable alternative method of reconciliation.

For thousands of years, war however, terrible or tragic, continued to be a legitimate mode of conflict. Several writers, on the other hand, have praised war as having resulted in the growth of civilization. After the splitting of the atom and the discovery and use of the atom bomb, war has become genocide. It can no longer perform the function of a just and dhârmic war. It has ceased to be a mode of conflict compatible with survival. By the end of the last century, philosophers and psychologists like William James began to voice their sentiments for a moral equivalent of war.

There have always been groups of people who opposed the killing of human beings on the basis of religion. They will have nothing to do with a war which involves killing. The largest organised group of such men are the Quakers. They have consistently opposed war of any kind and refused to participate in it. The Pacifists' approach to war is negative. They hope to get rid of war by refusing to fight and by carrying on propaganda against war.

Simultaneously efforts have been made to find out alternatives to War in settling conflicts. Since the beginning of the 19th century men started thinking about new forms of international organisation based on international

law. Besides political factors, others like spiritual, moral and intellectual factors also stimulated the search for a practical solution to the problem of International peace.

This search for permanent peace has been carried on through three different media: (1) limitation of the destructive and anarchical tendencies of international politics, (2) transformation of international politics by eliminating its destructive and anarchical tendencies altogether, and (3) accommodation of divergent interests, by depriving the destructive and anarchical tendencies of international politics of their rational objectives.

To establish peace through limitation several devices such as disarmament, collective security, judicial agencies, peaceful change and international government have been used. Peace through transformation has been sought by the establishment of a World State. Diplomacy has served the purpose of peace through accommodation.

Collective security assumes that the community of nations would provide its members with security through collective action. But there are innumerable hurdles in this path.

The ability of a system of collective security to preserve peace rests on three assumptions. (1) The collective system must have at its disposal at all times, sufficient strength to deter any potential aggressor. (2) The nations which dispose of such overwhelming strength must have the same interest in defending the *status quo*. (3) These nations must subordinate their conflicting political interests to the overriding concern for collective defence. The history of collective security as it was provided for by the covenant of the United Nations and the charter of United Nations Organisation shows that these conditions are rarely present at the same time. Collective security presupposes a moral transformation which makes individual nations forego their national egoism.

Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of stopping the armament race. The first attempt at disarmament agreement occurred in 1816 between the Tsar of Russia and the British Government. Throughout the 19th century many such moves were made. But it is a pity to note that most of the attempts at disarmament failed to yield the desired result.

Judicial agencies have been devised as a means to preserve peace. A Permanent court of International Justice was established in 1919 and the international justice in the year 1946. These agencies came into existence on the assumption that these will be available for arbitration between opposing parties in conflict, war would become superfluous as the supreme arbiter among nations. However, experience proved that these judicial agencies were unable to cope up with the issues relating to change of legal order and thus the incidence of war could not be reduced by their effort.

Peaceful Change

The League of Nations, the United Nations Organisation's Security Council, etc., set up to facilitate peaceful change in the national systems as well as in the international scene also, proved to be ineffective.

International Government is different from the conception indicated above in as much as it attempted to establish a common authority to secure peace and order. This also has not succeeded. The establishment of an effective Government of Sovereign nations seems to be a contradiction in terms which can be eliminated only by a direct attack upon national sovereignty itself.

The World State

Only World Government seems to be a plausible alternative to all the other devices planned so far.

This also bristles with several problems. Thinkers are making proposals and organisations are working for it but the solution is not yet in sight. It became one of the paradoxes of the 20th century that on the one hand the preservation of peace had become a matter of survival for Western Civilization, while on the other hand the traditional instruments of preserving it had become less effective, and more effective ones had not yet been devised.

When the legal and judicial alternatives to war were being tried, Gandhi in his own way was trying a technique of warfare without weapons. He accepted the fact of differences and conflicts. He also saw the need to fight or resist evil. The only change he effected was to meet violence and hatred not on their own level but at a different level. He wanted that violence should be met by non-violence and hatred by love and kindness. He used soul-force against brute-force. He called his technique — *satyāgraha*. He used this new found weapon against racial discrimination and against the Government that supported this injustice. He had sufficient experience of the effectiveness of *satyāgraha* in solving conflicts without taking recourse to the spilling of blood and so wrote in 1914 regarding the efficacy of this technique in the following words:

Satyāgraha is a force, which if it becomes universal would revolutionise social ideas and do away with despotism and the ever growing militarism under which the nations of the west are growing, and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promise to overwhelm even the nations of the east.

Gandhi had applied this technique for over fifty years in every walk of life — domestic, institutional, economic and political. But it is true that he did not have occasion to try it in a situation like war of aggression and other international conflicts.

The peace lovers, the conscientious objectors, the pacifists, the internationalists, the one worlders and many others are sincerely trying to find a way out. They are all clear about the goal. But their means do not seem to cut ice. Under these circumstances can *satyāgraha* show the way? Shri. R. R. Diwakar has discussed this point elaborately in his essay on *satyāgraha* in the book "A Search for Alternatives to War and Violence" edited by Ted Dunna -- a report of the Peace Conference in Colchester, England. He says that the West awakened to the significance of *satyāgraha* and it is not a question of East or West, but to the whole of humanity to organise the force of love to defeat the forces of hate and evil. When this is done war can be contained.

Gandhi was a seeker after Truth. *Satyāgraha* to him was a way of life. He believed that war as an institution can be rooted out only if men become fully active during peace time by tackling the roots of violence in social, economic, educational and administrative spheres. Non-violent defence has to lay greater emphasis on preventive actions as embodied in the constructive programme. The world pacifist meeting held in Sevagram and Shantiniketan during 1949 in its report entitled "The Task of Making" says, The key to world peace lies in the development of an economy which is peaceful by nature, which does not produce the stresses which lead to war. Such an economy is the purpose of Basic Education (an important item in the constructive programme), the essence of which is creative co-operative living. Its significance cannot be too strongly emphasized. It transforms every human and social function and gives rise to an economy which is related to the needs of the whole man and the whole of humanity. The acceptance of basic education in all its implications with its concepts of man's ends and needs, would cause the demands which nations make up on the world's resources to be profoundly modified. At one stroke, therefore, the major causes of

international friction in the modern world could be removed by the practical application of Basic education and all that it involves.

Peace is a relationship between people and between certain kinds of people. Peace begins with a harmony between individuals. Gandhi lived and worked for the establishment of such relationship among individuals and groups. His is an unique contribution to peace in the modern context. Gandhi's style of life and the techniques he propounded deserve to be studied and applied so that the world may be a safe place to live.

2

THE TECHNIQUE OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

R. BALASUBRAMANIAN

I

My aim in this paper is to show that the technique of non-violence as advocated by Gandhi is the most effective and the least expensive weapon for fighting against destructive war and violent conflict, and that it is only possible through individual commitment.

Gandhi provides us, not only with a blue print for the internal organization of society, but also with an effective means, a novel technique by which it is to be implemented. The latter is more important than the former. It is no use to think of a new organization or transformation of the existing set up into something different and better, unless one is very sure of the means, the technique, the strategy through which it is to be realized. Gandhi, therefore, is more concerned with the means than with the goal. It must be emphasized that Gandhi does not view the problem of war and violence from the standpoint of national sovereignty or prestige, the art of diplomacy or statecraft. It is not a problem of the organization of one nation *vis-a-vis* another involving a clash of ideologies. It is basically a moral problem. Gandhi attempts to solve a political problem involving the destinies of the nations at the moral plane. If every society is properly and morally organized at the national level on the basis of non-violence, there will be

peace not only within among the people who constitute the society but also without with other neighbouring nation-states.

To the question, "What is the cause of war?", Gandhi's unambiguous answer is exploitation. He points out that all activity for stopping war must prove futile so long as the causes of war are not understood and readily dealt with. According to his analysis, the prime cause of modern wars is the inhuman race for exploitation of the so-called weaker races of the earth.¹ He thinks that the motive of exploitation accounts not only for the outbreak of war between two states but also generally for the chaotic situation that prevails at the national and international levels.

A careful analysis of the Gandhian position will show that at a still deeper level there is another factor that serves to explain the inhuman race for exploitation, and that factor is selfishness. Exploitation is only the outer manifestation of the inward selfishness of the individual. When the selfishness of the individual is organized, systematically pursued, and given institutional form by a group of individuals of kindred interests, it culminates in class antagonism and class exploitation with all the attendant consequences.

War is a visible symbol of the physical force and violence in which the individual believes as the effective instrument for settling disputes and controversies that he thinks, cannot be solved otherwise. Whether it is a physical fight between two individuals or groups of individuals, or whether it is a large-scale war involving nations, war must be traced to the individual who alone is responsible for it. It is not what takes place in spite of the individual and without an active participation by him. Gandhi attributes war to the brute in man, the lower nature that for the time being overwhelms the spirit that constitutes his higher nature and serves to distinguish him

from other animals. The essential difference between man and the brute, according to Gandhi, is that the former can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and, therefore, superior to the selfishness and violence that belongs to the brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. He says :

Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to law — to the strength of the spirit.'

II

Philosophers and peace lovers are earnestly in search of a moral equivalent of war that would embody the technical features of war minus its violence as the surest way to establish peace. The technique of *satyāgraha* proposed by Gandhi with a view to meet the challenge of war operates on the basis of non-violence. The guiding principle in his approach is that the means must be as good as the end. Since the means-end relation forms one continuous process, no true good can result from an immoral means: hence the appropriateness of non-violent resistance as the alternative to war.

The non-violent resistance that is the characteristic feature of *satyāgraha* shares certain common features with the method of war, except for its violence, and is, therefore, a fit candidate to take the place of war. Since war is ultimately resorted to on the ground that it is an effective way of deciding issues, the alternative to it must have the required merits to face the challenge and pave the way for deciding the issues effectively. And the technique of non-violent resistance fulfils the requirements. Four important features contribute to the effectiveness of the method of war: (1) force, (2) direct action, (3) organization, (4) number. The Gandhian technique

of non-violent resistance has all these features, and an intelligent and planned co-ordination of these factors is bound to prove successful.

1. Gandhi is of the view that non-violent resistance is the mightiest force on earth. Being the force of the inward spirit in man, it knows no limit and requires no support or assistance from any quarter:

It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility.³

With that one can defy the whole might of an unjust empire.

2. It is a way of direct action. The expression "pacifism" or "passive resistance" does not bring out the full significance of the Gandhian technique. Gandhi is not in favour of the expression "passive resistance" because it conveys the idea of inaction on the part of the individual and also because it is interpreted as a weapon of the weak. It may sound paradoxical when Gandhi uses the expression "active non-violence." What he means is that a champion of non-violence cannot be indifferent to evil and injustice wherever they may be; his love of truth must find concrete expression in his activity. That is why he says that "no man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred." With a deep insight into the sociology of conflict, Gandhi proposes direct action in a non-violent way in order to bring about a radical change in the existing set up. This aspect of his technique is undoubtedly what brings him close to the revolutionaries who believe in direct action. But the difference between Gandhi and other revolutionaries is that, while he swears by non-violence as the safest course, others preach the cult of violence as the unfailing weapon. Gandhi remarks:

Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings cannot do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and nonviolent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering, as by fasting, works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body, but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed.⁵

3. Though non-violent resistance can be practiced both by an individual and a group, organization is necessary when it is to meet an injustice affecting a vast number of individuals. Consider the magnitude of the task when it is a question of resisting unjust constituted authority or the aggression from a neighbouring state. It is then a question of mobilizing the people to fight against the authority or the aggressor — which is similar to mobilizing the citizens in times of war. Educating the people in the practice of non-violent resistance and organizing them into one disciplined unit are the essential prerequisites for the successful launching of *satyāgraha* on a mass scale. In short, the organizational aspect of the *satyāgraha* movement is closely parallel to that in the army. Gandhi's faith in organization, training, and discipline for starting a mass movement on a large scale is well brought out in his declaration: "I am not going to take a single step in non-co-operation unless I am satisfied that the country is ready for the step."⁶ It is his conviction that without proper discipline non-violence can only be a veneer.

4. Though resistance on a large scale is necessary in order to meet aggression or to overthrow foreign domination, mere number is not going to add strength

to the movement. *Satyāgraha* is a *clean* fight and so it requires *clean* fighters. "In *satyāgraha* it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost." Number is bound to be a decisive factor in achieving the goal, care is taken at the same time that the quality of the fighters is of a very high order.

There are more critics than admirers of the Gandhian technique; there are more admirers than sincere adherents of it. It is, therefore, necessary to examine this technique not only from the theoretical aspect but also from the standpoint of what it presupposes on the part of the individual who is to practice it.

No less a thinker than Karl Jaspers, who with a remarkable insight understands the basic position of Gandhi, has his own misgivings about the success of the Gandhian technique in the struggle against totalitarianism. He points out that we have reached a political situation where politics miserably fails us and that the way of politics needs another guidance. Our present political thinking, according to Jaspers, is radically wrong. The threat of the atom bomb cannot be met by removing the bomb alone; it can only be met by removing war, by establishing world peace. He argues that the ideal that in the long run wars might be wages without atom bombs, but with intimidation by the atom bomb, is an illusion.⁸ Since there is a limit to pure politics, mankind can survive only if it allows itself to be guided by the *supra-political* element. Gandhi, says Jaspers, stunned the world as he fought force with non-violence, basing his politics on religious, *supra-political* grounds. But according to Jaspers, the Gandhian method could succeed only in the atmosphere of British rule and for the limited purpose of Indian liberation. He concludes that "for the extremity of present world-wide realities Gandhi gives us no answer," and that, "in the struggles against totalitarianism Gandhi's procedure would not be a political way

but a way to certain doom.”⁹ Kingsley Martin voices the same difficulty. He asks: “Would Gandhi’s technique have achieved the same measure of success if it had been the Germans or Japanese who occupied India?”¹⁰ Since the success of Gandhi’s technique depends at least in part on its moral effects on the enemy, it is to be doubted, according to Martin, whether it will be effective against an enemy who is ruthless.

Gandhi is not unaware of this criticism. There are two ways in which a nation can try to defend itself when it faces the threat of extermination by a mighty, unscrupulous power such as that of a Hitler: the ways of violence and of non-violence. The folly of resistance by violence is obvious. Hitler cannot be defeated by counter-violence without a good deal of preparation for war, which means a heavy military budget and considerable loss of life. And still there is no guarantee that Hitler will be defeated. Further, the possibility of survival is very remote when there is nuclear warfare. But let us suppose that a nation that is pitched against Hitler offers non-violent resistance, and that he has occupied the country without a bloody fight. He cannot, according to Gandhi, continue to stay on in that country if the people offer total non-co-operation to him. Gandhi observes:

At the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant’s will. But supposing people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant’s will, nor retaliate with the tyrant’s own methods, the tyrant will not find it worth his while to go on with his terrorism.¹¹

The critics proceed on the assumption that dictators such as Hitler have no conscience and that they are incapable of moral response. But Gandhi argues that

belief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love. It would be a novel experience for the Hitlers to face unarmed men, women, and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in their minds. It is sure to bring about a desirable change in their attitude. Gandhi has another argument. "If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worth. My honour is the only thing worth preserving."¹² To Gandhi, non-violence is a matter of principle, and so non-violent practice is extremely significant to him. Either one resorts to the Machiavellian method of violence, brutality, and treachery, or one follows the path of non-violence at all stages. There is no middle ground between the two. There is nothing that would suggest that the Gandhian method is theoretically unsound. Nor can it be ruled out on the hypothetical ground that it is unsuitable to meet the threat of totalitarian regimes without actually trying it out.

While admitting that violence is wrong as a matter of principle, Gandhi also maintains that it is the duty of everyone to resist it. But what is profoundly significant in the Gandhian position is the manner of resistance to violence. Resistance to violence by counter-violence is obviously wrong. A wrong cannot be righted by another wrong. The addition of another wrong does not diminish but adds to the evil already in existence. So violence must first be resisted by persuasion, and when persuasion fails, it must be resisted non-violently. Critics very often fail to understand that non-violent resistance of the Gandhian type is also a '*Force*', which is different from violence. The two words "*Violence*" and "*Force*" are used so frequently as interchangeable words that we fail to understand that force need not always be violent, that it can also be non-violent. To Gandhi, non-violent resistance is a force that repels force which is violent.

III

To Gandhi the individual alone is the one supreme consideration and all other things are valuable not in themselves but only as related to the personality of the individual. Though an individual may aim at the personal good, he cannot realize it in isolation from the good of others. The good of the individual is not what is private to him; it is what is good to him as a member of the community of persons. It is a good to others as well, for they are also rational and moral agents like him. There is reciprocal relation between the individual and society. A society cannot advance unless the units composing it advance, and, conversely, no individual can advance without the society of which he is a part also advancing.¹³

Without being swayed by narrow prejudices and restricted loyalties, man, according to Gandhi, must show his allegiance to the entire humanity. It does not mean that one can ignore the claims of the immediate neighbourhood, from the family to the nation. There is nothing in the logic of events that compels us to think in terms of one nation versus another. Every individual is called upon to play different roles — as a member of a family, of a working group, of a society that is politically organized, as a member of humanity. The claims of a higher group tend to fulfil and not to frustrate those of lower. Nothing less than the ideal of universal human fellowship can satisfy the rational and moral agent. What is required in order to realize genuine human achievement is mutual service. The ideal that is worthy of human achievement is such that in its pursuit there can be no competition of interests.

If Gandhi declares that human society is one and undivided, whatever may be the social, political, economic, and religious compartments into which it is divided, it is because of his deep rooted faith in the truth of non-duality (*Advaita*).¹⁴ He believes that all life

in its essence is one, and that the human beings are working consciously or unconsciously towards the realization of that identity. The ideal that the envisages is universal inter-dependence, a federation of interdependent nations. No individual and no group of men could remain exclusive. Nor could they pursue a course of action destructive of the interests of others without jeopardizing their own interests. The first concrete step towards the realizing of the ideal is a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world by the individual. The ideal society can be brought into existence only on the foundation of responsible individuals devoted to truth and love and adhering to non-violence. In short, individual commitment is what is presupposed by him, and if this requirement is fulfilled, neither the realization of a perfect society (or at least a near-perfect society) nor an effective non-violent resistance to external aggression when it unfortunately takes place is impossible.

According to Errol Harris, the non-violent approach to political issues is fallacious on the level of ethical principle insofar as it presupposes a morally regenerated individual, a perfected individual capable of acting on the basis of love and self-sacrifice, whereas such a being can come into existence only as a result of the proper maintenance of social and political order. Non-violence, so he thinks, can be practiced only by a saint, a man of perfection. The level of morality on which he functions presupposes social and political order, but it can only be its culmination. In other words, what presupposes social and political order cannot be used to set right that very order. Harris concludes that non-violence, pacifism proper, is beyond the realm of politics and is in effect the abandonment of political methods altogether. He thinks that we should have a political solution practicable in our time among fallible men and self-seeking nations.¹⁵

The objection seems to be convincing. But before we answer his criticism, it is worth considering the

presupposition that lies hidden in the solution that he puts forward in order to face the challenging situation. Harris is convinced that world government is the solution to interstate war and international problems. Let us assume for the sake of argument that Harris's contention is sound. The important question to be considered then is: How are we to realize that ideal? Obviously, it cannot descend all on a sudden from the blue sky. It can be made a reality only when people with vision and a sense of realism work for it through stages. Harris suggests that we have to work for it through the modification of the doctrine of national sovereignty and the formation of regional organizations at the intermediary level between the nation-state and the world authority. He himself admits that this ideal of world government is bound to remain the most unpractical utopianism so long as people believe that their salvation and welfare depend on the sovereign independence. What, then, is the remedy? A change of attitude on the part of the people is necessary, but that is not sufficient. What is required in addition to this is sincerity to work it out. It may be called, in existential language, commitment on the part of the individual. But whose commitment is that? Though it cannot be denied that it is the commitment of fallible men, it is the commitment of those individuals who want to realize an ideal in which disinterested service must find an important place. If so, this phase of morality, contrary to what Harris maintains, is the precondition of any well-ordered social and political framework. It is not the case that men to start with are in a moral vacuum and that through the social order they acquire a moral stature. It is the capacity to conceive of, and contribute to, the common good that entitles the individuals to membership in a society, and this capacity, which is at the basis of social and political order, is undoubtedly moral as well as rational.

Whether the formation of world government is the effective solution to international tension is another issue.

Since a very important source of trouble arises from centralization of authority in one place, it is to be seriously doubted whether it will be conducive to the preservation of the freedom and personal worth of the individual as well as the promotion of world peace. Our experience so far at the national level does not encourage us to think favourably of world government. If the centralization of power and authority in one place makes those who run the political machinery inefficient, indifferent, corrupt, and above all violent in all their practices, it is not going to make the position different when the authority of nation-states is replaced by the authority of world government. What is required is not a unitary authority but a plurality of authority functioning on the basis of non-violence in all matters in harmony with one another. The ideal to be pursued is a federation of friendly interdependent states where the entire set up will be based on the principle of decentralization with non-violence as the principle of action.

It is futile to think of institutional changes without changes in the attitude and conduct of the individuals. Institutional changes cannot be brought in by a few individuals. If they are bent on introducing those changes, they could do so only by violence, by making use of the political machinery. Such a radical change with a view to realizing some utopian ideal will be neither peaceful nor beneficial to the people at large. And also, how far the people at large are prepared for such a change is a question to be considered. Instead of starting with institutional changes of a radical nature in pursuance of some utopian plan, a beginning must be made to bring about a change in the outlook and conduct of the individual. This is necessary because the successful implementation of any social and political programme depends upon the part to be played by the individual. It is necessary to bear in mind that the human factor is the ultimately uncertain and wayward element in social and political life. And so we must work for a steady and slow change in the attitude and conduct

of the individual, for everything ultimately depends upon the actions and interactions, thoughts and aspirations of individual men. The successful implementation of the Gandhian technique depends on the willingness of the individual to commit himself for the chosen ideal with the attitude of "one step is enough for me." His manner of living will indicate his commitment. What he is and does are not without significance. The way to peace lies through peace.

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GANDHIAN APPROACH TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

L. M. BHOLE

It is a matter of concern that the labour scene in our country has become increasingly vitiated by the resort to violence, by politicisation of the labour movement, and by mounting industrial strife resulting in the loss of valuable mandays and production. The labour relations have worsened not only in the private sector but also in the public sector undertakings. The experience of communist countries shows that industrial peace prevailing there may be only spurious. It thus appears that the adoption of the philosophy of economic planning and socialist development has failed to enthuse the workers to adopt more altruistic and congenial attitudes.

It also appears that as in other fields of national life, Gandhi would outlive other thinkers in the area of industrial relations too. Gandhi's approach to industrial relations can be derived from his views on this specific problem, but more so from a few basic concepts which he propounded. The purpose of this article is to relate some of his basic concepts to different aspects of industrial relations, viz., wages and wage differentials, property relations, methods of resolving conflicting interests, trade unions, labour participation, alienation of labour etc., and to show how his ideas bear relevance today more than ever before in this field also. The concepts which have been adumbrated here are: harmonization o

interests, minimization of wants, bread-labour, trusteeship, *satyāgraha*, and decentralization.

In the entire discussion to follow, the term industry has been used in its wider sense to include agriculture, mining, and other kinds of primary production, heavy industries, manufacturing, building and other kinds of construction, trade and services.

1. *Harmony of Interests*

One of the basic tenets of Gandhian approach to industrial relations is to stress and nurture harmony, and not conflict or antagonism, between the "haves" and "have-nots". Influenced as he was by Ruskin's writings, Gandhi cherished the view that although the interests of labourers and capitalists may sometimes be antagonistic, the persons themselves need not be antagonistic. If one introduces paternal authority and responsibility as desirable principles in capital-labour relations, the exploitative character of these relations is automatically replaced by the family character whose predominant attribute is harmony and not conflict. Gandhi wholeheartedly endorsed Ruskin's proposition that it is the balance of justice, and "social affection" which should govern the relations between employers and employees.¹

2. *Minimization of Wants*

In the Gandhian system, capital-labour harmony is made possible by the concepts of minimization of wants, and voluntary poverty in addition to that of family spirit. Once the greed for unlimited material progress is firmly chained, the desire and the need for using other people for selfish gain disappear. Gandhi prescribed this for practice by labourers as well as employers. The property owners would practice it by becoming trustees of their wealth. On the other side, while accepting that labourers have a fundamental right to necessities of life, he clearly said, "I do not want anything more for workers and

peasants than enough to eat and house and clothe themselves, and live in ordinary comfort as self-respecting human beings."² Gandhi reminded us that there is no difference between capitalists and labourers with respect to the desire to possess wealth. Therefore the lasting solution to the problem of exploitation lies in subduing possessiveness in all people. Through the concept of minimization of wants, Gandhi has also given a clear and definitive content to the objective of labour struggle.

Unlike other approaches, the Gandhian approach is more comprehensive because it deals with not only employers-employees relations but also with intra-labour relations. We witness today how the highest paid labourers in sectors like banking, insurance, aviation etc., are clamouring for greater pecuniary benefits for themselves without pausing to think of the impact of such action on unemployed, and low-paid workers. This has caused wide-spread wage differentials unwarranted by the social usefulness and productivity differentials of different labour groups. While Gandhi was not opposed to somewhat higher earnings for an intelligent worker, he wanted to abolish irrational differences in wages. While condemning the gross inequalities between the capitalists and labourers, he was consistent in bothering about the inequalities among the labourers themselves. With messianic compassion he said, "In India, we have got people having to be satisfied with one meal a day..... You and I have no right to anything that we really have, until these..... (people) are clothed and fed better. You and I..... must adjust our wants and even undergo voluntary starvation in order that they may be nursed, fed, and clothed."³

3. *Bread - Labour*

Gandhi also advocated the concept of bread-labour, and he gave scavenging respectability as an occupation.

He said that everyone ought to perform sufficient body labour to entitle him to means of livelihood. These ideas in conjunction with another idea which he emphasised, namely, equal importance of all labour (*sarva-śrama-samānatā*), are highly helpful in erasing the superior-inferior relationship which has been established in modern India between manual and intellectual labours. One would have to turn to these ideas if one is interested in tackling problems like alienation between mental and manual labour, and abuses of managerial functions and intellectualism.

4. *Trusteeship*

Gandhi's highly original concept of trusteeship is greatly valuable in grappling with the intractable issue of property relations. The concept briefly means, if "..... I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy or by means of trade and industry, I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me, what belongs to me is the right to an honourable livelihood no better than enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to community and must be used for the welfare of the community."⁴ Explaining the concept further, Gandhi said, ".....I want them (zamindars and ruling chiefs) to outgrow their greed and sense of possession, and to come down inspite of their wealth to the level of those who earn their bread by labour."⁵

Could there be any other greater revolutionary equalizer than Gandhi? There is no doubt that his theory of trusteeship embodies truly original and revolutionary approach to creating a classless society.

It is inherent in the Marxian approach of "expropriators would be expropriated" that the capitalist "expropriators" would be replaced by the "proletariators" and therefore expropriators would continue to live on.

In theory, therefore, there would be no end to the conflict of interests, and there would thus be no achievement of permanent industrial peace as arrived in communist countries, it is only in appearance, it is spurious; it is at the cost of industrial democracy.

Gandhi did not think that the problem of property relations could be solved by replacing the ownership of one group by that of another group. Instead, he sought to make the very concept of ownership sterile, to make it only nominally meaningful. Under the Gandhian system of thought, in the ultimate analysis, the private ownership withers away completely because, "everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore it was for this people as a whole, not for a particular individual."⁶ In actual life, although private ownership may stay, it would not be for the benefit of the owner or his family only, but for the benefit of God's all people. Under this dispensation, whoever is the owner, there would be no exploitation. Here capital and labour would be trustees of consumer interests. In these days when employers and labourers are fleecing the consumers for their respective gains, how relevant this approach is!

A remarkable thing to be noted about Gandhi's approach is that it enjoins the same values on both labour and capital, and thereby imparts equal status to both of them. It seeks to establish equality between capital and labour not only in terms of assets ownership but also in terms of value-allegiance. It is only through such equality that one can abolish capital-labour conflict permanently.

The Gandhian concepts mentioned above are also germane to solving two other interrelated aspects of industrial relations, namely labour participation in decision making, and avoiding alienation of workers from capital owners. Currently the problem of labour participation

is being widely discussed. But the objective of efforts in this matter usually appears to be narrow, it being limited to gaining advantages in the process of collective bargaining, increases in wages, indirect labour participation through union leaders, etc. It is only through an alternative form of ownership such as trusteeship that the workers would be able to participate directly in industrial control and ownership for achieving broader social objectives. The experience of Scott—Bader Commonwealth in U.K. in this context is greatly valuable.⁷

5. *Arbitration, Strikes, Satyāgraha*

Although everybody ought to realize the desirability of the minimization of wants, and should strive voluntarily to create harmonious social relations on its basis, Gandhi was realistic enough to know that it would take quite sometime to achieve this objective fully, and there may arise the need for using other techniques from time to time. He, therefore accepted the formation of trade unions by the workers; and also accepted their right to go on strike. However, he gave a much different content to the meaning and objectives of these methods of protecting labour interests.

As to the labour unions, he laid down that every member of the union should scrupulously observe its rules, and that unions should rely mainly on arbitration for achieving their objectives. He regarded unions' work in the field of labour welfare far more important than their ability to organize strikes or hartals. Labour unions should undertake upliftment work for the labourers through self-help, and through their internal strength. It was under this guidance, and through his inspiration that Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association has grown to be a model union which devotes considerable attention to a vast range of welfare activities.⁸ He held that unions should become active partners in efforts to enforce

the method of non-violence in connection with questions arising between capital and labour.

He was apprehensive that labour leaders are apt to use unions for furthering their political interests. He knew that they are often very ambitious and have their sights raised to becoming capitalists themselves. He advised workers to resist such leaders. Gandhi was also against using the organised strength of the labour for achieving objectives strictly beyond those directly concerned with labourers, even when they happen to be desirable national political objectives. His political approach to labour movement is of great relevance today when the labour movement has become intensely politicised, and has been weakened by inter-union rivalries, and self-seeking labour leaders.

Similarly, while Gandhi accepted the right of workers to go on strike for securing justice, he strongly favoured arbitration or adjudication as the major method of settling industrial disputes. He totally disapproved strikes if they were resorted to before trying arbitration honestly; he thought arbitration to be useful for resolving post-strike situation also. He further visualised that the principle of arbitration should one day replace the principle of strike so that strikes should forever become an impossibility. °

When the strike is unavoidable, he prescribed the following conditions to be observed by the strikers: (a) There should be a just or legitimate reason for a strike; a hartal or strike should not be organized for political motives or purposes, but for bettering the social and economic position of the workers, or for settling worker's own personal and felt grievances. Strikes without legitimate cause should not be supported morally or otherwise by the people. (b) There should be unanimity among labourers in favour of going on strike. (c) Those not participating in strike should not be intimidated or

assaulted. (d) Usually, labourers should not take financial support from public or other charities or alms or union funds during the strike period; they should have capacity to support themselves during this period. (e) When there is greater supply of labourers than demand, the strike is unlikely to succeed, therefore labourers should resign from their jobs in such a situation. (f) Until labourers become enlightened to some minimum degree, strikes and union activity should not be used for solving the political issues in the country. For the same reason, there should not be any sympathetic strikes. (g) There should be perfect correspondence, and understanding between strikers and their leaders. (h) There should be no violence.¹⁰

These conditions illustrate that Gandhi did not regard strike merely as a weapon to be used when the employer is in his weakest moment, nor for assessing the mutual strength of the two parties, with atmosphere surcharged with fear, hatred, and mutual distrust. Strike for him was not a means of exerting what J.K. Galbraith has called "Countervailing power" in this context. For him, strike could not be divested of moral content, and the consideration of the balance of justice. As it has been pointed out, in respect of strikes, he emphasized truth and fairness in the formulation of demands, avoidance of bitterness during the course of struggle, and finally an attitude of mind that would view the final outcome as victory for justice rather than for any one party to the dispute.¹¹

Even with its moral content, strikes should be used for the limited purpose of solving a temporary or immediate problem. Gandhi thought that it is not suited for tackling fundamental issues such as instating the labourer to his rightful place *i.e.*, to accord him dignity and honour. Similarly, the wealth owners may not voluntarily develop concern for the welfare of employees; they may not choose voluntarily to act as trustees of their wealth. In

such instances he was against the use of strike for achieving desired goals. This is illustrated by his opposition to strikes by Naval Ratings in Bombay in 1946, and by scavengers in 1897 in Durban.¹² Here he advocated that workers should resort to Satyāgraha or complete discontinuation of service rather than a mere suspension of service which the strike implies. He said that if capital is power, labour also is power; and workers should realize their indispensability in the production process, and their resulting strength. He wanted them to fight for fundamental issues through total non-cooperation. He was sure of success of this method if the labourers practice it with firm belief in their rights and strength on the one hand, and their responsibilities on the other. No amount of violence by employers can break it, and there would be no need for labourers to resort to counter-violence.

It is necessary to grasp fully the nature and advantages of this peaceful revolutionary convergence method of Satyāgraha over the violent approach to industrial relations. It is based on the premises that capitalists are not beyond redemption; that it is possible to change their hearts. Instead of characterising wealth owners as die-hard expropriators of surplus value, Gandhi thought that they are capable of goodness. The alternative of violently liquidating them therefore did not appeal to him. He also recognized that capital owners do possess skill and intellect, and they do contribute positively to the growth of industries. The violent methods would destroy industry, and would ultimately go against the interests of the labourers also. In place of such wanton destruction the Gandhian approach leads to the establishment of the republic of workers or we as owners on the earth.

6. *Decentralization*

The Gandhian idea of decentralization of political and economic organization also had great relevance to the topic of industrial relations. Gandhi advocated

industrial organization which was on small scale, which was widely dispersed geographically in thousands of Indian villages, and which employed simple tools and techniques of production. Put in another way, he was opposed to unlimited consumption and to the concomitant industrialism, urbanism, and use of high technology. When the industrial units are organized on a small and domestic scale, relations among different people working in such units are direct, personal, and simple as compared to those existing in modern, complex, and large scale factories. In the former, typically, ownership is not divorced from control or work. The workmen themselves usually own instruments which they need for their work, and they also take decisions with regard to the management of the unit. Since owners are also labourers, private property does not form the basis for exploitation. The distinction between capital and labour become blurred. Since technology used is also simple, the division of labour is drastically reduced. The labourer therefore does not remain a mere cog in the production machine as is the case when production is organized in large factories with complex processes of production. We thus have an additional reason here as why the Gandhian system promotes labour participation in the true sense of that term, and avoids alienation of workers.

Since the geographical concentration of the workplaces also is avoided, overcrowding in cities, stresses, strains, and privations of urban life are avoided too. This in itself reduces the chances of violent industrial unrest drastically. The absence of militant, violent reaction among the labourers in rural areas cannot be explained only in terms of their lack of organized strength. Perhaps a much more plausible explanation of this phenomenon might be in terms of the absence of psychological provocation among the rural labour. Thus the decentralized form of industrial organization advocated by Gandhi creates a physical as well as psychological environment conducive for industrial peace.

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RELEVANCE OF GANDHIAN PLANNING TO INDIA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TO-DAY

T. S. DEVADOSS

For generations, men and women have been saying that mankind is confronted with problems unparalleled in history. We say it to-day. A difference is that to-day's problems are more inter-connected, more complex and more pressing than mankind has had to solve before. Because of the pace of technological advance, the process of change is faster, and increasing with unbounded vigour. To encompass change successfully, our country requires in its citizens a subtle mixture of flexibility and stability, tradition and modernity, for the solution of complex problems.

The solution to these complex problems lies in the adoption of Gandhian way of life. There is a urgent need for a basic and continuing re-appraisal of Gandhian thought and examine its relevance to the present-day economic and social development of our country. This naturally presupposes an understanding of Gandhian ideology.

"No one can know Gandhi without being Gandhi", observed Dr. Radhakrishnan. For to be Gandhi in any degree involves the acceptance of the three principles of *ahimsā*, *satya* and *prema*. If we are to follow the Mahatma's path, if his methods are to be adopted as an

alternative to the violence from which humanity needs so urgently to be saved, we must be prepared to accept those disciplines of truth and love which alone can emerge as an effectual demonstration of *ahimsā*.

Let us try to examine Gandhi's ideas not in retrospect but in the perspective of the timeless values and virtues for which the Mahatma stood.

It is almost a new civilization and culture which Mahatma Gandhi has projected. How much of it can be applicable immediately to the present-day problems has to be studied and applied. While intellectual understanding is fundamentally necessary, more important is heartfelt acceptance of approach and will to act accordingly.

'My life is my message', observed Gandhi. 'Life reveals all men and death reveals the eminent'. This is true in the case of the Mahatma. Gandhi's cherished desire was expressed thus: 'I wish to wipe every tear from every human eye'. He tried to alleviate the sufferings of the sick, the poor and the downtrodden. In spite of the earnest efforts, he could not succeed to the extent he desired. It was because he lived far ahead of his times and the people could not respond to his mighty moral awakening due to their inherent weakness. It is not necessary to lose hope. Let us have a clear vision of the future of our country and try to understand to-day the perennial principles of his life-mission.

Gandhi's precepts of self-sacrifice, devotion to societal aims and application of ethical values to economic welfare will release mass energies for new experiments in social change. He has restated and reinterpreted the fundamental principles of *satya*, *ahimsā* and *sarvodaya* in terms of modern life. His special contribution was to make the concept of *ahimsā* meaningful in the socio-political spheres by moulding tools of non-violent action to use as a positive force in the search for the ultimate Truth.

Let us briefly analyse Gandhi's basic spiritual philosophy which will enable us to examine the relevance of his economic thought to India's economic and social development.

As a democrat and humanist, Gandhi believed in the supremacy of the individual. His conception of man is a part of his creed and is deeply bound up with it. Man says Gandhi, "has two windows to his mind. Through the one, he sees his own self as it is, through the other, he can see what it ought to be." The Upaniṣadic passage reveals the suffering individual's cry :

"asato mā sad gamaya
tamaso mā jyotir gamaya
mṛtyor mā amrtam gamaya."

Lead me from the unreal to the real

Lead me from darkness to light

Lead me from death to eternal life.

Gandhi held firmly that the values of *satya*, *preman*, *abhaya* and *ahimsā*, which form the cornerstone of Sarvodaya philosophy — alone is the pathway for a progressive future. Civilization, he held, is not built with brick and cement, steel and machinery but with men and women with purity of heart, clarity of mind, sense of justice and spirit of co-operation. Self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control—these three can lead to its sublimity. All can be freed from political subjection, economic inequality and social injustice by following the path of Sarvodaya which aims at the welfare of all. The ideal Sarvodaya society which Gandhi envisaged would be free from communal differences, brutal violence, social disharmony, evil forces, love of power and wealth. It will ultimately uphold the dignity and sanctity of human individual and establish social justice in society.

If India could succeed in breaking the barrier of political convention and rise to that spiritual level that

Gandhi has set for her, she would then open up a new path — the path of Sarvodaya along which the rest of mankind could follow.

Gandhi championed the concept of equality on meta-physical grounds. Every man is equal in the eyes of God as the *Gītā* points out. Hence every man should be legally, politically, and socially equal. This presupposes his faith in justice. He observes: "The first condition of non-violence is justice all-round in every department of life." The chief evils against which Gandhi fought were racialism, imperialism, communalism and untouchability. His crusade for the liberation of the suppressed lower classes in India shows his deep attachment to the concept of social and economic justice.

Gandhian thought comprehends the totality of life, its problems, their solutions and the progressive future of humanity. It is difficult to characterise Gandhi. He is no doubt a spiritualist par-excellence, a humanist, an activist, but above all a man of peace and seeker of Truth through the service of humanity.

A careful study of Gandhi's writings on economic issues discloses the common ideas which underlay his views on the different aspects of life. On the economic plane, Gandhian thought teaches a living principle of equal advantages. The economic needs of man and his non-economic pursuits are well apportioned in his thought-structure. It is a golden means between rigid economic determinism and complacent social liberalism. In his book, *Hind Swaraj*, written in 1908, Gandhi gives a clear analysis of his approach to revive Indian system of life and its values and his deep concern to rescue India from putting on the modern material garbs of life.

As we read Gandhi's thought, we find that he laid emphasis on (a) village-oriented economy, (b) simple way of life, and (c) a co-operative socio-economic texture. His aim and purpose in emphasizing this

obviously was to make it possible and easy for all to lead a life dedicated to the cause of truth and non-violence. This was the central theme of his life.

Gandhi accepted the ethical orientation to economics. He wrote: "Economics that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful. True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time be also good economics."

Gandhi lays emphasis on the human element as the criterion for economic efficiency. Unfortunately, we find to-day that the cordial relationship between the master and the servant, between the employer and the employee is lacking. The result is that strikes, picketing, ghearas have become the order of the day. True social economics teaches us that the worker and the employer are parts of the indivisible organism. One is not smaller or greater than the other. Their interests should not be conflicting but identical and interdependent. Strikes, picketing are dharmic only when they are absolutely non-violent. Those who have no faith in non-violence had better give it up altogether. These conflicts could be avoided if there is a code of rights and duties for workers.

Gandhi holds a strong view that men are wealth, not gold and silver. He writes: 'The true veins of wealth are in people and not in rock but in flesh.'

In considering the important problem of the earnings of the workers, Gandhi pleaded for a "living wage" for the workers. He pleaded for a just wage which would promote the good of all equally, including the weakest, and is indispensable for decentralizing.

Another aspect of Gandhian thought relates to economic equality which is the master key to non-violent independence. Gandhi says: "Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and

labour. The essence of economic equality is 'to each according to his needs.' He did not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost extent, for such a society carries with it seeds of ultimate destruction.

This leads us to the crucial problem of economic thought advocated by Gandhi, viz., the doctrine of Trusteeship. Trusteeship is not a concept of no-change, but one of change in property relations through non-violent means. The unjust pattern of distribution continues as the owner of capital passes on his possessions to his heirs. While labour has the same freedom to transfer its holdings to its descendants, it can only pass on its poverty. Gandhi's idea of trusteeship bids fair to rectify the built-in distributive injustice in our society. Gandhi said: "Personally, I do not believe in inherited riches."

Trusteeship implies a voluntary acceptance by the rich to use their possessions for the needs of the society. Elimination of exploitation and inequality are the goals of trusteeship. That is why, it is a policy for distributive justice.

Is the trusteeship concept relevant for the present-day society? Yes. Trusteeship stands for distributive justice, economic equality and radical change of structure, all of which are pressing needs of society to-day. There is no real conflict between the motivation and objectives of trusteeship approach to resources and the democratic socialist approach. The main spring of Gandhian thought is his total commitment to peaceful methods. Conflict conditions have been growing in India. We need an economic policy by the state which will place its ceilings on consumption and income, curb the forces of private profit, reverse the process that has resulted in concentration of wealth and economic power in a few hands, introduce a new concept of incentive wherein social contribution is given weightage. To force a state to behave as

trustee of the people, we need a non-violent movement along Gandhian lines. Gandhi felt that if the rich do not become trustees voluntarily, force of circumstance will compel them to do so unless they have no desire for averting the disaster!

Gandhi was highly critical of state enterprise and thought it to be rather inadequate. His popular saying that while socialism-communism wanted to take away the enterprises of the capitalists too, together with their enterprises, penetrated deep into the heart of the matter. That meant that Gandhi wanted to persuade the capitalists to run their enterprises as trustees in the interest not only of themselves and their fellowowners, but of society at large.

The chief principle of Gandhian economy is simplicity of life. It distinguishes between 'a high standard of life' and 'a high standard of living.' Simplicity of life means neither poverty nor asceticism. Craze for multiplicity of goods is destructive of contentment, peace, and tranquility. It results in exploitation, enormous waste of nature's material and human labour.

For Gandhi, non-violence and centralized industry was incompatible. He advocated 'production by masses' as against 'mass production through decentralization'. Decentralization should not be confused with dispersal of industries. Dispersal of industry is no remedy for the ills of industrialism. Gandhi could see in the modern civilization, man was being estranged in the human world. And his main concern was individual well-being.

Gandhian economy is based on self-sufficiency. "Self-reliance is the basis of freedom, while dependence on other is the essence of slavery", observes J. C. Kumarappa. Gandhi also advocates for 'Co-operative economy'. Gandhian thought seeks to build up a society with a bias towards rural civilization, in which industries would be decentralized and village could be as self-sufficient as possible.

Let us remember that by paying attention to the economic thought of Gandhi, we are applying models which are not alien but native to our soil. This is essential at present because we have been exposed to the legitimate accusation that foreign economic models have been tried with doubtful results. We have to make a starting point for an economic thinking relevant to Indian conditions.

At the centre of Gandhi's economic programme for India, is his plan for revival of *village economy*. It should be reiterated in clear terms that the concept of economic decentralization in the form of small and home industries does not in any way militate against the idea of utilizing the fruits of science. Gandhi was never against the use of science, for improving the techniques of village and cottage industries. But we have to think ultimately in terms of economic and social efficiency in the context of communal development. The planning authorities will have to plan much, and the State and the Centre, will have to do much, and of it, a great deal permanently.

People should imbibe the spirit of *swadeshi*. We should note that excessive reliance on external aid would ultimately sap our energies and undermine the spirit of self-help. There can be real green revolution only when the Indian farmer is properly trained in modern farming techniques, and also introduce new innovations in cultivation. Above all, the farmers must be provided with the all-important incentive of gaining ownership of their land to increase their investment and production.

'Plain living and high thinking'—this ideal is the foundation of Gandhian thought. At present, a vast resource of human skills and energies, is going to waste. With a little more encouragement and proper direction and planning, these energies could provide a dynamic force for India's national development.

The present national plans are bureaucratic in nature. It may be suggested that besides the centralised public sector and the private sector, there could be a co-operative sector, a municipal sector, and other forms of decentralised ownership and management of industry and trade. All economic and social policies would have to be directed towards the end of securing for everybody the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, shelter, education and health. Although various considerations of economic and technological efficiency have to be kept in view, it should not be forgotten that the human aspect has to be the decisive factor in our schemes of economic planning. Gandhian planning is essentially democratic and humanistic in essence. It is humanistic because its first postulate is to provide employment to all. It is democratic because the fruits of labour and capital are to be shared by all and for the welfare of all. This is the essence of Sarvodaya which still remains an idealized goal of Gandhian thought. To realize it, should be our endeavour.

The practical remedies may be suggested: The members of intelligentsia having faith in Gandhian thought and approach may organize action to help, remove social tensions by non-violent means and thus translate the Gandhian values into action through a process of people's education.

Secondly, the harmony of interests between the haves and have-nots be ensured speedily.

Thirdly, the organisation of rural economy be on decentralised principles of production and consumption of essential and social goods.

Fourthly, urgent steps should be taken to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of the agrarian classes at least as effectively as those of the industrial sector.

Fifthly, reiterating Gandhian ideas on education and peaceful evolution towards an egalitarian, just and moral

society from poverty, there is an imperative need for strengthening studies in socio-economic transformation along such lines in the Institutes of Management Studies, Labour relations, economics, and other centres of learning, with a view to carry the findings of such educational endeavour to make mass movements.

Sixthly, endorsing the fundamental tenets of Gandhian thought, it should be resolved that the dignity of labour as propagated by Gandhi in relation to scavenging should not be understood to mean perpetuation of caste tyranny, and unhygienic and unhealthy professions, and that on the other hand, science and technology should be applied to provide alternative professions to those hereditarily downtrodden classes.

Considering the current debate on Industrial Relations Bill, it is suggested that urgent studies along egalitarian Gandhian path, be made and discussed widely with a view to improve the effectiveness of the proposed legislative measure, and to ensure, urgent reformulation.

Lastly, noting the need for the state to be a model employer, it is suggested that steps be taken to ensure the prime role of the state to become a model employer expeditiously, and to further endeavour to provide a living wage to all eligible workers and to continuously seek a just and equitable flow of wages and incomes.

It is hoped that the framework of the Sixth Five Year Plan would be Gandhian in the real sense of the term. Gandhian ideas were relevant during his life-time, continue to be relevant to-day and shall remain so for many decades to follow.

RELEVANCE OF SATYAGRAHA AS A TECHNIQUE OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

DILIP K. CHATTERJEE

Gandhi's Basic ideas on Satyāgraha were evolved partly from his study of the teachings of Jesus, of Thoreau and of Tolstoy, as well as from his leadership of (a) the Indian community in South Africa, in their struggle against racial discrimination practised by the White minority there, and (b) the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements against the British Government in India (1920-42).

The term Satyāgraha was coined by Gandhi in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used. It was conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence and hatred in any shape or form. Satyāgraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self. It literally means holding on to truth. Gandhi called it the 'soul force'.

Satyāgraha is a powerful method of direct action. A Satyāgrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyāgraha. Gandhi also used it as his last weapon against injustice, after having exhausted all other possibilities of persuasion and conciliation. Satyāgraha stresses four basic ideas: (a) it is essentially the use of soul force; (b) it excludes the use of physical force; (c) through the

suffering of the Satyāgrahi it appeals to the heart and thus seeks to convert the wrong doer; (d) means and ends are convertible terms, 'as the means so the end'. A good result can be produced only by good means.

According to Gandhi, Satyāgraha is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used against any sort of oppression and exploitation, in political as well as in domestic affairs. It is a law of universal application. The idea underlying Satyāgraha is to convert the wrong doer, to awaken the sense of justice in him, to show him also that without the co-operation, direct or indirect, of the wronged, the wrong doer cannot do the wrong intended by him. It is never the intention of the Satyāgrahi to embarrass the wrong doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is and must be always to his heart. The Satyāgrahi becomes a fearless person. He will never submit to any arbitrary action. Satyāgraha is an attitude of mind. He who has attained the Satyāgrahi's state of mind will remain ever victorious, at all times and places and under all conditions, irrespective of whether it is a government or a people that he opposes, whether they be strangers, friends or relatives.

Thus Satyāgraha is belief in the power of spirit, the power of truth, the power of love by which men can overcome evil through self-suffering and self-sacrifice. Satyāgraha in the hands of Gandhi developed into a philosophy and a way of life.

Perhaps the real significance of Gandhi for us to-day lies in his method, that he taught, to fight evil and injustice. His contribution lies in the novelty of his method as a technique of protest or resistance. As a protest movement against authority or establishment, it can serve not only as a check on the abuse of power but also as a medium of educating public opinion. According to Gandhi it was

a sin to suffer unjust behaviour at the hands of another person or organisation; hence he did not hesitate to carry on tireless crusades against, injustice, both in South Africa and in India. Gandhi's teachings affirm that rulers do not have a divine right to their office or to the allegiance of the ruled. When they betray the trust of the people, the latter have a right and a duty to drive the rulers out.

Therefore, Satyāgraha may better be understood as a technique for solving conflict and a method for fighting evil. As has been pointed out by John. V. Bondurant "Satyāgraha became something more than a method of resistance to particular legal norms; it became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change....."¹

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose defines Satyāgraha as "a way of conducting 'war' by means of non-violence."²

There are different forms of Satyāgraha. Any of the several forms may be employed in a Satyāgraha campaign. Those which were most commonly employed during the freedom struggle in India under Gandhi's leadership were non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

Non-cooperation may include strike, hartal, boycott and resignation of offices and titles.

Civil disobedience is a form of non-violent rebellion. By refusing to obey the 'unmoral laws' of the state, the civil resister denies the existence of the established authority. In doing all this he never uses force and never resists force when it is used against him. In fact, the Satyāgrahi invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself.

A special mention should be made of fasting and its place in Satyāgraha, the object of which is to appeal

to the good sense of the person against whom Satyāgraha is directed.

Satyāgraha can communicate the idea that laws have no automatic claims to respect; in order to gain obedience, they must be able to elicit consent of those expected to obey. Unless people can exercise their judgement, employ their reason, and sound their conscience to evaluate the government and laws they obey, they can not be free, and, at the same time, law-abiding citizens. Satyāgraha or civil disobedience is therefore, possible in any political system which has laws intended as a limited and non-revolutionary form of protest. The politics of Satyāgraha is to be a face-to-face politics; participants would confront their opponents as individuals without a mediating institution. The goal of Satyāgraha is change. The desired change would enhance the humanity of persons on both sides of the conflict.

Those who are troubled by the Government or frustrated by the social or economic injustice may find in Satyāgraha a means of eliminating the gaps between ideal and practice. Before Gandhi the only means that the suppressed and exploited had, with which to fight against their oppressor were violent means. The peaceful means of struggle were limited to agitation and in the case of industrial labour, to strike. In Gandhi's method of Satyāgraha the suppressed and exploited have found a new technique that carries the struggle forward and gives full expression to the urge for social justice and social change. It is however, unfortunate that this method which was handled by Gandhi with rare skill and statesmanship, is now being misused by various sections in India for achieving narrow and selfish ends.

It cannot be said however that Gandhi was always successful or that through the method of Satyāgraha he was always able to resolve conflict and thereby could achieve his goal; sometimes he had to suspend or withdraw

the movement, in some cases the Satyāgrahis could not remain true to their pledges *i.e.* non-violence; but by and large Gandhi was successful in resolving the conflicts. In every conflict situation he trained the Satyāgrahis properly and made the ground work most serious and as a result his movement always imparted a great political education to the Indian people and drew attention from outside the country.

Before advising people to launch Satyāgraha it must be noted that Gandhi had exhausted all other peaceful remedies. Preliminary to actual resistance, the usual petitions, deputations, interviews and correspondence were carried on.

Gandhi led powerful campaigns of nonviolent non-cooperation with the government in 1921, 1930 and 1932. Essentially movements of civil disobedience and challenge to authority, Gandhi insisted on keeping them non-violent and disciplined, and launched them in the form of moral resistance to injustice rather than as mass agitation. This was the essence of Satyāgraha. He himself undertook several fasts including 'fasts unto death' to persuade the government into (or out of) same step. Fear and apprehension for the possibility of losing power and property demoralize the men in authority today. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back, and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair-play. The Satyāgraha has therefore to devise some means of dealing with them effectively.

Conflicts are inherent in a rapidly changing society. Studies have demonstrated that, far from avoiding conflict, Gandhi often initiated it. He rejected not conflict but violence as the method of resolving it, the problem of human conflict being as John Bondurant has pointed out, "perhaps the most fundamental problem of all time."³ In the words of Arne Naess, "Gandhi always gravitated towards the centre of a conflict."⁴ He forced

confrontation upon his antagonists in order to attack social injustices.

We are living in an age of tensions between group and group, class and class, nation and nation. The world today is brimming with unrest that seeks to right social and political wrongs. When violence erupts there is destruction and loss of life but no assurance of the outcome. The armaments race is wasteful and potentially catastrophic. Hence a grasp of methods of struggle is needed. In this sense Satyāgraha may be considered relevant as an alternative.

Once a government has become autocratic and corrupt, violent and unjust, once it has stopped listening to the ordinary citizen, once its conduct is keeping the people and the country back, the citizens, Gandhi affirmed, had the right to withdraw their co-operation from the regime and to bring it to a halt. Disloyalty to such a regime becomes a duty, and disobedience a virtue. If an intermediate stage of disorder is the unavoidable consequence of efforts to teach the rulers a lesson, the Satyāgrahi must gladly opt for such disorder rather than countenance a regime that is holding his people and his country back. The responsibility for such disorder as may follow rests on the regime that has betrayed the trust of the people, that has clung to office, to so-called 'Powers', by police methods and which has left the Satyāgrahi no choice but to resort to direct action.

A political system can thrive only if ordinary people have the opportunity as well as the self confidence to bring their governors to account. Gandhi often emphasised that swaraj would not come when a few acquired authority, but when all acquired the capacity to resist authority. He used to stress that if the people relax their vigil, almost everyone elected or appointed to office will abuse it. On the other hand, if they are politically conscious, alert and active, almost everyone elected or appointed to

office could be made to work to keep the people's trust.

In India in the recent past we have experienced an authoritarian regime. Notwithstanding a non-violent war waged under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, it cannot be said that the Gandhian technique of *Satyāgraha* was experimented in a large scale throughout the length and breadth of the country. And it was especially the intellectual class which not only maintained silence with dishonour, but in fact backed and sided with that regime.

Gandhi believed that a just cause if backed by moral strength cannot be ignored by the most powerful government. To him right means alone could lead to right end. But what is happening today in the context of our social, political and economic life falls too short of the Gandhian standard of values and methods. We find around ourselves strikes, fasts, dharnas, satyāgrahas, pickettings, gheroes, and many more things of the kind, all undertaken to back some demands. But what is worth noticing is that today men have accepted the forms of the Gandhian techniques and thrown to winds the spirit behind them. Ends are more important to them than the means.

The crucial decision of today lies, therefore, in the determination of a realistic method of change and development and in the evolution of the 'technique' set for the purpose. Because of the flexible nature of Gandhi's doctrines it is easy to distort them. Besides, the techniques that he used in the non-violent struggle could equally be used violently. Today it has also been marked that governments fail to appreciate the honesty and spirit of non-violent moves. They are more susceptible to violence. Only when public order is endangered by a mass movement does the government make a concession, not because it considers the demand legitimate, but

because it then recognizes the strength of the group making the demand and its capacity for destructiveness. Violence or threat of violence seems to make the government see a demand. Mass discontents have been exploited by the political parties who seldom take into account the national and social interests. Therefore, one of the curious phenomena of post-Gandhian politics in India is the increasing use of agitational methods in multiple forms. It would be relevant to ask whether these modes of political pressurising have any sanction in Gandhism for those who resort to these tactics have always claimed a legitimacy behind their use. Is it possible to treat them as different facets of Gandhian civil disobedience? Or finally, what are the outcomes of these movements, even in his time? Gandhi did not approve of the idea, that everybody could become a *Satyāgrahi*. For that, he prescribed a rigid code of conduct. In fact, saintly men like Gandhi were only capable of acting as *Satyāgrahis*.

Besides, there are critics who object to the Gandhian way for bringing about the social change. They also disbelieve the efficacy of *Satyāgraha*. Mr. M. N. Roy made out a strong case against *Satyāgraha*. He said, Gandhism succeeded in 1919 because it fulfilled a historical necessity. We were under repression for a long time. There was not self-confidence enough for an armed rebellion Non-violence, non-co-operation and civil resistance, these negative weapons have had their days. But the masses today will not stop at this negative attitude of suffering and sacrifice but aim at positive economic and political results. Geoffrey Ashe writes, after Gandhi's death, Rajendra Prasad conceded that the success of *Satyāgraha* had been partly due to the self imposed restraint of the authorities it was used against.⁶ Gandhi never made that admission. He claimed that his method could win anywhere because it could convert anybody. Mr. Riker says,⁶ from a survey of Gandhi's political fasting he drew an inference that

Gandhi fasted only when he could win. Never once did he expose his charisma to the humiliation of abandoning a fast in future. Ambedkar⁷ opposed *Satyāgraha* because he thought that Gandhi had never used this weapon against the Hindus. There was not a single fast undertaken by Gandhi for the removal of untouchability. Another criticism is that very few people would qualify the Gandhian idea of a *Satyāgraha*. Besides, a society which produces such *Satyāgrahis* in a sufficiently large number would have no need of *Satyāgraha*.

In practice of course, *Satyāgraha* by such ideal individuals has rarely been successful unless it was accompanied by the threat or possibility of *Satyāgraha* on a mass scale by ordinary men and women. In that case it has some obvious advantages. The movement being non-violent, the danger of deterrent reprisals remains less, and large number of persons can respond to its call. This would lead to a wider political education of the people. On the other hand, *Satyāgraha* on a mass scale may lead to violence by irresponsible elements. With all the precautions that the leadership may take, it is not always possible to keep the movement non-violent.

It is desirable therefore that the limitations of *Satyāgraha* as a technique of conflict resolution or an instrument of political change should be well understood. The efficacy of *Satyāgraha* has sometimes been exaggerated in our country. The task it can undoubtedly perform is to bring about a popular awakening in regard to the issue at stake. But its usefulness for anything more is highly doubtful. Nevertheless, honest experiments may be made to see whether it can operate in present day national and international conflict situations. Success on a practical scale can dispel doubts. The test of any theory lies in action.

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INDUSTRIAL AND LABOUR RELATIONS — THE GANDHIAN WAY

K. GOVINDASWAMY

Gandhi's views of labour are scattered in his writings and speeches. It is clear from his works that he took part in the Labour Movement just to release the employers or employees from the grip of labour-capital tensions. He was always for reform rather than escapism. He indicated his preference by living in the midst of the lowliest workers wherever he went. In order to see and feel how the meanest of workers lived and felt, he stayed with workers in the Kingsley Hall in London and in the Bhangee Colony in Delhi. He clearly understood the problem of social tensions and human barriers as the basic social fact at all times.

The Gandhian Philosophy of Labour

Gandhi's philosophy of labour is mainly based on the inspiration which he had from Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and Tolstoy's writing on *Bread Labour*. Early in his life he had some basic information regarding the concept of labour from the *Gītā* and the *Bible*. If everyone works sincerely for his or her bread the distinction of all rank will naturally disintegrate. As Ruskin puts it, "The veins of wealth are people, and would be found not in rock but in flesh." Gandhi believed in elevating the employers-employed relation to a higher moral sphere. He also stressed the need for a wise management-labour.

Like Tolstoy, Gandhi also was conscious of man's selfishness and his predatory and parasitic habit. The individual organism has completely forgotten the physical and mental welfare of the workers. He maintained that we have industrial expansion without paying attention to the welfare of the workers. He, therefore, demanded an interdependent industrial community. The worker community should care for the increased production and productivity through team work. At the same time the management community should care more for the mental and physical strains of the labour. Thus Gandhi believed more in making new history than repeating history.

Gandhi always stressed the need for a decentralised economy and worked for a co-operative principle whereby the interests and well being of capital and labour were integrated. To enlighten this his own words may be quoted: "I believe that some key industries are necessary. I do not believe in arm-chair or armed socialism. I believe in action according to my belief. Hence without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership where large number of people have to work together. Ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled, will vest in them through the state only based on non-violence. I would not dispossess moneyed men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to state ownership. There are no partials of society, whether they are mill-owners or paupers. The two are sources of the same disease and all are men who belong to that."¹

According to Gandhi both the demand and means of the workers are to be just and clear. He was for eliminating bitterness and avoiding class struggle. He pleaded for mutual adjustment and for reorganisation of society based on truth and non-violence. This can be called as the co-partnership of Gandhi. He was not for the modern idea of unrestricted collective bargaining. Regarding mechanisation he stressed that the workers must master

the machine and control the development with confidence and not fear developments. Certainly Gandhi would have welcomed automation if it could be controlled for human development. "Cottage and large scale production can be harmonised. The cities must be planned to help villages. Key industries, which the nation need may be centralised. But their proper function will be as their clearing houses for village products."²¹

While analysing his labour philosophies we admire Gandhi for his flexibility. He says, "There is no such thing as Gandhism and I do not want to leave a sect after me. ... The opinions I have formed and the conclusions I have arrived at are not final."²² Thus he allows future generations to create a medium of their own and develop it rationally. It may serve humanity in its own way but they will be judged not by their tall theories but by effective practice.

²¹ He advocated that men should do their actual living and working in communities of a size suited to their bodily as well as mental stature. Gandhi's vision is becoming true. The Government of India is trying to start industries in villages after realising the perils of urbanisation. The day is not far off when Gandhi's labour philosophy which is founded to suit the Indian soil will be followed and *in toto* practised by every Indian.

Gandhi's technique in labour mananement is the product of his experiment and practical analysis. It drew his attention even at an earlier stage when he was in South Africa. This resulted in the remarkable work called *Satyāgraha* in South Africa. This is a treatise on the tension between labour and capital. This technique was well developed in the Indian soil at Kochrab *Satyāgraha* Ashram and Sabarmati Ashram. He got himself directly involved in the Ahmedabad labour problems. His reasons for the same may be cited here. "At the time, there came a letter from Shrimati. Anusuya Devi

about the condition of labour in Ahmedabad. Wages are low; the labourers had long been agitating for an increment and I had a desire to guide them.”⁴ Gandhi was determined to do what he believed to be right. He, therefore, even advised the Ahmedabad labourers to go on strike. When it failed he went to the extreme of fasting unto death. He succeeded in bringing the appointment of an arbitration to solve the labour problems. This is the first application of his technique which ended in success. Ten thousand workers followed the principles of truth and non-violence. Ahmedabad labour union was considered as a model for others to copy. Gandhi got the inspiration and said, “If I had my way, I would regulate all the labour organisations of India after the Ahmedabad model.”

Gandhi stressed the need for recognising workmen as equals with the share-holders. The workers should be allowed to have a first hand knowledge about the transactions of the mills. He differed from many other reformers who were preaching only utopian principles. He practised what he preached and he preached only the practical ideas.

In addition to that he tried to see the workers follow his principles. He believed that the success of the workers entirely depends on the justice of their demands and their correct behaviour. The workers or their leaders should not exaggerate their demands. All sympathetic strikes have to be a kind of self-purification. They must be able to correct themselves if the opposite party is able to convince them if the workers are in the wrong. According to Gandhi, they should follow peaceful and non-violent means even though there is provocation. They should not damage any property or person because they are not against the employers. Hate the deed and not the doer is his principle. The workers should be self-respecting and should have enough funds or alternative job during the strike. A fitter must be willing to lay

roads for bread. Gandhi advocated a trade union with organised strength. The union must be able to remove the workers from the dirty atmosphere when there are evils like drink, untouchability, indebtedness and so on. He always stressed that the labourers must regard the interest of the industry as a whole as their own and seek to mobilise the better sense of the owners of industry to their side. He preferred collective thinking rather than conflicting bargaining. He considered industrial peace as an essential ingredient of industrial, economic and social progress.

These principles of labour did not come of his mere book knowledge but of his wide contacts with labour and intensive study of their problems in person. His approach was that of social scientist who did not merely imitate the Western trade unionism and class struggle. He strongly believed in a social revolution by non-violent means avoiding bloodshed. Workers should finally cultivate the habits of non-violence and develop these habits into permanent attitudes.

Gandhi's philosophy of labour was rooted in his sense of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Truth and non-violence were main features of his philosophy which according to him is a mode of living as well as a way of thought. Gandhi tried to coordinate and synthesise labour relations as well as human relations. He insisted that a labourer should have some hours of leisure, enough education for himself and his children. A labourer should be able to satisfy himself with simple living and possess high thinking.

Gandhi attempted to bring together the masses and classes by encouraging the individual to sacrifice his self-interest to the interest of the society as a whole. His concept of trusteeship — the economics of sharing — emerged from this. Under this scheme commercial and industrial concerns would belong to society. There

would be no employer and employee and the management and labour will have the joint responsibility to run them not only for themselves but for the good of society as a whole. He often quoted Samu Bai of Japan as a good example for trusteeship.

Gandhi appealed to the capitalists to consider the wealth which was the product of social co-operation and effort not as their personal belongings but as a belonging of the society and regard themselves as trustees. At the same time he appealed to the workers not to look upon themselves as slaves engaged in perpetual war against employers, for a lion's share in the production, but to make a common endeavour to produce for the society.

Regarding wage, Gandhi pleaded for a minimum living wage which would give them a balanced diet. He did not prefer the expression 'minimum wage'. In his address to the All India Village Industries Association, Gandhi remarked that if it is not possible for any industry to pay this minimum wage, we had better close it. We should see that in any industry that we handle, the wage covers a reasonable maintenance allowance.⁶

According to Gandhi it is unwise to make use of labour strikes for political purposes until labourers understand the political conditions of the country.

Gandhi's dynamism in the solution of the country's labour problems placed him in the forefront of all radical thinkers. Inspired by Gandhi's views, Einstein remarked: "The problem with which the intellectuals of this country is confronted is very serious. What ought the minority to do against the evil? I can frankly see revolutionary way of non-co-operation in the sense of Gandhi... Gandhi recognised this as the only solution of the vicious circle in which the nations of the world have become caught. Let us do whatever is within our power so that all people of the world may accept Gandhi's gospel as

their basic policy before it is too late." This view was accepted by great thinkers and followed by millions. Gandhi freed millions of human beings from the shackles of social indignity. He laid the foundations for a new way of life which may one day provide an effective alternative to both a regimented and an acquisitive economy. The moral influence of his personality, and his gospel and technique of non-violence cannot be weighed in a material scale. Nor is its value limited to any particular country or generation. It is his imperishable gift to humanity.

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SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD — GANDHIAN WAY

G. S. HERBERT

Kant said, "Since the *Status naturalis* of states is one of war, a state of peace must be founded, and cannot be left to nature."¹ War appears to be natural to man. Even a superficial study of history of the world reveals that it has been the aim of every monarch to wage war, expand his dominions with a view to establish an empire and to be called emperor. Wars have been also fought for wealth and riches *i.e.*, to loot and plunder the others' territories for material profit. Even the twentieth century has seen the treacherous greed of nations and their leaders to conquer and rule over others. With the advancement of science, wars have become more and more brutal and devastating.

Attempts for the abandonment of wars and establishment of peace are also found in history. Gautama Buddha preached the message of Ahimsā and compassion. Asoka, one of the greatest emperors had followed the Buddha's teachings in giving up wars and to tread the path of peace though only after being vexed with the carnage which the Kalinga war had brought about. Jesus Christ whom the Christians worship as the saviour and Lord, is described as the prince of peace. He has lived and preached the message of love, forgiveness and peace. In contemporary

times Gandhi has relentlessly voiced the efficacy of non-violence as against violence.

H.G. Wells in one of his last writings had predicted that man is unfit to live in this world as he knows what is good but does not know how to do good. Man wants peace but does not know how to achieve it. Hence he being incapable of doing what he knows to be the right would destroy himself. The future would show whether H.G. Wells is right or wrong. However, a survey of the contemporary world is ominous. Science has perfected the weapons of war and nations have manufactured and stored them in enough numbers to such an extent that an outbreak of war would not only destroy the living and the products of civilization, but also would make the surface and atmosphere of the earth uninhabitable for hundreds of years if not for ever. Leaders of nations and man in general are aware of this fact and they dread another war. War is an international nightmare. Man would like to avoid or escape wars if possible.

Peace treaties that have been made among the nations constitute a method of avoiding wars. The League of Nations established after the first world war is a great step towards peace. The United Nations Organisation functioning at present is another great stride towards achieving peace. Yet history has shown that peace treaties among nations have been treated as scrap papers; the League of Nations could not stop wars; and the United Nations Organisation is in no better a position to achieve its noble purpose of peace.

The Gandhian Way

Let us consider the Gandhian approach to the establishment of peace in the background of what is stated above. It is known that Gandhi is opposed to violence and wars. He is an advocate of non-violence and peace. Though non-violence is 'as old as the hills', Gandhi's

exposition, clarification and forceful advocacy of non-violence is unique.

Here we shall be mainly concerned with the Gandhian way of achieving peace without being occupied with his exposition of non-violence which is quite familiar. The Gandhian way of peace springs from the basic concept of non-violence.

War is said to be a way of ending wars. As a matter of fact the second world war was fought by the allies with a view to end all wars. Gandhi is of the firm opinion that war can never end wars. Violence breeds only violence but can never end violence. War is destructive whereas peace is constructive. They are two opposite processes. Further violence, being destructive, is a negative process, whereas peace, being constructive, is a positive process. Peace is a positive force of cementing people. War which is a destroying and divisive force can never contribute to the establishment of peace. Hence the search for peace should be in the way of non-violence alone. What Napoleon had said to the emperor of Austria in a personal appeal after a fierce battle is worthy of note:

Thousands of French men and Austrians have been killed. The prospect of continuance of such horrors distresses me so greatly that I make a personal appeal to you. Amid grief and surrounded by 15,000 corpses, I implore your Majesty, I feel bound to give you an urgent warning. Let us give our generation peace and tranquility. If the men of later days are such fools as to come to blows, they will learn wisdom after a few years of fighting and will then live at peace with one another.²

Napoleon had sent this appeal for peace at the height of his glory and success. He saw the futility of war to end hostilities and appealed for peace. Napoleon subscribed to the Gandhian view when he said, "There are only two powers in the world, those powers are the spirit

and the sword. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."³

Yet the practical question remains. At the individual level it may be possible to practice non-violence and to conquer the enmity in the fellow man, but the possibility of practicing non-violence on a larger scale of communities and nations still remains to be a question. Asoka, perhaps, had succeeded in his life time to eschew war, but could not stamp it out permanently even in India. Napoleon with all his noble sentiments could not end wars. The victory of the allies in the second world war has not ended wars. Wars have been going on even after the second world war on a lesser scale in the Far East, Africa and the Middle East, threatening to be global at any moment. In spite of Gandhi and his message, India has been engaged in war on the east, west, and the north with its neighbours. Can we see any light in the search for peace?

The Gandhian answer to the above question is in terms of hope born out of conviction in the efficacy of love. His plan of action is to achieve the final goal of international peace through stepping stones. "It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for individuals it is not for the masses of mankind."⁴ Individuals and small groups should cultivate the habit of living in peace at lower levels and among small groups and it would eventually lead to peaceful living at higher levels and finally at the international level. Gandhi in adopting non-violent means to get Swaraj for India aimed at achieving international peace by doing so. He said, "I suggest to the friends of peace for the world, that the Congress in 1920 took a tremendous step towards peace when it declared that it would attain her own, namely Swaraj, by non-violent and truthful means. And I am positive that, if we unflinchingly adhere to these means in the prosecution of our goal, we shall have made the largest contribution to the world peace."⁵

According to Gandhi there are certain conditions which are conducive for international peace. They are: (i) All nations should be independent, (ii) The equality of all nations should be recognised, (iii) Disarmament should be accepted by the nations both in principle and their practice.

Nations to be independent

Gandhi writes, "There will be international league only when all the nations big or small, composing it are fully independent."° An international league based on non-violence leads to the establishment of world peace. Such a league implies and it is possible only when it consists of independent nations. As long as any nation is not independent, there would not be world peace. It is necessary that all nations should be independent to be equal partners in the league of nations in order to have peace.

Empires imply inequality among the nations. The imperialistic nation rules and governs some other nations by subjugating and depriving them of their independence. Imperialism perforce is based on violence and can breed only hatred and violence, obstructing the ways of peace. In the 20th century which has seen the emergence of several independent nations, there is ideological imperialism in the place of political imperialism, as a consequence of which we have satellite nations which are not independent and unless all nations are independent, there cannot be peace in the world.

Nations to be equal

Nations should not only be independent but they should also be equal. The opening sentences of the U. N. O. Charter affirm faith "..... in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small....." Peace can be built among the individuals or groups only on the basis of mutual respect. Appropriate mutual respect cannot be obtained among superiors

and inferiors. It is true and appears to be natural that there are nations which are big and small. It is due to geographical factors, economic resources, climatic conditions, etc. It is not possible to alter these factors and to bring about an artificial equality. There are bound to be economic inequalities among the nations. Equality of nations means political equality. Every nation should be treated on par with other nations.

The inequality of nations stands out prominently in the Security Council of the U.N. O. There are five permanent members and ten elected members in the Security Council. The presence of the permanent members makes a division in the comity of nations into big and small. Further the permanent members enjoy the Veto power which is discriminatory. Such an inequality is based on power, mutual suspicion and fear. World peace can never be built on inequalities and fear.

Wars are the result of lust for power. In some way or other some nations want to establish supremacy over at least some of the other nations. They desire to create and perpetuate inequalities so as to maintain their superiority. Self-aggrandisement gives rise to inequality and inequality in return affords scope for self-aggrandisement. It is a vicious circle which can be broken only by an international law by which all nations are treated as equal. The spirit of self aggrandisement is killed to some extent, though it requires to be more nullified by education, by the proclamation of equality of all nations by an international law. Such a law in the course of time would become a convention and *defacto* accomplishment. Equality of nations would go a long way to establish peace in this world.

It might be said that equality of nations appears to be a mirage which we can only dream about but can never achieve. What would be actualities have to be

started as dreams and ideals. Without ideals and inspiring ideas nothing can be attempted and achieved. The end of imperialism and the establishment of independent nations was a mere dream in the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century. In the present day world all nations have become independent. Political independence of nations which looked like a mirage and dream has become an actuality. There is still idealogical imperialism and also economic domination of one nation over others. Such dependencies also would disappear in course of time. Independence is a spirit and as such does not depend upon the material or other conditions. The present political independence is bound to pave the way for the complete independence and equality of nations.

Disarmament

Gandhi once wrote that, "Disarmament is the only way to avoid fresh war."⁷ Disarmament means giving up weapons of war and reducing or dissolving the national armies. When there is an army, it requires weapons and the converse is also true. So disarmament should go along with disbanding of the army.

Disarmament does not appear to be possible in isolation. International co-operation is necessary for disarmament. Yet it is possible for any nation to give up arms unilaterally on the basis of the Gandhian principle of non-violence. Non-violence is the weapon of the strong but not of the weak. Non-violence "was never conceived as a weapon of the weak, but of the stoutest heart."⁸ The strength of non-violence is not physical but spiritual. "Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will."⁹ Being soul force and truth force, non-violence is more powerful than the armed might of the soldiers. So if it is possible for a nation to adopt the path of non-violence, it is possible to disarm itself irrespective of what others do. Gandhi is of the

opinion, "If even one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our life time visible peace established on earth."¹⁰

But the question is whether it is practicable for a whole nation to be non-violent. Gandhi thinks it is possible and practicable. He says, "It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for the individuals it is not for masses of mankind."¹¹ Leaders of the nation must be convinced of the efficacy of non-violence. As training in the use of weapons is given, education and training in non-violence also should be given on a war footing. Non-violence is not passive submission but active counter-action with love. That is why the violent opponent would be forced to respond with love though not immediately but in the long run.

Disarmament is an essential step on the path of peace. It is both the cause and the effect of peace. It is cause in so far as it is conducive to the establishment of peace; and it is the effect for it is a necessary consequence of peace. On Gandhian principles, arms race is a mad race for the destruction of humanity. Man must turn his back to this mad race and adopt the policy of disarmament with the spirit of non-violence in order to establish peace. Nuclear weapons hang like the sword of Democles on the throes of man. "The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter bombs even as violence cannot be met by counter violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence. Hatred can be overcome only by love."¹²

Peace Treaties

At this stage we may briefly consider the role of peace treaties among the nations as contributing to peace. Peace treaties are born out of fear rather than trust. Where

there is mutual trust, there is no place for peace treaties. So peace treaties are a symbol of impending wars rather than peace.

Further, terms of peace treaties require the threat of force to be implemented. Tolstoy from whom Gandhi had drawn inspiration "had a profound distrust of peace-congresses, and courts of arbitration, because he said that their decisions always came in the end, to the point where they had to be made effective by violence itself."¹³ The League of Nations failed as it did not command an army to enforce its decisions; and the United Nations Organisation is failing as it can command an army to interfere and enforce peace. The spirit of non-violence lacks in both the organisations. These world bodies which have been formed out of a quest for peace after the two world wars respectively, are not vehicles of peace, as they require a force to enforce their decisions. Hence peace could not and cannot be achieved by these two world bodies.

If nations truly aspire for peace, they ought to build themselves on principles of non-violence. Non-violent nations do not require peace treaties. They are the very basis of peace from which peace spreads and pervades the rest of the world.

Is the Gandhian ideal utopian? The answer to this question is based on the nature of human beings. Gandhi writes, "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature."¹⁴ Human nature is essentially peace loving. Even when man fights making use of violence he does so, to be able to live in peace. The way of world peace lies in cultivating the spirit of non-violence and peace in the hearts of men. As the individuals are built, so the nations are built. And as the nations are built, so the world is built. "There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe."¹⁵

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS: GANDHIAN APPROACH

G. B. K. Hooja

When Gandhi was still busy with constructive work in Champaran in 1918, he received a letter from Shrimati Anasuyabai Sarabhai about the condition of textile workers in Ahmedabad. Wages were low, the workers had long been agitating for an increase. Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to guide and direct the workers.

It was a most delicate situation. The 'mill-hands' case was strong. Shrimati Anasuyaben was leading the workers in a battle against her own brother, Syt. Ambalal Sarabhai, who was leading the mill-owners. Gandhi's relations with both were friendly. He, therefore, suggested arbitration. But the mill-owners refused to recognise the principle of arbitration.

Gandhi then advised the workers to go on strike without resorting to violence, without molesting black-legs or without depending on alms. He called upon them to remain firm, no matter how long the strike continued, and to earn bread, during the strike, by any other honest labour.

The strike went on for twentyone days. When the strikers showed signs of wavering, Gandhi undertook a fast to boost their morale. The fast created an atmosphere of goodwill all around. An arbitrator was appointed after Gandhi had fasted only for three days.

After this successful strike under the leadership of Gandhi, the workers organised the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association under his guidance in 1920. The ultimate objective of the association, as formulated by Gandhi, was "to secure the nationalisation of the textile industry."

Gandhi recognised the need for capital, but not for the capitalist. He wanted the capitalist to divest himself of his wealth voluntarily. His theory of trusteeship gives an opportunity to the owner to become a worker and to the workers to become owners, in the process all getting equitable remuneration.

The Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association grew into the Indian National Trade Union Congress in 1946. The INTUC has incorporated the "placing of large scale industry under national ownership in suitable forms" as its principal objective.

In another strike situation in 1946, Gandhi advised the employers willingly to regard workers as the real owners of the factories. He said, "I would unhesitatingly advise such employers that they should at once offer the strikers full control of the concern which is as much the strikers' as their. They will vacate the premises not in a huff but because it is right, and to show their goodwill, they would offer the employees the assistance of their engineers and other skilled staff."

The revolutionary dream reflected in Gandhi's doctrine of trusteeship can be realised only if the shareholders of existing concerns voluntarily convert these concerns, *or are non-violently compelled to convert them*, into trust corporations. The workers in industries can bring about such revolutionary transformation if they themselves are imbued with a spirit of trusteeship and do not utilise their organised strength to demand higher and higher wages from the employers at the cost of poor peasants and farm workers.

After India became free, the late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia sought to give the capitalists an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees. He introduced the Indian Trusteeship Bill in the Lok Sabha in 1967. The Bill provides for the voluntary conversion of large companies owning industries, plantations, mines, trade, transport, etc., into trust corporations. It outlines a detailed scheme for the democratic management of the entire business of trust corporations. Although the Bill is optional and not obligatory, it does not leave the transformation entirely to the will of the capitalists. Clause 30 of the Bill enables workers, through non-violent non-cooperation to bring about such transformation and become owner of the concerns in which they are working.

This bill was vocally supported by Fernandes, A. B. Vajpayee and Raj Narain, when they were in the opposition. Now they constitute the ruling Janata Party. Three members of the Janata Party, namely, Dr. Ramji Singh, Bhadoria and Ugra Sen, introduced the same bill in the Lok Sabha in 1978. Unfortunately, the Janata Government has persuaded them to withdraw the Bill. Mr. P.C. Chunder, who replied to the debate on behalf of the Government, argued that there already existed the Indian Trust Act, the Charitable Endowments Act, etc., which enabled rich people to donate their wealth for public welfare. This argument reflects a very superficial understanding and interpretation of Gandhi's doctrine of Trusteeship. It reduces Trusteeship to philanthropy. Such interpretations have made Gandhi unpopular among the youth who are yearning for total revolution.

It is now the duty of dedicated Gandhians to educate and organise the industrial workers under the banner of trusteeship for a total transformation in industrial relations.

It must be recognised, once and for all, that Gandhi stood for class-eradication and not for class-collaboration.

GANDHI AND CONFLICTOLOGY

JOHAN GAITUNG

In this paper the approach that is chosen is the study of Gandhi as a theoretician, and above all a practitioner, a *Karmayogi* — a man of action, not merely meditation — in the field of conflict. It is an effort to analyze Gandhi's implicit and explicit Satyāgraha as a contribution to the theory and practice of behaviour in group struggle from a social science point of view. By this we mean, loosely, that we want to see what Gandhi wrote and what he did in the framework of a theory of conflict. The concern is not with the relationship between various parts of what Gandhi thought and practiced, but with writings, and action reports, that seem to have a direct bearing on social conflict. Ideally, our basis should have been the projected eighty volumes of *Collected Works*, but much can be said, fortunately, on a less complete basis.

This should then be distinguished from a study of the subjective and objective role of Gandhi during his lifetime, and particularly during that segment in space and time—South Africa and India, 1893 - 1948 — where Gandhi enacted his principles into practice, reformulated them, and built on them as a result of his 'Experiments with Truth'. Gandhi's real, deepest intentions and motivations, as something hidden to the ordinary students of his writings and the records of his actions, but (perhaps) revealed to the biographer whose mind is sharpened through exceptional empathy or psycho-analytical

insight, lie outside our field of study. The same applies to the concrete, historical study of the objective consequences of his actions.

There are two immediate objections to this effort to detach Gandhi's conflictology from its concrete relations to space and time. First, in the name of empiricism, would one not have to study very carefully the exact impact of his doctrine in that particular setting to ascertain its applicability in other contexts? The world will never re-experience exactly India's struggle for Swaraj, but it may go through similar experiences in a general class of experiences, of which Swaraj is one case.

This objection seems valid upto a certain point. Only a study of concrete reality, not to mention social practice itself, can give an indication of what the practice of Satyāgraha really leads to, for instance in terms of counter strategies pursued by a non-satyāgraha adversary. Empathy with the adversary and good intuition about how he might act may be a poor substitute for records of what really happened. But the significance of such studies is limited by the general limitation of empiricism; it tells us, at best, what happened in the past, not what might have happened or what could happen in the future. It gives us only empirical, not political reality. For this reason the focus here is on transferable, generalizable aspects of *Satyāgraha* that can be detached from that particular segment in space and time. Failure or success in one time-space context does not guarantee the same in any other time-space context — there are too many relevant and changing conditions for any kind of exact replication to take place. It is the basic perspective, the general approach that is of interest, not whether it once worked or failed.

The second objection is that Gandhi only lived there and then and he developed his conflictology in relation to the challenges he had to countenance. Had he lived in a

different time-span and at another place, his conflictology might have been different, hence we should respect the singular nature of Gandhi and his teaching and not try to stretch it outside those time and perimeters. More particularly, if he had not been murdered on 30th January 1948 but had lived through the following twenty years, in command of his full faculties, might he not have been challenged further to develop his teachings so as to deal with a *National* government, not only with a foreign-imposed one — and might he not have done so from a position of opposition? Moreover, he would have had to face direct violent encounters with outsiders (China in 1962, Pakistan in 1965) as opposed to internal communal riots. And in addition to the structural violence from within, indigenous (caste) as well as imposed (colonialist), he might have reacted to the neo-colonialist types of structural violence. In short, if Gandhi had continued in his double role as acting politician, and an unusually explicit intellectual, reflecting on his own actions (a profuse writer: some ten million words), we would have been equipped with much more material. By that we do not mean “more guides to Gandhi’s thought”, because Gandhi’s thought would have developed further through the need to reflect on a still richer variety of situations. And since the whole assumption underlying this particular exercise is that that particular person, that mind, was to conflict like a Newton, and Einstein to Physics, a man who could see what was unseen to others, it may be said that the assassin’s bullet in 1948 deprived the world of insights and experiences extremely hard to come by.

But one consequence of this way of reasoning is, in our mind, exactly the desirability of an effort to detach Gandhi from his context. He happened to live at those places at that time, but he observed and acted for mankind at all times. We will see Gandhi as he seemed to see himself; as a scientist presented with specimens of extremely intractable/empirical reality, trying to distil from these encounters general maxims of truth. If he had

sample reality, conflict reality that is, at some other region in time and space, it is impossible for us to say how large the overlap with the doctrine he did develop would have been. Gandhi got a glimpse of the *human condition*, unusually rich and varied due to his longevity, the duration (over fifty years) and extremely high level of his involvement in active conflict participation the large variety of conflict experiences but still it was only a glimpse. He tried to extend it, partly forced by questioners who extolled from his view on conflict at other places. But it was a biased sample, and he did not claim to pronounce the ultimate truth, in his sense of that word, even on what he himself had encountered. Just to take one example which touches on the comparison with Mao, with whom Gandhi has so much in common: what would have been Gandhi's conflictology if he were to work for the liberation of peasant masses against Chiang Kai-Shek's "extermination campaigns" and Japanese imperialism? We do not know. All we have is our biased sample of Gandhi's reflections in words and deeds, on his biased sample of encounters with the human condition.

Is it then worthwhile? A metaphor might be appropriate here. Gandhi is in a sense like a new telescope for an astronomer. The claims made for the telescope, not so much by the advertising agents, are immodest; it is said to peer more deeply into the depths of the universe and yield insights so far hidden from man. On close examination it is revealed that the telescope indeed gives new visions, but it has only been tested in some directions, and if the images are different, then that may also be because of systematic distortion, blurred reflections in the lense system, etc. In short there is a need for comparison of the new images with old images, *e.g.*, to test whether the new telescope is capable of replicating what "we" already "know". To this the advertising agents might retort that this is no test; discrepancies in image should be interpreted to mean that the other telescopes

used so far are all biased. But that is unacceptable; there has to be some element of continuity in accumulation of human insight. So let us use the test on Gandhi.

We can get some idea of the validity of Gandhi as an instrument if we see how he reflected on conflicts remote in space from the field where he was an expert, that is India. As a first example, take the following quotes from Gandhi on Palestine:

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and in-human to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified in any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.¹

And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about in the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart.²

What is interesting about these quotes is that Gandhi did not accept the concept that has prevailed in many circles until recently, that Palestine was "a state without nation", which could then appropriately be filled with a "nation without a state." On the other hand Gandhi does not rule out the possibility that the Jews could settle in Palestine, only that it would have to be "by the goodwill of the Arabs." But this idea he seems to

have given up when he writes about the same question eight years later:

But in my opinion, they have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Their citizenship of the world should have and would have made them honoured guests of any country. Their thrift, their varied talent, their great industry should have made them welcome anywhere. It is a blot on the Christian world that they have been signaled out, owing to a wrong reading of the New Testament, for prejudice against them. "If an individual Jew does a wrong, the whole Jewish world is to blame for it." If an individual Jew like Einstein makes a great discovery or another composes unsurpassable music, the merit goes to the authors and not to the community to which they belong.⁸

It is clear that Gandhi here sees the Jews as potentially "honoured guests of any country"; whereas Palestine belongs to the Arabs. In this reading of the situation Gandhi has probably been partly guided by his scepticism towards the British and his sense of identification with Palestine Arabs since they were somehow in a situation corresponding to the Indians in India. Moreover, he has probably been guided by his strong sense of geographical belongingness. He who has tilled the soil, to him does the soil belong.

Thus it may be objected that Gandhi in his interpretation of what today is usually called the "Middle East" projected from the Indian situation. This may also be true about the next quotation, that says something about Japan that still may have considered validity:

I want to assimilate all your good points, but unfortunately no one comes here to give us the

things of Japan. You believe only in dumping your goods on us. How can I take a single yard of Japanese cloth, however fine and artistic it may be? It is as poison to us, for it means starvation for the poor people of India. You have left the West far behind in diplomacy, in skill, in cheap manufactures, in armed warfare, in exploitation. How then can there be friendship between you and us, so long as you see nothing wrong in exploitation?⁴

In this quotation Gandhi points out what to him is basic in the concept of "exploitation": destruction of local production patterns, by "dumping your goods on us." But it is interesting to see how Gandhi does not generalize from this to a general verdict concerning Japan. He sees this as one aspect of Japan: "But unfortunately no one comes here to give us the good things of Japan." In this there is an invitation of Japan to turn her face and show another aspect of herself, not a rejection of Japan in general.

There is prophetic doom in Gandhi's reflections on the atomic bomb:

So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. There used to be the so called laws of war which made it tolerable. Now we know the naked truth. War knows no law except that of might. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nation is yet too early to see.⁵

It is not so difficult to imagine from the last sentence how Gandhi would have reacted to the Vietnam war. But in a sense he fails to combine the last two quotes into another important question: what happened to the soul of

a destroyed nation, Japan? What was the message imprinted on Japan with the explosion of the atom bomb? It was probably "never again". But was the implication that the key to "never again" lies in copying the conqueror, or in rejecting the methods of the conqueror? In general, this is a point that seems to be missing in Gandhi's writings: the impact violence has on the vanquished, not in the sense of hurting and hitting them bodily, but as a message that may become firmly engraved on their minds. Two other examples with more direct bearing on non-violence:

"Well," said Gandhiji, bidding good-bye to them, "If it comes true, it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world."⁶

In this quotation Gandhi predicts. Since there is no indication of time-span, the prediction cannot be said to be falsified. And twenty years later, at the time of Martin Luther King and Albert Luthuli, one would have said that Gandhi's foresight in this quotation was remarkable. Today there might be room for doubts. On the other hand, in the Black Power movement there are also so many elements that are similar to Gandhi's way of thinking and acting about society that the distance from Black Power to Gandhi's type of active non-violence may be shorter than the distance between non-violence on the one hand and some type of passive acceptance on the other.

What, then, about this quotation?

The Indian community there was a mere handful in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Europeans and Negroes. The Europeans had arms. We had none. So we forced the weapon of Satyāgraha. Today the Indian is respected by the White man in South Africa, not so Zulu with all his fine physique.⁷

It is difficult to tell. It may be that Gandhi here falls prey to an exaggeration of the significance of the events in which he himself fifty years earlier, had participated. And even if it may be true that the Indian is respected in South Africa, more than the Zulu, this may also be for the wrong reason: because of the way the Indian enters into the production pattern of the South African society. In similar societies, but not dominated by the White man, like in East Africa, the reverse seems to be true: the Indian is not so much respected, the African is, or at least increasingly so. But there may of course, be something to Gandhi's claim that this was because the Indian did assert themselves through an act of basic courage that established their self-respect and hence also the respect of others.

Let us then return to the telescope metaphor again. This metaphor, when applied to Gandhi, leads to a certain element of criticism that it would be vain to try to deny. The idea is that Gandhi not only witnessed and participated in more than most, but also saw deeper and further than most. At this point this belief in Gandhi is axiomatic. Its justification would lie in the scope and the range of insights that can be gleaned from him, and the quotes given show strengths and limitations.

But here it is tempting to make a reference to the comparisons sometimes made with Jesus Christ. Gandhi's life was a sample of real life situations, as was that of Christ. But Gandhi's life has the advantage that the sample was more relevant for our time. It has the lacunae noted above, but it also has inclusion of colonial, class, caste and communal struggle. Although Gandhi's reality certainly was not Western reality, fewer links have to be interspersed, fewer hypotheses have to be introduced and fewer interpretations have to be made in order to make Gandhi relevant than for the case of Christ. Moreover, there is an obvious linguistic advantage: Gandhi writes in an exceptionally clear

and rich English. What Christ said will always remain a conjecture.

But the basic difference would be the extent to which the two can be said to have developed a social doctrine. There are obvious similarities. Like Christ is reported to have done, Gandhi lived among the publicans of his time. But the purpose was different. They were both prophets of a kingdom, of a "social order" if one may use that expression. But they differed basically as to the location of this kingdom. For Christ the kingdom was not of this world, which makes it much more difficult to interpret what he did and what he said as a social doctrine — at least if one accepts that Christ had no real intentions as a politician, introducing a new social order in this world. If Christ can really have been said to want to purge *society* not only the *temple* of the money-lenders, it might have been more interesting from the point of view of social doctrine. But the temple was to be purged because it was the symbol of the kingdom of Heaven, an embassy so to speak, not because it should serve as a nucleus, a model social order from which a new social order in this world should gradually, or quickly, spread. On the contrary, established Christianity has tended to be tolerant of social conditions in this world, and focussed its social doctrine and practice on individual suffering; on helping the victim of direct and structural violence rather than removing the causes.

In general, the mundane kingdom and the transcendental kingdom are not continuous with each other, they are two separate components in an ideological space. But it seems clear that Gandhi had goals in both directions, that his "kingdom" had both components. He can only be understood in terms of order and also be instrumental to a self-realization that ultimately would be transcendental. To discuss which of these components was more fundamental to Gandhi is probably meaningless, but it is

quite clear that a social doctrine for this world is involved — and this adds to his relevance.

This doubleness in Gandhi, his refusal to see the mundane transcendental as a dichotomy combined with an effort (like for many branches of Christianity including the Jesuits) to transcend it, is basic to Gandhi's conflictology as to other sides of his doctrine. Thus, it leads to a doubleness in the criterion of "victory" in a conflict — to be developed later.

Let us then, in conclusion, say some words about the term "conflictology" which will be used quite often. It is used to refer to any systematic body of thought and set of statements about conflicts. By this, in turn, we mean roughly the following: A statement is a verbal formulation that excludes something. If it is a descriptive statement it excludes something as false; if it is a normative statement something is excluded as wrong (to do). (There are also other possibilities, but these two are particularly important). A set of statements about conflict is *systematic* if relations between the statements are explored. Such relations are usually referred to as relations of inference deducibility, etc., but we have relatively weak types of relationship in mind. What matter here is that the concept of conflictology is broad; it includes an *empirical conflictology* (today usually based on an inter-disciplinary social science approach) out of which descriptive conflictology would be a part, as well as a *normative conflictology* with more or less explicit norms about conflict behaviour, and all kinds of mixtures of the two. Depending on what kinds of statements are included there will be different kinds of validation procedures. Thus, an empirical conflictology may be validated by confrontation with basic axioms and data, and a normative conflictology by confrontation with basic norms and hypotheses. Gandhi is rich in both, particularly strong in the latter, but also full of description and empirical hypotheses.

It is customary, and we shall stick to that tradition, to divide conflictology in these parts: statements on the nature, or genesis of conflict; on the dynamics of conflict; and on the resolution of conflict. Since Gandhi himself never formulated a conflictology, nor indeed gave any indication as to how he would react to efforts to divide his statements into three parts, we have to proceed with a certain care. Only if this customary tripartition permits us to see what otherwise would have been more hidden, should it be made use of.

Gandhi himself would probably have had a rather dim view of this type of undertaking, in fact of writing in general. His reaction to no longer running *Young India*: "I did not shed a single tear."⁸ And

A friend suggests that I should write a treatise on science of ahimsa. To write such a treatise is beyond my powers. I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain.⁹

This was written in 1946. And it is precisely this period of Gandhi's writings that we are drawing most heavily upon, since they seem to us to give precisely what Gandhi denies they have: considerable theoretical substance. They are the writings of a Gandhi with a maximum of experience, some of them extremely bitter, perhaps lacking in some of the exuberance of younger years, but not less valuable for him who wants to understand Gandhi's thinking for that reason. In short, we have found the old Gandhi particularly valuable.

But at the same time one understands and respects the feelings that Gandhi expresses himself in two famous passages:

Let Gandhism be destroyed if it stands for error.

Truth and *Ahimsā* will never be destroyed, but if Gandhism is another name for sectarianism, it deserves to be destroyed. If I were to know,

after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into sectarianism, I should be deeply pained.....Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an inadequate follower I am myself. For I cannot live up to the convictions I stand for. I have said before in these pages that I claim no followers. It is enough for me to be my own follower. It is by itself a sufficiently taxing performance.¹⁰

There are many elements in what Gandhi seems to be communicating in such passages. Evidently, he is afraid that something called "Gandhism" should freeze into a dogma, a Gandhiology. It is not quite clear what Gandhi means by "sectarianism," but with his emphasis on *experiments* one aspect is probably that Gandhi is afraid of a doctrine that is completely insensitive to empirical experiences and changing empirical circumstances. That the doctrine in Gandhi's view has a nucleus that is unchangeable, independent of any experience, is probably correct — but that is not the same as sectarianism. But it may also be that there is no such sacred nucleus in "Gandhism" according to Gandhi's own view, since he can imagine that it can be destroyed, "if it stands for error." The criterion of error is not clear from this context, but it seems to be the failure to capture universal truth and *Ahimsā*. Gandhi's emphasis is, again, is on the search, and a dynamic doctrine, everywhere modifiable.

There is also an element of Gandhi elitism in this when he says that "it is enough for me to be my own follower." One interpretation is that these are values and norms set by Gandhi for himself. Another interpretation is that they are also set for others to follow, but only as values and norms to be followed, not because a person should be followed because somebody "is a follower of Gandhi." Gandhi seems to indicate that a personal, direct relationship to Truth and *Ahimsā* is needed; not the

relationship mediated through charismatic leader, Gandhi himself.

What is the role of social science in this particular connection? We see it as one, of many, ways of approaching Gandhi's truth. It may appeal to some, more than to others; to many it will no doubt look more like social science than like Gandhi. But social science provides a language within which Gandhi's view of conflict may, to some extent, be expressed, for Gandhi pronounced himself explicitly and implicitly on many of the problems social scientist, and particularly political scientists, are wrestling with.

But basically what we hope to show is that a confrontation of Gandhi with conflictology is primarily a way of enriching and expanding conflictology; that the use of conflictology as a way of understanding, Gandhi is a secondary purpose and also in a sense self-defeating. The parallel would be with some kind of instrument that improves by being used, not with an instrument that is given and fixed, and deals with objects according to unchangeable rules.

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MODERN SEARCH FOR PEACE — THE GANDHIAN WAY

S. LAKSHMANAN

Humanity is today threatened with total destruction through the development of nuclear weapons. Several crores of rupees are being spent the world over on armaments. If a minor portion of this amount could be diverted to peaceful purposes, dramatic and far reaching changes could be achieved in the world. It could be possible to erect an edifice to peace which would be a testimony to man's wisdom and his abiding faith in his fellow men. An awareness is developing all over the world that war must be abolished. If we do not abolish war, war will extinguish us. The instinct of self-preservation which is a powerful force, is coming to the aid of establishing peace in the world.

The present century is the flowering era of peace societies. Till then, peace had been an ideal preached by individuals and religious groups. Now it is taken up by organizations specially formed to promote and encourage peace. (The International Peace/Disarmament Directory lists more than 350 periodicals striving hard for the cause of peace). When we speak of peace, we do not mean only absence of overt violence, but also eradication of the roots of covert violence, such as social and economic exploitation, corruption and concoction, injustice and inequality, and political domination and manipulation.

"Making peace involves a reshaping not only of society and the world order, but also of ourselves."¹

The choice before us is not between non-violence and violence, but it is between non-violence and non-existence. Hence the world is fast moving into an era of non-violence. We need a non-violent social revolution, a restructuring of the present order on the basis of non-violence. Gandhi declared that "Non-violence has come to men and will remain; it is the annunciation of peace on earth"²

Nearly two thirds of the humanity today lack the daily food. Food is the basis of life and without it there cannot be any peace and progress in the earth. Neither individual morality nor that of the society could take root and thrive on empty stomach. But daily food is attainable for all and that men can really learn to live together in true human dignity worthy of their divine origin. Hunger and hatred, exploitation and dissension are becoming more prevalent than at any time in the past. Gandhi's pregnant saying that there is enough in this world for everybody's need and not for everybody's greed has yet to be grasped and made the key to this country's development. Hunger and war can be abolished if only men understood themselves and put themselves in right relationship with men, property and ideas and worked for peace and goodwill on earth.

A best society is one which gives full scope and opportunity to every individual for employing all his faculties. Development of all the faculties of man is possible only in a society where man enjoys all the four-fold freedoms — social, economic, political and spiritual. Of all the exploitations, economic exploitation pinches the man most. The greatest of evils and the worst of crimes in our country is grinding poverty. Revised scales of pay have to a certain extent always helped the employed people. The unemployed man in

the street and the seasonal wage earner in the rural areas are all still experiencing poverty. Realisation of perfection is not possible in imperfect society. Attainment of the highest objectives of life requires complete objectivity and a completely scientific bent of mind.

The so-called socialists and communists did not bring economic equality today. They do propaganda in favour of economic equality and to achieve the end they believe in generating hatred. But Gandhi's concept of non-violence can bring about economic equality, by converting the people to this end by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. "Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth, on the one hand, and levelling up of the semi-starved, naked millions on the other."³ It merely means that everybody should have enough for his or her own needs. So the real meaning of economic equality is 'to each according to his needs' as Karl Marx put it. Gandhi says that "My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see it is not to be realised. I therefore work for equitable distribution."⁴

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. "Possession is a crime", says Gandhi. A *satyāgrahi* must not possess anything. As to the requirements of food and clothes, he should have barest minimum possible. This is the spirit of voluntary poverty as practised and preached by Gandhi. Man should reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the millions of semi-starved fellow beings. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. Indeed at the root of this equal distribution, must lie the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them.

The central idea of motive behind trusteeship is a kind of non-violent transformation. It may even be

described as non-violent dispossession, most preferably voluntary, but, if necessary, by law. This transfer, and non-violent character of this transfer laid the basis for Gandhian conditions of equality.

The impression, somehow, created was that the capitalist would convert into a trustee and there the matter would end. But once the capitalist surrenders his wealth, he is no longer the sole trustee. He is a joint trustee with others who are also engaged in the process of production. In this sense Gandhi's trusteeship was an answer to what Marxist called the irrevocable conflicts between labour and capital. Gandhi acknowledged the conflict of interest between labour and capital under capitalism. "Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is evil."⁵ According to Gandhi, there are two types of capital: 'money capital' and 'labour capital'. "A labour's skill is his capital. Just as the capitalist cannot make his capital fructify without the co-operation of labour, even working man cannot make his labour fructify without the co-operation of capital."⁶ Gandhi, therefore, aimed at what he called "co-ordination between labour and capital,"⁷ not under capitalism but under trusteeship. Capital should not hire the labour but the labour should hire the capital. Gandhi wrote: "In fact capital and labour will be mutual trustees, and both will be trustees of consumers."⁸ Hence production in a trusteeship economy will be "by masses for use, and for a market."⁹

Gandhi believed that all kinds of work are essential for communal living. He insisted on equal wages for all. He believed "in the division of labour, but at the same time he did insist on the equality of wages. Only then the division of labour would uplift the nation. There was no other alternative to true civilization."¹⁰ Gandhi, of course, realised that it was too high an ideal to be achieved. Anyhow every country should set that goal and strive to attain it. Only then economic equilibrium, peace, and happiness can be attained.

Gandhi strove hard throughout his life for the attainment of *Pūrṇa Swarāj*, a federation of a decentralized unit of ideal village republic. Each village should be a self-sufficient unit in respect of food, clothes, etc. Every activity should be conducted on the co-operative basis. There would not be untouchability; there would be no unemployment as everyone would work; there would be equality and emancipation; such a society would be free from the evils of casteism and communalism; people would keep off intoxicating drinks. There would be no poverty nor human degradation as Marx conceived. In such a society, people would enjoy the greatest amount of freedom and live on the principle of 'each for all and all for each', and where production would be according to the capacity of the individual and distribution according to his need. Such a society will not have accumulated surplus wealth, nor have evil intentions against others. People would enjoy freedom and would live peacefully.

Gandhi as a social philosopher is primarily concerned with this world and interested in the proper and harmonious development of a society, ensuring social welfare through social justice. Society is an integrated arrangement, wherein the good of the individual harmonises with that of the community, whose main concern is to obtain freedom from hunger, disease and fear of any kind.

Gandhi believed in change not for the sake of change but for the establishment of *sarvodaya* which is inherently related to his concept of political economy. It is a change in accordance with *svadharma*, beneficent change, change for happiness and welfare of all without injuring anyone. It is a change in accordance with the laws of life, aiding man in the future course of evolution towards the more human and the humane. Life without love is empty. Knowledge without love is highly dangerous as one sees in the mad race for nuclear weapons and militant nationalism of the modern age. This well integrated philosophy

of life, namely love informed by knowledge and regulated by virtue runs through his entire philosophy.

Adharma and *himsā* go against truth. It is stressed that the means to achieve a good end must also be good. Gandhi's ideal seems to be the only right view of the relation between the end and the means. Good means alone can lead us to everlasting peace. If peace is established by violence it will be of no use. Nowadays quite often we read in the newspapers that police, in some places army, marching into an agitating place and peace being established. But that peace is undoubtedly that of 'the grave yard.' But when the non-violent person wins, he wins the heart of the foe.

Peace is an outcome of the application of social and economic non-violence, when they materialise sufficiently. Mankind can avoid military violence only through non-violence.¹¹ A truly Gandhian technique can fight the evils of corruption, defection, blackmarketing or the injustices in economic, industrial or social life. It can be an effective technique of change and regeneration where there is no bloodshed, violence or affront to human dignity. Such a change alone will ensure social progress, prosperity and peace.

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GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF PEACE

M. MAHARAJAN

Society is subject to continuous change, growth and modification. Whether Social units are looked upon as "structural functional equilibria" in Talcott Parson's sense or as "Quasi-stationary equilibrium process"¹ in Kurt Lewin's sense, social change is the most recurrent aspect of group existence. Once a social system comes into existence, it cannot help changing even if all its external conditions are held constant. Social change may commence in any aspect of the system, through immanent forces emanating from within the system or external forces impinging upon it.

Sarvodaya, by laying stress on the goodness of human nature, unity of mankind, service of man, application of the moral principles considered valid for individuals to group life and inter-state relations, the non-violent process of change, social and economic equality, economic and political decentralization, tries to resolve the various kinds of tensions that disturb domestic and international harmony. It is capable of strengthening the forces of love, creativeness and joy of life. It has been said that the way out of the present crisis lies in the recognition that life is more than meat, more than economics, and that it is also spiritual. Sarvodaya takes a whole view of man and emphasizes the spiritual nature. The very conception of Sarvodaya denotes going beyond the seeming conflicts of interests, to a spiritual view of life. It strikes a happy mean between old "spiritualism"² which derided

life and the prevailing "materialism" which totally rejects the spiritual.

Is peace the real answer to solve conflicts and violence. The problem arises as to how man can realize peace. Toynbee observes: "The source of peace and of war is the interior of life of each individual human spirit." We should not forget that man is the source, the centre and purpose of all life. Peace begins in our own hearts. The universality of spirit lies not in knowing much, but in loving extensively. Peace is really the reflection of heaven upon earth. In the Hebrew language, the word "Shalom" means peace with justice. It means inner security and external excess. He will be a man of peace who has in him the combination of both. Arnold Toynbee espousing the cause of peace observed. "When the pursuit of peace is whole hearted, it covers every aspect of human affairs."

It may not be out of context to say that the World Conference on Religion and Peace which was held in Japan in 1970, was a historic attempt to bring together men and women of all major religions to discuss the urgent issue of Peace. Certain important issues which they held in common were:

A conviction of the fundamental unity of the human family, and the equality and dignity of all human beings;

A sense of the sacredness of the individual person and his conscience;

A sense of the value of human community;

A realization that might is not right; that human power is not self-sufficient and absolute;

A belief that love, compassion, selfishness, and the force of inner truthfulness and of the spirit have ultimately greater power than hate, enmity, and self-interest;

A sense of obligation to stand on the side of the poor and the oppressed as against the rich and the oppressors; and

A profound hope that good will finally prevail.'

The critic may well ask: What is new in all this? Every sage or prophet of the world has advocated the practice of truth and non-violence. And it is universally recognized that it is impossible to practice them to perfection." The reply is: There is nothing new in the principles themselves. And Gandhi was humble enough to admit that he did not have the capacity for preaching universal non-violence even to India. What is new in Gandhi's teachings is that he showed the way to apply the principles of truth and non-violence. His immediate objective was to win India's freedom through non-violence and in this, he succeeded during his life time. His ultimate purpose was to demonstrate the possibility of regulating international relations by non-violent means.

Anthropological pessimists, who consider man to be wolf to man (*homo homini lupus*) would characterize Gandhi as a visionary, a radical idealist. But, Gandhi's claim was that he was a practical idealist; and that he came to the conclusion as to the possibility of rendering politics non-violent as a result of a close and searching study of human nature. If mankind was not habitually non-violent, it would have been destroyed ages ago. But in the duel between the forces of violence and non-violence the latter have always come out victorious in the end.

Today, we live in a violent world. But man fundamentally desires peace. It is recognized by all that no positive civilization, no just social order or stable peace can flow from violence, war and repression. A true social order must be based upon persuasion, conviction, and a positive will to co-operation and fellowship among men. These are the only bonds which can hold society together with any permanence and to any real advantage. But because of the differences in world-outlook, thinkers,

statesmen and politicians differ as to the effective way of establishing just and lasting peace. Gandhi made singular contribution to the cause of world peace and his views therefore demand close scrutiny.

Gandhi has often been described as an apostle of peace. Certainly he was. He strove and died for peace. He advocated "peace—but not at any price", for his philosophy was a philosophy of commitment — it was based upon the concept of moral responsibility, as well not that of "peace at any price" which underlay his ethic of intention.⁴

Gandhi's philosophy of peace is to be sharply distinguished from the conservative plea for "peace at any cost" which is in essence a plea for the maintenance of *status quo*. Peace, he advocated, is integrally related to justice. As Gandhi wrote: "Peace must be just."⁵ Peace is not mere cessation of hostilities. Gandhi did not share the diplomatic view of peace.⁶ Peace for him connoted a positive state of affairs, the pre-condition being freedom from exploitation. What he advocated was non-violent and just peace which alone, in his opinion, could ensure lasting peace.

Gandhi explained his concept of non-violent peace while talking to the Christian missionaries in early December 1938: "Peace will never come until the Great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events must force that belief on the Great Powers. I have an implicit faith—a faith that today burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence—that mankind can only be saved through non-violence....."⁷

"There will be no peace," Gandhi reiterated his conviction on the eve of San Francisco Conference, for the Allies or the world unless they shed their beliefs in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace

based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in world striving to put an end to all wars. In such a world only the military weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation of exploitation''⁸ What did Gandhi think of the various devices for establishing peace? Arbitration, world government, international organisation, disarmament and world police and defence force are the traditional solutions suggested for preventing aggression.

Gandhi's ideas about peace suggest that the solution he offered for effecting world peace transcended the frontiers of international diplomacy. The chief limitation of international diplomacy is that it is based upon recognition of the power-system.

The Gandhian way claims to stand for non-violent and non-exploitative social order which alone can ensure just and enduring peace. Non-violence, according to Gandhi, excludes war and ushers in peace.

One may argue that the Gandhian declarations on peace contain some practical difficulties for them to be implemented in the present-day world. But Gandhi would not countenance such a "practical" difficulty. He would counterpose by saying: "If an individual can practise non-violence, why not whole groups of individuals and whole nations? He believed that one must make a beginning and the rest would follow. The Gandhian concept of world peace should be viewed as an integral part of his philosophy of life and one should try to appreciate his attitude within the general framework of his philosophy of ahimsā."⁹

According to Gandhian view there is no difference between avoidable and unavoidable violence. Violence is violence under all circumstances. Absolute non-violence is impossible for an ordinary man because he cannot survive without killing subtle lives. Gandhi advocates

relative violence which is a peculiar non-violence. Perfect or absolute non-violence belongs to the sages. Violence is neutral in its ethical nature. Its value is determined by the use it is put to. A knife is useful when we use it for any domestic purpose but the same knife in the hands of a murderer leads to a crime.¹⁰

How high the *Gītā* places knowledge can be seen from the following words : Even the most sinful man can cross over the ocean of *samsāra* by means of the boat of knowledge above. As a fire well kindled reduces fuel to ashes so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes. Having obtained knowledge one soon embraces peace. If we seek peace we have to rebuild our social structure on conditions which will have no need for resorting to violence as a means of maintaining our social order.

Dr. Ralph Bunche observed: "The United Nations approach to world problems is very similar to the Gandhian approach."¹¹

In Mahatma Gandhi, we can catch the voice of the conscience of India itself, in him, to note of her ancient wisdom still rings clear and the vitality of her spiritual culture is expressed perhaps best in this that his thoughts and reflections on the problem of peace have the greatest relevance today. In this time of travail and crisis, the Mahatma has shown us the path to perfection and peace.

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GANDHI'S DOCTRINE OF SWADESHI AND THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Dr. S. L. MALHOTRA

Swadeshi, according to Gandhi, is the spirit in us which restricts to the use and service of our immediate surroundings the exclusion of the more remote. It is the only doctrine, he adds, consistent with the law of humility and love, "for, it is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my efforts upon the family and consider that through them I am serving the whole nation and if you will, the whole humanity." "Under this plan of life, in seeking to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both inclusive and exclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature." From this point of view, the ideal of Swadeshi, involving love and service of the motherland, is not different in essence from our obligation to serve mankind, since our capacity to serve is conditioned by our knowledge of the world in which we live. It means that we can serve best only those who are immediately known to us, and our neighbours and our country-men must be the first to receive our attention. This, in fact, is nothing but humanism or love of

mankind. However, when interpreted in a narrower sense it may communicate the idea of narrow nationalism. Romain Rolland complained that Gandhi's movement of Swadeshi whipped up the sentiment of reactionary nationalism which, according to him, was evident from Kalelkar's essay entitled, 'A Gospel of Swadeshi', which Gandhi in the preface stamped with his approval. This pamphlet gives the impression that the author was inadvertently justifying the doctrine of national isolationism, for, according to him each nation should remain true to its own duty which God has assigned to it. It should live on its own resources and be inspired by its own traditions. Like a stream, every nation is to follow its own course until at length, the sea of the salvation is reached. According to this view, it is futile to follow those whose 'lives are cast in a different mould and whose ideals clash with our own.'⁶ Consequently, one is required to serve one's own age and one's own country of birth. This, in fact, is the projection of *Gītā's* doctrine that an individual must follow his own *dharma* that has fallen on him because of his aptitude and circumstances, including his caste. In this way the author tried to justify Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation and Swadeshi, on ethical grounds. However, Gandhi himself could not endorse all such implications of its and consequently he had to issue a statement dissociating himself from them.

Contrary to such interpretations, Gandhi's belief in the indwelling of God in man, his faith in the Vedāntic doctrine of the identity of human soul with God makes him a humanist par excellence and an apostle of the fundamental unity of mankind. For, the consciousness of God in man transcends the limitations of race or nation and gathers together all human beings in one spiritual circle. Though engaged in the fight for freedom for his own country for most of his life, his struggle had a universal meaning, since, for him it represented the fight of the weaker races of the world against any kind of exploitation.

So through the deliverance of India, he believed in seeking the deliverance of all the weaker nations of the earth from the crushing heels of exploitation. To him it was imperialism which was the real impediment to international peace and human unity and not nationalism. The freedom of all the countries, therefore, was the first pre-requisite for the establishment of a peaceful world order, for, only in an atmosphere of freedom each country can willingly join hands with other countries in creating a happier world. "I want the freedom of my country, he asserted, so that other countries may learn something from my country, so that the resources of my country may be utilized for the benefit of humanity." He even hoped to realize the mission of the brotherhood of man through the attainment of freedom of India.

The freedom of all countries eliminates at least one kind of violent conflict between communities, that is, the war for independence of the colony from its home country which may not be treated with disdain even by some pacifists. Many wars have been fought in the name of national independence, their avowed aim being either to win it or to preserve it.

Thus for Gandhi, his doctrine of Swadeshi or the type of nationalism that follows from it is not inconsistent with internationalism. What he detested was narrowness, selfishness or exclusiveness. Rather, for him, internationalism presupposes nationalism for the former can be realized only when people "belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man." Nationalism, therefore, is only a step towards internationalism. Loyalty to one's nation is only a stage as man's constant march towards universality or realization of himself in others. That way nationalism acquires a cosmopolitan character, for, it inculcates certain universal values such as love and service, though its application may be confined to a particular human group or a territorial area on account of each individual's limitation

to serve humanity. Gandhi's doctrine implies that if we observe universal values even in a limited territorial area, the ideal of universal brotherhood can be achieved without much difficulty. Conversely if our own national society is not based on universal values such as liberty, equality or brotherhood, there is no possibility of creating a world order, free from exploitation of weaker nations by stronger ones or domination of one nation over another, for an individual's mental make-up is shaped by the circumstances in which he is brought up. Moreover, the effectiveness of a non-violent action which partly depends upon the force of the moral appeals of a community itself, which has not conceded moral and just claims of a section of its own members, its appeals to other nations or communities for moral support at the time of any conflict or non-violent action will have no effect. To appeal to certain moral principles or truth in one's dispute with other countries when one is showing oneself to be unresponsive to it in one's national life, is to expose the hollowness of one's moral pretensions, and to ensure that one's appeal will be disregarded.

That accounts for Gandhi's call to the Hindus to eradicate untouchability from amongst themselves before demanding equality with the British and emancipation from their yoke. Similarly he wrote to Roosevelt that the allies' claim that they are fighting to make the world safe for freedom of the individual and for democracy, sounds hollow, so long as India and, for that matter, Africa are exploited by Great Britain, and America has the Negro problem in her own home. According to Horbur "a non-violent society must be socially just if it is to be disciplined."

Logically if a national society is controlled and ruled by a small group that has deprived freedom to others and reduced them to slavery, it cannot pursue equality, brotherhood or freedom at the international level. Similarly if the internal system of a nation is based on violence, it is

completely futile to hope that it would reply on a peaceful solution of international conflicts, for the simple reason that those who shape and control its policies have neither any faith in the efficacy of non-violence nor have they acquired at any stage, the discipline that non-violent solutions involve.

A society based on non-violence is not necessarily free from all conflicts, for honest differences of opinion cannot be ruled out even amongst those who are inspired by higher ideals of service of humanity and search for truth. But such a society provides ample means of peaceful resolution of social conflicts. Satyāgraha is not the only method of settling disputes. It can be resorted to only when all other peaceful methods have failed. In a society free from exploitation, there will hardly be any need for Satyāgraha for the honest differences of opinion, following from looking at truth or any problem from different angles, can be settled easily through discussion, mediation, arbitration or judicial decision. That is the reason Gandhi believed that if imperialism or domination of one nation by another is eliminated, there would not be much difficulty in creating a world order based on mutual co-operation of nations. Conflicts there may be, but these can be resolved through several peaceful means. Gandhi even envisages the establishment of certain international institutions or an international order based on democratic principles and the equality of all nations, big and small, for maintaining peace in the world.

However, a peaceful world order demands the existence of new humanity and the new man can rise in the new environment that is created around him. We cannot honestly denounce war and the things that make for war unless our personal lives are informed by peace and we are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices for it. A man who is not at peace with himself or with his neighbours or his own society will be incapable of pursuing peace beyond the borders of his society. According to Toynbee

'Human beings cannot claim to be peaceful unless each of them is at peace with each other. The source of peace and of war is the interior life of each individual human spirit. The destiny of mankind depends on the struggle within each of us to overcome his own self-centredness; and in each of us, we know from experience, this struggle is life-long'.

If men are brought up in an atmosphere generated by the prevalence of a value system based on truth and non-violence, solutions of human problems involving violence will lose their charm and importance, for they cannot fit into the mental make-up of such men.

Swadeshi, therefore, means that each community must create such conditions within its own jurisdiction as are essential for creating a world order, based on justice and love of mankind. For that matter, it will have to change its educational, political and economic systems. Its heroes cannot be military men or world conquerors. Its education should aim at developing the creative faculties of every child with a view to preparing him or her for performing a socially good service. Similarly its political structure must be such as to be capable of performing organized human activity wherever essential with minimum of compulsion. Any political structure that has its roots in violence is always a threat to international peace. Wars erupt frequently when the individual states give predominance to violence and domination in their value system, and direct their major energies to military organization. Similarly unstable political systems or societies governed by political adventure pose great danger to peace as the internal tensions in any society will have its effects on its relation with other societies which in turn will generate tension in the world community.

The economic system of a nation is equally important for promoting the values of non-violence and peace among its members. Any economic system that results in

exploitation of weaker sections or encourages acquisitiveness is bound to generate tension and create conflicts between individuals and groups. One of the major causes of war in the modern times is the struggle for markets which is inherent in a capitalist system of production. Gandhi's doctrine of swadeshi communicating self-sufficiency and non dependence on other countries, or communicaties for the satisfaction of the major needs of a community coupled with his doctrine of limitation of wants, is quite meaningful in this connection and worthy of serious consideration. Non-dependence on others for the sustenance of the economic system of a communion will at last reduce the number of such vital issues to which the nations are driven to wars when these cannot be solved to their full satisfaction through negotiations or arbitrations. It is often observed that a nation is ready to accept settlement through these methods if the issue in dispute involved is not so important as to put the whole economic life of the community, out of gear if it is not solved to its satisfaction completely. If a highly industrialised society completely depends upon the import of oil for the existence of its economy, it may risk any dangerous action to ensure the supply of the vital material for its economy. However self-sufficiency or non-dependence does not mean isolationism. Gandhi's swadeshi only suggests that a nation's economic system is such that it is self-sustaining. It does not prevent a nation from helping another nation in difficulty. Gandhi sought voluntary inter-dependence of nations or voluntary partnership of independent states. Mankind moves towards the goal of human unity when the developed nations take steps to help the undeveloped nations not out of any selfish motive but simply for making life better on this planet. However there is one danger of non-dependence. It reduces contacts between nations which is very essential for generating fellow feeling and unity in mankind. Though interdependence of nations has been the cause of several wars, it cannot be denied that it has contributed

a great deal to creating awareness for co-operation between nations. Gandhian self-sufficiency, therefore, must guard against any situation as a result of which opportunities of contacts with other nations are reduced.

The Gandhian way of resolving international conflicts peacefully, therefore, is not confined only to Satyāgraha if it means some kind of direct action. It can be argued that the modern warfare through inter-continental nuclear missiles and several other weapons by which large scale destruction can be caused to the enemy without directly confronting the enemy forces, makes Satyāgraha ineffective since there is no opportunity left to the satyāgrahi to appeal to the conscience of the opponent through self-suffering. Though Gandhi believed that even in such situations sincere and honest prayer and appeals would not go waste, one must not forget that the Gandhian technique of handling international conflicts does not start and end with the satyāgraha in the form of direct action. Gandhi's approach relies on the training of the mind of an individual. His process starts even when one nation has a positive move towards general disarmament which is the basic condition for removing the threat of a violent conflict between nations. The level of non-violence in that nation, if that even comes to pass, according to him, "will naturally have risen to high as to command universal respect. Her judgment will be unerring, her decisions will be firm, her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great and she will want as much for other nations as for herself." Such a nation alone can afford to take the risk of facing an aggression since it has already developed methods of meeting an aggression through non-violent means. It has been built up a sound system of civil defence which reduces the chances of success of any adventure by a neighbouring state.

The logic underlying this approach is that once a nation commits itself to peaceful means of arriving at settlement of international disputes, it has taken the positive

step of removing distrust among other nations, which is root the cause of the race for armaments and preparation for war. Commitment to Gandhian non-violence and truth implies that a nation must meet the genuine demands of other nations before its resolve of peaceful settlement of dispute can yield any positive result. Sympathetic appreciation of the position of the opponent that follows from our commitment to truth, will certainly create an atmosphere conducive to settlement and lasting co-operation between nations.

Possibility of violent conflict may be thrown into the background if Gandhian truth becomes the basis of the foreign policy of a country. Further, the world community has already developed several methods of peaceful resolutions of conflicts, in case there are honest differences of opinion. Gandhi's non-violence is not opposed to them. He quite often recommended arbitration or judicial settlement in all conflicts between groups, Non-co-operation with a nation that rejects such measures also be resorted to. No nation however powerful, can these days ignore the world opinion in case of any conflict with another nation. It is not impossible for peace-loving nations to bring round a recalcitrant member of the world community by building up world opinion against her action that threatens to disturb international peace. His concept of progressive realisation of the ideal even allows the maintenance of some kind of international police force to keep order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence. Complete realisation of a ideal may not be possible on account of human imperfection.

The industrial relations environment in the country has deteriorated considerably during the post-independence period. The number of industrial disputes in 1974 were roughly three times more than what they were in 1951. The number of workers involved had in the mean time gone up by more than four times, while there was more than ten-fold increase in the number of man days lost. The worsening of the industrial relations atmosphere is also indicated by the fact that the percentage of disputes that lasted more than twenty days in the meantime have gone up from about 10.7 per cent in 1951 to about 29.6 per cent in 1974. Increasing recourse to violence, coercion, intimidation, hunger strike gherao and other similar methods indicate progressive deterioration and strain in the relationship of workers and the employers. This wave of discontentment is not confined to the private sector or industrial workers but has spread far and wide and now extends not only to employees in the public sector but to all sections of society. Even those groups of society where recourse to direct action was unimaginable have taken to this method of ventilating their grievances. Thus teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, government employees and even gazetted officers have joined this list. In a recent conference of surgeons the president advocated the use of 'trade union' methods for protection of legitimate

interest of the surgesons, The entire atmosphere appears to be surcharged and this just cannot be explained by the thesis of letting off steam after the lifting of emergency.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse the causes of the present state of affairs it needs to be pointed out that diverse causes have resulted in this unhappy situation. The socio-economic environment is one of expectation and explosion in the wake of tall claims and false promises. One witnesses complete lack of faith and confidence in leadership. The good is at a heavy discount while the evil is at a premium. Economic situation has worsened considerably with the increasing poverty of the masses, more or less static real wage level, rising unemployment, static working and service conditions, housing and social security benefits. Inequalities in the meanwhile, have gone up and the entire system is giving philip to the luxuries of the few, creating some sort of a dual economy. The working of a political democracy has only added fuel to this fire of discontentment. Employers' attitudes have not undergone any significant change and existence of black money which is sometimes estimated as much as Rs. 20,000/- crores is a testimony to the policies that are being pursued. Multiplicity of trade unions and rivalry amongst various trade union centres, small sized trade unions progressively becoming smaller and smaller, domination of trade unions by outside leadership which is quite often interested in using trade union strength for narrow personal and political ends, has made the confusion worse. State policy has not given any lead in the whole matter. The whole policy has been one of drift and ad-hocism dominated by an inefficient bureaucracy. The policies that have been pursued thus far have not helped matter or laid down guidelines for action to lay the foundation of a new industrial relations order.

It is against this back-ground that we have to analyse Gandhi's approach to industrial relations. We must

realise that "peace in industry is not merely a negative concept, the reconciliation of hostile forces, so as to avoid destructive action, but a positive policy of co-operation, promoting mutual gain and evoking mutual good will, that is both the cause and effect of fruitful co-operation."¹ "In every day life good human relations imply mutual respect; mutual respect born of a tradition of fair play on either side, and a mutual capacity for understanding, which means that both parties makes an effort to reduce friction surrounding issues...."²

In the ultimate analysis "the problem of industrial discontent is inherent in and arises from, the structure of society, from its social organisations and political forms: from its religious and ethical norms and the attitude to property and work which these inculcate and which are given expression in its laws. In fact, it is time to say that in the last analysis the problem of industrial discontent is rooted in the fundamentals of our way of living which are so much a part of ourselves, that we seldom stop to question them. Consequently we may fail to realise that these fundamentals are neither universal nor immutable, and that in other times and places and in other forms of society they may be quite different"³

Gandhi's approach to a solution of the problem of removal of discontentment and its replacement by happy human relations in all walks of life—including those in the production processes is a comprehensive and integrated one. We propose to analyse this approach as under:

1. Attitudinal change.
2. Institutional change
3. Role of the State.
4. Right to strike and organise.

Attitudinal Change

For happy relations amongst individuals and groups, Gandhi advocated a radical change in the attitudes that

are prevalent today. He remarks as early as December 8, 1921 "..... the so called laws laid down in books on economics are not immutable...nor are they universal"⁴ He was making efforts through his activities "to substitute false and non-human economics by true and human. Not killing competition, but life giving cooperation is the law of the human being."⁵

He, therefore, advised a revolutionary change in our way of life, thinking and motivations. He prescribed eleven vows for his *Āshram* inmates—his training ground for future leadership. These vows are (1) *Ahiṃsā* (Non-violence), (2) *Satya* (Truth), (3) *Brahmaçarya* (Abstinence), (4) *Non-taste*, (5) *Asteya* (Non-stealing), (6) *Aparigraha* (Non-possession), (7) *Abhaya* (Fearlessness), (8) Removal of Untouchability (9) Bread Labour, (10) Equal respect for all religions, and (11) *Swadeshi*.

If the leadership accepts these vows, even haltingly and imperfectly, we will bring about far reaching and fundamental changes in our attitudes towards fellow workers. He was emphatic that the initiative in this respect has to be taken by those who are entrenched in positions of power and authority. "It is the so called superior that has to descend from his heights, if the reform is to be peaceful. Those who for ages have been trained to consider themselves as the lowest in the social scale cannot suddenly have the equipment of the so called higher classes. They can therefore rise to power only by bloodshed, in other words by destroying society itself."⁶

These vows are inter-dependent and acceptance of one leads automatically to the acceptance of others. Gandhi questioned the very basis of undiluted materialism. "I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal.....I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase

animal appetites and to go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilisation stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it Satanic.”⁷ The desire to amass wealth was considered as “highway robbery” by him. He considered that society as “highly cultured, in which every man and woman knows what he or she wants and what is more, knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour.”⁸ This is how one should interpret the law on non-stealing and non-possession. And it is only when one accept these principles he can be truthful, non-violent and fearless in the real sense.

We laid particular stress on his doctrine of “Bread Labour” — viz., that every one was bound to labour with his body for bread, and that most of the grinding misery in the world was due to the fact that men failed to discharge their duty in this respect” He regarded all schemes to ameliorate the poverty of the masses by the philanthropy of the rich while they themselves shirked body labour and continued to live in luxury and ease, as hypocrisy and a sham and suggested that if only man gets off the back of the so called philanthropy would be rendered un-necessary.”⁹

Bread-labour will be an effective method for bridging the gulf between manual and non-manual work and solve the problem of isolation and alienation of the workers from the socio-economic system.

Similarly he advocated a changed attitude towards work and leisure. In the present set up since labour is considered as a source of discomfort and pain and not as a source of pleasure every one is hankering after leisure. “Leisure is good and necessary upto a point only. God created man to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, and I dread the prospect of our being able to produce all that we want, including our foodstuffs, out of a conjurer’s hat.”¹⁰ He explained his position thus: “Mere mental,

that is intellectual labour, is for the soul and is its own satisfaction. It should never demand payment. In the ideal state doctors, lawyers, and the like will solely work for the benefit of the society, not for self. Obedience to the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service. The law of the brute will be replaced by the law of man."¹¹

Gandhi wanted to restore dignity of labour and even suggested that "the qualification for franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for Congress franchise..... By Swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people, ascertained by the vote of the largest number of adult population,..... who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State..."¹²

Institutional Changes

While advocating changes in the attitude of people and suggesting social incentives for work Gandhi tried to introduce far reaching changes in the institutional set up as well. He pleaded and made experiments for a decentralised set up. Centralisation must lead to concentration of power, exploitation, struggle and strife and it is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. Decentralisation of production processes will remove most of the evils which are associated with the present day industrial society based on machine culture with its emphasis on 'consumption society'. Decentralisation of production of at least vital necessities will simultaneously assist the organisation of society on non-violent lines with capacity to resist authority when abused. "When production and consumption both become localised the temptation to speed up production, indefinitely and at any price disappears. All the endless difficulties and problems that our present day economic system presents, too, would come to an end."¹³

A decentralised order would permit larger participation of the workers in production and management decisions and obliterate the distinction of high and low, the manager and the managed, to a considerable degree. There shall be no divorce between ownership, control, worker, the manager and the consumer.

Decentralisation does not mean static economy or good-bye to science or technological improvements. Gandhi disapproved machines that led to concentration and consequent exploitation. He was in favour of every machine that improves the efficiency and productivity and lightens the burden of the artisan and the cottage worker. "My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions."¹⁴

Even under this decentralised system there will be need for some large-scale industries. To quote him, ".....I am socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalised, or state-controlled. They ought only to be working under the most attractive and ideal conditions, not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking the place of greed as motive. It is an alteration in the conditions of labour that I want. This mad rush for wealth must cease, and the labourer must be assured, not only a living wage, but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery."¹⁵

The Role of the State vs. Trusteeship

Attitudinal changes along with decentralised socio-economic policy will obviate state action and confine it to a very narrow field of providing ideal working and service conditions in those factories which have to be centralised and state-controlled. As a general rule Gandhi was opposed to increasing power getting concentrated in the hands of the bureaucracy which will get stronger and stronger under state dominance. I look upon an increase of the power of the state with the greatest fear", observed Gandhi, "because although while

apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress.”¹⁶ On another occasion he remarked, “The state represents violence, in a concentrated and organised form.”¹⁷ He was doubtful whether Government institutions can be depended upon to remain loyal to the interest of the people..... if they are not controlled by and not run in the interest of the people”¹⁸.

Gandhi, therefore, introduced the concept of trusteeship for property and class relationship. He wanted to abolish ‘capitalism’, and the ‘capitalist’ through his non-violent technique. “If you want capital to be extinct or you want to abolish moneyed men or the capitalist, you will never succeed. What you must do is to demonstrate to the capitalist the power of labour and they will consent to be the trustees of those who toil for them.....”¹⁹

Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship is not a plea for *status quo* or exploitation but for a new motivation and relationship to be enforced through the power of Satyāgraha.

Right to Organise and Strike

Gandhi held the view “that strikes are an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice.”²⁰ A similar view was propounded by G. D. H. Cole: “Organised labour must at all costs preserve its right to strike; and nobody can compensate of the loss of that supreme and final defence against intolerable oppression. The strike is labour’s expression of free will, surrender that, and the worker becomes the merest wage slave.”

While advocating that “strikes are an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice”, Gandhi hedged this right with several conditions.

The first of these conditions was the organisation of workers on right lines. "In my humble opinion labour can always vindicate itself if labour is sufficiently united and self-sacrificing.....If labour could only understand and recognise that capital is perfectly helpless without labour, labour will immediately come into its own."²¹ On another occasion he observed, "The labourer has but to realise that labour is also capital. As soon as labourers are properly educated and organised and they realise their strength, no amount of capital can subdue them. Organised and enlightened labour can dictate its own terms."²²

Organisation of labour is essential and is independent of labour policies that might be pursued by the employer — whether private or public. In the absence of organisation amongst workers a large number of their grievances cannot be attended to. Labour policy of the employers how-so-ever progressive and enlightened, will primarily take into consideration the good of the unit. However, much that the company may do by way of welfare work, it would do so only from its point of view.

While commending formation of trade unions and organisation of workers, Gandhi warned the countrymen and the workers that unless the trade unions are run on right lines they can become a source of irresponsible social behaviour. "In the struggle between capital and labour, it may generally be said that more often than not the capitalist are in the wrong box. But when labour comes fully to realise its strength, I know it can become more tyrannical than capital."²³

Shortly after having organised the Ahmedabad Mill Workers Association he gave vent to his opinions: "Let me briefly tell you what in my opinion you should do to come into your own. Combination among yourselves in the form of the unions is undoubtedly the first. But I can tell you from experience that your every union can

become one of the causes of your bondage if you do not comply with other conditions which I shall presently mention to you."²⁴

These condition are:

1. Each member must behave in a socially responsible manner. "Each one of you should consider himself to be a trustee for the welfare of the rest of his fellow labourers and not be self-seeking."²⁵

2. In a state of social and economic backwardness in which the average worker finds himself, his advise to the workers was "to use your union as much for internal reformation as for defence against assaults from without and remember that while it is quite proper to insist upon your rights and privileges, it is imperative that you should recognise the obligation that every right carries with it."²⁶

3. That the workers and the unions should think of the consequences of their actions on the society, "the more unfortunate millions in India..... to establish a living bond between them and yourselves, especially if you..... consider that India is the mother state....."²⁷

4. That organised labour must not take recourse to violence. "Without that necessary discipline in non-violence", observed Gandhi, "they would have internecine strife and would never be able to develop the strength that is needed to enable them to realise the power that they possess....But after that realisation has come, and they have come to their own, non-violence does not become superfluous. If they were to bid good-bye to it, they would be as bad as capitalists and turn exploiters themselves."²⁸ On another occasion he remarked, "It would be suicidal if the labourers rely upon their numbers of brute force, i.e., violence. By so doing they will do harm to industries in the country."²⁹ He observed "work men would be committing suicide and India would have to

suffer indescribable misery if working men were to vent their anger by criminal disobedience of the law of the land."

5. Labour unions in order to increase their strength and also to bring about greater involvement of the workers with union activities must train their "members to a supplementary occupation in addition to their principal occupation in the mills, so that in the event of a lock-out, strike or loss of employment otherwise, they would always have something to fall back upon, instead of being faced with the prospect of starvation."³⁰ Mill workers cannot save for the rainy day out of meagre wages that they get to maintain bare subsistence level. Enforced idleness and living on public charity is highly demoralising and undermines self-respect. "The working class will never feel secure or develop a sense of self-assurance and strength unless its members are armed with an unfailling subsidiary means of subsistence to serve as a second string to their bow in a crisis."³¹ Gandhi laid emphasis on this aspect of the organisation of the workers and held "that working knowledge of a variety of occupations is to the working class what metal is to the capitalist."³² This will also provide relief from the cramping influence of soulless, mechanical occupations which leave little scope for the development of the intellect. To quote him once again "Let him only be organised along right lines and have his intelligence quickened, let him learn a variety of occupations, and he will be able to go about with his head erect and never be afraid of being without means of sustenance."³³

As has been mentioned earlier Gandhi considered the right to strike as an inherent right of the working class. "..... There is bound to be non-cooperation, wherever there is evil, oppression and injustice, whether anybody wishes it or not..... Non-cooperation is the quickest method of creating public opinion..... a change of manners or of heart."³⁴

Discussing the relationship between capital and labour he stated his views as follows: "There is in

English a very potent word it is "No" and the secret that we have hit upon is that when Capital wants Labour to say 'Yes', labour roars out 'No' if it means 'No'. And immediately labour comes to recognise that it has got the choice before it of saying 'Yes' when it wants to say 'Yes' and 'No' when it wants to say 'No'. Labour is free of capital and capital has to woo labour. And it would not matter in the slightest degree that capital has guns and even poison gas at its disposal. Capital would still be perfectly helpless if labour would assert its dignity by making good its 'No'.

While conceding the right to strike Gandhi disapproved of the use of this weapon without thorough preparation and in an irresponsible manner for narrow, personal or group interest. In a well ordered society there should be no occasion for strikes to be declared. "Strikes ought to be impossible when there is perfect understanding between capital and labour, mutual respect and recognition of equality."³⁶

To reach this state of understanding each one of us have to make efforts. In the meanwhile, there may be occasions when workers may be forced to strike. Here also Gandhi laid down certain principles:

1. "There are certain matters in which strikes would be wrong. Sweepers' grievances come in this category"³⁷ He also disapproved strikes by police and remarked that "the police like the scavengers, should never go on strike. Theirs was an *essential* service and they should render their service irrespective of pay."³⁸ Gandhi did not favour strikes even during the transitory period in essential services. It will be travesty of argument if we include amongst essential services an industry of service which is really not essential. It need not be argued that Gandhi advocated that working and service conditions for workers in these industries should remain static or low. While discussing

'Pen Down' strike of A.G. employees in Calcutta in 1947 he remarked — "Why should the Director get Rs.2,000/- a month and a chaprasi Rs. 20/- a month? It certainly sounded odd. He for one believed that under ideal conditions the barrister and the bhangsi should both get the same payment. But he knew, as everybody else did, that society all the world over was far from ideal..... Society needed patient and sustained education to bring it to the same level of earning. It required much advanced training to reach that state of equality. Meanwhile every effort must be made to bridge the gulf between the payments of the higher and the lower ranks."⁸⁹

2. Strikes, for economic betterment, should not be declared with any ulterior political purpose. Backwardness, poverty and ignorance of workers is likely to be exploited by unscrupulous labour leaders. Those who are living under extensive poverty cannot think of other interests except their own. Political action by such groups cannot be sustained. Strikes if they fail are likely to demoralise workers and may lead to violence. His advice therefore was: "The secret of success lies in a refusal to exploit for political purposes, outside their own personal and felt grievances. Organisation round a specific wrong they would understand." "In my opinion, it will be a most serious mistake to make use of labour strikes for such a purpose. I do not deny that such strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of non-violent non-cooperation. It does not require much effort of the intellect to perceive that it is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to work for the common good. This is hardly to be expected of them all of a sudden and until they have bettered their own conditions so as to enable them to keep body and soul together in a decent manner. The greatest political contribution, therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on

their rights and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have such an important hand..... Strikes, therefore, for the present should only take place for the direct betterment of labourers' lot, and when they have acquired the spirit of patriotism for the regulation of prices of their manufactures."⁴⁰ In 1946 when the country witnessed a spate of strikes he cautioned, "Strikes for economic betterment should never have a political end as an ulterior motive. Such a mixture never advances the political end and generally brings trouble upon strikers..... Political strikes must be treated on their own merits and must never be mixed with or related to economic strikes."⁴¹

Political strikes are not completely ruled out. But this is an extreme step which should not be taken lightly. It requires a strong, stable, united and socially conscious trade union movement which has a clear philosophy of a new socio-economic order. "Political strikes have a definite place in non-violent action. They are never taken up haphazard. They must be open and never lead to goondaism. They are calculated never to lead to violence."⁴²

On similar grounds Gandhi disfavoured sympathetic strikes. Misuse of such strikes is a common feature. Unless merits of a dispute have been examined, 'such an action is premature and causes public inconvenience. His advice, therefore, was, "Sympathetic strikes must be a taboo until it is conclusively proved that the affected men have exhausted all the legitimate means at their disposal and until the Congress has been proved to have betrayed or neglected their interest or until the Congress has called for sympathetic strikes, in order to secure justice from obdurate and unsympathetic authorities."⁴³

3. Strikes must be declared after full preparation and a careful and judicious examination of the demands of the workers. Organised workers must shun irresponsible

demands. "Obviously there should be no strike which is not justifiable on merits. No strike unjust should succeed." 44

Gandhi was in favour of declaration of strikes only when the same were likely to succeed. He, therefore, suggested 'conditions of a successful' strike..... and held the view that 'when they are fulfilled, strikes need never fail'. The conditions were: (1) the cause of the strike must be just, (2) there should be practical unanimity among the strikers, (3) there should be no violence used against non-strikers, (4) strikers must be able to maintain themselves during the strike period without falling back upon union funds and should, therefore, occupy themselves in some useful and productive temporary occupation, (5) a strike is no remedy when there is enough labour to replace strikers, and (6) strikers must fix an unalterable minimum demand, and declare it before embarking upon strike. "A strike should be spontaneous and not manipulated. If it is organised without any compulsion there would be no chance for goondaism and looting. Such a strike would be characterised by perfect cooperation amongst the strikers. It should be peaceful and there should be no show of force. The strikers should take up some work either singly or in cooperation with each other, in order to earn their bread. The nature of such work should have been thought out before-hand. It goes without saying that in a peaceful, effective and firm strike of this character there will be no room for rowdiness or looting I have not presented a utopian picture." 45

Negotiations and Voluntary Arbitration

Gandhi laid great stress on negotiations prior to the declaration of a strike. If negotiations fail, he advocated recourse to voluntary arbitration. "Strikes should not be risked without previous negotiations with the mill owners. If the mill owners resort to arbitration, the principle of Panchayat should be accepted. And once the panchayats are appointed the decision must be accepted by both the parties alike, whether they like it or not." 46

The principle of arbitration is based upon the assumption of acceptance of social responsibility by workers, employers and their organisation and placing social good and welfare higher than sectional or group interests. It is expected that the leadership of the workers and the employers, realises the socio-economic implication of their direct action methods and do not want to put the public to avoidable hardship and inconvenience. They voluntarily agree to restrict their right to strike or to lock-out; the same is not surrendered at the behest of any external agency or the State.

Even when we assume a considerable sense of responsibility on the part of workers, they may be imperceptibly influenced by class consideration and bias. Those who are directly involved cannot consider the issue involved with complete detachment or objectivity. It is therefore, desirable that they should agree to an examination of their point of view by experts of their own choosing. "The public has no means of judging the merits of a strike, unless it is backed by impartial persons enjoying public confidence. Interested men cannot judge the merits of their own case. Hence there must be an arbitration accepted by the parties or judicial adjudication."⁴⁷

Conditions for the success of voluntary arbitration are also crystal clear. The success of voluntary arbitration depends upon assurance of reasonable and fair working and service conditions. These should provide for:

1. the hours of labour must leave the workmen some hours of rest;
2. they must get facilities for their education;
3. provision should be made for an adequate supply of milk, clothing and necessary education for their children;
4. there should be sanitary dwellings for the workmen;

5. they should be in a position to save enough to maintain themselves during their old age.⁴⁸

These conditions are only illustrative. Gandhi laid emphasis on giving the workers what is their due: "not what capitalists consider as due, but what labour itself would so consider and enlightened public opinion acclaim as just."⁴⁹

Employers' Attitude

Gandhi emphasised that there is need for a radical change in the attitude of the employers whether they are in the private or public sector. He advocated a conscious effort to reduce inequalities and warned the countrymen: "A non-violent system of Government is clearly an impossibility as long as the gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good."⁵⁰ G.D.H. Cole also expressed similar views: "As long as social inequality persists, industrial disputes will go along with it; when inequality has been swept away we may begin penal legislation in favour of industrial peace, if we need to do so. Strikes happen because of inequality and injustice and until the people realise the depth of that inequality and that injustice it will be useless for it to apply the miserable standards of social justice in the hope of securing social peace. Social peace is an ideal and the two shall come together, if they come at all."

Gandhi's advice to the capitalists was, "If I was a capitalist, I should not continue my business for a single day, if my men felt that they were being exploited and they had not their minimum wants and comforts satisfied."⁵¹

On another occasion he remarked, "I do not think there need be any clash between capital and labour. Each is

dependent on the other. What is essential today is that the capitalists should not lord it over the labourer. In my opinion the mill hands are as much the proprietors of their mills as the share-holders, and when the mill-owners realise that mill hands are as much mill-owners as they, there will be no quarrel between them.”⁵²

To the question “How should capital behave when labour strikes?”, Gandhi disapproved of the method of suppression. “The other way, right and honourable,” said Gandhiji, “consists in considering every strike on its merits and giving labour its due — not what capital consider as due what labour itself would so consider and enlightened public opinion acclaim as just.”⁵³

In the light of the discussion that we had in the preceding paragraphs we can appreciate Gandhi’s advocacy of *Trusteeship* — his attitude towards property and his concept of relationship amongst individuals, smaller groups and sections with a nation and amongst nations in the world. Every effort to bring about institutional and attitudinal change as suggested by Gandhi will take us nearer the goal of happier socio-economic order devoid of any form of exploitation. Organisation of workers along rightlines with ‘the inherent right to strike’ and non-cooperation is the surest guarantee against misuse of authority and exploitation. It is not charity that Gandhi desires but equity and justice as a matter of course and right. Gandhi was experimenting and in his words ‘India is trying to evolve true democracy i.e., without violence. Our weapons are those of Satyāgraha expressed through Charkha, the village industries, primary education through handicrafts prohibition and non-violent organisation of labour.”⁵⁴ Through the structural and attitudinal changes that he envisaged and with the organisation of labour and other groups on proper lines he thought that we can have a society based on truth and non-violence. “In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending

circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of village till, at last the whole becomes 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 parts." 65

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GANDHI AND VALLUVAR ON AHIMSA AND PEACE

A.S. PILLAI

The ideological perspective of Gandhi is highly charged with values. Gandhi geared his entire ideological thinking to the ultimate values which have a deep metaphysical moorings. His ultimate value-goal is Truth, which empirically means justice. This synthetic concept of justice consists, in the Gandhian scheme of values, of *ahimsā* or non-violence which to his mind is a wider name for fraternity, *swarāj* or liberty, both individual and collective, and *samatā* or an inclusive equality. The task of social engineering, according to Gandhi, is the progressive installation of these values through the reconstruction of both individual and collective social life.

Gandhi remained unmoved in his faith in non-violence till his death. He insisted that the wholesale fulfilment of the constructive programme was equivalent to the attainment of *pūrṇa swarāj*. *Satyāgraha* as visualized by Gandhi is a more fundamental and perennial means of social transformation than people's war. Gandhi stated categorically that the constructive programme is the basis of the training for the non-violence of the brave. He once said, man 'either progresses towards *ahimsā* or rushes to his doom'. While violence is a shattering dehumanising experience, non-violence is really a way of life.

The application of moral truths to the facts of social life is the essence of Gandhian and Valluvar's way of life.

Their dynamic philosophy can make possible the advent of a radically transformed society. They serve as a system of norms and moral values that can guide our conduct and action in society and state. The truth of a few will count, the untruth of millions will vanish even like a chaff before a whiff of wind. The message of Gandhi and Tiruvalluvar will remain permanent in the hearts of one and all.

Against the background of Gandhian thought we shall now analyse the views of saint Tiruvalluvar on *ahimsā*.

Tirukkural is classified as one among the didactic works of the Sangam age. Of the four conventional divisions *Aram*, *Porul*, *Inbam* and *Veedu*, Tiruvalluvar was concerned with building up a model — the three dimensional model of living. Anyone living up to the ideals of the first three divisions will have lived a full life. It is clear that the central idea of *Tirukkural* is non-violence or *ahimsā*. In the century immediately prior to the Christian era, the culture of the Tamil land was based upon the non-violent faith associated with Lord Rishabha. According to Jaina tradition, Lord Rishabha was the first to preach *ahimsā dharma* to the people at the beginning of the present *yuga*. The non-violent ideal which was the central doctrine of the Rishabha cult was periodically revived by great teachers called *Tirthaṅkaras* of the Jains. The apostles of the non-violence cult must have travelled beyond India preaching their doctrine through propaganda. Considering some of the fundamental doctrines which constitute the religion of non-violence, it is evident that love and sympathy towards all living creatures is the necessary ethical outcome of the ultimate philosophical principle, the fundamental unity of living beings.

Therefore, it is clear that the God of Tiruvalluvar is the god of universal benevolence. He is different from the

god of wrath. He is not the god who showers fire and brimstone to destroy the cities of the enemies. He is not the god who will send forth flames of destruction from his eye in order to burn hostile cities to ashes. He does not carry weapons of warfare in his hands. His nature is the manifestation of universal love. He has neither a friend nor a foe. The only weapon that he wields is a weapon of universal love. Even a cruel tiger will become as harmless as a lamb in the presence of universal love.

Starting from the consideration of the type of relationship that ought to prevail in the most elementary 'face-to-face social group' and passing through the economic and political institutions and culminating in society at large, the individual is exhorted to observe the principle of morality which is concretely envisaged as extending the area of concern to envelop the whole of humanity. The idealizations of inter-personal relationships in the *Kural* thus need to be understood as derivable from the ideas on the good life and not as having been born out of Valluvar's analyses of social, economic and political problems.

We may further point to the fact that it is specially relevant to our age which is witnessing a growing secularization of life and institutions in which the secular is accorded the meaning of a studious indifference to religion and religious values. Hence the message of the classical work of Valluvar presents itself as challengingly relevant to an age such as ours. This is clearly apparent from the fourth couplet¹ of Chapter 74 of the *Kural* in which Tiruvalluvar indicates that a good country (society) is one which is free from hunger, disease, and fear of external aggression and internal conflict.

A deeper insight which leads to a perception of the truth behind everything seen and experienced has been described as true wisdom which alone is capable of removing the attachment and of leading one to the stage of

perfection beyond the sea of births. The importance of the term 'மெய்' or truth in 'மெய் உணர்தல்' and the resulting freedom from attachments should be emphasized, as is made clear by the *Kural*.² It says that purity is the absence of selfish desires; that purity comes when one aspires for Truth.

'Vāymai' (வாய்மை) is another name for truth but it emphasizes the truth which shines through our speech. Truth is not terminal exactitude but the manifestation of the inner 'arul' (அருள்) in speech. Therefore truth is speaking that which is not harmful; and *Kural* goes even to the extent of saying that even falsehood has the nature of truth if the perfect good which results therefrom is free from any fault whatsoever. Therefore it is the inner inspiration and the ultimate good which results — viz., the purity of both the means and the ends. The inspiration must be pure. Valluvar says, "Be true to your conscience, otherwise your very heart burns you."

There are two great virtues: one is *Ahimsā*; the other is Truth.³ "The greatest virtue is non-killing; coming next to it is non-falsehood." This is the accepted view. But Tiruvalluvar will give the place of prominence to Truth. There is nothing more truthful than truth and if one follows the path of truth without fail, according to Valluvar one need not do any other good. This is because others are manifestations of this inner inspiration. This reminds us of the conception of *Satyāgraha* as held by Mahatma Gandhi. To him, Truth was God. 'To place oneself in another's position is the golden rule' is the message of Judaism and Christianity; and this has been emphasized by Valluvar.⁴ The negative phrases used by Valluvar represent *Ahimsā*. It is not a negative doctrine but the real positive energy of love and truth as envisaged by Gandhi too.

Giving reply to the question what is universal love and what is its opposite, Valluvar says, "Arul is *Ahimsā*,

non-killing; *hiṃsā* or killing is the absence of *Arul*." In this way *ahiṃsā* and *arul* are equated. The question may arise why the negative form "Kollāmai" (கொல்லாமை) is used especially when the negative form misleads us into thinking that *ahiṃsā* is only negative doctrine. "All life and flesh," says Mahatma Gandhi, "exists by some violence." Hence the highest religion has been defined by the negative word *ahiṃsā*. The world is bound by the chain of destruction. Violence is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a votary of *ahiṃsā* always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of the flesh. *Ahiṃsā* from another point of view is truth. *Ahiṃsā* or truth implies fearlessness.

Ahiṃsā scrupulously practised by the Jains, the compassion, governing the acts of the Buddhist, and the *Satyāgraha*, the life principle of Mahatma Gandhi—these three explain much the underlying principle of *Kural*.

All life is suffering and this is the great truth of Tolkāppiyar's *Kanchi*. At the realisation of a reverence for life, one is seized with love which is really the deep pity for all creatures, not only for man. The right word for this pity here is *arul* (அருள்). Hence we see what the Christian missionaries call "the wound of compassion". The chapter on *Tapas* in *Kural* should be read from this point of view. There is a bliss in this suffering, an expansion of our personality to the limit of universalism. This does not depend on the belief in *ātman* or God. Even an anātmic Buddhism experiences this. The chapter on 'Renunciation' implies penance or absolute privation,⁵ the forgetfulness of 'I' and 'mine',⁶ the abandonment of the flesh-burden,⁷ and the attachment to the Lord to be free from its bondage.⁸ Thorough renunciation, which knows no pain⁹ is made in aspiration of higher pleasures¹⁰ and it is achieved when the avenues of desire are relinquished.¹¹

Those that aim at thorough renunciation cannot attain that goal at once. They practice certain religious observances and virtues, positive and negative like good will,¹² eating no flesh,¹³ penance,¹⁴ non-anger,¹⁵ non-evil doing,¹⁶ non-killing,¹⁷ non-commission of fraud¹⁸ and consistent conduct.¹⁹

A man of kindly grace will abstain from flesh-eating; for, the essence of grace is non-harming or not killing any living being.²⁰

The poet expresses his strong condemnation of killing any living being.²¹ Neither slay nor eat the flesh of the slain. Both acts are sinful or ungracious. Buddhists preach *Ahimsā* but eat the flesh of the slain, whereas the Jains eschew both.²² Killing for *yāgas* too is to be shunned.²³ He who abstains slaying and flesh-eating is adored by the whole world. Real penance is not self-mortification; it is patient endurance without doing offence to others.²⁴ It can help good men to be happy and ruin evil doers.

The poet uses 'Sinam' (சினம்), 'Vehuli' (வெகுளி), and 'Katham' (கதம்) but not the common word 'Kopam' (கோபம்). If 'Sinam' is anger, 'Vehuli' (வெகுளி) is burning ire or surpassing wrath expressed by outburst or explosive acts.²⁵ 'Kopam pāpam chandālam' is a familiar saying. "Be angry but sin not, let not the sin go down upon your anger." The display of anger towards inferiors, equals and superiors is discriminated. The negative virtues of 'not doing ill to others' and 'not slaying life' are treated very elaborately by Valluvar.²⁶

The sages or men of spotless lives hold the doctrine of *ahimsā* and condemn revenge, retribution, retaliation²⁷ and their excellence or worth lies in the rejection of all utilitarian motives, and in the embrace of *ahimsā* even to malicious foes; for, the great and good men know

from their studies of religious and ethical classics that it is their duty to guard others. 'Fogive your enemy' is said to be the highest ethical maxim or precept found in this masterpiece. What ill a man does before noon he has it in return in the same evening.²⁸ It is good to remember any good done to us; but it is better to forget the evil.²⁹ The remembrance of a past good action will erase the deadliest injury done at present.³⁰ A patient forbearer of transgression is a true ascetic and will gain the foremost place in the world.³¹ Tiruvalluvar really transcends Jesus "who only wants to foregive them." In advising to forget trespasses Valluvar is only in the positive degree.

Tiruvalluvar speaks of 'Oruttal', the path of punishment and violence, 'Poruttal', the path of forbearance and forgiving and 'Marattal', the path of forgetting the evil done. The Jews preach against revenge and also against bearing any grudge. They also speak of being good, because of love taking an offence in silence. Al Koran promises paradise for those who pardon others; Manu advises the twice-born to bless the one who curses him. Therefore Valluvar's emphasis on Poruttal is not unknown to others.

Showing compassion towards the offenders because of the sorrow which will result, is also emphasized by Valluvar. There is also another statement made by Valluvar: "Conquer with forbearance one who has done you harm in one's insolent pride." By insisting non-killing and other concepts, he teaches us that attachment to God brings about detachment from everything else.³² That attachment to God generates disinterested love for God's creatures.

Religion was an integrative force. It developed a sense of oneness amongst the different groups who espoused a particular religion. But to-day religions are not doing that very helpful job of welding different groups.

Rather they have become causes for tension and conflict. The religious prophets themselves preached love and unity. But in to-day's close-knit world, as different religious groups and nationalities impinge one upon the other, the politicians exploit the apparent differences for their own selfish ends. So the great Acharya Vinoba Bhave declared, "The era of religion and politics is over. The era of science and spirituality has begun." The conventional religion which divides the human family is on the exit from the world scene. But this does not mean the essence of religion is out of date. On the contrary the essence of religion which is spirituality is very much needed in the modern world. The emotional unification of the modern world can come about only on the basis of spirituality. Thus an awareness is developing all over the world that war must be abolished. The instinct of self-preservation which is a powerful force, is coming to the aid of establishing peace in the world. The situation in the present day world was well described by the noted American Negro leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, "The choice before us is not between non-violence and violence, but it is between non-violence and non-existence." In this transitional stage we have to work hard to bury violence deep in the grave and help the birth and growth of non-violence. We need men with minds which are peaceful, not agitated. It is the violence of the mind that takes the external form of physical warfare. If there is peace in the minds of men there will be peace in the world. It is in this context that the *Kural* can play a useful role. The author of the *Kural* has given the supreme place to non-violence in his scheme of virtues. To him, non-violence is the pre-eminent virtue.³³

The concept of non-violence and the concept of *arul* are essentially the same. *Arul* is the final development of *Anbu*, which is love for all. *Arul* is the positive form of non-violence. It is true that the author of the *Kural* advocates non-violence in preference to personal

life. Mahatma Gandhi invented the method of satyāgraha as the method of non-violent resistance to evil.

Tiruvalluvar has shown a way of living which can be easily followed by the common people. He has shown how from romantic love to family love and then to universal love, a human being can move gradually and evolve naturally. Thus *Tirukkural* has shown the possibility of mass application of non-violence. Valluvar has not founded a religion but has devised a way of life with its roots in Hinduism and Jainism.

'Non-violence', 'Civil disobedience', etc., are all technical, specialised phrases. The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love. On a deeper analysis, however, it becomes clear that the *Kural* incorporates within itself principles which may be described as Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist, but at the same time it goes beyond the three traditions, or may be, it has diligently distilled principles of religion from the three traditions near at hand and has projected a perspective which could be described as universal.

It follows from our analysis that Gandhi and Valluvar belong to the rich tradition and culture of India. The Sage of Sevagram and the Sage of Tamilnadu have shown us the path to perfection and peace through their philosophies of *Sarvodaya* and *Kural* respectively. Gandhi and Valluvar have become the symbols of peace, truth, non-violence and *dharma*.

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FROM GREEN TO GANDHI

A STUDY OF THEIR VIEWS ON WAR, THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE WAY OF PEACE

R. BALASUBRAMANIAN

(1) *The Background*

The aim of this paper is to make a comparative study of the views of T.H. Green and Gandhi on the question of war and on the role of the individual in preventing it. It does not seek to show that there is similarity between them in all respects, though there is substantial agreement between them on the basic issues — that war is an evil, that it is the outcome of human decisions, and that it can be prevented through the concerted effort of human beings. The comparison of these two thinkers is intended not only for the purpose of focussing attention on certain points of similarity between them, but also to show that the Gandhian view is a wholesome supplement to that of Green at least in two respects — the manner of organization of the state which Gandhi suggests, provides a clue for the promotion and maintenance of peace among the nations, and the technique of non-violence is the most effective and least expensive weapon for fighting against destructive war and violent conflicts.

It may appear that no two thinkers are so much unlike each other as Green and Gandhi; and so any comparison between them, it may be argued, apart from being superficial, will be positively misleading. While Green is an academic philosopher, Gandhi is not. Gandhi is

not interested in the discussion of any of the views in the same way as an academic professional philosopher would be interested. He would not like to be drawn into academic controversies. Rather his main concern is practice. It is no doubt true that he wrote quite a lot and preached a good deal on miscellaneous topics ranging from birth control through the practice of *brahmacharya* to the problem of war and peace and international relations. But in all these his main concern was practice — to practise what he preached and the most effective way of preaching, according to him, was through practice. What he preached he practised; and what he did not practise he did not preach. In all that he did, religion was the one unfailing source of inspiration. Unlike Green, Gandhi has not written scholarly treatises on moral and political philosophy expounding his views in a systematic way by means of arguments and counter-arguments, possible objections and suitable replies. It is only from his occasional statements, answers to questions, press interviews and personal correspondence and post-prayer speeches that we have to gather his views on these issues. It is, therefore, no wonder that when one reads the compilation of his views, one finds it enormously repetitious. The reader would be tempted to think that there are inconsistencies, though only apparent, in his views.

More striking is the difference between Green and Gandhi in the manner of presentation of their views. It is generally said that the style is the man. The simple sentences in which Gandhi writes, driving home his point straight and direct, stand in marked contrast to Green's long-winded complex and compound sentences, with parentheses, running over to nearly half a page in many cases, which compel us to read them over and over again with a view to fix the idea in our mind.

Green belongs to the school of Oxford idealism, and so it is not difficult for us to state his basic views on

philosophy as well as on subjects which can be characterized as applied philosophy in a clear and definite way. The particular views that he holds on ethical and political issues are only the necessary outcome of his idealism. From the vantage point of metaphysics he reviews moral and political issues. Such a clear-cut demarcation is not possible in the case of Gandhian thought. Gandhi cannot be classified in terms of exclusive schools of philosophical thinking. He would stoutly repudiate the suggestion that he is a philosopher who has a system of his own with distinctive characteristics to be labelled as idealism or realism or pragmatism, etc. None of these terms understood in the conventional sense can be applied to him. He used to say frequently: "There is no such thing as Gandhism and I do not want to leave any sect after me." He is not an idealist in the sense of a visionary who always remains in the ivory tower of speculation without touching the grim aspect of reality. If anyone is realistic in the assessment of the situation and in the evaluation of political and social programs of reconstruction, it is Gandhi. Nor is he a realist and a pragmatist in the vulgar sense of the term implying one who is always fanatically tied down to brute facts and who is interested in getting things done. Though from one point of view he is a conservative, from another point of view he is not. He is undoubtedly a revolutionary who wants to do away with the moribund system of society in which a few thrive by exploiting the many, which practises social, political, and economic inequality. But he is a revolutionary with a difference. An apostle of non-violence, he diametrically differs from other revolutionaries who believe in the efficacy of organized violence as the most potent weapon for achieving social, and economic ends. So we cannot straight away apply any of these labels to Gandhi.

There is also another important difference between Green and Gandhi. Though it cannot be denied that Green was interested in social and political reform, it was not his main pre-occupation. As a leader of a nation

which was under a foreign rule, Gandhi had to fight against a mighty empire which was coercive in safeguarding its vested interests and putting down opposition. In his non-violent fight against the foreign rule he had to take with him millions of people who were illiterate, indifferent, and tradition-conscious, who were divided into numerous sects and cults in the name of religion, and who were victims of social evils and caste exploitation. Gandhi, therefore, felt from the beginning the urgent need for a radical transformation of the social and political fabric with a view to achieving a classless society based on truth and love. Though he was basically religious in outlook and openly admitted that his politics and other activities were derived from his religion, he was conscious of the fact that he was a political leader who, by the logic of events, was called upon to deal with a political situation. He allowed his religion to influence his political and social views; but he made it clear that he was playing the role of a political leader and that the unique method of *Satyāgraha* which he placed before the Congress was a political method to be employed for the solution of political questions. But it does not follow on that account that the method of non-violence can be employed only to political issues. Gandhi was, therefore, a leader of a nation who was seized with a mighty political problem which affected the destinies of millions of people of his own generation as well as generations of people yet to come.

The immediate source from which Green draws his inspiration is the two German thinkers, Kant and Hegel, while the remote source is the Greek thinkers. The influence of Kant is much more prominent and pervasive than that of Hegel; that is to say, Green is more a Kantian than a Hegelian. Unlike Green, Gandhi is an eclectic thinker who draws heavily from different sources. He has imbibed the best from the East as well as the West, and every source has moulded his thinking in a prominent way. From Thoreau he gets his idea of civil disobedience

and from Tolstoy that of non-cooperation. He gets the idea of passive resistance from the New Testament and the conception of economic equality from Ruskin, while he owes to his own Hindu tradition the idea of oneness of mankind and the gospel of non-violence. What is remarkably significant in him is that he has made all these ideas his own and that all of them have been moulded into an integral whole.

The views of both Green and Gandhi are of great significance to contemporary man. Steeped in classical knowledge and imbued with the spirit of idealism, a true liberal to the core and an out-spoken champion of universal human fellowship, Green (1836-1882) discusses fairly exhaustively the question of war — its nature, its origin, and the means [by which it can be prevented — in his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*. At no time does it deserve to be carefully studied as it is today. While the other aspects of his philosophical thinking are carefully studied, his discussion on this question has not been given due attention which it legitimately deserves. The problem is so urgent and the discussion is so cogent and convincing that every one of us — statesmen as well as scholars, patriots as well as humanists, administrators as well as jurists — must make a careful study of it and act on it with the fervour and conviction of a religious man and the duty-consciousness of a soldier. It was his conviction that the claims of a common humanity would never justify the necessities of war. "Given the idea of a common good and of self-determined participators in it — the idea implied, as we have seen, in the most primitive human society — the tendency of the idea in the minds of all capable of it must be to include, as participators of the good, all who have dealings with each other and who can communicate as 'I' and 'thou'. With growing means of intercourse and the progress of reflection, the theory of a universal human fellowship is its natural outcome."¹ It is wrong to minimise or underestimate the importance of

Green's arguments on the ground that the views of the nineteenth century idealist would be outdated to meet the challenge of national tension and international disorder in the second half of the twentieth century. Nor is it correct to bypass Green on the score that being an idealist political philosopher he would react to war not with any positive disfavour. We should not evaluate the merits of a thinker and the soundness of his theory in terms of the general philosophical position to which he subscribes and the school he belongs to. This is as much true with regard to Green as it is in the case of Gandhi. It is open to an individual thinker to deviate from the particular stand taken by others belonging to the same school or tradition without prejudice to the basic issues on which there is substantial agreement among them. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate a thinker on his own grounds and not on those of the school or tradition he belongs to. It is childish to look askance at an argument because it comes from an old source or to be terribly enthusiastic about it because it appears to be new. The great merit of Green's theory consists in the fact that, while condemning war as an evil which is due to human decision, he suggests in a very general way a solution to the prevention of war in terms of the proper organization of the state from within. It is here that we have to take up the Gandhian view as a fruitful supplement to that of Green.

Gandhi provides us not only with a blue-print for the internal organization of society, but also with an effective means, a novel technique by which it is to be implemented. The latter is more important than the former. It is no use to think of a new organization or a set-up or of the transformation of the existing set-up into something different and better than what it is at present, unless one is very sure of the means, the technique, the strategy through which it is to be realized. Gandhi is therefore, more concerned with the means than with the goal, without however losing sight of the goal which is desirable.

It must be emphasised even at this stage that Gandhi does not view the problem of war and violence from the standpoint of national sovereignty or prestige, art of diplomacy or state-craft. It is not a problem of the organization of one nation *vis-a-vis* another involving a clash of ideologies. It is basically a moral problem.

Gandhi attempts to solve a political problem involving the destinies of the nations at the moral plane. It may be of interest to compare the position of Gandhi with that of Plato in respect of the way in which each tries to tackle the problem with which they are seized. Plato begins the *Republic* with the problem of justice or right conduct of the individual. After reviewing the various definitions of justice, Socrates begins to answer the question by inquiring into the nature of the ideal state. For the solution of an ethical problem, he turns to the political plane. "I suggest," says Socrates, "that we should begin by inquiring what justice means in a state. Then we can go on to look for its counterpart on a smaller scale in the individual." Whereas Plato moves into the political plane in search of an answer to an ethical question, Gandhi takes his stand on the ethical plane to provide an answer for a political problem. What deserves to be noted here is not the fact that they move in the opposite directions — from the ethical to the political sphere in the case of Plato, and from the political to the ethical in the case of Gandhi —, but the fact that to both of them ethics and politics are inseparable, that ethical and political problems cannot be kept in watertight compartments, and that it is quite legitimate and necessary to make the transition from ethics to politics or from politics to ethics according to the nature of the issue to be dealt with. So apart from aiming at the maintenance of an ideal societal framework which would do justice — political, economic and social — to the people at large, there is the all-important moral problem of individual morality at every level, from the level of private dealings of individuals to that of the political behaviour of politicians and

administrators who are entrusted with the task of running the political machinery. If every society is properly organized at the national level on the basis of non-violence, not only will there be peace within among the people who constitute the society, but also peace without with other neighbouring nation states.

Though brought up in the Hindu tradition, Gandhi had the full benefit of Western education. He had the first-hand acquaintance with the way in which the political machinery in the West was functioning. He was thoroughly conversant with the Western political ideologies, conservative as well as revolutionary, Utopian as well as reactionary. He knew the strength as well as the weakness of the various programmes of social and political reconstruction. The strategy that he evolved and the weapon that he used in his epic fight against the established authority which was unjust in its policies and practices, were not just occasional, though they might have been occasioned by specific causes he was fighting for. Gandhi has been an enigma to his own people as well as to others. Simple as he was in his life and utterances, those who moved with him in close quarters and those who watched him from a distance claimed to have understood him. His simple living and noble thoughts have at the same time been a puzzle and a problem to many. As in the case of Green, his lofty idealism is the moving spirit behind his handling of national and international problems. A practical idealist and a lover of humanity, Gandhi's goal has been an independent India in the midst of a federation of friendly interdependent states. His nationalism is not inconsistent with internationalism, for it is not exclusive or aggressive or destructive.⁹ Believing in the oneness of mankind Gandhi subscribes, like Green, to the ideal of the fellowship of humanity. Gandhi declares: "The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a federation of friendly interdependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want

to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence."⁸ The ideal of both Green and Gandhi is the same. Green thinks of the *universal human fellowship* as the final outcome; and Gandhi does not find any reason to think of the *universal interdependence* of states as impossible. It will be obvious from what has been said above that there is an identity of outlook in respect of the basic issues between Green and Gandhi; and so the differences, whatever they may be, are only on the outer fringe. This is not to suggest that the picture that we have of them is identical in all respects. To hold any such view is to do less than justice to the marvellous genius of Green as an academic thinker and the uncanny insight of Gandhi as the unquestioned leader of a nation. Though widely separated by different social and cultural framework and differently motivated as a result of the problem which each confronted, they do not stand apart. In fact, the total picture which we can arrive at by combining the views of Green and Gandhi will be a unified whole. From Green to Gandhi we can make a smooth transition in respect of the problem of war and the solution that they suggest to prevent it. While the remedy which Green suggests for the prevention of war and the promotion of peace is very general in outline, the one which Gandhi outlines is specific. It can be successfully adopted by an individual or by any group of people to meet any situation. The general outline given by Green accommodates the specific proposals of Gandhi as there is no conflict between them. The Gandhian view may be looked upon as a useful supplement to that of Green.

Social and political philosophy of every variety is based on, and presupposes, a certain theory of human nature. A socio-political philosophy can be accepted only if it fulfils two basic requirements. First of all, the theory of human nature on which it is based must be sound. The

other requirement is that the various aspects of the socio-political philosophy must form a consistent whole: that is to say, there must be both cogency and consistency. As one reads it, one must be able to see that the theory is developed step by step as if there is a gradual unfoldment of the various steps from the first and also that the different aspects of the theory are consistent with one another. A socio-political philosophy which is based on a defective theory of human nature cannot be sound, whatever may be the logical rigour with which it is developed. The political philosophy of Hobbes is a classic example of a theory which, whatever may be its logic, is to be rejected because it is based on a theory of human nature which lacks both depth and insight.

(2) *Human Nature*

A brief reference to the theory of human nature which underlies the social and political philosophy of Green and Gandhi is necessary at this stage as it will throw light on the specific problems of war with which we are concerned here. When both Green and Gandhi trace the origin of war to human decision, or when they condemn war as an evil for which the human agent must bear the responsibility, or when they place a certain ideal before man as worthy of realization through constructive programmes and proper social organizations by individuals, they undoubtedly take their stand on what they consider to be the essential nature of man. Basically they hold the same view of human nature. Before we elucidate their view it may be convenient to state their position in a series of propositions: (1) Man is a rational agent who is capable of deliberate action. (2) He is also a moral agent with social responsibilities both in respect of his personal and impersonal relations. (3) Individual personality is the ultimate standard of value. (4) The personal good of the individual is inseparably connected with the common good. (5) His commitment as a rational and moral agent

extends as far as mankind as a whole. Let us elucidate one by one these points.

According to Green, what distinguishes man from other animals is his power of reason which enables him to perform deliberate actions. There is a spiritual principle in him, what he calls consciousness or the Self which enables him to distinguish himself from nature on the one hand, and from other beings on the other. "It is through it that he is conscious of time, of becoming, of a personal history; and the active principle of this consciousness cannot itself be determined by these relations in the way of time or becoming, which arise for consciousness through its action."⁴ Human experience is what it is because of thinking or rational activity. It is nothing if it is not thinking experience. If anything is to become an object of experience starting from sensation, it must fall within the scope of interpretation. The world of nature derives its significance from human experience. It is our interpretation that clothes it with significance. The one factor which is worthy of consideration in any deliberate action of a human being is the *motive* with which it is done. It is important, according to Green, for two reasons. It is at once indicative of the end which the rational agent wants to realize and the reason for doing the action which he does as being conducive to that end. We do not have access to the motive as such. We know it only through the activity in which he engages himself. Motive, to put it in the language of Green, is "the inner side of that of which the action is the outer."⁵ As a result of deliberation, the rational agent decides to do a certain action which under the circumstances in which he finds himself is what he ought to do in order to realize his personal good. It is "his conception of himself as finding for the time his greatest good" in the pursuit of that particular course of action rather than another.

The basic belief which underlies the Gandhian conception of human nature is that there is a spiritual

principle, "an indefinable mysterious power that pervades everything"⁶ and that "human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality."⁷ As a rational being, man has to perform his action by reviewing the past and planning for the future. The deliberate action which he performs is one in which he is conscious of what he is doing with a view to achieving his good. It is a self-conscious and self-criticizing activity. Reason sanctified by the still small voice within is his guide.⁸ The nature of rational activity and the part that reasoning has to play in guiding it will be obvious if we keep in mind the strenuous discipline, careful planning, and a clear vision which are, according to Gandhi, essential for the practice of non-violence at every level. Everything — religion, tradition, authority, etc., — has to be submitted to "sober reason" for approval. "Every formula of every religion has in the age of reason to submit to the test of reason and universal assent."⁹ "Authority sustains and ennoble the weak when it is the handiwork of reason, but it degrades them when it supplants reason sanctified by the still small voice within."¹⁰

Man is not only a rational agent but also a moral agent who has his responsibilities both in his personal and impersonal relations. A rational action, according to Green, is also a moral action. It stands in marked contrast to an instinctive action. While a rational action which being the outcome of a decision is the expression of a motive and which is conceived as a good, an instinctive action is not. Green says: "By an instinctive action we mean one *not* determined by a conception, on the part of the agent, of any good to be gained or evil to be avoided by the action. It is superfluous to add, good to *himself*, for anything conceived as good in such a way that the agent acts for the sake of it must be conceived as *his own* good, though he may conceive it as his own good only on account of his interest in others, and in spite of any amount of suffering on his own part incidental to its attainment."¹¹ A rational

action is one which is morally imputable, that is to say, it is an action which can be called good or bad. Further, a deliberate action of a rational-cum-moral agent has its impact on others, for he lives as a member of a society. The few individuals with whom he moves recognize his personality as a rational and moral agent and he in turn does the same. His personal relation apart, there is also the sphere of impersonal relation where he recognizes the impact of his action on the countless millions whom he does not know personally. The substance of the entire argument presented above is well-brought out by Gandhi as follows: "There is not a single virtue which aims at, or is content with, the welfare of the individual alone. Conversely, there is not a single moral offence which does not directly or indirectly affect many others besides the actual offender. Hence whether an individual is good or not is not merely his own concern, but really the concern of the whole community, nay, of the whole world."¹²

To both Green and Gandhi individual personality is the ultimate standard of value. It is no doubt true that an individual is what he is because of society. Society, says Green, is the "condition of all development of our personality."¹³ His argument is as follows: the development of personality is dependent upon, and is conditioned by, the necessities of social life. Every one occupies a particular station in life; and there are duties which are incumbent upon him in accordance with the station he occupies. Opportunities for development and self-expression are, therefore, limited. It is a case of social confinement by the necessities of social life. But it is not, according to Green, something to be regretted. "It is the condition of social life, and social life is to personality what language is to thought."¹⁴ However useful and necessary society may be, it cannot take the place of individual personality. It is meaningless to speak about the worth of society — its development and its achievement, its progress and its improvement — apart from the

worth of the individual persons who compose it. Green observes, "..... there can be nothing in a nation however exalted its mission, or in a society however perfectly organised, which is not in the persons composing the nation or the society. Our ultimate standard of worth is an ideal of *personal* worth. All other values are relative to value for, of, or in a person"¹⁵ He goes on: "To speak of any progress or improvement or development of a nation or society or mankind, except as relative to some greater worth of persons, is to use words without meaning."¹⁶ Society is only a collective term for the individuals. The achievement of society is, therefore, none other than the achievement of the individuals who compose it. That is why Green emphatically declares that "the life of the nation has no real existence except as the life of the individuals composing the nation, a life determined by their intercourse with each other, and deriving its peculiar features from the conditions of that intercourse."¹⁷ In another passage he says: "Except as between persons, each recognizing the other as an end in himself and having the will to treat him as such, there can be no society."¹⁸ The central idea in Green's position is that an individual is an end in himself and that, though his life as a social and moral being is involved with that of others constituting society, he is in the ultimate analysis the measure of society.

The picture we have on the other side is the same. Like Green, Gandhi is a doughty champion of the worth of the individual personality. He emphasizes the fact that man is essentially a social being and that his achievements are the result of his ability to adjust himself to the necessities of social life and the requirements of social progress. The individual freedom which is claimed must be balanced against social restraint.¹⁹ But this is not to overlook the fact that what we call the progress of society is only an euphemistic way of referring to the progress of the individuals. Gandhi is convinced that the concrete achievements of the individual as rational and moral

agent contribute to the progress of society. "I believe," says Gandhi, "that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him and if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent."²⁰ Gandhi declares in unequivocal terms that "the individual is the one supreme consideration."²¹ All other things are valuable not in themselves but only as related to the personality of the individual.

Though Green talks about the personal good as being what is realized by the rational activity of the individual, he does not think of it as what is being achieved by him in isolation from the good of others. The good of the individual is not what is private to him, but good to him as a member of the community of persons. It is a good to others as well, for they are also rational and moral agents like him. Every person is capable of conceiving an absolute good of himself as identical with the good of the rest of the community. It is the consciousness of a common good on the part of every rational agent which makes him think that the more he contributes to the common good, the more he enriches his own good, for his personal good is inseparably connected with the common good. Two passages from Gandhi bring out this point. He says: "A nation cannot advance without the units of which it is composed advancing, and conversely no individual can advance without the nation of which he is a part also advancing."²² Again he says: "Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member."²³

Without being swayed by narrow prejudices and restricted loyalties, man, according to both Green and Gandhi, must show his allegiance to the entire humanity. It does not mean that one could ignore the claim of the immediate neighbourhood, from the family to the nation. What they are anxious to point out is that there is nothing in the logic of events which compels us to think in terms

of one nation *versus* another. Every individual is called upon to play different roles — as a member of a family, of a working group, of a society which is politically organized and also as a member of humanity. The claims of a higher group tend to fulfil and not to frustrate those at the lower. Nothing less than the ideal of universal human fellowship can satisfy the rational and moral agent who is interested in developing “the best of humanity in his own person and in the persons of others.”²⁴ What is required in order to realize the genuine human achievement is mutual service. The ideal which is worthy of human achievement is such that in its pursuit there can be no *competition of interests*.²⁵ “The true good”, says Green, “is good for all men, and good for them all in virtue of the same nature and capacity. The one process is complementary to the other, because the only good in the pursuit of which there can be no competition of interests, the only good which is really common to all who may pursue it, is that which consists in the universal will to be good — in the settled disposition on each man’s part to make the most and best of humanity in his own person and in the persons of others.”²⁶

If Gandhi declares that human society is one and undivided, whatever may be the social, political, economic, and religious compartments into which it is divided, it is because of his deep-rooted faith in the truth of non-duality (*advaita*). Gandhi observes: “I believe in *Advaita*. I believe in the essential unity of men and for that matter of all that lives.”²⁷ In another passage he says: “I subscribe to the belief or philosophy that all life in its essence is one, and that the humans are working consciously or unconsciously towards the realization of that identity.”²⁸ The ideal which he envisages is universal interdependence, a federation of inter-dependent nations. No individual and no group of men could remain exclusive. Nor could they pursue a course of action which is destructive of the interests of others without jeopardizing their own interests. The first concrete step towards the

realizing of the ideal is "a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world" by the individual.

(3) *Green on the Problem of War*

The three specific questions to be raised in respect of the problem of war are: (1) Who is responsible for the occurrence of war? (2) Is there anything which would justify the outbreak of war? (3) Why is it that it takes place? And what is the means by which it could be prevented? The questions that have been raised here are so comprehensive as to cover the major aspects of the problem of war. Let us first consider Green's position in the light of these questions.

Wars, says the UNESCO constitution, begin in the minds of men. What is sought to be conveyed by this statement is that the origin of war must be traced to human agency. Much in anticipation of the UNESCO declaration, Green has argued that the origin of war must be attributed to international human agency, however widely distributed the agency may be. War is not a natural occurrence like a downpour of rain or volcanic eruption. The destruction of life in war is not accidental however superficial our account may be. Rather it is the result of human decision which is deliberate and intentional. In general terms we say that war is caused by the agency of the state. A little reflection will show that by the agency of the state we mean those who are at the helm of affairs and guide and supervise the day-to-day affairs of the state; and they must bear responsibility for the outbreak of war and the ravages and destruction which it causes. If it be argued that the present holders of power are not responsible for the state of affairs which plunges a nation into the destructive path of war and that their course of action has been shaped for them by their predecessors, even then the fact remains that it is human agency, however widely distributed it may be, which is the cause of war. The agency of the ground that the

soldiers who get killed in war have voluntarily risked the danger incidental to their profession. There is no such thing as voluntary risking of death by combatants. It is the agency of the state which compels either directly or indirectly the waste of life of the combatants. It is obvious when the army is raised by conscription. The so-called voluntary enlistment is a case of indirect compulsion by the state. The state first of all decides to maintain an army of a particular size. When there is no sufficient response on the part of the citizens, it naturally resorts to conscription. Though it is not denied that the action of the soldiers contributes to the result, for it is open to them to refuse to fight, it is, says Green, "an action put in motion and directed by the power of the state, which is compulsive in the sense that it operates on the individual in the last resort through fear of death."²⁹

Green maintains that war is an evil, a great wrong, as it involves "a violation on a multitudinous scale of the individual's right to live,"³⁰ and so it can never be justified from any point of view. The action of a soldier who kills his opponents or who causes the death of a number of non-combatants by bombing civilian areas results in the violation of the right to life. It must be borne in mind that, even though we talk about the action of a soldier, it is the agency of the state that is at the back of the action of the soldier. And so it is the agency of the state — those who run the political machinery — which is ultimately responsible for the violation of the right to life. A right, according to Green, is a claim which is rooted in the rational and social nature of man. It is a claim which he puts forth on account of the consciousness of the common good which he shares with others, "a well-being which is consciously his in being theirs and theirs in being his, — only the fact that they are recognised by him and he by them as having the object, — that gives him the claim described."³¹ In another passage he says that a man's right to free life, *i.e.*, right to life and liberty, is based on the "capacity on the

part of the subject for membership of a society, for determination of the will, and through it of the bodily organization, by the conception of a well-being as common to self with others."⁸² In principle, so Green declares, the right is one that belongs to every man in virtue of his human nature. Given the limitations of human understanding, no one can assert with any reasonable measure of certainty that a particular individual has forfeited the right or suffers from a permanent incapacity for rights.⁸³

Green refers to two possible arguments which may be pressed with a view to show that war under certain circumstances may be justified. It may be argued that, when the integrity of a state is endangered, it is obviously the duty of the state to wage war for the purpose of self-defence, for the purpose of maintaining those conditions in which alone free development of the people would be possible. This argument is worthy of consideration as many nation states in our own times justify their war-like policies and violent practices on this score, whether their claim is genuine or spurious. Green rejects even this argument. The preservation of the integrity of the state for the sake of which it is supposed to resort to war cannot alter the character of the wrong which results. The basic question that has to be asked in this connection is: How is it that the integrity of a state has come to be endangered? It is not, Green points out, due to accident or forces of nature, but it is due to intentional human agency. If the present holders of power are not responsible for precipitating such a contingency, then to that extent they are absolved of the guilt, for they are not responsible for the state of things which renders the maintenance of the integrity of the state impossible by other means. Some intentional human agency must be held responsible for the wrong that takes place — if not the present holders of power, obviously their predecessors. If it be said that it is difficult to locate the human agency responsible for the wrong that results, that

is only a reason observes Green, "for a more humbling sense (as the preachers would say) of complicity in that radical (but conquerable, because moral) evil of mankind which renders such a means of maintaining political freedom necessary."⁸⁴ Green, therefore, concludes that the destructoin of life in war is always wrong doing, with whomsoever the guilt of the wrong doing may lie.⁸⁵

Is it possible to justify war on the score that it is conducive to human progress and that it provides a suitable occasion for the cultivation of certain virtues? Green's position remains unaltered. Even if it be admitted that this is true, it does not alter the character of the wrong that takes place. A wrong is a wrong even if it is supposed to be a means for some ulterior good. Further, it can never be maintained that a desirable result could not have been brought about by other means than that of war.

Green points out that it is the imperfect organization of the state that is the root cause of conflicts among nations. It is the function of the state to secure and give fuller reality to rights which individuals come to have by virtue of the consciousness of the common good in them. "The state is an institution in which all rights are harmoniously maintained, in which all the capacities that give rise to rights have free-play given to them."⁸⁶ It is not a state unless it does so.⁸⁷ In other words; it is the duty of the state to organize and enforce the system of rights in society. It has to maintain equality — political, social, economic, and religious — among its citizens in such a way that everyone would be in a position to exercise his right without prejudice to a similar exercise of the same privilege by others. Consider the case of a state in which (1) there is a privileged class, (2) there is an oppressed section of people, and also (3) there is an antagonism of religious confessions. Such a state, it is obvious, does not care for the principle of equality among its citizens and so is not interested in the enforcement of the system

of rights. In other words, it permits reciprocal invasion of rights — the invasion of the rights of one section by another section and the invasion of rights of the citizens by the state. The presence of these factors which could all be traced to the imperfect organization of the state tends to prevent the perfect fusion of the members of one state with those of another. So long as the states are imperfectly organized, so long as they do not fulfil the idea of a state, there is bound to be international conflict. It is wrong to think that the very nature of the state is such that it is bound to clash with a neighbouring state. There is nothing which compels the relation among the nations to be that of the Hobbesian "State of Nature." That is why Green says that there is nothing "in the necessary organization of the state, but rather some defect of that organization in relation to its proper function of maintaining and reconciling rights, of giving scope to capacities, that leads to a conflict of apparent interests between one state and another. The wrong, therefore, which results to human society from conflicts between states cannot be condoned on the ground that it is a necessary incident of the existence of states."³⁸ Since the imperfect organization of the state is the disturber of peace among the nations, what is urgently required is a proper organization of the state.

(4) *Gandhi on War*

War is a visible symbol of the physical force and violence in which the individual believes as the effective instrument for settling disputes and controversies which he thinks cannot be solved otherwise. Whether it is a physical fight between two individuals or groups of individuals, or whether it is a large-scale war involving nations, it must be traced to the individual who alone is responsible for it. It is not what takes place in spite of the individual and without an active participation by him. Gandhi attributes it to the brute in man, the lower nature which for the time being overwhelms the spirit in

him which constitutes his higher nature and which serves to distinguish him from other animals. The essential difference between man and the brute, according to Gandhi, is that the former can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and, therefore, superior to the selfishness and violence, which belong to the brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. He says: "Nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law — to the strength of the spirit."³⁹

It is necessary at this stage to consider certain objections raised against the Gandhian position — objections which are as misconceived as they are one-sided. A recent critic points out that Gandhi builds his theory of non-violence on two assumptions; *first* it is the law of life and the fundamental moral virtue, and *second*, human beings are alike in nature, which is essentially godliness. It seems to him that Gandhi is mistaken in his basic stand, for (1) since Darwin it has been difficult to believe that all nature is nothing but love and co-operation, though nature does show these factors at work both in the biological and the sociological sphere; (2) that non-violence is the fundamental virtue which ought to be practised *at all times and by all men* can never be finally disproved or proved; (3) to think that all men are alike is to ignore psychology and common experience; and (4) Gandhi knew very little about the power of Fear and Terror which could make human beings incapable of doing good in return for evil, or of doing anything at all.⁴⁰ If these objections are sound, the theory of human nature to which Green and Gandhi subscribe as sketched earlier has to be given up and also the gospel of non-violence both as theory and practice *vis-a-vis* violence as advocated by Gandhi has to be re-drawn.

Gandhi is not blind to the fact that in the plan of nature and in the conduct of man one could see not only

visible signs of co-operation, but also conflict. He admits that there is "repulsion enough in nature," and the struggle for existence is undoubtedly a factor to be reckoned with in the evolution and the survival of the species. But to stop with this is to present an incomplete picture of the Gandhian position. Gandhi assigns an important place to man in the scheme of things by virtue of certain noble qualities in him, the foremost among them, being his power of reason and his ability to suffer for the sake of others. If what distinguishes men from other species is his rational activity, what he does and also what he fails to achieve must be judged not in terms of what is true with regard to the species at the lower level, but exclusively in terms of what he is to be. Any other evaluation is beside the point. Gandhi observes: "Though there is repulsion enough in Nature, she lives by attraction. Mutual love enables Nature to persist. Man does not live by destruction. Self-love compels regard for others. Nations cohere, because there is mutual regard among the individuals composing them. Some day we must extend the national law to the universe, even as we have extended the family law to form nations — a larger family."⁴¹ While he does not ignore the actuality of conflict or even its possibility which is to be traced to man's failure to behave himself as a human personality, he believes that man will not be satisfied with anything less than universal brotherhood in which the gain of one will not be a loss to another, while the loss sustained by one will be a dead-weight on others.

It is not to the purpose to allege that there is no final proof or disproof for the contention that non-violence is a fundamental virtue which ought to be practised at all times and by all men. Gandhi's logic is simple. If man becomes violent and fights out the issue by physical force, it is because of the brute in him. But what constitutes the true nature of man is the immortal spirit in him. While as spirit he is everything, as a brute he is nothing. Non-violence is, therefore, a basic virtue which man as a

spiritual being must practise at all times. Gandhi does not admit of any exception to this. The conclusion which he arrives at is directly based on the spiritual nature of man. It is open to anyone to deny the spiritual nature of man and thereby refuse to accept the conclusion. The alternative to this is to accept the premise with which Gandhi starts and also the conclusion that follows from it. The achievements of man in art and science, philosophy and religion, literature and fine arts, amply testify to the fact that there is a higher nature in man which distinguishes him from the brute.

We convey our platitudes through sweeping generalizations which are trivially true. Statements like "All men are alike", or "All men or not alike" do not help us to state or clarify any position without exaggeration. Nor could they be made use of to refute any standpoint. Neither Green nor Gandhi thinks that all men are alike in the sense that each person is an unvarying model of the other. Green talks about "the variously gifted individuals" who fulfil different social functions.⁴² The innate equipment of an artist and a man of letters is different from that of an agriculturist and a coal miner. These differences do not alter the fact that all of them have certain claims on society just because all of them are endowed with the same rational nature, the capacity to contribute to the common good. Gandhi admits that men differ in respect of their abilities and needs. He points out that "inequalities, intelligence and even opportunities will last till the end of time."⁴³ He is convinced that "even in the most perfect world we shall fail to avoid inequalities."⁴⁴ In the same way, needs will vary from person to person as those of the "elephant and the ant."⁴⁵ If Gandhi does not interpret economic equality in the sense of rigid equality of property or opportunities, it is because of his recognition that men are not like each other. At the same time he insists on the essential equality of all in the sense that all life in its essence is one and that there is none who will not respond to the call of the

spirit from within. "There are chords in every human heart. If we only know how to strike the right chord, we bring out the music."⁴⁶ Just as Gandhi admits that there is "brute" in man which makes him do what his higher nature would disapprove of, so also Green refers to "the antagonism of the natural to the spiritual man,"⁴⁷ which stands in the way of the rational activity of man and in the formation of wider fellowships. It is, therefore, wrong to think that men like Green and Gandhi have blind faith in the rationality of man.

Like the Machiavellian prince, Gandhi has the unusual gift of understanding human nature, its strength as well as its weakness. The way in which a totalitarian regime functions is well-known to him. In a pungent comment on the Russian rule he says: "Russia has a dictator who dreams of peace and thinks he will wade to it through a sea of blood."⁴⁸ Fearlessness, according to Gandhi, is the necessary prelude to the practice of *ahimsā*. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise *ahimsā* to perfection. Fearlessness, says Gandhi, connotes freedom from all external fear — fear of disease, bodily injury and death, or dispossession, of losing reputation or giving offence, and so on. He argues that all external fears cease of their own accord as soon as one gets rid of attachment for the body. Therefore to say that Gandhi knew very little about the power of fear and terror is to underestimate him.

We have gone into a long discussion on human nature in order to show that the Gandhian position is quite sound and that Gandhi, like Green, maintains that war is to be attributed to man — to the brute in him as distinguished from the spiritual in him.

Look at war from any point of view, review its consequences immediate as well as remote, and consider whether the aims for which it is resorted to have been fulfilled; you will not, according to Gandhi, find even

one point in justification of war. The votaries of war who think that war is a blessing argue that many good results take place on account of war. War, so they contend, contributes to the progress of a nation in so far as it calls for the proper utilization of all the natural resources, speeding up the economy of the country, maximum use of human energy, etc. In short, there is a general toning up of the life of the nation as a prelude to, and also a consequence of, war. So far as the individual is concerned, he finds a suitable opportunity for the cultivation of certain virtues like courage, sincerity, self-sacrifice, self-control, chivalry, etc. The individual is made to think in times of war that his life will not be a waste and that he can lead a purposive life with service as the motto and glory as the end. Further, war is an effective method through which disputes could be settled in the swiftest way. Take the case of (A) which has border disputes with its neighbouring state (B). Though A is convinced that its stand on this particular issue is right, it is not able to convince B and make it agree to its point of view. What it has to do in order to bring the other party round to its point of view is to resort to war as the only way which would render justice in the quickest way possible. Many arguments like these are put forward with a view to justify the usefulness of war by its champions.

None of these arguments carries conviction. Gandhi is convinced that war which involves violence and destruction of life cannot be conducive to anything good to the individual as well as to the nation at large. War, says Gandhi, is bad in essence. How can anything good come out of an evil? It is wrong to think that war contributes to the progress of a nation. The resources of a nation are not unlimited. Though it cannot be denied that every effort is made to pool all the available resources and also search for new ones under unusual pressure in times of war, the fact remains that war drains all the material resources to such an extent that it affects the

post-war economy of the nation very badly. It is no argument to say that nations like West Germany and Japan which were involved in war and which were very badly hit economically on account of war, have not only recovered themselves from the after-effects of war, but also have been leading other nations in respect of the material prosperity which they are able to enjoy. The phenomenal success which they have achieved in industry, trade, and commerce in the post-war period is a tribute to their intelligence, devotion to work, and personal integrity. They would have achieved the same level of affluence even in the absence of war. Morality is the first casualty in war. The abnormal conditions in society which war brings in serve as an open invitation to people to set at naught moral scruples which they would normally follow due to fear of punishment. Apart from the problems of mental and moral hygiene which war creates, the destruction of able bodied persons and the best blood in war tells on the healthy development of society. Gandhi would say that any war that breaks out is at once a curse and a warning. "It is a curse in as much as it is brutalizing man on a scale hitherto unknown. All distinctions between combatants and non-combatants have been abolished. No one and nothing is to be spared." "It is a warning that, if nobody reads the writing on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the best whom he is shaming by his manners."⁴⁹

War by its very nature cannot solve any problem. By superior might and thoroughly organized violence the victor dissolves the problem for the time being by making the vanquished agree to his terms. The bitterness which it leaves as a sequel will nurture the seed which is buried and allow it to grow into a full-fledged war at the appropriate time. It is very often said by the votaries of war that the legitimate object of war is a more perfect peace. War is fought, they say, so that peace can be securely established. But peace cannot be ushered in when hatred

and bitterness, frustration and agony have taken possession of the human body as a consequence of war. That is why Gandhi says that he objects to violence "because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent."⁵⁰ This is the lesson which mankind has to learn from history.

To the question: "What is the cause of war?" Gandhi's unambiguous answer is exploitation. He points out that all activity for stopping war must prove fruitless so long as the causes of war are not understood and radically dealt with. According to his analysis the prime cause of modern wars is the inhuman race for exploitation of the so-called weaker races of the earth.⁵¹ He thinks that the motive of exploitation accounts not only for the outbreak of war between two states, but also generally for chaotic situation that prevails at the national and international levels. A careful analysis of the Gandhian position will show that at a still deeper level there is another factor which serves to explain the inhuman race for exploitation, and that factor is selfishness.

It may appear that there is a serious difference between Green and Gandhi in the way in which they account for the outbreak of conflict between two states. To Green, it is the imperfect organization of the state, that is to say, the failure on the part of the state to secure and enforce the system of rights among the citizens, that embroils it with another state. But Gandhi, it appears, assigns a different reason for this. He thinks that it is exploitation which is the disturber of peace. The difference between the two is only apparent. Both of them agree that at a deeper level it is selfishness which is the villain of the piece; but they use different terminology to explain the way in which it operates at the interpersonal level. Green is thinking in terms of the system of rights which a state *qua* state is expected to secure and maintain in society. He says that a state which does not fulfil the idea of a state causes inter-state tension.

Consider the social and political tension that arises when a state does not maintain equality among its citizens by permitting a privileged class to thrive at the cost of others. The privileged class is not interested in the all-round development of all the members of the state. Rather it is interested in safeguarding its own interests by using the political machinery and shaping its policies, domestic as well as external, to its own advantage. The suffering class, on the other hand, does everything to elicit the sympathy of those in other nations who have similar political ideology and this invariably results in the interference by a foreign body in the domestic affairs of a nation. That is why Green attaches the greatest importance to the securing of rights to the people in equal measure as the guarantor of peace among the nations. Gandhi looks at the same problem from the standpoint of exploitation that results as a result of the imperfect organization of the state from within. A state which permits a privileged few *vis-a-vis* the oppressed many puts a premium on exploitation, economic, social and political, which will have its repercussions on the international community. So there is no difference between Green and Gandhi in the way in which they diagnose the situation at the outer level of organization of the state. Exploitation is only the outer manifestation of the inward selfishness of the individual. When the selfishness of the individual gets organized, systematically pursued, and is given institutional form by a group of individuals of kindred interests, it culminates in class antagonism and class exploitation with all the attendant consequences.

Many theories have been advanced to account for the origin of war. All the explanations, when carefully analysed, point to selfishness as the root cause. Explanations in terms of human nature, in terms of tensions arising from economic inequalities, frustration, hatred, etc., at the individual level and culminating in war at the national level, and also explanations in terms of socio-cultural analysis viewing war as a social institution have

been offered. War is not rooted in human nature in the sense that try as he may man cannot but fight and shed blood. It is the *brute* in man as Gandhi would say or the *animal* in man in the terminology of Green that must ultimately be held responsible. What constitutes the essential nature of man is the spirit in him and not the brute or the animal, and so there is no reason why the animal aspect of man cannot be held under check all the time through discipline. When we talk about tension as a contributory factor of war, we use the term tension not merely in the psychological sense, but also in the economic and social sense. Exploitation which has its basis in selfishness plays a major role not only in creating tension but also in sustaining it. If war is looked upon as a social institution which has come into existence largely as a result of the way in which social, political, and economic institutions are organized in modern nation states, then what is urgently required in order to meet the challenge is a proper organization of the institutions of society in such a way that there will not be any room for war. And the failure to do this is a *human* failure which is ultimately traceable to selfishness of the individual. Consider any institution — the family, a play group, a work group, the civic community, etc. If there are difficulties in achieving unity among the members of a family or a play group or any other institution involving association of individuals, it is because of selfishness. It is immaterial whether the fellowship we are concerned with is at a restricted level or at a wider level. The principle holds good at the level of the family and also at the level of a nation. Green observes: "There is no necessary limit of numbers of space beyond which the spiritual principle of social relation becomes ineffective. The impediments to its action in bringing about a practical recognition of universal human fellowship, though greater in degree, are the same in kind as those which interfere with the maintenance of unity in the family, the tribe, or the urban commonwealth. They are all reducible to what we may conveniently call the

antagonism of the natural to the spiritual man. The prime impediment, alike to the maintenance of the narrower and to the formation of wider fellowships, is selfishness."⁵² Gandhi, too, speaks in the same vein. The root cause of every problem, social, economic, and political, "lies in our selfishness and want of consideration for our neighbours. If we have no love for our neighbours, no change, however revolutionary, can do us any good."⁵³

(5) *The Problem of Organization of State*

If the organization of the state from within is necessary in order to prevent the evil of exploitation and all that it leads to in its turn endangering peace among the nations, how is that to be implemented? This is a vital question of the mechanics of government. In our search for an answer to this question we make the transition from Green to Gandhi. There is the need to secure and enforce the rights — the right to life and liberty, the right to property and family. It is one thing to recognize the importance of these rights; but it is another thing to enforce them so that there may be equality among the citizens. While Green does not suggest the method of implementation, Gandhi does.

Society is federal in structure consisting of a net-work of associations. It is by as wide a distribution of power and authority as possible that individuals could be made to feel the responsibility in the exercise of power and authority. Those who feel the consequences of power should have a share in its exercise. When a person wields power and exercises its authority in the same way as other participators in the common good do, he develops a sense of responsibility. The way to achieve this, according to Gandhi, lies through decentralization of both authority and power.

Whether a state is big or small, the first and foremost requirement for all-round development is decentralization; the bigger the size of a state, the more urgently is it required. A monolithic structure with a centralized authority is the major hurdle that stands in the way of individual development and responsibility. The tribal idea of total responsibility for all located in one place must be replaced by a true democratic notion of a plurality of authorities each functioning independently in co-operation with one another. The integrity of centralization can be maintained only by force and violence. This evil can be overcome only by decentralization. Gandhi suggests that "if India is to evolve along non-violent lines, it will have to decentralize many things. Centralization cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force."⁵⁴ Not only India but every nation will stand to gain as a result of decentralization. Gandhi observes: "The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral growth. I use the adjective moral as synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralization. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society."⁵⁵

Gandhi wants this ideal to be worked out at political and economic levels. If Gandhi objects to modern industrialism, it is because of the fact that it tends to the concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few. In other words, modern industrialism is based on a very wide economic disparity among the citizens, and in the majority of the countries it means a division of the society into two, the city of the rich and the city of the poor. The economic constitution should be so arranged that the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses. "Their monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons," says Gandhi, "would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destitution that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but in

other parts of the world too."⁵⁶ In addition to the re-drawing of the economic constitution of the country, he suggests the ideal of trusteeship to be followed by the rich who are in possession of superfluous wealth. Gandhi is against the adoption of the coercive method of dispossessing the possessions of the rich. On the contrary, he wants the wealthy people to take the initiative and boldly follow the ideal of trusteeship. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society." Gandhi proceeds on the assumption that since the rich too are human beings they can, if they want to, adopt this ideal as rational and moral agents being moved by a sense of economic justice. On the political side, there must be as many centres of authority as there are villages, each village functioning as a self-sufficient unit. He is, therefore, against the kind of state organization which prevails in most of the societies with centralization of power in one place. Such a state organization will necessarily be based on force. In the place of the monolithic state structure, he suggests a plurality of village republics, each functioning as an autonomous self-sufficient unit on co-operative basis. On the basis of decentralization of political authority and power and also of the means of production coupled with the ideal of trusteeship, it will be possible for any state to organize itself with a view to secure and enforce equality among the citizens.

(6) *Means and End*

The easiest way to understand Gandhi is to approach him through Machiavelli, and the best refutation of Machiavelli lies in the central idea of the socio-political philosophy of Gandhi. Though we are not concerned here with a comparative study of Machiavelli and Gandhi, we cannot ignore Machiavelli as the central issue

with which he is seized is extremely relevant to our problem.

Though Gandhi is farther removed from Machiavelli, he is, paradoxically, nearer to Machiavelli than any other thinker. Though one could think of certain obvious points of similarity between them in respect of their simple style which is not "embellished with swelling or magnified words" (This is what Machiavelli says in the Preface to his work, *The Prince*), or their political experience on the basis of which they formulate their views, or their shrewd commonsense and their uncanny insight into the problem, it is not in respect of these basically unessential and outward resemblances but in respect of the strategy which both suggest in order to meet the challenge that we are concerned with them. And in this there is resemblance and also there is difference. What makes the Gandhian strategy unique is the difference from Machiavellism though it embodies its other features, and it is precisely this difference which redeems Machiavellism by making it operate on a moral basis: it thus becomes a strategy without violence.

It was pointed out earlier that Gandhi seeks to answer the political problem of war and inter-state relation at the moral plane. A clear-cut separation between politics and ethics is, according to him, impossible. But Machiavelli starts from an exactly opposite point of view by divorcing politics from ethics and religion. The two principles on which he builds his theory are: (1) since the state is the most necessary of all the institutions for the protection and promotion of human welfare, the state has over-riding rights over individuals and associations; and (2) material self-interest is the most important factor of political motivation. The conclusion which he draws from these principles is that the state is not bound by moral considerations and that whatever it does in the interests and for the sake of the state is right. Some of the familiar but thoroughly worn out declarations like "the end

justifies the means", "might makes right", etc., bring out the Machiavellian position.

Neither principle is acceptable to Gandhi.

Let us consider first the question of material self-interest as an important factor of political motivation. The bare necessities of every human being have to be fulfilled. He must have enough to eat, sufficient clothing, and a house to dwell in. To deny him the minimum requirements is to morally degrade him. It is, therefore, the duty of the politician who controls the political machinery to provide scope for the material necessities which are absolutely required for man in order to be human. The trouble arises only when the politicians interpret material self-interest in a selfish way as their own material advancement, allowing the majority of the people to suffer in grinding poverty. Gandhi would object to interpreting material self-interest even as material advancement of all the people. What is required is provision for material needs at the minimum, for anything more than the minimum would positively be a hindrance to simple and pure living. Material advancement, according to Gandhi, should not be confused with moral progress. He is convinced that material affluence is a hindrance to real growth of the individual.

What is called the state action is no other than the action of a few individuals in the capacity of politicians and administrators in the name of the state. It is absurd to think of the interests of the state apart from the interests of the individuals. If so, the action of the politicians and administrators *qua* politicians and administrators must be governed by the same ethical standards which are applicable to other individuals. The individual who is a rational and moral agent should not function like a split personality claiming exemption from moral scruples in one type of behaviour, whereas he would not resist the application of the same codes to him in his

individual capacity. The moral principles and legal codes which are applicable to others are equally applicable to the politicians. There is no reason why he deserves to be treated as a member of the privileged class. If he is a guardian of the organized moral world, he is also a factor within it and *not* outside it. It may be useful in this connection to refer to the conclusion that Sorokin arrives at regarding the morality of the rulers on the basis of the empirical study of their behaviour supported by historical documentation. The number of crimes which they have to their credit, cases of immoral behaviour and callousness to moral scruples, according to him, clearly point to the fact that their rate of criminality tends to be notably higher than that of the total ruled populations. This is as much true with regard to the rulers of democracies and republics as it is true with regard to monarchs. Many factors, according to him, contribute to the criminality and demoralizing activities of the rulers. The most demoralizing "double standard of morals" under which they take shelter and the corrupting influence of their position contribute not a little to their debasing criminal behaviour. As a result of the application of the double standard, moral principles and legal codes are made *relative* to the person and the situation resulting in their "progressive atomization." Sorokin and Lunden, therefore, conclude: "This atomization of moral values and imperatives engender conflict. This, in turn, produces hatred, which leads to rude force and bloodshed. In the chaos of conflicting and arbitrary moral norms, might inevitably becomes right, and the result is *bellum omnium contra omnes* (war of everyone against everyone)." ⁵⁷ The basic principle which should guide the action of those entrusted with political authority is that they should place themselves on the same footing of equality with others and allow their action to be evaluated by the same standards which are applicable to others. If this principle is adhered to in every aspect of the state action, that is the action of those who run the political

machinery, in its internal as well as interstate relations, there is nothing which makes war either necessary or unavoidable.

(7) *Technique of Non-violent Resistance*

Philosophers and peace lovers are earnestly in search for a moral equivalent of war which would embody the techniques of war minus its violence as the surest way to establish peace. If the technique of *Satyāgraha* proposed and practised by Gandhi brings him very close to Machiavelli, it also serves to distinguish him from Machiavelli. While the techniques which both of them suggest embody certain common features and methods, the basis from which they have to be operated is different, and hence there is basic difference on the vital issue as well as similarity between them. If the operative basis of the Machiavellian technique is replaced by the Gandhian one, Machiavellism loses its sinister character. Simone Panter-Brick characterizes the Gandhian technique as new Machiavellism in so far as it retains the features and methods of Machiavellism while cutting it off from its baneful operative basis.⁵⁸ If the Machiavellian technique operates on the basis of violence, the other one does on non-violence. A change in the operative basis thus redeems Machiavellism.

Both Machiavelli and Gandhi are interested in the study of history in so far as it will help us to shape our destiny in the light of the past. Machiavelli considers it valuable to understand the deeds of great men in order to draw useful lessons from them. The deeds of great men which he singles out for study and interpretation and the facts of history on which he focusses his attention involve violence, treachery, and duplicity; and so the conclusion too which he draws from these facts which serve as his premises involves violence and immoral means. The goal which is aimed at has somehow or other to be achieved. If violence and deception seem to pay dividends, — and Machiavelli is convinced that they do — why

should one be averse to them? The end, according to Machiavelli, justifies the means. But Gandhi's understanding of history is along different lines. Turn to history; you will find, according to Gandhi, that man has been steadily progressing towards *ahimsā*. Man has progressed from cannibalism and nomadic life to civilized life with fixed abodes and fraternal feelings extending from family to civic community. History and experience, claims Gandhi, are against violence, for violence does not solve any problem. The moment that man awakes to the spirit within, he cannot remain violent. "That is why the prophets and *avatāras* have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice, etc. — all attributes of *ahimsā*."⁵⁹ No true good can result from an immoral means. The means-end relation forms one continuous process. "There is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."⁶⁰ The means must be as pure as the end: as the means, so the end. So the Gandhian technique of *Satyāgraha* operates on the basis of non-violence.

The important question which has to be considered is whether the technique of *Satyāgraha* which consists in non-violent resistance to the opponent who resorts to war believing that it is an effective weapon to score a victory will be able to meet the challenge. Gandhi is convinced that it will.

The non-violent resistance which is the characteristic feature of *Satyāgraha* shares certain common features with the method of war excepting for its violence and is, therefore fit to take the place of war. Since war is ultimately resorted to on the ground that it is an effective way of deciding issues, the alternative to it must have the required merits to face the challenge and pave the way for deciding the issues effectively. And the technique of non-violent resistance which Gandhi proposes fulfils the requirements. Four important features contribute to the effectiveness of the method of war. They are: (1) force, (2) direct

action, (3) organization and (4) number.⁶¹ The Gandhian technique of non-violent resistance has all these features, and an intelligent and planned coordination of these factors is bound to prove successful.

Gandhi is of the view that non-violent resistance is the mightiest force on earth. Being the force of the inward spirit in man, it knows no limit and requires no support or assistance from any quarter. "It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility."⁶² With that one can defy the whole might of an unjust empire. It is a way of direct action. The expression "pacifism" or "passive resistance" does not bring out the full significance of the Gandhian technique. Gandhi is not in favour of the expression "passive resistance" as it conveys the idea of inaction on the part of the individual and also as it is interpreted as a weapon of the weak. It may sound paradoxical when Gandhi used the expression "active non-violence." What he means is that a champion of non-violence cannot be indifferent to evil and injustice wherever they may be and his love of truth must find concrete expression in his activity. That is why he says that "no man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred."⁶³ With a deep insight into the sociology of conflict Gandhi proposes direct action in a non-violent way in order to bring about a radical change in the existing set-up. This aspect of his technique is undoubtedly what brings him close to the revolutionaries who believe in direct action. But the difference between Gandhi and other revolutionaries is that, while he swears by non-violence as the safest course, other preach the cult of violence as the unfailing weapon. Gandhi remarks: "Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings cannot do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent

and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering, as by fasting, works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body, but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed."⁶⁴ Though non-violent resistance can be practised both by an individual and a group, organization is necessary when it is to meet an injustice affecting a vast number of individuals. Consider the magnitude of the task when it is a question of resisting the constituted authority which is unjust or when it is a question of resisting the aggression from a neighbouring state. It is then a question of mobilizing the people to fight against the authority or the aggressor which is similar to mobilizing the citizens in times of war. Educating the people on the practice of non-violent resistance and organizing them into one disciplined unit are the essential pre-requisites for the successful launching of *Satyāgraha* on a mass scale. In short, the organizational aspect of the *Satyāgraha* movement is closely parallel to that in the army. Gandhi's faith in organization, training, and discipline for starting a mass movement on a large scale is well-brought out in his declaration: "I am not going to take a single step in non-cooperation unless I am satisfied that the country is ready for the step."⁶⁵ On the need for discipline he says: "Freedom of four hundred million people through purely non-violent effort is not to be gained without learning the virtue of iron discipline — not imposed from without, but sprung naturally from within. Without the requisite discipline non-violence can only be a veneer."⁶⁶ Though resistance on a large scale is necessary in order to meet aggression or to overthrow foreign domination, mere *number* is not going to add strength to the movement. *Satyāgraha* is a *clean* fight and so it requires *clean* fighters. "In *Satyāgraha*, it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost."⁶⁷ Number is bound to be a decisive

factor in achieving the goal, if care is taken at the same time that the quality of the fighters is of a very high order.

So far we considered the theoretical aspect of the Gandhian technique which makes it an effective substitute for war. There are critics who are sceptical about the efficacy of the method of non-violent resistance in facing the challenge of the technological war when it is particularly waged through nuclear weapons. They also question the wisdom of exclusively relying on it when the modern warfare in the highly complicated international politics is likely to be conducted under the direction of power-mad dictators to whom nothing is sacrosanct excepting their own selfish interests. Sometimes even the theoretical soundness of the method is questioned. There are more critics than admirers of the Gandhian technique; there are more admirers than sincere adherents of it. It is, therefore, necessary to examine this technique not only from the theoretical aspect, but also from the standpoint of what it presupposes on the part of the individual who is to practise it.

No less a thinker than Jaspers who with a remarkable insight understands the basic position of Gandhi, has his own misgivings about the success of the Gandhian technique in the struggle against totalitarianism. He points out that we have reached a political situation where politics miserably fails us and that the way of politics needs another guidance. Our present political thinking, according to Jaspers, is radically wrong. He says: "Our initial picture of present political thinking has shown that the threat of the atom bomb cannot be met by removing the bomb alone. It can only be met by removing war, by establishing world peace. The ideal that in the long run wars might be waged without atom bombs, but with intimidation by the atom bomb, is an illusion."⁶⁸ Since there is a limit to pure politics, mankind can survive only if it allows itself to be guided by the *supra-political* element. Commenting on the political method of non-violence he observes that

only once did non-violence which had supra-political roots succeed and Gandhi stunned the world as he fought force with non-violence basing his politics on religious, supra-political grounds. "Today we face the question of how to escape from physical force and from war, lest we all perish by the atom bomb. Gandhi, in word and deed, gives the true answer: only a supra-political force can bring political salvation."⁹ Jaspers maintains that the Gandhian method could succeed only in the atmosphere of British rule and for the limited purpose of Indian liberation. It is his contention that "for the extremity of present world-wide realities Gandhi gives us no answer" and that "in the struggles against totalitarianism Gandhi's procedure would not be a political way but a way to certain doom."¹⁰ Kingsley Martin voices the same difficulty. He asks: "Would Gandhi's technique have achieved the same measure of success if it had had been the Germans or Japanese who occupied India?"¹¹ Since the success of his technique depends at least in part on its moral effects on the enemy, it is to be doubted, according to him, whether it will be effective against an enemy who is ruthless.

Gandhi is not unaware of this criticism. There are two ways in which a nation can try to defend itself when it faces threat of extermination by a mighty unscrupulous power like that of a Hitler. They are the ways of violence and of non-violence. The folly of resistance by violence is obvious. Hitler cannot be defeated by counter-violence without a good deal of preparation for war which means a heavy military budget and considerable loss of life. With all these there is no guarantee that Hitler will be defeated. Further, the possibility of survival is very remote when there is nuclear warfare. As against this, consider the other alternative. Let us suppose that a nation which is pitched against Hitler offers non-violent resistance, and that he has occupied the country without a bloody fight. He cannot, according to Gandhi, continue to stay on in that country if the people offer total

non-co-operation to him. Gandhi observes: "At the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied in a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, bend the adversary to the tyrant's will. But supposing people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant's will, nor retaliate with the tyrant's own methods, the tyrant will not find it worth his while to go on with his terrorism."⁷² The critics proceed on the assumption that dictators like Hitler have no conscience and that they are incapable of moral response. But Gandhi argues that belief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love. Gandhi says: "Hitherto he (Hitler) and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women, and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have."⁷³ Gandhi has another argument. "If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worth. My honour is the only thing worth preserving."⁷⁴ To Gandhi, non-violence is a matter of principle and so non-violent politics is extremely significant to him. Either one resorts to the Machiavellian method of violence, brutality, and treachery or one follows the path of non-violence at all stages. There is no middle ground between the two. There is nothing which would suggest that the Gandhian method is theoretically unsound. Nor can it be ruled out on the hypothetical ground that it is unsuitable against the threat of totalitarian regimes actually trying it out.

It is sometimes argued that the doctrine of non-violence, if advanced as a moral doctrine, is logically untenable and that it would break under the weight of its own inconsistency. This is what one would notice, according to Narveson, in pacifism when one makes a

philosophical analysis of it.¹⁵ Though he does not explicitly identify the particular type of pacifism which is of philosophical interest as the Gandhian one, it is obvious that the criticism which he levels against it, if valid, will undermine the Gandhian doctrine.

Narveson's argument proceeds as follows. The central position of the pacifist is that, since violence is evil, no one should resist violence with violence. Violence is a two-termed affair: one does violence *to* somebody, one cannot simply "do violence." To say that violence is wrong is to say that those to whom it is done have a right *not* to have it done to them. This follows naturally from the significance of right: "having a right involves having a right to be defended from breaches of that right." How should one prevent any violation of his right? One has to make use of rational persuasion with a view to prevent the other man from violating the right; and if it fails, one has the right to the use of force. When the pacifist says that violence is wrong, he also by implication says that people have a right to its prevention, by force if necessary. But this is precisely what the pacifist objects to. And hence the inconsistency in his position.

Gandhi undoubtedly holds the principle that violence is wrong whoever does it. But he does not maintain on that account that a person has no right of self-protection as a pacifist is supposed to hold according to Narveson. Further, Gandhi does not hesitate to press the claim that everyone has a right to prevent infringements of one's right. In fact, his fight against the British rule is basically on the ground that the continuation of the British rule constitutes a violation of the right to self-determination. So to Gandhi the right of self-defence and the right to prevent any violation of one's right are not inconsistent with the basic principle, viz., that violence is wrong, whoever be the perpetrator. While admitting that violence is wrong as a matter of principle, he also maintains that it is the duty of everyone of us to resist it. What is profoundly

significant in the Gandhian position is the *manner* of resistance to violence. Resistance to violence by counter-violence is obviously wrong. A wrong cannot be righted by another wrong. The addition of another wrong does not diminish but adds to the evil already in existence. So what Gandhi proposes is that violence must first be resisted by persuasion, and when persuasion fails, it must be resisted non-violently. Critics very often fail to understand that non-violent resistance of the Gandhian type is also a *force* which is different from violence. The two words "violence" and "force" are used so frequently as interchangeable words that we fail to understand that force need not always be violent and that it could also be non-violent. To Gandhi, non-violent resistance is a force that repels force which is violent. Since in the Gandhian position the condemnation of violence is coupled with the duty of resisting it, it is not affected by the charge of inconsistency to which pacifism, according to Narveson, is exposed. There is no contradiction in his position because he does not say that "violence is wrong, *and* it is wrong to resist it," but says on the contrary that "violence is wrong, *and* it is right to resist it."

The political situation and the principle of international politics were not so complicated and involved at the time of Green as they are today. Certainly Green in spite of his knowing the ravages of war could not have envisaged some of the uneasy, vexatious, and enervating policies and near-the-brink-of-war practices of both big and small nations like cold war, formation of blocks and balance of terror, exploitation of small nations which are economically backward and politically unstable by making them pawns in the chess of power politics, stock-piling of nuclear weapons and strategic missiles on the erroneous supposition that the threat of total extinction is the guarantee against war, etc., with which we are familiar today. Unlike Green, Gandhi had the decided advantage of having been a witness to two world

wars and knew the terrible consequences and catastrophic effects of nuclear warfare. But even he could not have imagined the demoralizing manoeuvres and tantalizing tactics of power politics which have been ruthlessly practised in the last years. Addressing himself to the nature of the ideal state and the role it has to play in maintaining the necessary conditions of life in which alone good life is possible, Green stresses the importance of organization within the state in order to prevent conflicts among nation states. This raises two important problems for which Green does not provide specific solutions.

One is regarding the manner of organization. The solution which Gandhi suggests to this is, as we pointed out earlier, decentralization of authority. The other problem is equally serious. It is the problem of the duty of an ideal state which has an unscrupulous hostile neighbour which is bent on practising all kinds of political trickery from hostile propaganda to armed conflict. In fact, the complaint of many nation states is that while each of them pursues or is intent on pursuing a policy of peace and friendship with its neighbour, it is the latter which thwarts its efforts by provoking conflict. It is not necessary to consider the merits of the complaint of each state on this issue. This is a general problem which requires a general answer. While this problem has not engaged the attention of Green, the unqualified answer which Gandhi gives is non-violent resistance. Whether it is the problem of the duty of a good citizen in a bad state or whether it is the problem of a good state pitched against a bad one, Gandhi proposes the same answer: the issue has to be settled not by violence, but by discussion, persuasion, and finally by non-violent resistance.

If critics hold that the Gandhian technique is unworkable whatever may be its theoretical soundness, it is mainly because of the fact that they do not take into consideration what it presupposes on the part of the

individual for its successful implementation. This is equally true with regard to the realization of the ideal state which Green thinks of.

(8) *Individual Commitment*

To both Green and Gandhi, what the individual does being moved by the idea of the common good is of utmost importance, for the successful realization of the ideal or implementation of the scheme is dependent upon the individual. For the realization of the perfect state as depicted by Green we require an enlightened democracy in which individuals would be moved to action not by the fear of the penal consequences, but by the awareness of the common good. There is the distinction between outward morality and the morality of the character. Mere outward conformity to law and the fulfilment of its requirement by doing what it enjoins and abstaining from doing what it prohibits, however necessary, is not sufficient. The individual is expected to transcend this outward morality and play his role as a rational agent from the standpoint of a higher morality, the morality of the character, the source of which is the recognition of a common well-being. This undoubtedly presupposes not only an active participation of the individual citizen in the affairs of the state, but also a sense of responsibility in what he does as a member of his state and also as a member of humanity. Gandhi too proceeds on the same presupposition that the ideal society can be brought into existence only on the foundation of responsible individuals devoted to truth and love and adhering to non-violence. In short, individual commitment is what is presupposed by both Green and Gandhi; and if this requirement is fulfilled, neither the realization of a perfect state (or at least a near-perfect-state) nor an effective non-violent resistance to external aggression when it unfortunately takes place is impossible.

It may be argued that the presupposition on which both Green and Gandhi build their theory is untenable

and that consequently the technique of non-violent resistance which Gandhi proposes is unsuitable in the realm of politics. Professor Harris argues that the non-violent approach to political issues is fallacious on the level of ethical principle in so far as it presupposes a morally regenerated individual, a perfected individual who is capable of acting on the basis of love and self-sacrifice, whereas such a being can come into existence only as a result of the proper maintenance of social and political order. Non-violence, so he thinks, can be practised only by a saint, a man of perfection. The level of morality on which he functions presupposes social and political order. It cannot be the starting point of the social and political order, but it can only be its culmination. Harris writes: "The problem we are trying to solve is not that of the conversion of mankind to perfection, it is that of the maintenance of a social order on the basis of which that conversion would be possible and without which it cannot even be approached. The maintenance of this order involves a political power to enforce law and this, we have seen, brings about the predicament in international affairs which involves us in war and the threat of extinction. The problem must be solved *now*, if we are to survive to foster the moral progress of man. It cannot await the completion of that process. It is, therefore, futile to demand as its condition the moral regeneration of all mankind. This is what pacifism implies and this is why pacifism is no solution."¹⁶ In short, non-violence, disinterested service, etc., which belong to the morality of perfection presupposes social and political order: and what presupposes social and political order cannot be used to set right that very order. Harris concludes that non-violence, pacifism proper is beyond the realm of politics and is in effect the abandonment of political methods altogether. He thinks that we should have a political solution practicable in our time among fallible men and self-seeking nations.

The objection seems to be very strong and also convincing. But before we answer his criticism it is worthwhile to consider the presupposition that lies hidden in the solution which he puts forward in order to face the challenging situation. Harris is convinced that world government is the solution to inter-state war and international problems. Let us assume for the sake of argument that Harris' contention is sound. The important question to be considered then is: How are we to realize that ideal? It cannot obviously descend all on a sudden from the blue sky. It can be made a reality only when people with vision and a sense of realism work for it thorough stages. We have to pave the way for it, according to Harris, through the modification of the doctrine of national sovereignty and the formation of regional organizations at the intermediary level between the nation-state and the world authority. He himself admits that this ideal of world government is bound to remain the most unpractical utopianism so long as people believe that their salvation and welfare depend on their sovereign independence. What, then, is the remedy? A change of attitude on the part of the people is necessary, but that is not sufficient. What is required in addition to a change of attitude is sincerity to work it out. That is what may be called in the existential language commitment on the part of the individual. But whose commitment is that? Though it cannot be denied that it is the commitment of fallible men, it is the commitment of those individuals who want to realize an ideal in which disinterested service must find an important place. If so, this phase of morality, contrary to what Harris maintains, is the pre-condition of any well-ordered social and political framework. It is not the case that men to start with are in a moral vacuum and that through the social order they come to have a moral stature. It is the capacity to conceive of and contribute to, the common good that entitles the individuals for membership in a society, and

this capacity which is at the basis of social and political order is undoubtedly moral as well as rational.

Whether the formation of world government is the effective solution to international tension is another issue. Since a very important source of trouble arises from centralization of authority in one place, it is to be seriously doubted whether it will be conducive to the preservation of the freedom and personal worth of the individual as well as the promotion of world peace. Our experience so far at the national level does not encourage us to think favourably of world government. If the centralization of power and authority in one place makes those who run the political machinery inefficient, indifferent, corrupt, and above all violent in all their practices, it is not going to make the position different when the authority of nation-states is replaced by the authority of world government. What is required is not a unitary authority but a plurality of authorities which would function on the basis of non-violence in all matters in harmony with one another. The ideal to be pursued is a federation of friendly inter-dependent states whose entire set-up will be based on the principle of decentralization with non-violence as the principle of action.

It is futile to think of institutional changes without changes in the attitude and conduct of the individuals. Institutional changes cannot be brought in by a few individuals. If they are bent on introducing those changes, they could do so only by violence by making use of the political machinery. Such a radical change with a view to realize some Utopian ideal will neither be peaceful nor beneficial to the people at large. How far the people at large are prepared for such a change is a question to be considered. Instead of starting with institutional changes of a radical nature in pursuance of some Utopian plan, a beginning must be made to bring about a change in the outlook and conduct of the individual. This is necessary because the successful implementation of any social and political programme depends

upon the part played by the individual. It is necessary to bear in mind that the human factor, as Popper has pointed out, is the ultimately uncertain and wayward element in social and political life. And so we must work for a steady and slow change in the attitude and conduct of the individual, for everything ultimately depends upon the actions and interactions, thoughts and aspirations of individual men. The successful implementation of the Gandhian technique depends on the willingness of the individual to commit himself for the chosen ideal with the attitude of "one step is enough for me." His manner of living will indicate his commitment. What he is and does is not without significance. The way to peace lies through peace.

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