

Chapter – I

Introduction – The Problem – conceptual framework

I

Man's quest for equality and justice can be found from days when he understood that there had been wide variations in the status and position of mankind. He understood that so far as physical position is concerned, there might be differences between man and man. But he failed to understand the cause behind differences in social status, economic equality or social justice that a man needs in order to live a decent life.

This realization prompted him to think of a situation where there will be no distinction regarding caste, class, economic status or social position. Infact this has been the core area of study and analysis of all great scholars who aimed at ushering an era where the evils of discrimination might be eradicated. But as each period of human civilization passed through different pulls and pressures, demands and desires, philosophers had to provide exact means for achieving the end. After all a philosopher is a true representative of his age.

A look at the cores of development in the western political philosophy will show that even during the period of ancient Greek political thought, philosophers like Plato and Aristotle were very much concerned about what they called 'Ideal' or just society where the role of the state was glorified to a formidable extent. The philosophical foundation of the Greek political thought was erected around one central idea in the relationship between man

and the state, primary focus would be on the state rather than man. They had their arguments also which stated that a man cannot, by his own effort, attain the ideal condition and in this process he needs help and guidance from the state. That was, perhaps, the reason, why in the idealist philosophy state was looked upon not a mere political designation but as an ‘Idea’ – the conscience keeper and the moral guardian of the individual. In other words, this philosophy projected the state as the source of all power and authority and looked upon man as solely a dependent creature. Whatever may be the nature of philosophical foundation, the basic thrust was to create a social condition where the state would provide, justice and equality for all. In a word, the very essence of political obligation was given a new meaning by placing the state in the front position and relegating the individual to the background.

Things underwent drastic changes when in the next era attempts were made to reverse the individual – state relationship and individual was accorded a frontal position vis-à-vis the state. Individual was given the role to direct and guide the state in its duty to provide social conditions in which justice and fair play could have their own space. The political ideas as propagated by the great contractualists would justify this position where they held the view that man created the civil order, or for that matter, the state with a view to achieving peace, order, discipline and justice. One may notice some differences in the interpretations of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, but these differences were primarily methodological and hence, peripheral, without altering or affecting the core concept in any manner.

One may further notice that the contractualist thinkers, notably John Locke, brought in two other concepts of natural rights and ownership of means of property which dominated the entire western philosophical world for a long time.

The same trend in the field of political theorization continued until a new interpretation was provided by Marx wherein the state was looked upon from an altogether different perspective. Before Marx, in the hands of T.H. Green, though an idealist thinker, the entire notions of social order, individual responsibility and the role of the state were viewed in a way that fitted more into non-idealistic tradition than the idealist one. In simple terms, T.H. Green was greatly influenced by the liberal tradition already created by John Locke. That was the reason why Green could draw the conclusion that 'will not force, is the basis of the state'.

In the writings of Bentham and J.S. Mill, the issue acquired new dimension. While Bentham put emphasis on utility, Mill laid stress on individual freedom by restraining the authority of the state. The basic premise of Bentham's philosophy was man's desire for happiness and rejection of unhappiness. But Mill had altogether a different perception — establishment of individual liberty by minimizing the authority of the state. Therefore, he stood for absolute individualism.

This trend was not accepted by Marxian philosophy wherein the state was looked upon as machinery for exploitation. That was the reason for the abolition of the state ('withering away of the

state'). The establishment of a classless society is the ultimate goal of the Marxian philosophy where the state will cease to exist.

With this historical background, we should proceed to examine the basic concepts of justice and equality – the main thrust of the present discussion. Political philosophers since the ancient times have tried to formulate the concept of justice with a view to examining its relevance in the society concerned. However with the advent of modern consciousness, especially under the influence of the principles of democracy and socialism, this concept has been thoroughly transformed. As a result, the traditional view of individual justice has been replaced, in a general way, by a more extensive concept of social justice.

In common parlance, the term justice signifies the quality of being 'just' or 'right' or 'reasonable'. Since, these are primarily concepts relating to morality, so it has within it some ethical attributes. Morality is generally believed to be something like 'eternal truth'. Infact, this formed the basis of the idealist interpretation of the nature of the state.

With the expansion of modern social and economic theory, the meaning and nature of the concept of justice have undergone significant transformation. Morality is no longer regarded as the problem of adjusting some mystical qualities of spirit or character with some superior or transcendental notion. It is held that morality should be reflected in social reality, rather than in some supposed supernatural or mystical phenomenon.

Viewed in that perspective, justice as a moral concept is at once a dynamic idea. It symbolizes perfectness because our

realization of an ideal situation is in a continuous process. The progress in this direction depends upon the development of our social consciousness. That is why Earnest Barker in his 'Principles of Social and Political Theory' notes that the term justice is derived from the Latin word 'jus', which embodies the idea of joining or fitting – the idea of bond or tie. Naturally a question arises, what are the elements sought to be joined or fitted into the idea of justice? Barker seems to be quite explicit when he states:

'Primarily the joining or fitting implied in this root idea is that between man and man, in an organized system of human relations. But we may also conceive of the 'just' or justice as connected with, and expressed in a joining or fitting between value and value in a general sum and synthesis of values'¹.

Barker has identified three other forms of values which are the basic foundations to an organized system of human relations: the value of liberty, the value of equality and the value of fraternity. To Barker, justice itself is a value which represents a synthesis of other values in individual and corporate relationships. In his own words:

'The claims of liberty have to be adjusted to those of equality, and the claims of both have also to be adjusted to those of cooperation. From this point of view, the function of justice may be said to be that of adjusting, joining or fitting the different political values. Justice is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values; it is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole'.²

He further notes : ‘The general notion of justice represents the ‘first’ or ‘total’ value in which the others all are combined; by which they are all controlled; and in virtue of which their different claims (if and so far as a conflict arises) are reconciled and adjusted’. ³

The notion of justice was further extended by other social scientists, notably, D.D. Raphael who in his Problems of Political Philosophy describes it as ‘modern consciousness’. ⁴ But, this idea calls for further elaboration as ‘modern consciousness’ or which, in a broader sense, is known as social consciousness is an ever-growing phenomenon and should be viewed as a progressive idea as far as they are supported by reason or objective conditions.

Considered in this aspect, justice can be stated as the thread which runs through all the values of liberty, equality and fraternity to make them an integrated concept. It reconciles their conflicts and contradictions and gives them the shape of universal principles and governance. Justice is the final goal to which all these values should conform.

One may come across two very important and at the same time inter-related questions of great importance:

1. Why does one demand that human relations in a society should be governed by the principle of liberty?
2. Why does one not leave them to the wishes of individuals, to the free play of the natural forces, to the element of chance or to irrational traditions or considerations?

In other words, these questions suggest that justice as a postulate of governing human relations in society should be

regulated by ‘reason’. It demands that each individual should be treated as an ‘end in himself’, not as a means to an end. No individual should be accorded a superior status in comparison to others. Such a condition would not only safeguard justice, but also ensure liberty to an individual. To quote Barker once again:

‘The need of liberty for each is necessarily qualified and conditioned by the need of liberty for all, and the liberty of A will therefore be such liberty as he can enjoy concurrently with the enjoyment of similar and equal liberty by B. and C and D... because the liberty of each is thus relative to that of others, and was to be adjusted to that of others, it must always be regulated; and indeed it would not exist unless it were regulated.⁵ On this principle, it may be suggested that any restraint on liberty will be admitted if it is imposed in the interests of justice and equality.

The principle of equality, if it means ‘absence of discrimination cannot be taken as the final principle of justice.’ There are cases where there might be lawful discrimination as approved by the authority of the state. State can make discriminatory classification of people on the grounds of their backwardness, mostly in economic terms. But so far as political dimension is concerned, ‘one man, one vote’ may signify that each individual, irrespective of his social position is entitled to have equal political treatment from the authority of the state. But so far as economic sphere is concerned the mere absence of discrimination may fail to meet the requirements of justice. When society is divided into classes on the basis of property relations, the cause of justice will not be served. One may refer to Plato’s concept of justice in which he sought to prescribe certain duties of

different citizens which were supposed to be the foundations of the ‘virtues’ supporting those duties. In the words of Richard Lewis Nettleship. ‘Justice, in Plato’s sense, is the power of individual concentration on duty Justice therefore is really the condition of the existence of all the virtues; each of them is a particular manifestation of the spirit of justice, which takes different forms according to a man’s function in the community. In modern phrase it is equivalent to sense of duty’.⁶

It follows that Plato prescribed different duties for different groups of people and justice emanates from performing the exact task assigned to them. In other words, there appears to be a corresponding relationship between justice and the performance of one’s own duties. But in modern sense the term ‘social justice’ has acquired a wider meaning, enabling the depressed section of the population to raise their voice against any excess of authority. The main problem of social justice is to decide on appropriate allocation of the advantages that are available or that can be secured through the instrumentality of the social organization.

On the legal plane, ‘justice according to law’ or ‘law according to justice’ has acquired special significance. To quote Morris Gins Berg: ‘The notion of a legal order implies that decisions shall be made not arbitrarily but in accordance with general rules and these general rules (what ever they are) shall be correctly (that is, what moralists call impartially) applied; that is, by criteria defining the class of cases coming under the rule, and not affected by the subjective reactions of the judge. Justice then is in conformity with the existing law’.⁷

On this point, one may refer to what Barker observed:

'A law has validity and I am legally obliged to obey it, if it is declared, recognized and enforced as the law of the authority of the legally organized community, acting in the capacity of a state. A law has value, and if I am bound to obey it not only legally, and not only by an outward compulsion, but also morally and by an inward force, if it has the inherent quality of justice'.⁸

One more dimension for the concept of justice calls for analysis. The term 'socio-economic justice' appears to be a combination of social justice and economic justice. While, these two concepts, used separately may indicate restricted sense of justice, a combination of the two, intends to give it a wider meaning.

The concept of justice has a number of important implications:

1. First, it requires a just state of affairs i.e., it is impossible to examine the justice of action without a 'prior identification of the just state of affairs'.⁹
2. Second, it is associated with the conditions of morality. For e.g. a just and fair race is one in which a person who wins morality deserves to win, if he can fulfill these basic requirements.¹⁰
3. It carries the sense of proper distribution of gains and losses. In other words rewards and punishments are to be distributed among the individuals so as to ensure fairness.

4. Fourth, it normally prevails in a congenial atmosphere that is provided by a democratic set-up. In the words of Barry ‘fair rules may be impartially enforced in regimes which allow little political participation and majority rule democracies may generate arbitrary treatment of individuals and minorities’.¹¹

A few words on the Marxian theory of justice may be relevant here. The Marxian notion of justice proceeds on the assumption that the legislature makes a law, that is in the interest of the ruling class. The instruments of law and justice seek to protect and promote the interest of the bourgeoisie class. They will serve the purpose of the proletariat after the successful socialist revolution.

In the current discourse on justice, John Rawls offers a new critique of the principles of justice which is a combination of ‘equality’ and ‘difference’ principles in the scheme of establishing a doctrine which could serve as the basis for the distribution of benefits and burdens among individuals. Infact, the primary aim of Rawls is to provide a philosophy of justice which could be an alternative to the utilitarian principle of justice.¹²

According to Rawls, the two principles of justice would be chosen in the ‘original position’ behind the ‘veil of ignorance’ among various alternatives present. The two principles of justice are:

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most sensitive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others.

2. social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both

- a) reasonably expected to be everyone's advantage;
- b) attached to positions and offices open to all.^{13.}

These two principles are to be applied to the basic structure of society and are to regulate the distribution of social and economic advantages and disadvantages. In other words, the two principles govern the pattern of rights and duties, dividing the social order into two broad categories:

- a) Those aspects of the system that define and secure equal liberty to all its citizens and
- b) Those aspects that establish social and economic inequalities.

Thus formulated, in Rawls' scheme 'justice as fairness' provides strong argument for equal liberty.^{14.}

Political justice consists in distributing prestige, authority or power in the society. The second principle applies to the distribution of income and wealth. Rawls combines his two principles of justice in this way:

'All social values – liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the basis of self respect – are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or of all, of these values is to everyone's advantage.'^{15.}

In his arguments, Rawls concentrates on his conception of primary social factors like rights, liberties, power, wealth, opportunities and self respect. He holds the view that a 'just

society' is one that distributes these primary goods equally among the citizens. He believes that basic liberties are essential for individuals if a society has to look for perfection. Liberty, viewed in this sense appears to be a certain pattern of 'social norm'. It implies that representative persons in various social positions should get equal treatment like any other person not holding any social or other positions. For this Rawls takes for elaboration primarily three interpretations: natural liberty, liberal equality and democratic equality.

Turning to the operational aspects of the principles of justice, Rawls suggests that the first principle of equal liberty is of primary standard for a constitutional convention. Its main requirements are that fundamental liberties of the persons, liberty of conscience and freedom of thought in particular being protected. The second principle which is termed as difference principle is applicable at the stage of legislation. Comparing the importance of the principles of justice for basic structures, individuals and nations, Rawls says that the basic structure must be given first priority and second and third priority to individuals and nations respectively.

In the final analysis Rawls seems to have rejected any conception of justice which requires distributing power, prestige, authority or 'the good things of life' in general. According to David Miller, 'Rawls proposes his theory of justice in the form of the two principles in the place of utilitarianism'. ¹⁶ In his opinion Rawls attempts to construct his theory in two ways : First, he believes that an acceptable moral theory must be in accordance with initiative moral judgment. Second, Rawls attempts to provide

an independent justification for the two principles highlighting that they would be acceptable to rational individuals. To quote David Miller: ‘Had Rawls wished to make his account of justice legal procedural, he should have omitted the two principles together and prescribed only the institutional framework. But in Rawls’ case the institutions are set up to satisfy the two principles.’¹⁷

Miller has also pointed out two other dimensions of social justice as expounded by Rawls. In his words “The question is whether a large society could practice social justice in this form. It seems that the informal coordination of people’s behaviour that can occur in a small community cannot happen here – the economy must either be market – based, giving people incentives to produce the resources that other people want to consume, or state – directed, with a central authority planning what is to be produced and directing individuals according to the plan. Although in theory one can imagine both market and centrally planned economies that do not rely on material incentives, in practice this has proved impossible to achieve (attempts were made in the mid – twentieth century by Communist regimes in China and Cuba to replace material by moral incentives, but in neither case was the experiment successful).

Pursuing social justice in its radical form does seem to require dispensing with the market and reconstructing society on a quiet different, communitarian basis.”¹⁸

Miller goes on suggesting the fact that the liberal view of social justice might have embraced many democratic socialists and for those matter contemporary liberals. To quote Miller, “There is,

however, a less radical view of social justice which has been embraced by democratic socialists, and also by many contemporary liberals. On this view, social justice requires the equal distribution of some social benefits – especially equal rights of citizenship such as voting and freedom of speech. It requires some benefits to be distributed on the basis of need, so that everyone is guaranteed an adequate income, access to housing and health care, and so forth. But it also allows other resources to be distributed unequally, so long as there is equal opportunity for people to try to acquire a larger share. These inequalities may be justified on the grounds of desert, or on the grounds that by giving people material incentives to work hard and produce goods and services that other people want, everyone in society benefits.”¹⁹

Miller has further suggested that “Rawls’ theory of social justice explicitly makes room for a market economy: his third principle is formulated so as to allow for the possibility that people may need to keep at least part of the gain that they can make through producing goods and services for the market if they are going to be sufficiently motivated to work hard and use their talents in the most productive way. This undermines Hayek’s claim that social justice and market freedom are conflicting goals. On the other hand, a market economy governed by Rawlsian principles would look quite different from the economic systems that exist in most liberal democracies today.”²⁰

It may not be irrelevant if one concludes the analysis of social justice explained by Rawls if one relies on what Miller has to say about his own assessment of Rawls’ idea of social justice. In his opinion the theory of social justice should retain Rawls’ first

two principles – Equal Liberty and Equality of Opportunity, but replace the difference principles with two others. “The first is that of a guaranteed social minimum, understood in terms of the set of needs that must be met to give every citizen a decent life; as I indicated earlier, this minimum is not fixed, but changes between societies and over time. The second is a principle of desert: inequalities of income and wealth should be proportional to the relative contributions different people make, measured by the success in producing goods and services that other people need and want. Like Rawls’ theory, these principles do not entail getting rid of the market economy, but they do require the state to maintain an extensive welfare system, and to adjust the legal framework within which the market functions so that there is as close a link as possible between what people contribute economically and what they receive by way of income. This would require some big changes to the way that capitalist economies currently operate, since existing rules of property ownership and inheritance allow people to reap large rewards by virtue of luck, inherited wealth, corporate position, and so forth – factors that are unrelated to their contribution to society. Indeed the pursuit of social justice may point us towards a form of market socialism in which economic enterprises are owned and controlled by those who work in them, rather than by outside share holders, so that profits can be shared among the actual producers. This is not communist utopia favoured by Marx and other radical socialists, since it allows harder working and more talented individuals to reap the fruits of their labour, but it still takes us far beyond the political agenda of

the present day, atleast so far as the liberal democracies are concerned.”²¹

While explaining Rawls’ idea on social justice, Miller concludes with views where he is candid about the fact that the exploration of social justice is an ‘unfinished project’. In a rhetoric way, Miller has summed up his views when he concludes that “Like democracy, social justice is an unfinished project. The political philosopher’s job is to tell us, in outline, what a just society would look like, without either building castles in the air or over – adapting to the political realities of the moment. Many now believe that the quest for social justice has been stalled by the global developments which reduce the power of any state to regulate the market economy as justice demands.”²²

Conceptually, the concepts of justice and equality have undergone changes both in terms of meaning and extent. Although essentially a universal notion it cannot be denied that interpretations vary due to differences in contextual setting or psycho-moral preferences of any particular community. This can be seen in the course of the present study dealing with three great nationalist leaders in India – Nehru, Ambedkar and J.P. Narain.

In political terms, justice may involve distribution of goods. It may also mean the distribution of evils as well. In other words, the notion of justice is to be placed in the context of scarcity of goods which needs to be distributed proportionately among the people. But the issue of distribution of scarce ‘goods’ calls for a rational basis which is very difficult to identify in a society where heterogeneity makes the issue more complicated. That is why, it is

found that in a conservative construction of the idea of justice, hierarchical distribution seems to be the only deciding factor; but the liberals have a different view altogether: to them distribution should be made on the basis of merit, the basis of which should be the equality of opportunity. Again, the socialist have tried to link it up with need and fundamental equality.

This wide variety of meaning of justice gives the impression that as a concept it is flexible and dependent on a number of conditions in a society under reference. That is perhaps, the reason why in modern analysis justice is looked upon as a 'property of situations'. But one should remember that situations might be created by individuals for their own benefit. It may also be created in such a manner as to deprive another section of their share in it. Such an explanation calls for analyzing to distinct phases in this process:

- a). the methods of distribution and
- b). the possible outcome of such distribution.

Thus viewed, it appears that justice involves equality, merit and need of the individuals in a society. It brings within its folds the notion of equality as it is considered to be the basic foundation of justice. But it should not be forgotten that the notion of merit admits of the fact that merit can be measured by contribution. It proceeds on the assumption that everyone, in the first instance, should have an equal share to make his own contribution. A theory of justice based on 'need' starts with the idea that every one should have the right to satisfy his need with no reference to his contribution what so ever. Philosophically, it becomes very

difficult to prove and locate the concept of ‘need’ in a highly segmented society. The basic problem revolves around one issue: what constitutes the core of ‘need’?

Whatever may be the yardstick, it is right to suggest that “a theory of justice based on the need reflects a fundamental idea of human equality and happiness, whereas one based on merit rests on a premise of the differential worth of individuals”.²³ Any metaphysical notion of justice can explain fully the basic ingredients of either need or merit. The problem is to place proper emphasis on ‘competing principles of justice’- which Rawls has so categorically stated.

That is perhaps the reason why Rawls asserts that an individual would logically select the following two principles of justice:

- a) Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others;
- b) Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they can both
 - (i) reasonably expected to be to everyone’s advantage, and
 - (ii) to attach to positions and offices open to all.²⁴

Rawls, while emphasizing the liberal aspect of justice, refers to procedural theory and argues that “pure criteria for the right result, instead there is a correct or fair procedure such that the outcome is likewise correct or fair, whatever it is”.²⁵ A socialist, on the other

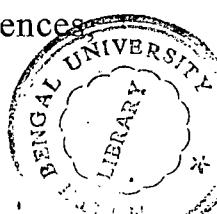
hand, seeks to make an ordering of the criteria of justice in placing need, equality and merit in a scale. In other words, a socialist theory of social justice may be a blend of number of major criteria which form the fundamental foundations of justice.

It has been very correctly observed that “once choice of a theory of justice depends on one’s ideological or moral outlook; this in turn also determines whether one locates justice in intentions, acts or outcomes. Any application of a theory of justice to the existing situations (outcomes) implicitly passes judgments on the results of passed actions viewing them in the light of their results”.²⁶

This suggests that there is an intimate relationship between justice and equality both on theoretical and operational planes. Equality is generally seen in the sense of ‘fair and non – arbitrary treatment of individuals’. Equality, as a notion can be invoked as a substantive or absolute principle which specifically determines the outcome of a distribution. In a slightly different context, Iris Marion Young has observed:

“It is possible to reason about substantive moral issues without understanding their substance, which always presupposes some particular social and historical context; and one has no motive for making moral judgments and resolving moral dilemmas unless the outcome matter, unless one has a particular and passionate interest in the outcome”.²⁷

She further observes: “Instead of a fictional contract, we require real participatory structures in which actual people, with their geographical, ethnic, gender and occupational differences



assert their perspectives on social issues within institutions that encourage the representation of their distinct voices”²⁸.

In this sense it becomes imperative for everyone to create ‘public spaces’ where group differences can be recognized, affirmed and can inform policy. Young’s notion of “politics of difference” refers to such public and institutional support which will be necessary for ‘self-organisation’ and generation of people oriented policies. To another commentator, Anne Phillips, the notion of justice is a highly segmented and fragmented society should be taken as a “mirror” which shows the need for justice under certain given conditions.²⁹ The central theme of these views rests on the fact that justice will remain incomplete if a section of the people remains silent and accepts any kind of imposition on them.

This point has been forcefully stated by Patricia Williams when the scholar points out: “For the historically disempowered, the conferring of rights is symbolic of all the denied aspects of their humanity; rights imply a respect that places one in a referential range of self and others, that elaborate one’s status from human body to social being”³⁰.

Young as noted earlier in this section, has sought to make a compromise between two situations arising out of individual’s demands and group’s requirements, plea for ‘a dual system of rights’ – a set of universal rights that will be applicable for all citizens, and a set of group – rights and group – conscious policies that will be necessary for understanding the relevance of “social difference for equality in particular circumstances”. Justice taken

in this sense, should mean empowering the weak to achieve a societal condition where everyone will not only be protected in their vulnerability but will not remain vulnerable in future also.

The notions of justice and equality confront another important problem: problem of conflict and the face of the loss of impartiality. The basic question is related to the issue of providing judgment in a conflictual situation. The central question is: how can one be assured that the problem of partiality does not affect that the common process of judgment? Attempts have been made to solve this problem with the notions “ethic of care” and “solidarity” which refers to what is known in general terms as “politics of recognition”. Not only that, it concentrates on the notion of “equal concern and respect” for every body in the society. This has led Jon Elster to use the term “the civilizing effects” to denote that even the minority section of the people can play a better role in any deliberative process to protect their rights and ensure justice.

This point has been very beautifully summed up when it is said by Habermas:

“The perspective contemplating that of equal treatment of individuals is not benevolence but solidarity. This principle is rooted in the realization that each person must take responsibility for the other because as consociates all must have an interest in the integrity of their shared life context in the same way..... Every autonomous morality has to serve two purposes at once: it brings to bear the inviolability of socialized individuals by requiring equal treatment and thereby equal respect for the dignity of each

one; and it protects inter subjective relations of mutual recognition requiring solidarity of individual members of a community”.

The Rawlsian acceptance of politics as a factor in analyzing social justice assigns the mechanism of “constructivism” which has been taken as a name for “a certain procedure” or “moral structure” which influences the policy-makers to produce the desired outcome of the public principles of justice.

This is designed to ‘regulate the basic structure of society’.

This calls for an analysis of the very foundation of the society. To what extent, ‘contract’ as a force can be recognized as the basic foundation is still open to debate. There is a section of opinion which discards ‘mystifying role of consent (contract)’ in creating a society. If accepted, it might negate or challenge this foundation of historical evolutionary process.

Any study of justice, should therefore, begin with a reference to certain basic political values about constitutional essentials and questions of social and economic inequalities. Rawls in his concept of “well – ordered society” refers to serious divisive issues and the need for social cooperation. Only rhetoric democratic equality cannot bring about the desired changes and will leave many issues unresolved. This justifies the need for having a kind of general social theory of justice that can address the problem in a comprehensive manner.

An analysis of the Indian views on justice and equality reveals that these are looked upon as vehicles for a social reconstruction from time to time. The entire Gandhian philosophy, if examined carefully, points to the fact that Gandhiji was out an

out a thinker as well as a practitioner for social change. The core of his belief embodies the fundamentals of creating a society free from injustice, inequality and social and economic discrimination. Thus the root of Gandhian philosophy and action can be identified with what in general terms, can be described as ‘social transformation’.

That is why perhaps the reason why there appears to be an agreement among makers of modern India about the need for social reconstruction supported by the forces of political change. Consequently, the theories advanced for this purpose highlight the nature of inter relationship between the society on the one hand and individual on the other. In other words, the nature of thoughts and activities of all the social reformers sought, in their own ways, to have a model which would be capable of creating, what Ambedkar has said, “a just society”.

The need for such a model – building did not escape the attention of a noted social scientist, Isaiah Berlin when he writes:

“The first step to understanding of men is the bringing to consciousness of the model or models that dominate and penetrate their thought and action. Like all attempts to make men aware of the categories in which they think, it is a difficult and sometimes painful activity, likely to produce deeply disquieting results. The second task is to analyse the model itself, and this commits the analyst to accepting a modifying or rejecting it, and in the last case, to providing a more adequate one in its stead”. ³¹.

That major socio-historical reconstruction of society demands a revision of the existing social and political philosophy has been noted by William Connolly:

“Conceptual revision is not..... a sufficient condition of political change, but it is indispensable to significant political change. It is a part of that process by which events once considered mere facts come to be seen as the outcome of a political process..... Conceptual revision is involved in any political strategy that aims at reconstituting social life in modest or in radical ways”³².

The task of social reconstruction calls for a new paradigm has been rightly explained by Sheldon Wolin when he says:

“From this view point society would envisaged as a coherent whole in the sense of customary political practices, institutions, laws, structure of authority and citizenship and operative beliefs being organized and interrelated. A politically organized society contains definite institutional arrangements, certain widely shared understanding regarding the location and use of political power, certain expectation about how authority ought to treat the members of society and about the claims that organize society can rightfully make upon its members....”³³.

They way the Indian political thinkers and activists sought to bring about radical changes in society can be examined with reference to Gandhiji's own construction of Sarvodaya as a golden path to achieve an egalitarian society. Gandhiji has made a unique contribution when he has successfully blended his ideas on Swaraj and Satyagraha in such a way as to create a social condition where

equality, justice and non discrimination can prevail. Gandhiji has sought to reduce the gap between tradition and modernity in India and in the words of P. C. Joshi, Gandhiji could become a ‘far more powerful modernizer of Indian society than thousands of modernists who had dismissed him as a traditionalist’.³⁴

Gandhiji’s idioms of Ram Rajya and Ahimsa, Dharma – all aimed at creating a society which will not only be egalitarian in economic sense but also humane in social and spiritual sense. To some critics, his concept of Sarvodaya served as an ideological basis for, what can be broadly termed, as ‘social revolution’. Gandhiji, with the help of his ideas and actions could level a national movement which was converted into a war of movement, a war of position and a war for creating a society which could create conditions for ‘just’ and ‘humane’ social living. He has tried to interlink the tasks of regenerating Indian traditions and reconstructing western modernity. His policies and ideas embodied elements of continuity and change. In the words of B. Parekh, Gandhiji gives us a new theory of revolution grounded in the three principles of unity of human kind, the indivisibility of means and ends and emancipation of individuals. That was the reason why Gandhiji preferred the construction of a moral-political individual who is ready to create a just society for his fellow individuals.³⁵

Gandhiji’s construction for social justice and economic equality contains a set of actions which has been summarized as follows:

1. Non – violent Ownership – Trusteeship.
2. Non – violent Production – Appropriate Technology.

3. Non – violent Consumption –Non-possession.
4. Non – violent Work –Bread Labour.
5. Non – violent Allocation – Cooperation.
6. Non – violent Distribution – Equality.
7. Non – violence in Reforming Economic Systems.³⁵

According to V. P. Verma, India's political institutions should be based on an idealist- philosophical – humanist conception of man. Man should be considered as 'moral – spiritual subject' – the model of man which contains the eternal Indian values of justice and equality.³⁶ This notion of 'spiritual humanism' is deeply rooted in the Vedic idea where it is taught that man derives his power as an integral part of the Absolute power (God). He is the embodiment of the infinite 'spiritual consciousness' which teaches him to be faithful to his duty towards his fellowmen with a view to creating a society based on justice and equality in all senses of these terms. Verma has written very clearly:

"A philosophy of freedom for man as a moral and spiritual subject can alone be the antidote to the excesses of nationalistic chauvinism, ethnocentric imperialism, totalitarian materialism and the fascist cult of racism, controlled economy and power politics".³⁷

Thus the entire discourse on justice and equality can be viewed from the Indian perspective where emphasis has been laid down on the nature of spiritual feelings of the individuals which follow the Indian tradition and culture. It transcends all barriers-

casteism, racism or such type of parochial feelings. It is universal and admits of no restriction artificially created by a section of the people for their own interest. Thus following Verma, one can say, a philosophical humanist would want to universalize the foundational ethical and spiritual principles of Indian culture for the redemption of humanity.³⁸ This, infact, represents the very spirit and ethos of India's culture, tradition and society where individual can play the role of a catalyst in bringing about desired social changes for a better tomorrow.

II

Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of the present study is to examine in depth the ideas of Nehru, Ambedkar and Jayaprakash in general and those of social justice and economic equality in particular. It is admitted that any attempt at separating the basic components of mental makeup of any individual is bound to fail because all the components are not only dependent on each but also inextricably mixed up. That is why any study of this nature is bound to confront a serious obstacle : How to make such a study without making any reference to the formation of mental position of any individual?

To exemplify the position, one may refer to the nature of any biographical study in which all these elements of an individual are taken up, discussed and analysed following a sequence of time and

development. In other words, such studies are mostly narrative in character.'

The present study is slightly different in character as it has sought to analyse two very important notions namely, social justice and economic equality which guided not only the thought processes of these three leaders, but also set the goals they aimed to achieve through their ideas and actions. There had been differences in outlook perception and even the nature of goals they wanted to achieve, but behind these differences there was a common concern, a common cause and a common feeling for the people of India who had been under foreign domination. Their thoughts and actions were highly representative in character so as to raise high hopes among the people at a critical juncture of India's freedom struggle.

The present study is modeled on a comparative basis concentrating on two important parameters, namely, social justice and economic equality. For the purpose of situating these three leaders against proper contextual setting some other parameters have been taken into consideration. Again, for the purpose of conceptual clarity, a detailed theoretical discussion on justice and equality has been made. Although conceptually these two terms have universal application, but at the theoretical plane there appears a good number of debates among the scholars as to their specific and precise meaning.

Broadly speaking, these two concepts have their origin in the western as well as Indian thought processes. But, differences occur due to the emphasis that was placed, preferences that were

accorded and goals that were set to achieve through these concepts. In other words, inspite of their universal appeal, they cannot ignore the specificities of time, place or context.

Attempts have been made to examine the influence of western as well as Indian ideas on these three leaders. It has been noticed that there were differences among these three thinkers about the proper application of goals and ends principle. In other words, the controversy centered mainly on the methodological application of their theoretical position. This might be the reason for their shifting positions with regard to the operational tactics in achieving their desired goals.

The present study while highlighting these aspects, delves deep into the social compulsions and national requirements at that period when the country was struggling to attain independence. That is perhaps the reason why it is said that no study on the contributions of any maker of modern India will be complete unless a reference is made to the developments that took place along with the freedom struggle movement. Infact, the whole range of post-colonial discourse processes on the assumption that both colonial and post colonial periods are inseparable and hence, any compartmentalization in this regard will be meaningless in so far as it will give an incomplete picture and not the total one.

With this objective in view the present study has tried to explore the nature of

- a) impact of western education on these three national leaders;
- b) the manner in which they could assimilate within themselves both Indian and western ideas; and

- c) the way they had tried to put their ideas into practice.

III

Research Questions

The whole discussion, centering around these three positions has sought to answer the following questions –

- a) What were the historical settings and contextual parameters which were the prime moving forces behind the formation of the political views of these leaders?
- b) What were the areas of agreements and disagreements among these three leaders on important social and economic issues?
- c) To what extent did the western ideas on justice and equality exert their influence on the ideas of Nehru, Ambedkar and Jayaprakash?
- d) What were the reasons that were responsible for so many ‘shifts’ on changes in ideas and positions of Jayaprakash Narain which cannot be seen in case of Nehru?
- e) How could Ambedkar assess the limitations of his being in the lower caste and what had been his prescriptive methodology to get rid off the situation?
- f) How far Nehru’s concept of Democratic Socialism was in conformity with Jayaprakash’s idea on Sarvodaya and Total Revolution?

Although these questions have been put separately but like many other issues of this nature, no such separation is at all possible. Proper care has been taken to look into these issues from two perspectives:- contextual setting and sequential developments. This has been necessary in view of the fact that all the three makers of modern India were missionary and in that way sought to reform and reconstruct the Indian society. Moreover, multi-faceted personalities like them cannot be understood without making any reference to their attitudinal factors, value preferences and above all philosophical orientation. In a word, a kind of holistic view has been taken in order to understand and examine the nature of the influence of their thoughts and actions in the political process in India.

IV

Research Methodology

The present work is basically a study of great personalities against the backdrop of their contribution to the making of modern India. As such the discussions have been primarily made on the basis of their thoughts and actions in different fields of national life. The methodology is primarily historical – analytical. Due emphasis has been given on the original writings of these three leaders and also other related primary sources such as proceedings and debates of the Constituent Assembly, correspondences among contemporary leaders, autobiographies and the like. In order to

substantiate the views, references have been made to other secondary sources such as books, papers and review articles published in different academic journals, both Indian and foreign. Proper care has been taken to make an objective assessment of their contributions towards the enrichment as well as methods of application of their ideas and actions. That is why; extensive references have been made to the original speeches and other writings of these leaders. For the purpose of situating them, elaborate theoretical / conceptual framework has been drafted so as to include within it the course of developments of these ideas and their relevance in the contemporary Indian situation.

V

Overview of the existing literature

There have been a good number of works, both biographical and critical, on the life and works of Nehru, Amebdkar and Jayaprakash Narain. For this reason it becomes difficult to identify only a few works on these three leaders. Looking at the works on Nehru, one notices that studies on Nehru varies from biographical sketch to analytical assessment of his thoughts and actions. To begin with one such work, though covers a broad canvas seems to be helpful for formulating ideas about the nature of Indian society and efforts directed towards its modernization. After all Nehru can be reviewed as an ardent believer in modernization process in India.

The book by S.P. Aiyar under the title '*Modernisation of Traditional Society*' (*Mac Millan, New Delhi, 1965*) deals with not only the nature of the Indian society at its transitional phase, but also situates the leaders as the accelerator of the modernizing process.

Another book which covers the period from 1832 – 1920 seeks to explain the factors responsible for the growth of the Congress Party in India. The book by C.F. Andrews and G. Mookerji, entitled '*The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India*', (*Gitanjali Press, New Delhi, 1975*).

Another work, by A. Appadorai with the title '*Indian Political Thinking in the Twentieth Century from Naroji to Nehru*' (*OUP, 1974*) covers a period which contains the records of the activities of great national leaders. The approach of this book is both historical as well as analytical.

Michael Brecher has made an extensive study on Nehru and his book '*Nehru – a Political Biography*' (*OUP, London, 1950*) is still regarded as a significant contribution towards Nehru studies. As the title suggests this is purely a biographical analysis of Nehru but the uniqueness of this work is that in most cases Brecher has drawn conclusions after examining primary sources. This makes the study not only readable but informative. It will not be an exaggeration to say that no Nehru study is possible without making any reference to this work.

Another work, '*Jawaharlal Nehru : The Struggle for Independence*' (*Cambridge University Press, London, 1966*) by Lord Bertrler has analysed Nehru's role in the freedom struggle

movement in India. The main thrust of discussion in this book is Nehru's leadership and the way he had responded to the emerging situations during the freedom movement in India.

Atulnanda Chakrabarti in his work, 'Nehru – His Democracy and India' (Thaker's Press, Calcutta, 1961) has analysed the nature of Nehru's views regarding democracy and its relevance in case of Indian situation. Though basically a study on Nehru's ideas on democracy and hence, uni-dimensional in scope and coverage, seeks to examine other related issues of the application of democratic principles.

Partha Chatterjee's work '*Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World : A derivative discourse*' (OUP, New Delhi, 1986) analyses various strands on nationalist thought in the backdrop of colonial discourse. Although essentially a Marxist position that the author has taken, the scope of the study extends far beyond this theoretical position and takes into account a very critical position regarding the currents and cross-currents of a national freedom movement and the ideas that influenced it.

Another work by *A.R. Desai*, '*Social Background of Indian Nationalism*' (*Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966*) is generally referred to as a very authoritative study on the rise of nationalist feeling in colonial India. Although, Desai had been an expert on studies of social issues, the present work offers many insightful inputs in the study of Indian nationalism in its societal perspective.

Justice P.B. Gajandra Gadkar has made a study of Nehru as a man and the nature of his political ideas in the book '*Jawaharlal Nehru : A Glimpse of the man and his ideas*' (*Nagpur University*

Press, 1967). The title suggests the coverage of the book. Although an expert in jurisprudence, the author has tried to portray the man in Nehru and the ideas he cherished and propagated.

S. Gopal's two works entitled, '*Jawaharlal Nehru : A Biography*' (London, 1975) and '*Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru (edited), Vol.I-VIII, (Orient Longman, 1970-1976, Bombay)*' deserve special mentioning. A renowned historian, S. Gopal, has in the first book, made extensive biographical study of Nehru during and after the attainment of independence. A critical and narrative study provides many aspects of Nehru's thought process, while in the second one, he has identified some major selected works of Nehru himself. So for any researcher, these two books are of immense value as source material for further investigation and detailed study.

Two other books, of different kind assessing Nehru's role and performance in the making of the constitution and in the life of the Indian nation may be mentioned. One such book is '*Jawaharlal Nehru : Promise and Performance*' (New Delhi, 1970) and the other by S.C. Kashyap (ed.) '*Jawaharlal Nehru : Promise and the Constitution*' (New Delhi, 1982).

Another scholar, a well known parliamentarian Hiren Mookerjee in his book '*The Gentle Colossus : A study of Jawaharlal Nehru*' (Manisha Granthalaya, Calcutta, 1964) has studied Nehru as a man and as a missionary. The title of the book is quite suggestive and the author has analysed Nehru's humanist approach towards socio-political and economic issues.

These are some of the works on Nehru which are illustrative of the nature and trend in the study of Nehru's ideas and actions. Besides these books, mention must be made of the following books by –

B.N. Pandey, 'Nehru' (MacMillan, London, 1976).

V.T. Patil 'Nehru and the freedom movement' (Sterling, New Delhi, 1977).

V.T. Patil (ed) 'A Study of Nehru's Ideas' (Devika Publications, Delhi, 1998).

S. Radhakrishnan (ed.), 'On Nehru' (Publications, Division, Govt. of India., 1965).

M.C. Rau, 'Jawaharlal Nehru : Life and Work', (National Book Club, New Delhi, 1966).

V.K.R.V. Rao, 'The Nehru Legacy' (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1971).

Rafiq Zakaria (ed.), 'A Study of Nehru' (A times of India, Publication, 1960).

The list is by no means an exhaustive one. There are many more works on Nehru by scholars both Indian and foreign. Primary and secondary sources on Nehru have been included in the section on Select Bibliography.

Life and activities of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar have been studied by many scholars, sometimes projecting him as the leader of the depressed classes, sometimes as the maker of the Indian constitution and sometimes as a struggling spirit against social evils.

In the book '*Dr. Ambedkar : Life and Mission*' (*Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, First Published 1954, reprinted 2003*) *Dhananjay Keer*, has studied the multi-dimensional personality of Dr. Ambedkar. This is considered to be a full length and authoritative biography of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. It is a record of a person who in the face of challenges from society, could rise to a height wherefrom he was able to provide able leadership and guidance for a nation in the making.

M.L. Ranga has edited a book under the title '*B.R. Ambedkar : Life, Work and Relevance*' in which a good number of papers have been included. Papers include studies on the socio-psychological dimension of Dr. Ambedkar, his economic ideas and his role in the dalit upliftment and his contribution to nation-building.

Another book edited by K.C. Yadav, '*From Periphery to Centre Stage*' (*Manohar, New Delhi, 2000*) deals with three themes:

1. Dr. Ambedkar as a central figure in the making of modern India.
2. Ambedkarism as a creed for the development of down-trodden people and
3. Ambedkar as a propagator of dalit equality.

S.K. Aggrawal has studied Ambedkar's views about religious fundamentalism in his book, '*Dr. Ambedkar on Muslim fundamentalism*' (*New Delhi, 1993*).

L.R. Balley in his edited volume '*Thoughts on Ambedkar*' (Jalandhar, 1972) has dealt with only the foundations of Ambedkar's thoughts and the roots of his socio-political thinking.

Similarly, Chandra Bheril in the book '*Social and Political Ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*' (Jaipur, 1977) focuses on socio-political dimensions of Ambedkar's thought process.

Almost in a similar line K.L. Chanchereek (ed) '*Dr. Ambedkar, Patriot, Philosopher, Statesman*' (A Century Volume Publication, Delhi, 1991) has included papers dealing with broad views of Ambedkar on society, economy and polity.

Another work of different nature on Ambedkar calls for discussion. It is a book by Dinkar Khabde under the title '*Dr. Ambedkar and Western Thinkers*' (Poona, 1989). Very few works have been done, making a comparative assessment of Ambedkar's ideas and the western ideologies.

G.S. Lokhande in his work '*Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar : A study in social Democracy*' (New Delhi, 1982) has analysed Ambedkar's views on social democracy. Infact the main thrust of the present work is Ambedkar's views on democracy as a form of social and political governance.

K. Rajavendra Rao has analysed Ambedkar's general views about Indian society and the way Ambedkar sought to reconstruct it in his work '*Babasaheb Ambedkar*' (Makers of Indian Literature Series, New Delhi, 1993).

Eleanar Zelliot has worked on '*Ambedkar and The Mahatma Movement*' in a Ph.D. Thesis (University of Pennsylvania, USA) in which the scholar has examined Ambedkar's leadership qualities

and the way he could mobilize the people in the Mahar community against social injustices.

This review of literature on these three national leaders is not, by any standard, an exhaustive one. This illustrative nature of the works mentioned is intended to point out the major trend in the study of the lives and activities of these three leaders. Only some selected secondary works have been included in this overview. These are of representative character. Attempts have been made to select those works which are analytical in nature and not narrative in approach. This will be available in the detailed elaboration in the section dealing with Select Bibliography.

On JP and his political ideas and actions a good number of works have been done by scholars both Indian and foreign. JP has been primarily studied as a believer in socialism. His revolutionary ideas have been elaborately studied in B.N. Ahuja's book '*J.P. : India's Revolutionary, Number One*'. This book was published from Lahore in 1947.

Besides, this book, another work by S.R. Bakshi, '*Jayaprakash Narain : His socialist ideology*' also deals with the socialist foundation of JP's political ideas.

D.R. Bali, in his book '*Modern Indian Thought – from Rammohun Roy to Jayaprakash Narain*' (Sterling, New Delhi, 1989) makes an analysis of the chronological developments of socialist thought the contributions of national leaders towards the enrichment of socialist ideas.

A. Bhattacharjee's book '*Jayaprakash Narain*' (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971), although a biographical

study, has dealt with many ideas of JP relating to social reconstruction and achievement of Sarvodaya.

Of all the works on JP, Bhola Chaterjee's work '*Conflict in JP's Politics*' (Ankur Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984) treats JP's psychological contradictions regarding the means and ends dichotomy.

Shankar Ghosh has done extensive work on his political ideas, social movements, socialism and democracy which narrates the course of developments and their impact on the making of modern India. Mention may be made of these works in this regard.

- a) '*Political Ideas of Movements in India*' (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1973).
- b) '*Socialism, Democracy and Nationalism in India*' (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1972).
- c) '*Socialism and Communism in India*' (Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1971).

Another work of great relevance is '*JP : From Marxism to Total Revolution*' (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1981) by R.C. Gupta deals with the stages of developments and the nature of 'shifts' in Jayaprakash's Political ideas.

N.C. Mehrotra in his book '*Indian Socialist thinking from Dayananda to JP*' (M.N. Publishers and distributors, 1980) challenges the stages of development in socialist thinking in India. Although a chronological – historical study the present work seeks to highlight the contributions of important political thinkers and their role in enriching the socialist thinking.

Another work by K.N. Panikkar (ed), '*National and Left Movements in India*' (Vikash Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980), though not strictly on JP's thoughts and ideas, covers a vast landscape looking into the nature and impact of left movements in India. Needless to mention that JP took active part in the activities of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) during the very formative years of his political career.

Girija Shankar's book '*Socialist trends in the Indian National Movement – A Study of the Congress Socialist Party*' (Twenty First Century Publication, Meerut, 1987), deals with the nature and course of developments of socialist ideas in India. The entire discussion has been made in the context of India's freedom movement.

Besides these published works, references may be made to some important unpublished thesis of different Universities:

G. Lakshmi, '*The Growth of Socialism in India*' (Allahabad University, 1954).

Shakuntala Nihalchand, '*Economic Case for Socialism in India*' (Bombay University, 1950).

Crane Robert, '*The Indian National Congress and the Indian agrarian problem 1919-1939*' (Yale University, N.M.M.L., New Delhi).

Bibek Broto Sarkar, '*The Socialist Movement in India, from 1919 to 1947*' (Delhi University, 1962).

R.C. Tyagi, '*The Development of Socialist Thought in India*' (Vikram University, 1980).

Notes and References

1. Earnest Barker – **Principles of Social and Political Theory**, p. 102
2. **Ibid**, p. 103
3. **Ibid**, p. 103
4. D. D. Raphael – **Problems of Political Philosophy**.
5. Earnest Barker – **Principles of Social and Political Theory**, op. cit., p. 145
6. Richard Lewis Nettleship – **Lectures on Republic of Plato**, pp. 151 – 152.
7. Morris Gins Berg – **On Justice and Society**, p. 53.
8. Earnest Barker – **Principles of Social and Political Theory**, op. cit., p. 101
9. David Miller – **Social Justice**, pp. 17 – 18.
10. Bryan Barry – **Political Argument**, p. 103
11. M.P. Barry – **Introduction to Modern Political Theory**, p. 116
12. John Rawls – **A Theory of Justice**, OUP, 1973., p. 3
13. **Ibid**, p. 4
14. **Ibid**, p. 4 – 5
15. **Ibid**, p. 62
16. David Miller – **Social Justice**, OUP, 1976.
17. **Ibid**, p. 45

18. David Miller – **Political Philosophy, A very small introduction**, p . 87.
19. **Ibid**, p. 87.
20. **Ibid**, p. 89.
21. **Ibid**, p. 90.
22. **Ibid**, p. 91.
23. Barbara Goodwin, **Using Political Ideas**, John Willy & Sons, UK, 2002, p. 279.
24. Rawls, **A Theory of Justice**, p. 60.
25. **Ibid**, p. 60.
26. Barbara Goodwin, **Using Political Ideas**, op. cit., pp. 390-391.
27. Iris Marion Young, **Justice and the Politics of Difference**, Princeton University Press, 1990, p. 104.
28. **Ibid**, p. 116.
29. Anne Phillips, **Engendering Democracy**, Pennsylvania State University, 1991, pp. 150-152.
30. Patricia Williams, **The Alchemy of Race and Rights**, Harrow University Press, 1991, p. 153.
31. Isaiah Berlin, **Does Political Theory Still Exist?**, in P. Lastell and G. Runciman (eds), **Philosophy, Politics and Society**, Oxford, 1962.
32. William Connolly, **The Terms of Political Discourse**, Lexington, USA, 1974, p. 203.

33. Sheldon Wolin, **Paradigm and Political Theories** in Preston and Bhikhu C. Parekh (eds), **Politics and Experience**, Oxford, 1968, p. 149.
34. P. C. Joshi, 'Gandhi and Nehru: The Challenge of a New Society' in B. R. Nanda and others, **Gandhi and Nehru**, OUP, New Delhi, 1979.
35. Mark Lutz, 'Human Nature in Gandhian Economics', Gandhi Marg, March 1983, cited in Thomas Panthom, **Political Theories and Social Reconstruction: A Critical Survey of Literature On India**, Saze, New Delhi, 1995, p. 124.
36. V. P. Verma, **Philosophical Humanism and Contemporary India**, Motilal Banarashidas, Delhi, 1979, p. 16.
37. **Ibid**, p. 197.
38. **Ibid**, p. 198.