



“My theory of ‘Trusteeship’ is no makeshift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it... No other theory is compatible with nonviolence.”

- Siby K. Joseph
- Bharat Mahodaya
- Ram Chandra Pradhan

Editors

Trusteeship

A Path Less Travelled

**Trusteeship:
A Path Less Travelled**

INSTITUTE OF GANDHIAN STUDIES, WARDHA

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Trusteeship: A Path Less Travelled

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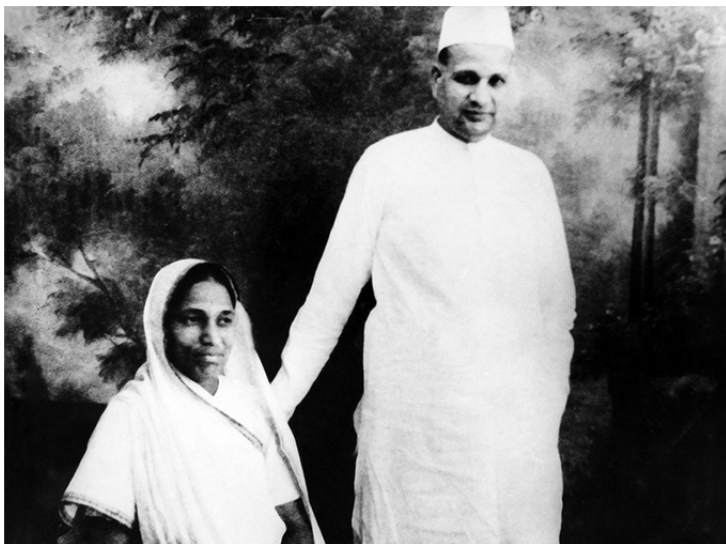
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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the sacred memory of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj (1889-1942) taken as the fifth son of Mahatma Gandhi; a front ranking freedom fighter who actively participated in India's freedom struggle; leader of Flag Satyagraha as well as the struggle for freedom in the princely State of Jaipur; worked as the host to the national leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose, Sardar Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and others making Bajajwadi as the unofficial headquarter of the Congress Working Committee; worked as the treasurer of the Congress for many years; a staunch supporter of all constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave and above all worked and proved himself as the true trustee of his wealth for the poor as conceived by Gandhiji.

&

Smt. Jankidevi Bajaj (1893-1979): A symbol of the life togetherness; a freedom fighter in her own right; who endeavoured to complete the unfinished task of Jamnalalji devoting all her time, energy and resources under the saintly guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave.



Smt. Janki Devi Bajaj with Shri Jamnalal Bajaj

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Foreword

Ramjee Singh

*Former Vice Chancellor
Jain Vishva Bharati Institute
Ladnun , Rajasthan*

As a true votary of the vow of non-possession, Gandhi renounced all his home and hearth. He had also inspired some of his votaries to give up their private property and join the Ashrams. However, he could not set in motion a mass movement for trusteeship because of his preoccupation and commitment with freedom movement. Of course, he had very sweet and intimate relations with some of big capitalist like G. D. Birla, Jamsetji Tata and others. But he could not persuade them to become the trustees of their wealth, although some of them tried to help him in many ways. Perhaps Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was the sole person who had agreed to accept his idea and expressed his readiness to give up all his wealth for furthering the cause. In short, Gandhi could not make trusteeship a mass movement for various reasons.

Gandhi's spiritual heir Acharya Vinoba Bhave started the land gift mission on the line of trusteeship. He achieved a great success in his mission. After *Bhoodan*, he initiated many other smaller movements for gift of income and wealth, labour, learning etc. But the gift of the entire wealth of a village republic to community ownership was the most practical and revolutionary step in this direction which was supported by all sections of people and political parties in an all party meeting at Yelwal in Mysore in the year 1957. In the mean time, some isolated attempts were also made to introduce workers participation in some factories. Though the *Gramdan* movement

could not make a good progress, it is the hope for a village paradise in India. Without Gramdan, we could not think of *Gramswaraj*, which is the goal of *Sarvodaya* or Gandhian Socialism. In a sense, this is also the fulfilment of Gandhian principle of trusteeship in practice.

I am glad that the Institute of Gandhian Studies is bringing out a new volume on trusteeship which is an outcome of a national Seminar on Trusteeship organised on the occasion of 125th birth anniversary of Jamnalal Bajaj. I am sure that this edited volume will be widely read and received by academic community, activists and general readers.

PART - I

Introduction

**Siby K. Joseph
Bharat Mahodaya
Ram Chandra Pradhan**

Gandhi's principle of Trusteeship is considered to be a revolutionary idea for transforming the society. It seeks to transform society on an egalitarian basis through non-violent means. It transcends the liberal management of private property as well as its collective management under the Marxist system. Trusteeship tries to combine the best elements of both Marxist and Capitalist systems as it retains both individual initiative and collective wellbeing. Gandhi's concept of Trusteeship was basically addressed to the capitalists or the privileged classes who owned the lion's share of wealth and resources in the society. He wanted them to outgrow their greed and sense of possession, and to come down in spite of their wealth to the level of those who earn their bread by labour. But his idea was not limited to the capitalists alone. His concept of trusteeship was holistic in its very nature. It seeks to transform the very idea of ownership of capital and labour. He wanted the labourer to realise that wealthy person is less owner of his wealth than labourer. In the case of labourer, he is owner of his own, viz., 'the power to work.' Inspired by the ideal of *aparigraha*, Gandhi wanted every individual to work as trustee of his wealth, resources and even talents in a truly altruistic manner. Gandhi was not advocating philanthropy or charity. He reminded that "if the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear" He

held that human dignity cannot be preserved on charity. In the pre-independent India, only a few industrialists like Jamnalal Bajaj took the idea of trusteeship on the personal level and tried to practice it in their own lives. In fact, Jamnalal Bajaj through his life and work became an embodiment of Gandhi's trusteeship idea. That is why Gandhi himself acknowledged that whenever he wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good, he always had this "merchant prince principally in mind".

Unfortunately for a long time in the post- independent India, nothing much could be done to put the idea of trusteeship in any meaningful and concrete form, though several attempts were made by a number of leaders in the Indian Parliament. It was Rammanohar Lohia who took the initiative to move his draft Indian Trusteeship Bill in the *Lok Sabha* in March 1967. At that time, President of India withheld the sanction for the introduction of the Bill on the ground that it was money Bill. Later George Fernandes (1969) and Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1975) introduced the same in the Parliament but it lapsed without discussion. The Janata Trusteeship Bill introduced by Ramjee Singh in April 1978 also had the same fate. In short, the attempts to introduce Trusteeship Bills failed to muster adequate support in the Indian Parliament. It is to be noted that the Supreme Courts of USA and India have declared that the Government is the trustee of the natural resources and not their owners. The public trust doctrine in our country has grown from article 21 of the Constitution of India i.e. right to life. In democracy, elected representatives are considered to be the trustees of the powers of the people and supposed to work for the fulfilment of their needs and aspirations. But unfortunately elected representatives

manipulate the political power for promoting their vested interest and not for the welfare of the people.

Gandhi had the foresight to anticipate some of the problems Indian society is facing today. The forces of communalism, Naxal violence, inequity etc. have become the order of the day and the society is gradually moving towards disintegration and violent confrontation. The process of globalization is further accentuating these problems by widening the gap between the rich and the poor. The major gains of globalization are being pocketed mainly by the rich and powerful classes. It has further resulted in the unbridled exploitation of natural resources of poor countries by the multinationals and even by indigenous big business corporate houses. Historically, in the Indian scene the marginalized sections, particularly the tribal, were responsible for the balanced utilization of forest and other resources. They treated themselves as custodians and conservators of all natural resources. But in recent times, the policy of privatization, liberalization and globalization has radically changed the entire scene. These traditional custodians have been deprived of their access to these resources. Now they are just being treated as provider of cheap labour resulting in gross injustice and exploitation of these communities. Thus these areas have become breeding grounds and social support base of Naxal and other violent movements. All attempts to manage these problems by the State purely in terms of law and order have come to a naught. The trail of discontent and resentment goes uninterrupted among these deprived communities. The problem of unemployment resulting in the massive waste of manpower is further triggering the barrel of guns in different parts of the country. Now there is growing realization even among the government and its various agencies that some better and more

equitable system of management of natural resources would have to be evolved, lest the problems assume an endemic form. These points have been highlighted even by the committees set up by the government. But regretfully not much forward moves have been made in this direction. At this juncture, it is essential that all stakeholders and actors including academics and the concerned citizens of the country start giving serious thought to point a way out from this impasse. The solution to these problems basically lies in an alternative way of managing the societal resources and wealth on trusteeship lines.

At present, Gandhi's concept of trusteeship as an alternative way of managing the resources is under public discourse among policy makers, various stakeholders of development, media, academics and similar other groups. Thus the analysis of Gandhi's concept of trusteeship is worth pursuing in the context of the alarming situation prevailing in the country. On the one hand, there are critics who assert that idea of trusteeship is a clever way to essentially protect the capitalist system which is under fire for a long time. This point was raised even in Gandhi's life time. Gandhi responded by making it clear that he wanted to end capitalism, almost, if not quite, as much as the most advanced Socialist or even Communist. He unequivocally declared that "My theory of trusteeship is no make-shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it." The basic purpose of Gandhi's principle of trusteeship was to overcome the impending threat of bloody and violent revolution as well as the laying foundation for a truly non-violent society. But the present discourses look at it from a minimalist perspective of resource management or corporate social responsibility.

In Indian culture, the rich and the resourceful people used to support good causes or social initiatives as part of their religious and moral responsibility purely on voluntary basis. Of late, an attempt has been made by the government to put up the idea of charity under the cover of trusteeship. The entire idea has been mooted in the form of Corporate Social Responsibility. Finally it acquired a legal form with the incorporation of the Ministry of Corporate Affairs Voluntary Guidelines of Corporate Social Responsibility under the Companies Act of 2013. Though there are many attempts to link the Corporate Social Responsibility Policy of the government with Gandhi's idea of trusteeship, it is to be underlined that in no way it comes near to Gandhi's revolutionary idea of trusteeship. The impact of new Act is that it has made mandatory for big companies to spent two per cent of the average net profits as a part of Corporate Social Responsibility Policy. However it brought into limelight the very idea of social responsibility and the role business houses can play in this regard. The idea of social responsibility should not be limited to big companies parting a small sum of their profit for societal welfare. It should become a part and parcel of our life that everybody contributing to societal commonwealth and keeping the wealth, resources and even talents of at the disposal of the society. A long and difficult road has to be traversed to reach the ideal of non-violent society based on trusteeship principles.

This volume is a collection of selected papers discussed in the Seminar on Trusteeship organised by Institute of Gandhian Studies, Wardha in February 2015 as a part of the celebration of 125th Birth Anniversary of Jamnalal Bajaj .It carries a foreword written by Ramjee Singh, a noted Gandhian scholar and former

Vice Chancellor of Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun, Rajasthan. The volume is divided in three parts.

The first part of the book starts with an article written by Ravindra Varma, which is an in depth analysis of Gandhi's concept of Trusteeship. He agrees that this concept flows from the ethical ideals of *aparigraha* and *ahimsa*. However, he also looks upon this concept as Gandhi's unique and revolutionary approach to the phenomenon of power. According to Varma , there are three ingredients in Gandhi's answer to the problem of power. They are minimisation of concentration; spirit of trusteeship; and the corrective of non-violent direct action. He argues that trusteeship was an integral part of the theory and dynamics of a non- violent revolution in the field of economic relations.

C. S. Dharmadhikari in his article "Gandhi's Concept of Trusteeship" argues that Gandhi's entire thinking about management was based on love, trust and human goodness. Indian tradition underlines the fact that that everything in the cosmos belongs to God and not to any individual. Thus every man would have to work as nothing but trustee. He would never consider himself as the sole owner of anything. Gandhi gave a new orientation to this age old concept in form of trusteeship. Dharmadhikari favours idea of trusteeship being included in the syllabi of management studies.

Dhiru S. Mehta in his paper asserts that one has to accept Gandhi's solutions for solving economic problems of the country. He contends that Gandhi was probably the first one to see the inherent contradictions of both capitalism and communism and propagated the idea of trusteeship which could take the place of both the systems. The author reminds that

holding equity shares of companies by a trust is a far cry from Gandhi's concept of trusteeship.

Ram Chandra Pradhan and Siby Joseph's paper analyses how Jamnalal Bajaj fine-tuned his life to literally adapt Gandhian idea of trusteeship and in that process how he went much beyond the present idea of Corporate Social Responsibility. The authors point out that the practical application of concept of trusteeship in the field of business involves running business on the basis of ethical maxims and devoting the fair earnings from the business for the welfare of the society. The life and practice of Jamnalal Bajaj was an earnest attempt to actualise Gandhi's idea of trusteeship both in letter and spirit.

Shubhada Pandey's paper examines the link between Trusteeship and three important vows enunciated by Gandhi viz. *Asteya*, *Aparigraha* and *Sharir Shrama*. She argues that State as a trustee of the people should open the doors for proper employment, improve standards of health and nutrition, education, reduce inequality and decrease the disparities between the agriculturist labourer and the wealthy. A woman understands the value of sharing and giving selflessly and these values are guiding principles of trusteeship.

The interpretation that trusteeship was a very ingenious attempt on the part of Gandhi to protect the capitalist system and the institution of private property in the guise of spirituality and ethics is a gross misrepresentation of the basic ethos of idea of trusteeship according to Siby Joseph. The paper goes through the evolution of Gandhi's ideas of trusteeship with primary focus on how trusteeship is presented as an alternative to capitalist system. *Inter alia*, it analyses the M.L. Dantwala draft on Trusteeship and the revolutionary implications of amendments suggested by Gandhi.

Sudhanshu Ranjan looks upon trusteeship as expression of Gandhi's deep commitment to egalitarian ideas or Socialism. The author laments that despite a clear mandate from the Constitution of India, there was hardly any attempt on the part of government to usher into a Socialist society. Through the amendment of the Indian Companies Act in 2013 which incorporated the provisions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), India became the first country in the world to give a legal mandate to it. However, the idea of CSR is not new to India which has a glowing tradition of anonymous donations.

Soham Pandya emphasizes the need to change and redefine the present model of development which is neither long lasting nor beneficial to human race. A new concept of management of resources is required to overcome the precarious situation in the field of environment and to ensure sustainable development. People should realize that they are on this planet as trustees of environment. The author concludes that it is the right time for human race to work towards for its perpetual survival based on trusteeship lines.

Based on the experience of Friends Commune established by a group of dynamic youth at Thethoor, Palamedu, Madurai District, Tamil Nadu, John Chelladurai in his paper, reflects on the concept, learning and inferences of life based on trusteeship. He also narrates the life in the Commune and the unique experiences they underwent during the period 1995-2005. Chelladurai affirms that trusteeship is an attitude, based on the realization of 'universal oneness.' Whole hearted adherence to this principle makes the practice joyous.

The first article in the second part of the book is written by noted Sarvodaya thinker Dada Dahrmdhikari. He analyses the concept of Trusteeship in the larger context of evolution of non-

violent revolution. He looks trusteeship as a revolutionary idea and asserts that it should become means of social transformation. In his brilliant exposition, he covers wide range of areas including *Asteya*, *Aparigraha*, *Satyagraha* and violence. A very brief comparative analysis of ideas of J. Krishnamurthy and Gandhi is also presented in this essay.

Nandakishore Acharya's paper examines the nature of relationship between producer, labour and means of production and structure of modern economic system. He vividly brings to notice the areas of wealth in which concept of Trusteeship can be applied, leaving aside the big industries which should be controlled by the State and on the other side, the production process carried away by home, *kutir* and micro scale industries which do not have capabilities to amass wealth.

Bharat Mahodaya in his paper introduces the reader to the practical Trusteeship formula approved by Gandhi. It also poses a basic question raised by N.K. Bose before Gandhi regarding the impossibility of accumulation of wealth without violence. Further Mahodaya asks if that is the case, where the question of trusteeship arises. He also briefly analyses the fundamental differences between trusteeship and Corporate Social Responsibility.

Pushpendra Dubey's paper entitled 'trusteeship and future society: theory and practice' analyses the question from the viewpoint of Vinoba Bhave. The author argues that the basic economic problems are rooted in the question of land reforms and *Bhoodan/ Gramdan* provide the solution to these problems. He suggests practical solutions on trusteeship lines for the establishment of *Sarvodaya* society

Shambhu Joshi, in his paper, attempts to reinterpret Gandhi's concept of trusteeship. According to him, trusteeship is

not only limited to transformation of hearts of capitalist, but also included the part to be played by the labour, consumer and the State in the creation of a non-violent society. He concludes that non-violent transformation and equitable distribution are possible only through Trusteeship.

The last article in this section is written by Mithilesh Kumar. The author discusses about the genesis and growth of unequal distribution of wealth and possible modes of solution to the problem. He argues that industrialism and capitalism cannot grow without State's support. According to him trusteeship is not merely concerned about the fulfilment of basic economic needs. In fact it aims at ethical and spiritual development of individuals.

The last part of the book carries selected writings of Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave on Trusteeship. In addition, it includes the draft Indian Trusteeship Bill of Rammanohar Lohia and the Janata Trusteeship Bill.

We are grateful to Justice C. S. Dharmadhikari for his guidance and initiative in the organisation of the seminar on trusteeship and the publication of this volume. We are highly indebted to Ramjee Singh, a noted Gandhian scholar and former Vice Chancellor of Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun, Rajasthan for contributing a brief foreword for the volume. Our thanks are due to Arunima Maitra for assisting us in the editing work. We also take this opportunity to express our debt to Shrikant Kulakarni, Pravin Satokar and others of the Institute for their cooperation, assistance and support. Special thanks are due to Manohar Mahajan of the Institute for the word processing work. We are appreciative of the excellent support received from Rajkumar Khatri, proprietor of Om Laser Printers and the Staff in the production of the book.

Gandhi's Theory of Trusteeship: An Essay in Understanding

Ravindra Varma

Of all novel ideas that Gandhi wove into the pattern of a nonviolent revolution, none, perhaps, received the ridicule that greeted his ideas on Trusteeship. But to Gandhi himself the idea was an integral part of the pattern. In fact, he had no doubt about its abiding value: "My theory of 'Trusteeship' is no makeshift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it . . . No other theory is compatible with non-violence."¹

Undoubtedly, the concept of Trusteeship flows from the ideals of *aparigraha* and *ahimsa*. It appears to me, however, that Gandhi's unique and revolutionary approach to the phenomenon of power has also contributed to the evolution of the concept. *Ahimsa* and *aparigraha* are ethical ideals: power is a social phenomenon.

Bertrand Russell described power as "the fundamental concept in Social Science"². To many revolutionaries before Gandhi, the capture of power was the war-cry of the revolution. To Gandhi, 'capture' of power did not guarantee the end of injustice or exploitation. He did not believe in the 'capture' of power by a few, but in the 'accrual' of power to the many, to all. If power is the influence or control that an individual or group acquires, or exercises over other individuals or groups in society,

capture of power is not the solution to the problem of power. Power could be abused. If the deposed had abused power, those who succeed to the throne with the banner of the revolution could also succumb to the temptations and the logic of power. They too might abuse power. The answer to the problem of power, therefore, lay in altering the very concept of power, in investing it with an ethical content, in freeing it from obsession with domination or coercion, and relating it to the function of promoting self-restraint, and initiating, inducing and mobilising collective action in pursuit of social objectives; Gandhi lighted on the idea of Trusteeship as the answer to the problem of power and the means of transforming the very nature of power.

Power had to be tamed and transformed by minimising its concentration; fostering an attitude of trusteeship in those who held power; and universalising and maximising the readiness and ability to resist the abuse of power. The means of achieving this was decentralisation, trusteeship, and *Satyagraha*.

To characterise *ahimsa* and *aparigraha* as ethical ideals is not to dismiss them as interlopers in the field of social dynamics. To Gandhi, ethical norms or principles were not meant exclusively for those who sought salvation in a penance grove. Ethical norms relate to man's conduct in society. They are meant to govern his relationship with, and attitudes to, other men and women in society. It is, therefore, inconceivable that they have value only for ordering the personal life of the individual. What is of relevance and value to each constituent of society must undoubtedly have relevance and value to the life or the aggregate or 'totality' of the constituents, that is, society. What was good for the part had to be good for the whole, and what was bad for the part had to be bad for the whole.

Truth and Non-violence are the *sine qua non* for cohesion and harmony in any society. A society that does not accept them as the basis of mutual relationship within itself cannot survive as an entity. If man wants to outgrow the limitations imposed by the traditions of the tribe and the nation state, and view human society as indivisible, he will have to accept, that these verities have universal validity.

APARIGRAHA is the ethical ideal of non-possession; of the renunciation of ownership; of liberation from the subtle as well as the coarse bonds that possessions forge for one. It is a hoary ideal sanctified by every religion. In a pithy verse, the *Isopanishad* exhorts: -

Tena Tyaktena Bhunjeethah: Ma Gridha Kasyaswiddhanam? (Enjoy by renouncing, do not covet, or cling to possessions; for, whose is wealth?)

This is not merely an exhortation to those who would strive for salvation but also to those who would negotiate their way through the temptations and zones of conflict in society. It also defines man's relationship with the world of objects—the objects in nature that may be of use to him. He must look upon them as objects that are meant to be used for the satisfaction of his needs, not meant to be sequestered in possessions that become sources of distraction for the spirit, and inequality and conflict in society.

To Gandhi the verse laid down a code of conduct for the individual as well as society. The individual should abstain from acquisitiveness and possessions. The body itself is a possession. Absolute non-possession, therefore, is impossible as long as one possesses the body. But one should subject every want, every desire that leads to acquisition and possessions to rigorous

scrutiny, and should relentlessly abstain from everything that appears non-essential. As a consequence, one should distinguish between needs and wants, reduce one's wants to the barest minimum, and content oneself with appropriating what one needs to satisfy one's current need. One will not appropriate more than what is necessary for current use, with the thought of the future, or the desire for wealth or power. Gandhi cited five reasons to explain why one should abstain from such appropriation:

1. It is against what he calls the Fundamental Law of Nature. "The profound truth upon which this observance is based is that God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment. Therefore, whoever appropriates more than the minimum that is really necessary is guilty of theft."³
2. When man is born into the world he gains access to resources that he did not create. In fact, he depends on resources that nature and society have created. If he appropriates or uses any part of these resources without replacing it or contributing in commensurate measure to the replenishing of the social heritage, he is guilty of appropriating the fruits of someone else's labour. In the case of nature, he is guilty of predatory spoliation and depletion of exhaustible and non-replaceable resources. In fact, he owes a debt to society when he is born, and unless he works to repay this debt, he will be guilty of theft. In other words, his inherited right to enjoy the fruits of other people's labour depends on his duty to repay his debt with physical labour. This is a duty that he may not abdicate without attracting the charge of delinquency or

the guilt of theft. Even those who earn their livelihood through intellectual labour cannot escape the ambit of this law.

3. Sequestration for future use is cornering what someone else may need urgently, what may well spell the difference between life and death to someone. That such a potential beneficiary is not physically present before one does not make it any less of an act of deprivation.
4. To burden one's mind with the thought of possession is to invite an obsession that takes one away from the life of the spirit, makes one oblivious of social ethics, and leads one to mistake the multiplication of wants for civilization. With such an obsession, one loses one's peace of mind, and makes it impossible for society to find peace.
5. Possession means retention for future use, or for the acquisition of power. But one cannot retain a possession unless one is ready to defend it. To do so one has to use force, or depend on force wielded by others. One thus becomes a part of an apparatus of coercion that is set up to defend possessions. A man who believes in non-violence, therefore, has to opt for the path of non-possession.⁴

The individual would thus work for his bread, earn his livelihood without exploiting others, minimise his wants, use what he requires for current consumption and hold whatever surplus survives as a trust for society.

What then are the social implications of *aparigraha* that lead to trusteeship?

A society that accepts the ideal of non-possession or *aparigraha* is the anti-thesis of an acquisitive society. In such a society, wealth will not be the index of respectability. Civilization will not be equated with the multiplication of wants and the accumulation of material goods to satisfy our ever-increasing wants. No one can satisfy his wants unless he works, since there will be no inheritance to fall back upon.⁵ Work then becomes the medium of sustenance and self-expression. Work is a duty cast on man.⁶ Everyone, therefore, has a right to honourable livelihood.⁷ The ideal social or economic order would therefore be one that ensures this right.

The means that one adopts to earn one's livelihood should be truthful and nonviolent, not deceitful and violent, or exploitative.⁸ All work has equal value, and should therefore receive equal remuneration.⁹ This remuneration should be such as assures a decent living. The level or standard of living should be such as leads one to self-realisation or the fullest development and expression of one's personality, and not the vicious cycle of multiplying wants.

Gandhi believed that *aparigraha* or the abdication of acquisitiveness would facilitate and promote equal distribution. Equal distribution was his ideal. But since absolute equality will be unattainable, and even injurious in some cases, he would work for the equitable distribution of wealth.¹⁰ To achieve this objective, he would provide equality of opportunity, ensure equality of incomes; reduce wage disparities to the minimum warranted by differences in the needs of the recipient; and reorganise the system of production. To prevent concentration of economic and political power, and to see that workers are not reduced to the status of mere wage-earners, he would work for a

system of production that does not divest the worker of the ownership of the instruments of production. The evils that arise from the alteration or diminution of the status of the worker when he becomes a wage-earner will continue, and perhaps, be accentuated when the all-powerful State becomes the beneficiary and the defender of the evil. Gandhi did not believe that the evils that flow from the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production could be overcome by transferring the concentrated ownership to the State which has already concentrated all political power in its hands.¹¹ If concentration is the culprit, it should be minimised or eliminated, and not transferred from one place to another. Gandhi thus wanted curative or corrective action at the very source of the malady. He wanted a revolution at the base itself.

One need not assume that modernisation or industrialisation is impossible without centralisation and concentration. The progress of science and technology has shown that there are alternatives that can minimise concentration without impairing efficiency. Gandhi was not against scientific inventions or improvements in technology, but he wanted such inventions or improvements in technology to serve the interests of the masses, and not the owning classes or the State.¹² Gandhi identified an acid test. The motive force that propels one to seek or adopt improvements in technology or machinery should not be greed, or profit, but love and the interest of the whole of society, and not one part or the other.

Gandhi formulated six criteria that the nonviolent, non-exploitative society should use to assess machinery and technology: they should serve the interests of all; should not lead to concentration of ownership; should not lead to

unemployment; should not result in distance between centers of production and centers of distribution; should not result in alienation and dehumanisation; should not result in the atrophy of the creative and participatory element in work, and reduce man to a robot.¹³

In India science and technology, and industry itself should serve the masses in the rural areas, and not and to the disparity between the conditions of life in the rural and urban areas. This cannot be done without decentralisation. Decentrilisation would facilitate the fulfillment of the six criteria that Gandhi formulated for machinery and technology; and would also promote

real democracy reduce regional disparities in development, and facilitate the growth of economic self-government.

Gandhi's first preference was therefore for a technology that promoted self-employment. Where the demands of economic efficiency in any industry did not permit it to be operated on the basis of self-employment, he would prefer cooperative ownership or social control and in exceptional cases, where this too was not possible, he would prescribe state ownership.¹⁴

He would thus want the State to take the responsibility for public utilities, electricity, ship-building and the like. But he would want every form of ownership, collective as well as individual, to function on the basis of Trusteeship.¹⁵

When technology is liberated from the profit motive, industrial relations will undergo a revolutionary change. Ideas of superiority and inferiority will disappear when all work is regarded as of equal value, and even those who work with their intellect engage in some form of 'sacrificial' physical labour (Bread Labour).¹⁶ Disparities in incomes, and therefore wealth,

will be marginal, related to disparities in wants, and not to the nature of one's work. Industrial relations then will scale down to those between persons who have a special responsibility for taking managerial decisions, and all others who are working in the undertaking. Gandhi believed in the full and equal participation of workers in the management of any undertaking.¹⁷

This takes one to the question of undertakings that are owned by individuals, and, in the agricultural sector, to the position of zamindars or landlords. A communist would nationalise the ownership of all undertakings, and all land. He would dispossess private owners of their ownership and transfer all ownership to the State. Gandhi did not believe that violent dispossession and State ownership offered the answer to the problem of exploitative ownership.¹⁸ State ownership will, in practice, operate through the coercive apparatus of the State which in reality becomes the managerial apparatus of the State in the economic field. In Gandhi's view, this would only lead society into the quagmire of violence and conflict.¹⁹

Gandhi's opposition to violent dispossession has been grossly, and in some instances, deliberately misinterpreted. It is argued that Gandhi was against dispossession because, in the ultimate analysis, he believed in preserving existing property relationships. He is portrayed as a defender of private property; one who was not willing to abolish class distinctions, one who defended the riches of the rich and the poverty of the poor, and defended the right of the rich to exploit the poor. There cannot be a more unjust misinterpretation of Gandhi's views. Gandhi was not opposed to dispossession because he wanted to leave the rich in possession of their riches, or because he believed in

private property, but because he believed that violent means could not solve any social problem, including the evils that have originated from private property. He did not believe in private property; in inequalities of wealth; in inherited riches; and in private ownership of the instruments of production.

Let us first look at his views on inequalities of wealth. The poverty and inequality that private ownership had brought about were revolting to him. He described them as crime against man and God. He would not tolerate them even for a day, if he had power to end them. His speech at the inauguration of the Banaras Hindu University,²⁰ his letter to the Viceroy on the eve of Civil Disobedience,²¹ his statement at the Ahmedabad trial²² and his speeches at the Round Table Conference²³ bear eloquent testimony to his anguish and indignation at the cruel exploitation of the masses by the rich, and his total identification with the interests of the masses, the dispossessed, the *Daridranarayan* as he called them.²⁴

At the Round Table Conference he set the Thames aflame by declaring that when Independence came, every title to property would be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered, where necessary, with or without compensation as the case demanded.²⁵

He believed that riches had not been taxed adequately. He would therefore support the imposition of death duties, and could hardly think of a maximum for the rate of taxation on riches beyond a certain level.²⁶

He would thus fight the inequality of wealth by scrutiny of titles, taxation, abolition of the right of inheritance, and dispossession, where necessary and unavoidable.

Gandhi believed that instruments of production whether in industry or in agriculture, should belong to the worker or the tiller.²⁷ He claimed that he had become a socialist long before many who claimed to be socialists accepted the idea of socialism.²⁸ He said he did not know the meaning of Bolshevism fully. "All that I know is that it aims at the abolition of the institution of private property." If that was so, it was "only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics"; and he had accepted it long ago.²⁹

He did not believe in the perpetuation of classes or in one class eliminating all others. He believed in the ideal of a classless society, and held that a classless society would be born only when the technological revolution is harnessed to eliminate the distinction between the owner or employer and the employee.

Reduction of disparities in wealth and income does not dispose of the disparities in power and the potential for recurrent inequality that 'ownership' signifies. It is the institution of ownership that has then to be attacked and altered. The toiling masses will not be liberated from exploitation unless the character of ownership is altered to make them equal beneficiaries of the assets, with equal rights and responsibilities in management, as equal partners in a common enterprises.³⁰

Gandhi offered Trusteeship as an alternative. Capital was power. Labour too was power. Either could be used constructively or destructively. Both should, therefore, hold their power in trust.³¹ Trusteeship would transform the very concept of ownership, both for the owners of capital and labour. It would snap the link of ownership with private profit and link it to social profit, possessions being held in trust for the welfare of all. Trusteeship thus would take one to an area in which the concepts

of possessions and property that provide the vocabulary as well as the instruments of measurement in both Communist and Capitalist theory will cease to apply. It provides one with a glimpse of the social potential of what, for lack of a better word, may be described as 'integral altruism', or 'mutualist socialism'.

Like *aparigraha*, *ahimsa* (non-violence) too led Gandhi to the concept of Trusteeship. Gandhi saw that the idea of Trusteeship was inherent in the ideology of *ahimsa*.³² He also saw that Trusteeship was an inescapable stage in the methodology of a non-violent revolution. That it was seen as a stage did not mean that in every case it was considered as merely transitional. It could also be a stage that yielded the result that one was seeking. In that sense, therefore, it was both a 'means' and an 'end'. Hence, Gandhi claimed "no other theory is compatible with non-violence."³³

A society that accepts non-violence has to be a non-acquisitive society. A votary of non-violence cannot hunger for possessions. He cannot acquire more than others without exploiting the labours of others in some manner. Exploitation is a form of violence. He cannot hold more possessions than what he requires to meet, his immediate needs, without depriving someone else; and to deprive someone else of what he needs would be violence. He cannot hold on to possessions without depending on violence to defend his possessions. A votary of non-violence, then, can hold anything in excess of what he needs only as a Trustee for others.

A non-violent society is a non-exploitative society. It can be non-violent only when it assures economic equality. Equal distribution is the ideal.³⁴ "To bring this ideal into being, the entire social order has to be reconstructed. A society based on

non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal."³⁵ It is not possible to end disparities and achieve economic equality while the present pattern and prerogatives of ownership prevail. Instruments of production as well as the produce should belong to those who work. A change cannot come, through philanthropy. It can come only through a change in the conception of ownership. Capitalists should understand that the old order cannot survive. The dawn of the day of the toiler is at hand.³⁶ It had to come, — through violent dispossession or nonviolent abdication of the socially injurious and odious attributes of ownership. It is for the capitalists to choose. They can court destruction or opt for Trusteeship which will permit them to retain the stewardship of their property³⁷ and function as Trustees for the *Daridranarayan*. "We invite the capitalist to regard himself as trustee for those on whom he depends for making, the retention, and increase of his capital."³⁸

If they were not willing to accept this transformation in the meaning of ownership, they would have to face a revolution.³⁹ "They (the capitalists) know that I desire to end capitalism almost, if not quite as much as the most advanced socialist or even communist. But our methods differ, our languages differ."⁴⁰ Gandhi was engaged in solving the same problem that faced 'scientific' socialists.⁴¹ In fact, he was already "carrying on a revolution" on behalf of the peasants and workers. "Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be false, but I believe myself to be a revolutionary -a non-violent revolutionary. My means are non-cooperation"⁴² *Satyagrahi* relied on persuasion as well as non-cooperation. Non-cooperation itself was a form of persuasion.

Those who advocated a violent revolution believed that the capitalists would not consent to any change in the concept of ownership that prevailed in the capitalist or acquisitive society; that to expect this was to expect the impossible since it asked for a change in human nature; that a class war was an inevitability; that violence was inevitable in the class conflict; that the successful termination of the conflict would come when the working class violently dispossessed the holders of property, eliminated the class of exploiters and transferred ownership of all property to the State.

Gandhi did not believe that it was impossible to change human nature. He did not believe that man was essentially and incurably selfish by nature.⁴³ No man is incorrigible. Man has climbed the ladder of civilisation only by learning to control and sublimate selfishness. Even the survival of the species depends on the balance between self-interest and the altruistic interest in posterity. The mother is the symbol of this balance. It is love that enables the mother to keep this balance. True non-violence or positive non-violence is another name for this love. There is no reason to believe that true non-violence cannot awaken this realisation in the adversary. If one fails, it will not be because non-violence is ineffective, but because one's non-violence is inadequate or imperfect."⁴⁴ If parity or superiority in the quantum of violence is relevant in a violent encounter, the purity and quantum of the non-violence that the *Satyagrahi* uses are also determining factors in the efficacy of non-violence.

Again, the progress of civilisation has shown that human nature does not continue to be what it was in the Stone Age or even in comparatively recent history. Instances can be cited to prove that man's attitudes and responses to situations and

institutions are not precisely what they were some years ago. What was regarded as impossible has been proved to be possible in man's ability to control nature. There is no reason to assume that man will not be able to acquire greater control over his mind or his own nature. What is described as human nature is not a monolith. It is an ensemble. Numerous elements go to make it respond jointly and severally, and result in the submergence or emergence of what leads to harmony or cohesion in society and the individual. The record of the progress that we have achieved hitherto is reason for optimism, not pessimism. The survival of mankind may well depend on the displacement of selfishness and greed with love and non-violence, or at least an acceptance of the interdependence of interests.

As for the testimony of history: "It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale in non-violence. Somehow or other, the wrong belief has taken possession of us that *Ahimsa* is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should, therefore, be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. *Ahimsa* is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders, no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence."⁴⁵

Gandhi recognised the existence of class conflict. But he did not believe in the inevitability of class war. Nor did he believe that the solution or resolution of class conflict lay in accentuating class conflict and eliminating one class or the other. "In India, a class war is not only not inevitable, but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence. Those who talk about class war as being inevitable have not understood the implications of non-violence or have understood them only skin-deep."⁴⁶

One who believes in non-violence cannot, therefore, believe in the inevitability of class war.⁴⁷ Firstly, because he believes in the power of *Satyagraha* to influence the mind of the exploiter, and secondly because he believes in the power of *Satyagraha* or non-violent noncooperation to enable the workers to prevent exploitation and paralyse the exploiter.

The first of these beliefs is supported by two arguments: One, man is capable of being educated, or 'reformed'; two, since *Satyagraha* or non-violence derives from love, the *Satyagrahi* can (a) soften or relax the mind of the 'adversary' by forestalling the syndrome of fear and aggression, thus making him amenable to an examination 'of the *Satyagrahi's* point of view; and (b) enable the 'adversary' to realise that the *Satyagrahi* is not seeking to injure the true interests of his adversary; that he is in fact striving to protect and salvage the true interests of the 'adversary' by reconciling (dovetailing) it with those of others, thus neutralizing or removing the overgrowth that had attracted attacks.

A man can see reason if there is a judicious appeal to his mind and heart. The appeal can work only if we prepare the ground; one has to create a congenial climate for the appeal to

work. This can be done by removing fear⁴⁸ and creating an awareness of his dependence on the cooperation of those who are asking for change. He would then realise that the *Satyagrahi* is not against his personal interests. In fact, he (the *Satyagrahi*) is willing to safeguard the adversary's legitimate interests. What the *Satyagrahi* is opposing is the pursuit of self-interest at the cost of the interest of the community. Even as the rich man prizes his interest, everyone prizes his own interest. Aggrandizement involves inroads into the legitimate and similar interests of others. The *Satyagrahi* is only demanding retreat from these incursions, and not the extinction of the genuine self-interest of the adversary. The *Satyagrahi* is only asking for a reconciliation of his (adversary's) self-interest with the interests of all others. The *Satyagrahi* enables the adversary to see this in two ways: one, non-aggression, i.e., desisting from physical action that creates the fear that the object of the *Satyagrahi* is to annihilate him, and other, non-cooperation.

Non-aggression enables the 'adversary' to see the difference between the needs of self-preservation and the requirements of self-aggrandizement. When he thus begins to see the difference, the *Satyagrahi* tries to make him realise that self-aggrandizement has been possible only because of the cooperation of those at whose cost he is seeking aggrandizement. When the victims of his aggrandizement withdraw their cooperation, he realises that the fruits of his aggrandizement did not depend on any inherent virtue of his own, but on the cooperation of others. He will then be willing to agree to retreat from self-aggrandizement to the needs of self-preservation. This self-preservation includes the preservation of his riches as well his status in society. Dispossession takes away both. Violent dispossession may take away his life as well. Trusteeship allows him to retain the

stewardship of his property as a trustee,⁴⁹ and thereby retain the social recognition of his special talent, perhaps even enhanced by the alchemy that renunciation has brought about in his personality. A new incentive, a new method of achieving social recognition is offered to him. There is every possibility that he might be willing to trade the old social odium for the new social recognition, and pay the price by giving up the privileges and prerogatives of the possessions that he did not need for self-preservation. He will be richer for his now reputation or social recognition.

One who believes in non-violence cannot believe that the problem of exploitation can be solved by eliminating the exploiter! The individual exploiter can be educated and weaned away from exploitation. Society then can continue to benefit from his talents. Violent elimination of the exploiter cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth.⁵⁰ Nor can the elimination of individuals guarantee the elimination of the system.⁵¹ The *Satyagrahi* believes that the essence of change lies in eliminating the evil, and not the evil doer. The evil doer may be removed, but another may appear in his place if the evil itself is not eliminated. The way to eliminate evil is to desist from it oneself, and resist it when it comes from others. Gandhi's uncanny insight enabled him to see that every form of exploitation depended on the cooperation or acquiescence of the exploited. "All exploitation is based on cooperation, willing or forced, of the exploited. However much we may detest admitting it, the fact remains that there would be no exploitation if people refuse to obey the exploiter. But self comes, and we hug the chains that bind us."⁵² This was a bitter but basic truth. It could not be wished away by looking the other way. In fact, violence is

the outcome of our reluctance to admit our own culpability, and our lack of confidence in our ability to face the consequences of refusing to cooperate with the exploiter. Gandhi was relentless in his diagnosis of the phenomenon of exploitation. He pointed out that the exploiter depended on the cooperation of the exploited. This in fact is the Achilles' heel of the exploiter. The moment this cooperation is denied to him, his hands are paralysed, and his weapons fall from his hands. He is 'disarmed'; his economic power is quarantined, or "sterilized,"⁵³ and he is ready for meaningful negotiations for a way out; "My non-cooperation with him will open his eyes to the wrong he may be doing".⁵⁴

It is this withdrawal of cooperation that Gandhi called nonviolent non-cooperation. "No one is bound to cooperate in one's own undoing or slavery."⁵⁵ Non-cooperation thus becomes a right, a duty and a non-violent weapon which is truly infallible. Hence Gandhi claimed that "non-violent noncooperation can secure what violence never can and this by ultimate conversion of the wrong doers."⁵⁶ If the exploited united and demonstrated that they would pay the price of liberation, but not cooperate with the exploiter, the evil-doer would be paralysed, and the evil would be liquidated. If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power. This is how I do not see the necessity of class conflict. If I thought it inevitable, I should not hesitate to preach it and teach it."⁵⁷

Satyagraha, thus, is not merely a pious appeal, not merely verbal persuasion. It asks for revolutionary action by the exploited to elicit a revolutionary change in the attitude of the exploiter and to bring about the total paralysis and extinction of the system of exploitation.

Gandhi did not believe that violence could solve social problems or lead to social justice⁵⁸, or lead to the real rule of the people. The results that it brought were transitory.⁵⁹ What was achieved by violence had to be retained by violence. It may well disappear in the face of superior violence. The leaders of a violent revolution have, therefore, had to depend on violence, terror, suspicion, and suppression of all dissent to "guard the gains of the revolution." History has proved the futility of violence.⁶⁰ Mankind has begun to look for an alternative, a means that does not lead to the negation of the end.

Gandhi did not believe that the transfer of "ownership" to the State would lead to the end of the evils of capitalism. The State represented violence in a concentrated and organised form.⁶¹ Gandhi was suspicious of the State. To add to its power is to invite more trouble. To entrust it with the responsibility to suppress capitalism with violent means is to permit it to arrogate a perpetual mandate to define, identify, and eliminate the "class enemy". This will give it a licence for authoritarianism. Moreover, "if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the evils of violence itself, and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The individual has a soul; but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its existence. Hence, I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship."⁶² To fuse economic and political power, and concentrate it in the same apparatus is to make the State omnipotent, and to render the citizen powerless to protect himself against economic and political authoritarianism. "I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because 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. We know of so many cases

where men have adopted trusteeship, but none where the State has really lived for the poor,"⁶³ That this premonition of Gandhi was borne out by developments in the 'Socialist countries' is evident in the incisive and authentic analysis that Milovan Djilas has presented in his *New Class, and The Unperfect Society*.

To sum up: Firstly, the results of violence are transitory and illusory; secondly, violent revolution may reverse the position of labour and capital, but not result in the elimination of exploitation. Thirdly, the violent elimination of the evil doer does not necessarily result in the elimination of the system. Fourthly, if the State suppresses capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the vicious cycle of violence. Fifthly, violent action that removes the entrepreneur may result in the paralysis and retardation of the economy which, in turn, will occasion chain reactions. Trusteeship will avoid these evils, and permit society to use the talent of the entrepreneur without the evil of exploitation.

Trusteeship then has to be understood as part of the scenario of a non-violent revolution, as an instrument in the *Satyagrahi's* struggle for economic equality and the elimination of classes. The *Satyagrahi* will make every effort to persuade the holders of capital that Trusteeship is the alternative to destruction. But if all his attempts at persuasion fail, he will resort to corrective mass action— to the supreme and infallible remedy of (*Satyagraha*) non-violent non-cooperation within the industrial system as well as the political system.

No society can exist without nuclei of power. Some of these may be associations that one chooses voluntarily. Some, like the state, may be entities that one does not choose, but one is born into. Both are nuclei of power. They may vary in range, - in the

power that they have to ensure compliance, in the coercive power at their command, The State, of course, is the repository of sovereignty and the paramount concentration of power in its territory. Irrespective of size and the quantum of power, every institution in society, every association of individuals who come together for a common purpose and collective action of one kind or another, in one field or another, is a nucleus of initiative and power, delegated by its members and sanctified by voluntary recognition. All associations are therefore nuclei or concentrations or manifestations of power. The responsibility to make use of this power in pursuit of common objectives is vested in a person or group of persons who are accepted or chosen by consent. This responsibility and the power that underwrites the responsibility are entrusted to those who are chosen to act on behalf of the group. This responsibility and power are therefore *entrusted* to the 'executive' (or the leader of the group) that is at once both the repository and the beneficiary of the power.

All sources of power have then to be held in Trust. Power that has social sanction is power that has been entrusted. One who holds such power is therefore a trustee. He may be entrusted with power through a process of election, or through some other system. Whatever the process, he is a trustee. The opportunity for abuse of trust may be minimised by the imposition of limitations and penalties including dispossession. He can be called to account. He may be removed if he misuses or betrays the trust. But power is vested in the hope and faith that it will be used as a trust. An element of trusteeship is therefore inherent in the concept of recognition of power. It is only in a society in which the obligations of accountability are atrophied or extinguished that there is no such assumption. In such societies power becomes naked power, power devoid of social sanction.

There are three ingredients in Gandhi's answer to the problem of power: minimisation of concentration; spirit of trusteeship; and the corrective of non-violent direct action. Applied to the phenomenon of power in the economic field, these elements will take the form of (a) (i) decentralisation of the ownership of the instruments of production, and the systems of production and distribution, and (ii) the repudiation of the values of the acquisitive society; (b) the institution and spirit of trusteeship which virtually alter the meaning of property, delinking it from personal profit, and linking it to use, and social profit, taking society in the direction of a mutualist socialism; and (c) the corrective of nonviolent non-cooperation within the industrial system as well as the political system.

Now let us have another look at Trusteeship with these three elements in mind, even if it means some recapitulation of what has been stated earlier in a different context.

In the economic field, ownership or private property is the source of power and inequality. Private property and the social sanction for inheritance lead to the perpetuation and accentuation of inequality. Private ownership of instruments of production leads to exploitation and appropriation of surplus value, leading to the accumulation of capital and wealth, and the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production in the hands of a few. The use of highly sophisticated technology leads to centralisation of the system of production and distribution, and the ownership of capital. Capitalism sanctifies the system of concentration and centralisation in the name of the liberty of the individual, the right to private property, the right of inheritance, and the right to pursue private profit without concern for the resultant cost to society.

Gandhi held that true liberty of the individual was inconsistent with these 'rights'. To him rights flowed from duties.⁶⁴ He therefore rejected these rights as unilateral abstractions that neither recognised the nexus between duties and rights, nor reconciled the social consequences of the individual exercising these rights without social control. The unilateral exercise of these rights without self-restraint or social conscientiousness had only resulted in inequality, injustice, exploitation, suffering and conflicts. No man who believed in non-violence or truth could uphold such a social or economic order or tolerate its continuance.⁶⁵ He had to work for a revolutionary change. Gandhi claimed that he himself was leading such a revolution on behalf of the dispossessed, the peasants and workers, the victims of the Capitalist system. But his revolution was a nonviolent revolution.

As has been pointed out, Gandhi did not believe that the solution of the problem of exploitation lay in the violent dispossession of the owning class and the abolition of private property; nor did he believe that the transfer of ownership to the society or the State would automatically lead to the elimination of classes, the ushering in of equality and humanism, and the emergence of a non-exploitative society.

We have had an opportunity to watch the success of those who attempted to launch a new society on the basis of these beliefs. Private property was abolished and was transferred from the individual to society. Society was equated with the State, and the State was equated with the Party. The State became the only employer, the only owner of the instruments of production. The bureaucracy of the State, the Party, inherited the powers and prerogative of the owner, and used them to entrench itself and

totally disarm the worker. The worker became a wage-earner with no right to bargain; no right to function in a free trade union, no right to free participation in the management; no right to influence decisions on the sharing of profit, or the surplus value that he created; and no equality of incomes. Every abridgment of basic human rights was justified in the name of the millennium. The promise of freedom and equality remained to mock, while the basic rights that are essential for the emergence of equality or freedom or true humanism were extinguished. In the capitalist system economic power was interlocked with political power. In the communist system the two were merged, and became one, and the State became the sole legatee of both the sources of power. Gandhi therefore looked for another solution and further elaborated on his concept of Trusteeship.

What then is this Trusteeship that Gandhi offers to the captain of industry, the landlord, and in fact, to all holders of power? Is it the status quo with another name? Is it only an exhortation to philanthropy? Who is a Trustee? What will be the nature of his title? What remuneration will the Trustee receive? Who will determine the quantum of remuneration? Will there be any limit on the remuneration? Will Trusteeship be heritable or alienable? Who will keep watch on the Trustee and oversee his functioning? Can he be removed? Who can remove him? Will trusteeship have a legal and institutional form? Or will it only be a subjective attitude? How can one reach the ideal of Trusteeship? How can the present pattern of ownership be transformed into Trusteeship? Is it only through verbal persuasion? What if the owners of instruments of production or property refuse to become Trustees?

The Trusteeship Gandhi advocated was not philanthropy. In fact, Gandhi held that "if the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear."⁶⁶ Trusteeship has nothing to do with philanthropy. Philanthropy or charity may lead to the gifting away of riches. Such a donation or gift is, at worst, charity to curry self-glorification, and, at best, an act of expiation or compassion, or even a limited concession to the sense of social responsibility. But renunciation of a part of one's riches without the surrender or sharing of ownership is by no means the transition to trusteeship. Trusteeship is nothing less than qualitative transformation of the attributes and meaning of ownership. The test will therefore lie in the attitude to ownership.

A trustee is one who holds property or wealth in trust for others who are identified as the beneficiaries. The ideal trustee will be one who holds the Trust solely for other beneficiaries. But the ideal is like Euclid's definition of the point. One may never attain it in practice. So the Trustees may have a share of the benefit. But this share can only be equivalent to what any other beneficiary receives.

Anyone who aspires to function as a trustee will take nothing for himself that his labour does not entitle him to. "Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must be that of trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them, for, according to the doctrine, they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours."⁶⁷

The Trustee will be entitled to a commission that is commensurate with the value of his service to society,⁶⁸ and in tune with what other workers receive. The criteria that apply to the determination of the remuneration or income of other

workers, including the criterion of equal wages for all kinds of labour, will apply to him too. It is not possible to fix a uniform percentage. The amounts or percentages may vary.⁶⁹ In a State built on the basis of non-violence, the commission of Trustees will be regulated by the State,⁷⁰ and not determined by the Trustee himself, But his own attempt will be to reduce what he takes to the minimum' required for "his legitimate needs" and to leave "the remainder for society"⁷¹

The Trustee cannot bequeath his property or wealth to his children, except where the son or daughter accepts all the conditions of trusteeship and is deemed capable of functioning as a trustee. In fact, "a trustee has no heir except the public".⁷² Even if the trusteeship is to be passed on to a son or daughter, the Trustee will only have the right to make a proposal to that effect. It will be for the State to approve or reject the proposal.⁷³ It will be approved by the State only if the State is satisfied that the nominee can fulfill the rigorous role and duties of a trustee. These conditions put a check on the State as well as the individual. Trusteeship thus cannot be regarded as heritable or alienable. Nor can trusteeship lead to the generation or accentuation of inequality of wealth or disparities in income.

The Trustee will live and work under the gaze of the beneficiaries as well as the State. He is accountable to them. If he fails to live up to his commitments, and the rigorous code of Trusteeship, there are two remedies: one, what Gandhi described as the sovereign remedy, *satyagraha*; and the other, action by the State.

There are two widely prevalent misconceptions about Trusteeship that have to be discussed here. One is that Gandhi's concept of trusteeship was meant only for those who owned

property and riches; and the other is that the concept was designed to deal with the problems created by the ownership of material possessions that are physically external. Both these have been denied and contradicted by Gandhi himself.

Gandhi wanted the rich to hold their property and possessions as Trustee. But he did not tire of asserting that labour too was power.⁷⁴ Capital cannot fructify without labour.⁷⁵ The power of labour lay in its unity. When labour is united and determined, it can be more powerful than capital.⁷⁶ Its power can indeed be frightening. Both labour and capital have therefore to hold their power in trust. There was nothing unilateral about the theory of trusteeship.⁷⁷ It is a perfectly mutual affair—"Capital and labour will be mutual trustees, and both will be trustees of consumers."⁷⁸

The very fact that Gandhi advocated mutual trusteeship or trusteeship of both labour and capital should prove (i) that Gandhi was not offering Trusteeship as a camouflage for the continuance of the power and prerogatives of capital; that he, in fact, offered it as a way of changing the canvas itself, of transforming the gamut and parameters of relationships and power equations in the field of economic activity; and (ii) that Gandhi's primary concern in trusteeship was power, and the ownership of whatever generates power.

This takes us to the second misconception that trusteeship was designed only to deal with the problems created by the unequal distribution of the ownership of material goods or instruments of production.

It is not only material possessions or physical labour that can produce wealth and power. Material possessions may lend themselves to equal or equitable distribution. But there are

'special talents' (like those an artist possesses) that some men and women have acquired at birth, or subsequently, which enable them to generate power and wealth. Such talents cannot be 'socialised' or 'collectivised'; but they can lead to inequality in power and wealth. The only way to ensure that such possessions do not lead to the accentuation of un-equal distribution of power and wealth in society is through the concept of trusteeship. The man with extraordinary talents should hold his talents in trust for society.⁷⁹ "Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talents consistently with equal use by neighbours, but no one is entitled to arbitrary use of gains from the talents. Therefore, he can use his talents not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but a part, and on whose sufferance he lives."⁸⁰ Gandhi's trusteeship thus covered not merely material sources of wealth and power, but also non-material possessions which are not amenable to equal distribution, and for which, State ownership is no answer.

Thus it can be seen that in the case of material possessions, trusteeship will involve a subjective change of attitude as well as a structural or institutional change and a statutory framework, while in the case of non-material possessions that generate power and wealth, the primary safeguard will lie in the change to the attitudes of trusteeship.

What if the Trustee fails to live up to these criteria? There are two remedies,—*Satyagraha*, and action by the State. If the trustee fails to function as a real trustee, "not nominal trustee", the State would be justified in taking away the property. "We shall have to dispossess them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence."⁸¹ "... But the fear is always there that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it."⁸²

What then was the role that Gandhi visualised for the State, and the laws of the State, in relation to trusteeship? Gandhi visualised that trusteeship would become a legalised institution. In fact, he hoped that it would be a gift from India to the world. The State would give statutory recognition to the institution of trusteeship; determine the rate of commission for the trustees; oversee the fulfilment of the conditions of trusteeship; regulate and approve the appointment of a successor trustee if the need arises; and dispossess the person who, after having accepted trusteeship, fails to act in accordance with the tenets of trusteeship. Even in cases where an inherited possession is used or disposed of against the interest of society, the State will be justified in depriving the proprietor or owner of his possessions.

The functions that have been assigned to the State do raise the question of the nature of the State in a nonviolent society and the sanctions that such a State may use. One may not discuss the question in detail here, since it relates to the larger question of Gandhi's attitude to the State.

Gandhi did not hold that the institution of trusteeship should be imposed by law. To do so would have been contrary to his philosophy of non-violence. Law has to be based on the sanction of public opinion. Those who believe in trusteeship should therefore first forge the sanctions for the institution in the minds of people. When an atmosphere of acceptance has been created, statutes that give legal recognition to the institution should be adopted by the State. A beginning may be made at the base, at lower levels like the *Panchayat*,⁸³ where it may be easier to get acceptance for the idea, and to generate the social ethos necessary for the success of the idea.

Gandhi was clear that one did not have to wait for a law, or the Greek Kalends, till everyone accepted the theory of trusteeship.⁸⁴ One who believed in it could and should start with himself.⁸⁵ Gandhi himself would start by asking all owners of capital, all owners of property and riches to become trustees and hold their property in trust. He would refashion the economic system to facilitate this transformation. He would persuade the holders of capital to see the writing on the wall; that they would face violent dispossession if they did not voluntarily agree to a transformation in the nature of ownership itself; that the choice was between class war and voluntary acceptance of trusteeship; that trusteeship would allow him to retain stewardship of his possessions and to use his own talent to increase wealth, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the nation, and, therefore, without exploitation.⁸⁶ He would offer all capitalists an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees".⁸⁷ If all this effort at persuasion fails, he will resort to non-violent non-cooperation to open the eyes of the capitalists and to elicit consent to the change. "If however, inspite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term, and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle, I have lighted on non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience as the right infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the cooperation of the poor in society." ⁸⁸

Now, to recapitulate what has been stated in the earlier paragraphs: Gandhi did not believe in private property, or the right of inheritance. Inheritance belonged to the nation. He would examine every title to ownership and dispossess anyone whose title was found to have been acquired by injuring the interests of the masses. He may not even give compensation to those who are

so dispossessed. He believed that instruments of production should be owned by those who use them to produce wealth, in the field of agriculture as well as in the field of industry. He would, therefore, prefer such instruments of production as could be owned by the workers themselves. This would eliminate the distinction between employer and employee; thus, preventing the rise of one class of employers and another of employees, and the consequent syndrome of competition and conflict. Wherever it was difficult to achieve efficiency in production without the use of instruments that the self-employing individual could not own, he would want cooperative ownership of all those who worked on the machinery and organised production or distribution. Such an undertaking would work on the basis of equality, equal interest, equal responsibility and equal partnership in management, equal benefit and equal power. Where the nature and cost of the machinery did not permit even this type of ownership, he would vest ownership in the State. But the State was a concentration of violence, and therefore he was wary of increasing its power. A state that concentrated both political power and ownership in its hands would be a titanic concentration of power that would reduce the citizen to the status of a wage-earner and at the same time attenuate his ability to exercise control over the political or economic activities of the State. Gandhi would therefore favour a system which takes one nearest to the elimination of the differentiation between employer and employee, owner and workers.

The capitalist system or the status quo is the anti-thesis of such a system, since it leads to concentration, inequality and exploitation. In fact, both the capitalist system and State capitalism have yielded to the lure of greed and gigantism. Neither of these systems therefore can lead to the equal

distribution of power and wealth. These systems and the attitude that sanctify them are of no avail.

Where then should we look for a solution? Gandhi was convinced that the solution lay in trusteeship.

Where the title was legitimate he would permit the owners of property to act as trustees. They could retain ownership or stewardship as trustees. A trustee would have no right to higher remuneration than those who are the beneficiaries of his trust. He would be entitled to a commission that would be commensurate with the value of his work to society. He would have no right to bequeath what he was holding in trust except on the condition that the successor too acted as a trustee, and the State approved of the transfer. He would have the opportunity to use his special talents to increase the wealth or the society of which he is a member. The society would benefit from his talents, and he would have the incentive of notional ownership, and the social recognition that his extraordinary talents deserved, but his ownership would have been freed from the motive of private profit and the power that comes from private ownership. The trustee would be accountable; answerable to society, and if he failed to live up to the rigorous test of trusteeship, he would be removed either through *Satyagraha* or through State action.

It is not only material possessions or the accumulation of material goods that generates power. There are other sources of power whether directly related to economic activity or not-that can result in economic gains, or power over the minds of others. Material possessions can be distributed equitably. But since non-material sources of power do not lend themselves to immunisation through equitable distribution-those who possess such sources of power will have to hold them and use them as a trust that they hold for society.

Trusteeship then does not ask for the impossible; it defines a socially necessary attitude to all power, and possessions that generate power; and visualises a pattern of supporting institutions. If the change in attitude is described as a subjective change, the objective and institutional changes that promote and safeguard the subjective change lie in the new economic order which minimises the concentration of ownership, and maximises the ability to control, and if necessary, to resist the abuse of power.

Thus it can be seen that in the case of material possessions, trusteeship will involve a subjective change of attitudes as well as a structural or institutional change and a statutory framework, while in the case of non-material possessions that generate power and wealth, the primary safeguard will be in the change to the attitude of trusteeship.

At this point, it may be worthwhile to reproduce the text of a formulation on Trusteeship that received the approval of Gandhi himself:

1. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
2. It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property, except in as much as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
3. It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.

4. Thus, under state-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of the society.
5. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum, living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that could be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such, minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
6. Under the Gandhian economic order, the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.⁸⁹

It may now be useful to look at some of the criticisms that have been levelled against the theory:

One line of criticism is that it is "so-flexible that it can serve as a justification for inequality".⁹⁰ It has been pointed out in earlier paragraphs that the trustee will not be entitled to unlimited income from his title or work, or to a remuneration that is proportionate to the wealth that his talents or capital help in producing. His share of the benefits will be equal; since all kinds of work will receive the same remuneration, he will not be entitled to a higher income that may become the source of inequality. Even so his remuneration or commission will be fixed by the State, and therefore subject to the criteria and permissible range determined by the State.

Another criticism that has been levelled against the theory is that it leaves unchecked power and wealth in the hands of an individual. "Is it reasonable to believe in the theory of trustee-

ship, to give unchecked power and wealth to one individual and to expect him to use it entirely for the public good? Are the best of us so perfect as to be trusted this way."⁹¹ This criticism comes from a person who was closely associated with Gandhi, and who could therefore have looked into the real content of Gandhi theory of trusteeship a little more closely. Earlier paragraphs have elaborately described the criteria and conditions that a trustee had to fulfill to be considered a Trustee. They make it clear that the Trustee will not be left with unchecked power or unchecked wealth. His personal wealth cannot be inordinately high or disproportionate to the incomes of others who work with him. His emoluments will be determined by the State. He will be subject to severe taxation if his income goes high, in spite of these checks; and he will not be able to bequeath his wealth. This cannot be described as a State of unchecked wealth. He is answerable and removable, either by the State or by the workers, through *Satyagraha*. This does not leave him with unchecked power. In fact, it is Gandhi's desire to prevent the concentration of power and wealth, not only in any individual, but even in the State that may turn totalitarian in the name of ideology, that made Gandhi evolve the concept of trusteeship with its checks, social control and accountability for the individual as well as the State.

A third criticism is that it will lead to "larger and larger accumulations of capital on the one hand and pauperization of the masses on the other."⁹² The earlier paragraphs explain how there can be no pauperization of the worker since he will be regarded as an equal partner, and his remuneration will fall within the same range as that prescribed for the trustee. An increase in the income of an undertaking will not be credited to the personal account of the trustee. It will belong to the

undertaking. The capital that will be accumulated will not be the trustee's private property. Gandhi held the view that in a non-violent society the individual could not accumulate capital, but the State, i.e. the nonviolent State could, and should do so. In fact, it would be one of the functions of the State to do so.⁹³

Another criticism is that the theory demanded "a change of heart among the rich."⁹⁴ "But in the real world such a revolution is unlikely and the trusteeship idea is nothing but a vision of society where the rich are charitable, so that the poor can remain weak."⁹⁵ The author of this criticism has then moved to the frontier of charitableness, and suggested that "by his (Gandhi's) stress on the principle of trusteeship, and his friendliness towards many in exalted economic positions, he established a pattern of radicalism in talk but conservatism in action that is still very much a part of the Indian scene."⁹⁶

If one ignores the polemical tenor, there are three points that need response. To begin with the last of the observations, it is true that Gandhi was friendly towards many in exalted economic positions. There were many "capitalists" whom he regarded as his friends. In fact, he was a friend of all. But he repeatedly made it clear that he wanted to be known for what he was, both by the people and the government, the workers as well as the capitalists. He never concealed his views. He did not want to sail under false colours. Nor did he desist from declaring his views from the housetops for fear of hurting or alienating anyone, even hurting his image in the minds of the people. As has been pointed out earlier, his speech at the Banaras Hindu University, his speech at the Round Table Conference, his statement in the court and a host of other statements clearly stated where he stood, and what he was working for. He talked of the rich living on the blood of

the poor—language that one does not normally associate with the Mahatma and declared that the toiler was the owner of the instrument of production; that all titles would be scrutinised and anything that was in conflict with the interest of the masses forfeited, with or without compensation. He warned that the choice before the rich was between voluntary surrender of riches and violent overthrow, destruction and ruin. He forecast: "I see coming the day of the rule of the poor, whether that rule be through the force of arms or non-violence." Surely, then he cannot be accused of dissembling. To those who twitted him on his friendship with the rich, he said: "I have never concealed the fact that I am a friend of everybody ... irrespective of caste, colour or persuasion."⁹⁷ "They (the rich) have no hold on me, and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it."⁹⁸

The second point is that trusteeship would turn out to be nothing but the vision of a society in which the rich are charitable so that the poor can remain weak. The question whether trusteeship is only charitableness and philanthropy has been examined in an earlier paragraph. One need only add that to make a proper assessment of trusteeship one should not look at it in abstraction, but as part of the dynamics of a non-violent revolution that aims at abolishing exploitation, and property and wealth that lead to exploitation and inequality.

This takes us to the third point that the theory demanded a change of heart, and in the real world such a revolution is unlikely. The meaning of a change of heart and the circumstances that Gandhi wanted to create for a 'change of heart' has been discussed in earlier paragraphs. He did not depend merely on verbal persuasion or appeal, but on

Satyagraha, the main weapon that he forged and used with spectacular effect for a change of heart or for progressive shifts in the positions of his adversary that ultimately brought him (the adversary) closer and closer to the baseline that Gandhi had drawn for himself in South Africa, in Champaran, in Bardoli, at Vykom and in what was British India. These achievements cannot be lightly brushed aside by any student of social dynamics.

Critics from one school of thought⁹⁹ have attacked the theory as an apology for class collaboration. Gandhi did believe in the existence of class struggle. But he did not believe that the evils that gave birth to class struggle could be eliminated by accentuating class struggle, with the avowed purpose of eliminating one class and establishing the dictatorship of the other. Nor did he believe in the inevitability of class conflict. He wanted to end capitalism and exploitation and evolve "a truer socialism and truer communism than the world has yet dreamed of."¹⁰⁰

His method was the method of non-violence. He did not believe that evil would disappear if the evil doer was eliminated. He did not believe that capital alone was power. Labour too was power, and if those who toiled combined with the unshakable determination not to cooperate in their own exploitation, they could bring capital to its knees. Behind and beyond the apparent conflict in the interests of the 'moneyed classes' (capitalists) and labour, there is a mutualism or inter-dependence of functions, and therefore interests. One cannot fructify without the other. A solution of the evils of capitalism that lead to class conflict has therefore to be found without ignoring, this inter-dependence. To achieve this objective, Gandhi would revolutionise the very

concept of property, the attitude to property and profit (making profit a socially conditioned incentive), and use the powers of collective direct action, *Satyagraha*, to prevent deviations. Gandhi would therefore ask the capitalist to hold his power in trust in the spirit and discipline of trusteeship. He would ask labour too to hold its power in the spirit of trusteeship. "In fact, capital and labour will be mutual trustees, and both will be trustees of consumers. The trusteeship theory is not unilateral, and does not in the least imply the superiority of the trustees. It is, as I have shown, a perfectly mutual affair and each believes that his own interest is best safeguarded by safeguarding the interest of the other."¹⁰¹

This is not class collaboration for the protection or preservation of the capitalist system or the exploitation that has become the base of the capitalist system. Gandhi did not believe in collaboration with or within any exploitative system. "I have, never said that there should be cooperation between the exploiter and the exploited so long as exploitation and the will to exploit persists."¹⁰² It is the duty of a believer in non-violence to fight the injustice even at the cost of one's life. Gandhi, therefore, did not advocate class collaboration to perpetuate exploitation or capitalism. His objective too was the creation of a classless society and freedom from the thralldom of private property. But he had no faith in the ability of violence to achieve this objective, and so his means were different.

It has already been stated that he did not believe in the inevitability of class conflict. He did believe that human nature could be changed. But to take that to mean that he did not believe in bringing about changes in institutions and the environment—both to quicken change and to sanctify change, is

to mistake the meaning of his faith in human nature. Human nature is made up of a complex of elements. Science has proved that the appropriate stimuli bring appropriate responses to the surface.

The theory of inevitability of class conflict is built on many assumptions: that the working class does not have the power to paralyse and defeat capital by action within the Industrial system; that it does not have the power to induce or compel the State to intervene to hold the balance or assure justice; that intermediate classes would disappear; that the State would identify itself with capital even if the State is run by a government that depends on the consent of labour as well; that the working class will not have the power to induce corrective action within the political system; that the attempt to destroy the State and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat is sure to succeed.

It is not possible in this paper to examine each of these assumptions from the Gandhian point of view. But enough has been said in earlier paragraphs to indicate Gandhi's faith in the power of labour to end exploitation by united action, his lack of faith in violence, his faith in human nature and mutualism of interest and his faith in non-violent, non-cooperation as supporting action in the political field.

In fact, so much has happened in the last century in widely distant place, in societies at different stages of economic, political, historical, and technological development to cast serious doubts on each of these assumptions, that the experience of the last century is demanding ever increasing ingenuity to defend these assumptions. An alternative cannot, therefore, be judged by its ability to fit into a moth-eaten mould that has moved to the twilight zone between hope and despair.

The foregoing paragraphs show that the theory of Trusteeship was not conceived as a compromise to enable the rich and the working classes to work together during the struggle for independence. It was not a compromise with the rich, or a sop to the poor. It evolved as an integral part of the theory and dynamics of a non-violent revolution in the field of economic relations.

Gandhi, therefore, made the deliberate claim that his theory of trusteeship was no makeshift, or camouflage. He was sure that it would survive even when other theories were proved wanting, and discarded.

That non-violence has not been used in the past to achieve such a revolution is no reason to hold that it cannot happen in the future. Humanity is in fact beginning to see the futility and the self-defeating and suicidal nature of violence. Experience has made it imperative to look for an alternative. The Gandhian theory of trusteeship is undoubtedly an alternative that merits examination. It may well turn out to be what humanity is looking for.

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3. *Harijan*, October 10, 1948.
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5. *Harijan*, March 8, 1942, *Young India*, October 17, 1929.
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 8. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1940.
 9. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1947; *ibid.*, March 16, 1947; *ibid.*, July 6, 1935.
 10. *Young India*, March 17, 1922.
 11. *Harijan*, January 27, 1940.
 12. *Young India*, April 15, 1926; *ibid.*, 13 November 1925.
 13. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1924; *ibid.*, November 5, 1925; *ibid.*, April 15, 1926.
 14. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1924.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. M. K. Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir*, op.cit. p. 50.
 17. *Young India*, August 4, 1927; *Harijan*, February 13, 1937.
 18. *The Modern Review*, October 1935.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. "The Maharaja who presided yesterday over our deliberations spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in the great *pandal* in which the Foundation Ceremony was performed by the Viceroy. Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery . . . I

compare with the richly bedecked noble men the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to those noblemen: There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India ... whenever I hear of a great palace rising in any great city of India, be it in British India, or be it in the India ruled by our great Chiefs, I become jealous at once and say, 'Oh it is the money that has come from agriculturists' ... There cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow others to take away from the peasants almost the whole of the results of their labour ...” Speech delivered by M. K. Gandhi at Banaras Hindu University, February 4, 1916,

21. See M. K. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy, March 2, 1930. "It (British rule) has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country cannot afford... there is every danger of independence coming to us so changed as to be of the value to those toiling voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking, .. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month, besides many other indirect additions. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day as against India's average income of less than *annas* 2 per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. On bended knees, I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not

need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped.” *Young India*, March 12, 1930.

22. “Little do the town dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly striking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for their work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. No sophistry, no juggling in figures, can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history”. Statement at trial at Ahmedabad, March 18, 1922. See *Young India* March 23, 1922 99. Also: “The greatest obstacle in the path of non-violence is the presence in our midst of the indigenous interests that have from British rule, the interests of worried men, speculators, scrip holders, land holders, factory owners and the like. All these do not always realise that they are living on the blood of the masses and when they do, they become as callous as the British principals whose tools and agents they are”. *Young India*, February 6, 1930.
23. “Then you have ‘not being in conflict with the best interest of the nation’. I have in mind certain monopolies, legitimately acquired understandably, but which have been brought into being in conflict with the best interests of the nation. Take this white elephant

which is called New Delhi . . . I contend that these buildings are in conflict with the best interests of the nation. They do not represent the millions of India. They may be representative of the moneyed men who are sitting at the table, they may be representative of His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Bhopal, or of Shri Purushottam Thakurdas or of Shri Pheroze Sethna or of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but they are not representative of those who lack even a place to sleep and have not even a crust of bread to eat. If the National Government comes to the conclusion that place is unnecessary, no matter what interests are concerned, they will be dispossessed, and they will be dispossessed, I may tell you, without any compensation, because if you want this Government to pay compensation, it will have to rob Peter to pay Paul, and that would be impossible". *Selections from Gandhi* (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957), p.109.

24. *Young India*, October 15, 1931; *Harijan*, June 1, 1947.
25. *The Modern Review*, October, 1935.
26. *Harijan*, July 31, 1937.
27. "In reality, the toiler is the owner of what he produces." *Harijan*, December 5, 1946.
28. *Harijan*, 4 August 1946; *ibid.*, April 20, 1940.
29. *Young India*, November 15, 1928
30. *Harijan*, February 13, 1937; *Young India*, August 4 1927; *Harijan*, July 3, 1937.
31. *Young India*, March 26, 1931.
32. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1946.

33. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1939.
34. *Young India*, March 17, 1927.
35. *Harijan*, August 25, 1940.
36. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1944.
37. *Constructive Programme*, p.18; *Harijan*, March 31, 1946.
38. *Young India*, March 26, 1931.
39. *Constructive Programme*, p.18.
40. *Harijan*, December 16, 1939.
41. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1937.
42. *Young India*, November 26, 1931.
43. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1920.
44. *Harijan*, February 20, 1937.
45. *Harijan*, 25-8-1940.
46. "The idea of class war does not appeal to me . . .",
Anand Bazar Patrika, August 3, 1940.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Harijan*, 20 April, 1940.
49. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1946. Also *Young India*, March 17, 1927.
50. *Harijan*, April 25, 1940.
51. *Ibid.*, July 20 1940; *Young India*, November 26, 1931.
52. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 3, 1934.
53. *Harijan*, December 5, 1936.
54. *Young India*, March 26, 1931.
55. *Harijan*, April 20, 1940.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1936.

58. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1940.
59. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1942.
60. *Young India*, February 4, 1926.
61. *The Modern Review*, October 1935.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Young India*, March 26, 1931; *Harijan*, June 8, 1947; *ibid.*, July 6, 1947.
65. *Harijan*, April 20, 1940.
66. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1942.
67. Quoted by Benudhar Pradhan, *The Socialist Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, (GDK Publishers, Delhi, 1980), Vol. I, p.470.
68. *Harijan*, March 31, 1946.
69. *Ibid.*, June 11 1935; *Young India*, November 26, 1931.
70. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1942.
71. *Young India*, November 26, 1931.
72. *Harijan*, April 12, 1942.
73. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1947.
74. *Young India*, March 26, 1931.
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76. *Harijan*, March 31, 1946.
77. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1938.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1942.
80. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1942.

81. *The Modern Review*, October, 1935.
82. *Ibid.*
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85. *Harijan*, March 31, 1948; *ibid.*, July 12, 1947.
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87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1940.
89. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1940.
90. Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), Vol. II, pp. 755-6.
91. Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1962), p. 528. "Again I think of the paradox that is Gandhiji. With all his keen intellect and passion for bettering the downtrodden and oppressed, why does he support a system, and a system, which is obviously decaying, which creates this misery and waste? He seeks a way out, it is true, but is not that way to the past barred and bolted? And meanwhile, he blesses all the relics of the old order which stand as obstacles in the way of advance—the feudal states, the big *zamindaris* and *taluqdaris*, the present capitalist system. Is it reasonable to believe in the theory of trusteeship—to give unchecked power and wealth to one individual and to expect him to use it entirely for the public good? Are the best of us so perfect as to be trusted in this way? . . . And is it good for the others to have even those benevolent super men over them?"

92. Quoted by M.L. Dantwala, *Gandhism Reconsidered* (Bombay: Padma Publishers, 1945), pp. 54-55.
93. Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 755-6. "The trusteeship idea is fundamentally a concept that fits into a paternalistic, feudal, pre-democratic society. It is so flexible that it can serve as a justification for inequality. Possibly Gandhi realised this, for he recommended a moral revolution, a change of heart among the rich. But in the real world such a revolution is unlikely and the trusteeship idea is nought but vision of society where the rich are charitable so that the poor can remain weak . . . by his stress on the principle of trusteeship, and his friendliness towards many in exalted economic position, he established a pattern of radicalism in talk but conservatism in action that is still very much a part of the Indian scene".
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Young India*, February 6, 1930.
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Gandhi's Concept of Trusteeship

C. S. Dharmadhikari

Today the word 'management' has acquired a magical implication. Presently, the wind of globalization is blowing at a high speed. Hence, new dimensions are being added to the concept of management almost on a daily basis. This is the age of experts and specialists. Consequently, in the field of management, technological innovation is giving a new momentum to an efficient and dexterous functioning. Thus, like in many other fields, different departments and sub-departments are being founded endlessly. Financial marketing, human resource management, and similar other areas are emerging as its important branches. Not only that, even the idea of micro-specialisation and super specialisation is fast emerging in the arena of management studies. The following story very well illustrates how a mad race for specialisation is breaking the holistic view of knowledge into bits and pieces. A traveller approached a man, who happened to be a historian, and enquired about the road leading to the railway station. The historian suggested to the traveller that he should ask a geographer as geography was not his area of specialisation. More important example one could find in the report of a School Inspector who wrote: 'I saw a fraction of a teacher teaching a

fraction of a subject, to a fraction of students in a fraction of time.’ All that it meant was that there was nothing in totality – no holistic approach to anything or subject. There is another story illustrating the same theme. A teacher asked his students to identify the living being in the following story. There were four men walking in the Queen’s garden. They came across a living being there. On closer examination, they described it in four different ways. One of them found it like a pillar, the other as a wall, third one as sieve and the fourth one as a rope. Who were these people? The teacher asked the students. One of the students who had studied Aesop’s Fables replied that all the four were blind. A still smarter boy stood up and said to the teacher: ‘No sir, they were experts and specialists.’ Hence they could see only that part of the elephant they had specialised. None of them could see the elephant in its entirety. Similar development is taking place in the area of industrial management and even in the cultural and educational field. Thus, intensive knowledge in a narrow field is becoming the order of the day. One result of such development is that the end user (the common man), is hardly associated with the entire process. He is missing from the entire decision making process; though everything is being planned and done in his name and for his consumption. In sharp contrast to these specialists and experts, Mahatma Gandhi was a votary of the common man. He was also a man of strong common sense. Today management has become an integral part of our social reconstruction. It is a new discipline which is being taught by innumerable institutions. It is fast gaining ground in the industrial and commercial establishment. Hence a number of institutions are running both long-term and short-term courses. Management studies have three important segments – management of industrial and commercial establishment, the

training of the managers and the training of the employees and the workers.

The drive for the conquest of nature in all fields has radically changed the entire mindset of man. Hence, fast changes are taking place in the area of management as well. Now management study is reduced to two prominent areas: management of material and the management of men. The earlier understanding about the management of men was that man is essentially lazy and a work shirker. Behind that understanding was the feeling that man is more concerned with his rights rather than his duties. Hence he could work only when guided by the principle of reward and punishment.

Gandhi rejected such a perspective on man and his nature in his scheme of things. He had greater faith in self-regulations than all the external controls put together. Besides, he was also a great votary of cultural and spiritual tradition and its major ethics. He accepted and promoted one of the major spiritual values of Indian tradition: Man is not a fallen being as he has not committed any 'original sin.' Rather he carries a speck of divinity in his persona. Hence certain godly tendencies are very much inherent in his personality. It is on account of self-forgetfulness that certain ungodly tendencies get attached to his thought and action. Hence, one has to get rid of the veil of *avidya* to know and feel his true self. Once that is achieved, he comes into his true form. It was such a perspective which made Gandhi a trusting person. He always believed in the basic goodness of man and his capacity to move towards perfection by overcoming some of his apparent weaknesses. To that end, he presented his *ekadash vrata* to be imbibed and followed. It was from such a perspective that he looked at the entire question of management of men and material in our times. He did not believe in reward

and punishment being the basic principle behind human action, as it is based on the heart-wrenching feeling of fear and greed. His entire thinking about management was based on love, trust and human goodness. He asserted that the entire human behaviour should be based on mutual love and trust.

It was such a view of man and his world which was the underlying idea behind his concept of trusteeship. He strongly pleaded that voluntary decision based on self-inspiration could be used to inspire man to forsake his self-interests. That would also prompt him to work as a trustee on behalf of the society for all that he possesses in terms of material, skill and talent. He further avers that if such a perspective is introduced and accepted in the realm of human affairs, then the entire present thinking about management would have to undergo a radical change. He always emphasised the fact that both propertied classes and the workers should consider themselves as trustees for their property and labour respectively. We know that in the present system, workers sell their labour and the rich buy it from the market. Thus the rich hardly engage themselves in any kind of physical labour, whereas the workers have to constantly engage themselves in physical labour. The ideal situation would be one in which the workers have their leisure time and the owners of the means of production also engage themselves in some kind of physical labour. Then alone the dignity of labour would be established in the society. Today the entire situation is so queer that workers want maximum price for their labour while doing the minimum work and the owners want to pay the minimum wages and take the maximum work. Thus, if one is *kamchor* (labour-thief) and the other is *dhanchor* (money-thief). Thus both are thief in their own way as both of them suffer from the same capitalist mentality. In other words, both groups try to

extract maximum advantages from their assets, though each of them has taken them from the society itself. The tragedy is that with such mindset they could never come closer to each other. Hence, a new idea has come in the field of management, that is, the workers should have shares both in the process of production as well as distribution. Even some of the State laws give such rights to the workers.

It was with such a perspective that the Supreme Court in the *National Textile Workers Union vs. P.R. Ramakrishnan and others* (AIR 1983 S.C. 75) had made a ringing observation that in a Company apart from the shareholders, the interests of the workers are also involved in the entire process. This is premised on the fact that the products of the company are the result of the capital investment by the owners and the labour investment by the workers. In fact, in a way the contribution of the workers in the entire process could even be taken as being more substantive than the capitalist who invests his capital in any concern. This is so because the capitalist might invest a part of his capital in one concern, whereas the worker puts in all his efforts in the process. That is the reason why the working class is given so much importance in the socialist system. After making such ardent observation, the Court supported them by making references to the various Articles of our Constitution. However, it is to be noted that if the capitalist system is kept intact, even the workers are also governed by the same capitalist mindset. The real question arises whether worker's mere participation in the process of management and as such their contribution in the entire process, could or could not be considered as being socially useful or is it nothing more than a compromise with the capitalist system of production? Our actual experience in the field is that those labour leaders who are taken in the

management boards as the representatives of the working class hardly represent the interests of workers, or buyers or end consumers or even those of the society. They just end up becoming a part of management; keep enjoying perks, privileges and all kinds of amenities, even at the cost of all the above groups including the workers.

There is another problem with the present system of the capitalist production. The owners and the workers have full control over their concern. Owners make profit; shareholders get their dividends and the workers their bonus. But the buyers hardly get anything. They may end up by getting some gifts which is not even a pittance. Strangely enough, even when the profit is of huge proportion, one never hears about any discussion on price reduction of such products. What is more, the so-called capital invested by the owners does not actually belong to them. It comes from banks, insurance and other companies or from the common man. That is why Vinoba made a pithy observation when he said that in our country a capitalist is considered to be one who had the least capital of his own. Thus in the present capitalist system, the owners and at times even the workers rule the roost at the cost of the buyers and end consumers. Gandhi suggested a way out of such a tricky situation. He proposed that both the capitalists and the workers should consider themselves as the trustees on behalf of the society in the entire process of production and distribution. In this age of modernity, the central role of human beings is missing from humanism. So the greater emphasis is being laid on horse power rather than man power. There is even an attempt to build up a super structure of equality and equity on the basis of industrialism. We often forget that in a relationship of love and interdependence, there is two way traffic of receiving and giving.

But modernity teaches us only to grab and not to give. Even all technological innovations encourage us to move towards a state of self-indulgence rather than self-renunciation. Man, though the creator of all technologies, is becoming their slave rather than remaining the master. As such, his entire world view is based on selfishness. In the process, he is becoming lonely and isolated. Sometimes, we think that the accumulated and aggregated interests of all individuals would result in the sum total of societal interests. This is a false premise. This would result in a situation of free for all – an anarchical situation.

We often fail to understand that there is a lot of difference between working for our rights and pursuing all kinds of things of comforts and convenience for us. Pursuit of rights brings responsibility in its trail. The basic malady of modern man is the absence of love, faith and idealism from his life and thought process. This malady could not be got rid of by iron discipline or technological efficiency. In fact, that requires unstinted empathy and feeling of unbreakable friendship. But the modern man has lost his sense of proportion and even equanimity. His capacity for technological and scientific innovations has added to his egotism. He is behaving like a creator rather than remaining a creature. It is time to remind ourselves that the heart of Indian tradition lies in the true feelings of the unity of all beings, interdependence in the entire cosmic order and a sharing and cooperative mindset. To that end the scientific mind would have to be injected with a dose of spirituality, love and compassion. Then alone science would provide life-blood to humanity. And in the entire process, man and the interests of his higher self would be a measure of everything. All this cannot be achieved by removing man from his central position.

II

It is in the above context that the idea of trusteeship as propounded by Gandhi would have to be explained and evaluated. It has been one of the core beliefs of our tradition that everything in the cosmos belongs to God and thereby to all, and not to any individual. Once this basic premise is accepted, then man would remain nothing but a trustee. He would never consider himself as the sole owner of anything. Based on such basic understanding Gandhi gave a new orientation to the much age old concept of trusteeship. He wrote:

‘Everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore it was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God’s people. God who was all-powerful had no need to store. He created from day to day; hence men also should in theory live from day to day and not stock things. If this truth was imbibed by the people generally, it would become legalized and trusteeship would become a legalized institution.’¹

Every member of the society would have to utilise his mental, moral, physical and material resources for the common interest and welfare of the society and not for his self-interest. The real test of a well-organised society is not the number of rich people it has in its midst, but to what extent it is free from starvation and malnutrition. Gandhi averred that the rich and the powerful might utilise their skill and talent to make millions, but even their self-earned wealth should be utilised in the common interests of the society. He was aware of the fact that quite often vast wealth could be made only through unfair means. But as someone who also has faith in the goodness of man, he did not

totally rule out the possibility of wealth creation through fair means. Such a possibility becomes still more greater if one is conscious of the fact that his wealth ultimately could not be used for his personal or family interests. His critics believe that Gandhi's idea of trusteeship is too good to be true and implemented in its real spirit. But if the society constantly harps on it and also takes practical steps for its implementation, then the life on earth could be free from exploitation and domination and even from conflict situations. In such a case, the social order could be based on cooperation, co-existence and mutual love and respect. True, like Euclid's principle of geometry, the idea of trusteeship might be taken as indefinable, unachievable and as an ever elusive concept. But if we persist and persevere, some day we might succeed in building up a society based on the very concept of trusteeship.

As a practical visionary, Gandhi was aware that in the beginning people find it difficult to implement even a good and useful idea. Hence in the beginning, a number of people full of faith and idealism might opt for it. But human history is witness to the fact that in the subsequent period, there might be many takers of an idea which appears difficult to follow in the beginning. Besides, Gandhi has great faith in the goodness and perfectibility of man. He favoured the idea that the society should be built on need and not on greed, as there is no limit to greed, but there is a limit to our need. He wanted the society to be built up on the basic principle that each one of us should work according to his capacity and should receive things according to his needs. This is a principle derived from the working of a family and Gandhi wanted it to be applied on the whole society. Explaining the concept of equality he said:

“Economic equality of my conception does not mean that everyone will literally have the same amount. It simply means that everybody should have enough for his or her needs. ... The real meaning of economic equality is “To each according to his need.” That is the definition of Marx. If a single man demands as much as a man with wife and four children that will be a violation of economic equality.

Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former needs more. That will be idle sophistry and a travesty of my argument.

Everyone must have a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one’s children and adequate medical relief....”²

Gandhi’s idea of trusteeship could be considered in a holistic way. Once the idea of trusteeship grips the society, then the whole idea of philanthropy and gifts would disappear from the society. A trustee would never entertain the feeling that he has given away something of his own, as he would never have the feeling of exclusive ownership of his property. He would never take himself to be more than a trustee.

A draft practical trusteeship formula was prepared by Gandhi’s co-workers, Narhari Parikh and Kishorelal Mashruwala and it was fine-tuned by M.L. Dantwala. On Gandhi’s release from Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp it was placed before him and he made a few changes in it. The final draft read as follows:

1. “Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a

chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.

2. It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
3. It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.
4. Thus under state-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society,
5. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
6. Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.’³

I am firmly of the opinion that the idea of trusteeship should be included in the syllabi of management studies. Kishorelal Mashruwala, an interpreter of Gandhian ideas and thinker in his own right, had said:

‘The theory of trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. All property is held in trust, no matter who possesses it, and what its nature or quantity is. Indeed, the theory of trusteeship applies not only to tangible and

transferable property, but also to places of power and position and to intangible and non-transferable property such as the muscular energy of a labourer and the talents of a Helen Keller. Even a cripple in an asylum for invalids is a trustee to the extent he is able to exercise his will. Every human being not mentally deranged is only a trustee of all that is within his control.”⁴

Today there is a big gap between the rich and the poor in the society, leading to a situation of cleavage and conflict. This question relating to an egalitarian order was raised during the freedom struggle as well. There was an inherent conflict between the interests of the princes, *zamindars* and the big businessmen on the one hand and the common man on the other. Unfortunately, in our country money is being used not just to buy goods but also human beings. Earlier there was a demand for the abolition of the institution of private property and expropriation of these properties without any compensation. Such demands were raised from several quarters, but Gandhi always stood for the change of heart. He was firmly of the opinion that the rich and the powerful should voluntarily surrender their wealth for the welfare of people as a matter of their duty. And everyone participating in the process of production should be given his due share. In other words, payment should be made on the basis of their needs and not on the basis of their share in the production processes. This could result in the promotion of the idea of shared societal life. He wanted an exploitation free production and distribution system which would promote an environment of mutuality, co-operation and brotherhood.

Fortunately, these ideas in their own ways are being integrated in the modern system of management. At least among the well-established corporate houses, there is a new tendency of

not to go in for profiteering, by using all kinds of fair or foul means. Among the intelligent managers such change is discernible today. There is also a tendency to take the management of the concerns beyond the purview of the family members and other relations.

The idea of collective management, beyond the family inheritance, is gaining ground. Managerial responsibility is getting divided instead of remaining concentrated in one hand. Thus there is a trend towards the decline of selfishness in the affairs of management. Now greater emphasis is being laid on the dignity of labour, human relationship and the larger societal interests. Thus a new breed of managers is developing more humane approach. Even employees are getting better opportunities for the participation in the management. Now along with the cost of production, due consideration is being given to the idea of social cost. Even motivation behind the work along with research and development is being given due consideration. True, these tendencies are more pronounced in the western countries. It is a matter of regret that we in India are moving at a slow pace in these directions. It is a matter of even greater regret that a number of people have failed to grasp the finer nuances of Gandhi's concept of trusteeship, which could have encompassed some of these new challenges in the field of management.

In modern times, the State is taken to be as the final arbiter and repository of all human concerns and affairs, so much so that if any property is not under any individual ownership, it must go to the State. The word used for such power is 'vest' which means that the State would not behave in respect of that property as the original owner might have behaved. Rather it would work as its trustee on behalf of the entire society. It would

be virtually under popular ownership and the State would use its proceeds for the welfare of the general masses. The people in the Establishment could not use it to promote their own personal interests. In legal parlance, this is called the Public Trust Doctrine.

This public trust doctrine in our country, it would appear, has grown from Article 21 of the Constitution. According to Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, every citizen has the right to life and liberty. Such a right does not mean just vegetative existence or survival, but to live with dignity. This has been further explained by the Supreme Court in a number of judgments. This right to life includes the right to health, clean environment that is needed by a human being to lead a life of dignity. This right to life is also applicable to the right to participate both in the ownership and management of the industries. Thus it could be safely concluded that Gandhi's trusteeship has also a base in our Constitution as it has close linkage with the right to lead a life of dignity.

It is widely believed that profit-making has always been the driving force behind trade, commerce and industry. It is further argued that if there is no scope for profit-making, then why should a man engage himself in all these activities? There might be a grain of truth in such a line of argument, but this is not the whole truth. For, there might be equal if not more potent reason for such engagements. In this connection, Vinoba Bhave raised a fundamental question: Did Jnaneshwar Maharaj write Jnaneshwari to make money or to get something like a Nobel Prize? This is true of most of the saints, sages and even prominent writers and poets. In fact, it is moral and spiritual inspiration which has been behind most of the great works in the world. Social welfare, commonweal, patriotism and human

concerns have often inspired people to undertake death-defying tasks. All of them could be put in the single category of moral and spiritual inspiration. Can anyone take the position that such inspirations have ceased to exist? This is the basic question we must ask. Gandhi was gripped by such moral and spiritual inspiration and it was the same inspiration which lay behind his idea of trusteeship. If such inspiration also grips the industrial sector, that alone would humanise its working. In Western countries such ideas are gripping the minds of the leaders of industries. Unfortunately, such a mindset on the part of the Indian corporate world is far from reality. Here, the concept of the corporate social responsibility is only confined to making some donation/gifts or to extend some financial help to some social institutions. Here again, it is mostly a part of strategy for tax planning. Gift/donation is the greatest saviour of capitalism. Whatever may be the source of money making, some donations to social institutions absolve the donor of all his sins. He also earns a lot of *punya* and even gets a lot of social recognition and prestige. We often forget that the recipient of such donation is considered to be a helpless and hapless man. Hence, alms giving and gift/ donations should never be taken as a means to meet the social responsibility of the rich and the powerful. It should come out of a deep feeling of sharing and cooperation. In the same way, it is also a moot question in our country, to what extent our private sector is truly private and our public sector is truly public?

Even the institutions of private sector, including banks and insurance companies, are run on the basis of public funding. Mostly, they remain as profit-making institutions run under the private ownership. If they start making losses, the government or the public institutions could take over them. Once the financial

problems are over, they once again return to the private sector. Thus the general policy is to nationalise the sick and loss-making institutions and let profit-making institutions remain in private hands. Now multi-national companies have also joined the rank. Their only concern is money-making without caring for the use of the purity of means or otherwise. They are rarely concerned with the interest of the country they are operating in. Profiteering is their sole consideration and exploitation their common norm. Non-Resident Indians (NRI) are given greater respect than the Indian businessman. In fact, they could be very well described as Non-Reliable Indians or Non-Required Indians. Another category of Resident Non-Indians (RNI) has also emerged in our country. Physically, they live in India but, temperamentally they are of alien culture. Their Indianness or *swadeshi* remain only as a matter of their entertainment. They produce good quality goods for export and goods of inferior quality for local consumption. That is their normal policy. To some extent, our working class is responsible for such distortions. Even the demand for the nationalisation of sick industries is also a dishonest policy, as they are mostly done to retain the services of the employees working there and not actually improving their financial health. Our public sector has also become a pastureland for our bureaucrats and administrators. They are hardly concerned about the financial health of these concerns. They are mostly concerned about their perks and privileges. The policy of depreciation becomes the dominant feature of public sector undertakings. Consequently, their basic vitality is sucked away, and they are left without life and energy.

In our country, the industrial culture has not taken deep roots. Hence, corruption has assumed a pandemic form. There is

a heavy dose of bureaucratisation in every industry and providing jobs has become the primary goal of the public sector undertakings. One could very well imagine why Gandhi laid such emphasis on the purity of means. Today such emphasis and his advocacy of the close relations between the ends and the means appear to be of seminal importance. In this context it is relevant to quote what one commentator said about Jawaharlal Nehru's opinion on this point:

‘Shri Nehru refused to believe that there was much difference between the public and private sectors and stated that it was ultimately the public sector which meant the well-being of the people and the country. Today it was not the capital alone but also the intelligence and labour that counted among the productive potentialities. He also deprecated any class-conflict as well as any controversy over respective interests. All would have to work for the ultimate good of the people.’

In the above context, Gandhi's concept of the oceanic circle appears to be of crucial importance today. Unless, there is a firm commitment towards societal welfare from all sides, it would be difficult to introduce discipline in every walk of our national life and a policy of fair pricing of the goods along with maintaining their high quality. Besides, the race of advertisements for promoting poor quality goods is not going to subside. Presently goods and commodities are being produced for the market. As such maximisation of profit remains the primary motivation.

In sharp contrast to the above perspective, Gandhi's trusteeship was based on brotherhood of men marked by co-sharing and cooperation. Here production was meant for the consumption of all the members of the society and not only for marketing and profiteering. According to trusteeship, all this is

not just an economic issue. What should be the primary motive behind human labour? Does one work simply for promoting his financial interests? Or could man work for sharing and contributing his labour towards societal commonweal? Could man find another motivating force for labouring beyond his self-interests? These are the seminal questions for serious consideration. Gandhi's trusteeship was based on such alternative motivation for human labour. Production being a cooperative venture, every member must contribute his/her might to that end. Once such realisation dawns on human beings, inspiration and motivation based on self-interests is automatically done away with. Thus it could be safely said that Gandhi's idea of trusteeship is based on the culture of sacrifice and concern for others. Can we ever say that such feeling and mindset would never become an integral part of our dominant social culture? Is it possible to think that one could never sacrifice his own interests for the sake of others? Is it not possible to base our new economic thinking on the concerns for others, unlike the old economic thinking which was based on profiteering and selfishness? Could not it become a bounden social duty? Could one rule out all such possibilities forever? Our answers could be an emphatic. 'No.' In this connection it is relevant to recall what Gandhi had told H.G. Wells on the "Rights of Man" prepared by him: 'Begin with a charter of Duties of Man (both M and D capitals) and I promise the rights will follow as spring follows winter.'⁵ Hence, let there be no cut-throat competition or competitors in the economic life of the society. Even if the feeling of competition is retained, let it be inspired by duties and not by consideration of rights.

Our difficulty is that such high ideals and moral principles are often not to our liking. They also appear impractical to us.

Gandhi underlined all kinds of high social values not only human and spiritual values. Could any society ever have sustained existence in absence of such values? If not, how could we say that they are too impractical to be practiced?

We Indians have not accepted the whole lot of Gandhian ideas so far. He has pointed a way for human and societal salvation. Some day we have to make a vital decision. Why not to walk on the path shown by Gandhi. Even a section of the western society has underlined the centrality of his ideas – their practical use for the present time. Today people of the world have moved closer to each other on account of fast means of transportation and communication. Whether such closeness would bring love or conflict is the moot question. It is the time to give a fresh look at the Gandhian ideas and ideals with open eyes and with an open mind. That his ideas are not outdated is being demonstrated by a number of developments from all over the world. Let us also contribute our might in that direction. That is my ardent wish and prayer.

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Kishorlal Mashruwala

Trusteeship

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The business community hailed the economic policy of liberalization and globalization first enunciated by Manmohan Singh in 1991 as finance Minister of our country in the Government of P. V. Narasimha Rao. The same policy continued to guide the later governments. In the thinking on economic policy and matter there is no substantial difference between the different governments. Our country has practiced socialist economic policies for 40 years from 1951 to 1992. Since then the governments have been following policies of liberalization and globalization. At the advent of independence, the combined population of India then consisting of present India, Pakistan and Bangladesh was around 40 crores. Today the people living below poverty line in India alone are over 42 crores. It is reported that 1% of the population of the world would 99% of the resources of its wealth by 2016.¹ The case of India is not much different. This clearly shows that neither socialism nor liberalization is the correct instruments for the economic growth and prosperity of this country. For solving countries economic problems one has to accept Gandhi's economic solutions. Pandit Nehru realized it in his last days, which was too late for him to change the course. Advocates of present economic policy are getting highly intoxicated. The one of the idea of Gandhi's economics was the concept of "Trusteeship".

In the year 1991, for the first time, the Finance Minister of the country had referred in his budget speech² to Gandhi's Philosophy of trusteeship. There is yet no indication that efforts are being made to translate the concept into a programme of action. In a poor country like ours, the private sector cannot be given unlimited control over the resources and permitted to use these resources ultimately for the private consumption of a few thousand individuals or families. And there lies the relevance of Gandhi's philosophy of trusteeship which should be the guiding star of our new economic policy, if it is to succeed.

Dada Dharmadhikari, a revered *Sarvodaya* leader, once said: The world is divided into two camps-communism and capitalism. Communism thrives on the exploitation by the State. On the other hand, the capitalism and communism are shaking and no new social order can be built on either of them. A new social order can be based on the alternative economic policy of Mahatma. That the Soviet economy has failed is known only too well today. One need not presume that capitalism *ipso facto* has succeeded. Gandhi was probably the first to see the inherent contradictions – of both capitalism and communism and as a practical idealist he propagated the idea of trusteeship which could take the place of capitalism and communism. While the nation, which has been following the Nehruvian brand of socialism and centrist economic planning, is prepared to give more than a fair trial to private enterprise, it is surprising that the business community has not shown any interest in the trusteeship concept.

Roots of Trusteeship idea

The idea of the trusteeship doctrine is to be found in the opening verse of the *Ishopanishad*. It means that, "All that is in the

universe is pervaded by God. Renounce first in order to enjoy. Covet not anyone's wealth." It is also to be found in the story of the miracles of five loaves and two fishes in the Bible.

Gandhi, like a socialist, believed in the ideal of equitable distribution but, unlike a socialist, recognized that men and women differ in their capacity and ability and have varying needs. Hence equal distribution cannot mean abuniformity. To quote Gandhi: "The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more.....For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pond of flour for his bread and another needs a pound both should be in a position to satisfy their wants....Again, all men have no equal talent; no two leaves on a tree are exactly alike. It is not possible to remove inequalities by 'lopping off the tall poppies'.³ Gandhi did not want the talent of anyone to be wasted. He wanted all talents to be used for the benefit of society.

Gandhi even conceded that the owners of the resources could retain a reasonable remuneration for themselves as a reward for their services or usefulness to the society. He believed that complete non-possession is an abstraction which cannot be realised in an absolute sense. While Socialists and Communists dubbed Gandhi's concept of trusteeship as clever ploy meant to give a new release of life to private ownership. They owe it to the country to explain to what extent their socialism or their opponent's capitalism has achieved in the reduction in the level of poverty of the poor, which they claim to attain. They wanted that all proprietary concerns to be State-owned. While Gandhi agreed that individuals accumulated capital through exploitation, which in turn amounted to violence, he preferred the violence of

the individual to the violence of the State as the lesser of the two evils.

Gandhi reflected on the trusteeship ideal when he was under detention at the Agha Khan palace. On his release from prison he discussed it with certain senior members of the Ashram and M.L. Dantwala of the Bombay University. A draft of trusteeship was prepared by Dantwala, Narhari Parikh, Kishorelal Mashruwala and others. Gandhi approved the draft after making a few changes. The final draft as amended read as follows:

"Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption

It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except insofar as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.

It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth. Thus, under State-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the Interest of society. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that could be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.

Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or agreed.”⁴

Before releasing the formal trusteeship draft to the press it was decided that it might be shown to G.D. Birla and he welcomed it. It was also proposed that the whole effort might not begin and end with the publication of the formula, Birla should first canvas it among some fellow-businessmen so that the announcement about their acceptance could be made along with the publication of the draft. There was no further communication from Birla in this connection. According to Pyarelal, “perhaps he met with discouraging response from those whom he had approached’. Here is a great concept of universal consequence and which offers a new means of removing the ills of social accumulation. Vinoba Bhave’s *Bhoodan/Gramdan* programmes were essentially derived from a belief in trusteeship.

Whether *Bhoodan* created a revolution or not is a different matter. But the fact remains that the total area of the land received as gifts as part of the *Bhoodan* Movement for distribution among the landless was probably a little more than the land acquired by all the States in the country under the various land ceiling laws.

Ernest Bader of Scott Bader Company Ltd. successfully campaigned for the trusteeship idea in the U.K. The industrial common ownership Act, 1976 was enacted in the U.K. for the same purpose. A number of companies with varying degrees of success tried the trusteeship concept in West Germany where about 40,000 are working today on the basis of trusteeship. Among the organizations working for trusteeship in India has been the Trusteeship Foundation established in Bombay by

Govindrao Deshpande under the inspiration of Jayaprakash Narayan .

Apart from holding conferences, seminars and group discussions across the length and breadth of the country, Govindrao Deshpande and his team have also tried on an experimental basis to work certain units on the basis of the trusteeship concept. The People's Trusteeship Packaging Private Limited, Mehsana is one such example. As in all experiments, problems do come up in operating the units but then units learn to walk without falling. The need now is for large business houses to accept and run their business on a trusteeship basis.

Relevance of the Concept

Is the concept of trusteeship relevant today? Is it not utopian? I personally believe that the concept is not at all utopian. There is much less risk in experimenting with the concept of trusteeship than with the package offered by the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. Devaluation of the Indian rupee is not likely to increase exports substantially. Surprisingly as it may seem, it was the firebrand socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia, who tried to introduce a draft bill to pave the way for trusteeship in the fourth *Lok Sabha*. However, with the dissolution of *Lok Sabha* it lapsed.

What is the organizational framework to be adopted by a trusteeship organization? While concerted efforts need to be made to get an enabling legislation passed by the Parliament, I believe the present legal framework is sufficient. In the case of proprietary concern or a partnership can be adopted by a simple decision of the proprietor or the partners. The workers and the

representatives of community could be associated with such an organization and fully involved in decision-making.

Similarly, a limited company can also adopt a trusteeship form of management. A separate trust with representatives of entrepreneurs, owners, employees and the community as trustees could hold the controlling interest in a company. The employees could have the right to vote and their membership of the trust is limited to the period of their employment with the company. Outstanding persons with commitment to the principles of trusteeship and a degree of business acumen and expertise could be invited to join as trustees either for life or for a specified period. Certain structural and other changes may have to be made in the Memorandum and Articles of Association of public limited companies.

On the taxability of such trusts certain changes have to be made in the Income Tax and Wealth Tax Acts. The operation of the Industrial Common Ownership Act, 1976 in the U.K. may have some lessons for us. The draft bill placed in the *Lok Sabha* by Lohia could also be a guide in this regard. The operation of the Peoples Trusteeship Packaging Private Limited at Mehsana in Gujarat (with B.J. Patel as its Chairman) may be studied.

A co-operative set-up is not necessarily a trusteeship framework. In a co-operative enterprise one works for the benefit of only its members who may be different in different cases. As experience has shown co-operatives of say, cane growers, do not concern themselves with the interests of other workers, consumers or even the community. Similarly a consumer's co-operative concerns itself only with the benefits accruing to its consumers.

Trusteeship envisages equal partnership of entrepreneurs, workers, consumers and the community at large. Payment of better wages and salaries and provision of amenities for the welfare of labor do not represent trusteeship. Making periodical donations for the benefit of various projects with or without associating the names of donors is not trusteeship. Holding equity shares of companies by a trust is a far cry from trusteeship.

Trusteeship could become wider concept -a movement, in fact a way of life. Let those in power consider themselves trustees and use the vast resources, power and accompanying influence for the good of people rather than for personal good. Similarly, let the intellectuals use their knowledge and intelligence for the benefit of the community. Organized labour must also remember that they are among the 10% of the privileged citizens. Let us not wait for someone else to set the ball rolling. Let us all make a start here and now. *Mahatma* can only take us to the river, he cannot make us drink.

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Jamnallal Bajaj: Business Ethics, Corporate Social Responsibility and Trusteeship

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Introduction

One of the major contributions of Gandhi was inculcating ethics in various walks of life including the realm of business. He considered creation of wealth as a major social contribution. But his primary concern was how the wealth is created and the way in which it is being used. He was quite convinced that there could be fair deal in business and it would not hamper its growth.¹ But more than that, he was equally concerned about the ethical use of the accumulated wealth for the societal good. It was such a perception of business and wealth creation and its use for social welfare that prompted him to enunciate his principle of trusteeship. In plain language, the Gandhian concept of trusteeship stands for a new way to manage private property and societal resources. Such a perspective was based on his understanding that all the resources at the disposal of man and nature are creation of God. As such no one has moral authority to use them purely for the personal interests. In 1947, he was asked whether the rich men should give up private ownership in

their property and create out of it a trust valid in the eyes of the law and manage democratically. He replied in affirmative stating that he adhered to the position taken by him years ago that everything belonged to God and was from Him. Therefore, it was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate share, he became a trustee of that portion for God's people. He further added that God who was all-powerful had no need to store. He created them from day to day; hence men also should in theory live from day to day and not stock things. If this truth was imbibed by the people generally, it would become legalized and trusteeship would become a legalized institution.² A synoptic perusal of Gandhi's writings on trusteeship makes it amply clear that starting with voluntarism he gradually veered around the view that the State would have to play somewhat vital role in the entire scheme of trusteeship. Nevertheless he did not give up his emphasis on voluntarism in the field of trusteeship. As he put it "Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number."³

Gandhi considered Jamnalal Bajaj as the first convert of his socialistic vision of society based on his idea of trusteeship. That is why Gandhi wrote the following in *Harijan* about Jamnalal Bajaj "Whenever I wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good I always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If his trusteeship did not reach the ideal, the fault was not his. I deliberately restrained him. I did not want him in his enthusiasm to take a single step which in his cool moments he might regret."⁴ However, this paper neither seeks to make a detailed investigation into Gandhi's idea of trusteeship

nor does it attempt to present comprehensive account of Jamnalal's life. All that it seeks to investigate is how Jamnalal tried to adapt his life to overall thinking of Gandhi and took some of the major steps towards the approximation of Gandhian ideas on trusteeship. One of the major contentions of this paper is that Jamnalal Bajaj went much beyond the present idea of corporate social responsibility.

The Corporate Social Responsibility

The concept and practice of *Dan* or charity was very much an integral part of Indian culture and tradition. The people holding the resources used to support good causes in different fields as part of their social responsibility. But everything was voluntary and there was no fixed amount which has to be disbursed by these people. Now it has acquired a legal form. It was in 2009, the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA), Government of India had introduced the Corporate Social Responsibility Voluntary Guidelines which was subsequently incorporated under the Companies Act of 2013.⁵ The section 135 of the 2013 Act lays down the broad guidelines of Corporate Social Responsibility. Accordingly, every company having net worth of rupees five hundred crore or more, or turnover of rupees one thousand crore or more or a net profit of rupees five crore or more during the financial year shall constitute a Corporate Social Responsibility Committee of the Board and shall ensure that the company spends, in every financial year, at least two per cent of the average net profits of the company made during the three immediately preceding financial years, in pursuance of its Corporate Social Responsibility Policy.⁶ The committee shall formulate the policy, including activities specified in the Schedule VII including eradication of hunger and

poverty, promotion of education, gender equality and empowerment of women, health care etc.

The Corporate Social Responsibility Policy of the Government is nothing but an attempt on the part of policy makers to ensure the continuance of existing system by providing it with humane face. It takes away voluntary part which had earlier inspired many wealthy and rich people like Jammalal Bajaj and others. Now the very idea of social responsibility has got linked up with tax saving measure. As result, many corporate houses have set up their own trusts simply to save taxes and in the process it has lost its very meaning. The idea of corporate social responsibility to be meaningful should have to become a part of corporate culture. At the moment there is no clarity about the precise nature of projects to be undertaken under the Act.

It remains as fact that the provisions of corporate social responsibility incorporated in the new Act hardly come nearer to the legal form which Gandhi visualised as a part of his trusteeship idea. He was in favour of abrogating the law of inheritance for societal good. He went to the extent of saying that the land of propertied class could be forcibly taken away by the State for the sake of averting the threat of a violent revolution. He even visualized a State-regulated trusteeship in which an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society. In short, the provisions of corporate social responsibility incorporated in the new Act are far away from these basic formulations of Gandhi.

Despite all these limitations, the new act has brought into limelight the very idea of social responsibility which was

quintessence of Gandhian trusteeship. There is a long road to be traversed before we reach the final goal of non-violent society based on the foundation of trusteeship. The idea of corporate social responsibility has even reached United Nations which has floated The United Nations Global Compact. It is a platform for business and non-business entities to proactively network and engage in areas of human rights, labour, environment, anti-corruption and contributing to UN goals in order to achieve the common objectives of building a sustainable and inclusive global economy. The UN Global Compact formulated ten principles in the areas of human rights, labour, the environment and anti-corruption.⁷

Jamnalal Bajaj : A brief life sketch

For a better understanding of Jamnalal's contribution to business ethics, corporate social responsibility and the idea of trusteeship, a brief life sketch is called for. Jamnalal Bajaj was born on 4 November 1889 at Kashi-ka-bas, a village in Sikar in Jaipur state of princely India. His parents were Kanhiram and Virdibai. They were people of little means. He has two other brothers. Seth Bachhraj of Wardha was one of their distant relatives. He had an adopted son who had died without leaving behind any issue. Bachhraj was pretty rich and wanted to adopt a child as his grandson who could inherit his property. Once he visited Kanhiram family at Kashi-ka-bas. Jamnalal was a four year child then. He appeared to be bright and intelligent. Bachhraj proposed to adopt Jamnalal and take him to Wardha. There was some reluctance on the part of the parents of Jamnalal. But ultimately they yielded to the persistent and emotional appeal of Bachhraj family. Thus Jamnalal came to Wardha as the adopted grandson of Seth Bachhraj. He did spend

a few years at the school. Soon he gave it up for good. But on his own initiative he picked up several languages including Hindi, Marathi and English. On the whole, he grew up as a very intelligent child. What was more remarkable about his childhood that besides being a child of rich family, he refused to be pampered and to lead a life of extravagance. A number of people including servants and other close relatives of the family tried to drag him to a life of luxury. He refused to be allured. His ethical and spiritual sight was set on a much higher plane. He was in search of a *Guru* to lead him to the desired destination. Equally determined was he to look for a purpose in his life and work for the welfare of others. Two instances could be cited to gauge his state of mind. When he was hardly seventeen, he donated Rs.100 from his savings as a child for the publication of Tilak's *Hind Kesari* in Hindi. But the best was yet to come. He was scolded by his grandfather Seth Bachhraj for not wearing very expensive ornaments for going to a party. He revolted and left the home. But what is more remarkable is the kind of letter he wrote to Seth Bachhraj. That clearly brings out his high ethical and spiritual life even at the tender age of seventeen. This incident took place in the year 1907. It shows his *Anasakti* towards worldly enjoyment and possessions. He had left behind everything except the clothes he was wearing. Such was the state of non-possession which governed his life. A boy of his age is usually faced with temptations galore but Jamnalal was made of a different metal. He wrote a moving letter which is worth quoting. "You were so angry with me today. It was God's will and you had a right to be angry in that you adopted me. It is not your fault; rather it is the fault of those who gave me in adoption. The money is yours and you may do whatever you like with it. I am sorry for the expenses you have incurred on me so far, but from this moment, I will not touch a pie out of your money. I have no right against you and I

would implore you not to be anxious about me. May God keep you many more years. Wherever I go, I shall pray for your welfare. Pray pardon me for having irritated you. I hope you never believed that I served you because of your money. Please dismiss that thought from your mind, if you ever had it. I care not for wealth. I pray that I may never forget the name of God who alone can keep me happy in this and the next life. And pray be of good cheer and don't sorrow over my going. All earthly relationship is hollow. The worldly possessions hold you in their grip. Thank God you have freed me today from their deadly grip. And please rest assured that I will not go to the law to claim a pie of what is yours. This is a regular release deed on a stamped paper and it declares that you owe me no obligation whatsoever. I owe no debts that you need repay. Use your money in charity; swear not at *sadhus* and others. As is your wont, but please them with whatever money you can give. I am taking nothing from the house, nothing but the clothes that cover me.”⁸

He met several leaders including S. N. Banerjee, Tilak and others to seek their guidance but he remained dissatisfied as he was not getting what he was looking from these interactions. Along with Shrikrishnadas Jajoo, he established Shiksha Mandal at Wardha in 1914. Ultimately he met Gandhi who had come back to India from South Africa in early part of 1915. He visited Satyagraha ashram at Kocharab in Ahmedabad and had several interactions with him. In Gandhi, he found an emotional and spiritual anchorage. When Gandhi launched his non-cooperation movement Jamnalal renounced his title of *Rai Bahadur* conferred by the British Government and joined the movement. He also became the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Nagpur Congress held in 1920. It was in the

same year that on his persistent appeal, Gandhi accepted him as his fifth son which literally changed his entire course of life.

Earlier he failed to persuade Gandhi to come over to Wardha for permanent residence. But in 1921 he succeeded in bringing Vinoba Bhave to Wardha to start a branch of Satyagraha ashram. He led the Flag Satyagraha in Nagpur in 1923 and was sent to jail for 18 months. When Gandhiji was in jail, Jamnalal took the initiative to form Gandhi Seva Sangh in 1924 for promoting Gandhian ideas and programmes. In 1924 after Gandhi was released from jail and started concentrating on Constructive work. Jamnalal played a very vital role in All India Spinners Association and even became its officiating President in 1927. Jamnalal was so committed to Gandhi's struggle against untouchability that he threw open the gates of Laxmi Narayan Temple on July 17, 1928 for untouchables. This was the first temple in the country to be opened for the untouchables. He participated in the movement against Simon commission and also Salt satyagraha. He was elected as the treasurer of the Congress Party and the member of its Working Committee in 1933. In fact, Jamnalal Bajaj was responsible for bringing Gandhi to Wardha and setting up his Ashram at Sevagram. He also promoted Vinoba's Ashram at Paunar, Wardha. He also participated in All India States People's Conference and Praja Mandal Movement. He went to jail protesting against unjust actions of Jaipur State. Subsequently he was imprisoned during Individual Satyagraha. Despite all these activities and social service there remained a streak of restlessness which continued to afflict his inner life. Ultimately he received some solace and peace in the company of Mata Anandmayee. During the fag end of his life he took to *Ksetrasanyas* and *Go Seva* and settled at Gopuri in Wardha. He left his mortal being on 11 February 1942.

Paying a glowing tribute to his fifth son Gandhi wrote: "In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, death has taken a mighty man..... His simplicity was all his own. Every house he built for himself became a *dharmashala*. His contribution as a *satyagrahi* was of the highest order. In political discussions he held his own. His judgments were sound. As an act of renunciation his last was the crown of all. He wanted to take up a constructive activity to which he could devote the rest of his life and in which he could use all his abilities. This was the preservation of the cattle wealth of India personified in the cow. He threw himself into the work with a single-mindedness and zeal I had never seen surpassed. His generosity knew no distinction of race, creed or colour. He wanted to perform a rare thing for a busy man. He wanted to control his thoughts so as to prevent a single intruder from coming in. The world is poorer for his death. The country has lost one of the bravest of its servants. Janakidevi, the widow, has decided to take up the work to which he had dedicated himself. She has divested herself of all her personal property valued at about two and a half lacs. May God enable her to fulfill the trust she has undertaken."⁹

Business Ethics, Corporate Social Responsibility and Trusteeship

As we have seen earlier, Jamnalal came from a business family background. He inherited a small business in Cotton from his grandfather, Seth Bachhraj. But it speaks volumes for his business acumen, hard labour and his good grasp of business rules that he succeeded in building up a fairly large business house. He expanded not only his cotton business but also took to new fields like Steel, Sugar and others. But that was nothing unusual for a business family. What is noteworthy that he never

deviated from the path of ethical dealing, fair play and business rectitude. It is to be noted that he was pursuing all ethical dealings in business and other walks of life even before he had met Gandhi. Initially he started philanthropic activities mostly in Bombay, Vidharbha and Rajasthan. Gradually it expanded throughout the country. Thus he donated a sum of Rs.31, 000 for the Institute set up by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose in Calcutta,¹⁰ while many businessmen went back on their promise to support the scientific work undertaken by J. C. Bose. On the request of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, he donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 to the library of Benares Hindu University.¹¹ These donations show his commitment to the cause of education, though he himself was not highly educated. There are many such acts of philanthropy in his life which shows his earnest desire to use the wealth he created for the societal welfare.¹² Jamnalal's attitude towards wealth creation and its use for the welfare of the people could be easily illustrated by what he wrote on Lakshmi Pujan day (*Deepavali*), while opening a new accounts book on October 20, 1922. "Prayed Goddess Lakshmiji to grant me wisdom to carry on business with honesty and grant me prosperity in business and the good sense to utilize it for the benefit of the country and the afflicted people."¹³ It is rarely given to a man to pursue both *abhyudaya* (worldly prosperity) and *paramartha* (societal good). Jamnalal was one of those rare persons who achieved both the ends in his own life time. He turned out to be a successful businessman. At the same time he also became a committed social worker, a freedom fighter, and a philanthropist. It goes without saying that his primary focus was on the service to the people and the country and he was willing to sacrifice his business interest for the sake of the country. This is the point he stressed while addressing the members of his community and called upon them not to sacrifice the interest of

the people for the sake of high profit. He further added that such an attitude would also help them to face British and their stratagems. He asserted that the fight against the British was justified on the ground that they had been taking away our wealth to their own country. Did not the same principle apply in respect of rich and the powerful who are also depriving the poor and downtrodden of their wealth? In such a case the struggle of the poor against the Indian rich could be justifiable. Addressing the Aggarwal Mahasabha Conference in 1926 he categorically stated when he said “Our complaint against the British is that they take away wealth from our country.... A similar charge can be laid against us (the Marwaris). We should therefore look to the interests of the province, region or society in the midst of which we earn our living and, whenever necessary, we should serve it with all our heart.” In the same conference he further added “We do not realize the need for seeking the sympathy of the common people; we do not even try for it. If we do our business in accordance with an accepted code of ethics, we will win not only the sympathy, but the respect of the society and the country. The more we are with the people; the less afraid we will be of the officials.”¹⁴

Jamnalal’s Maxims on Business

Jamnalal was an upright, honest and straight forward businessman. He has developed a number of maxims which he applies to his own business daily as well he expected other businessmen to follow it. Jamnalal’s Maxims on Business are given below.

1. Do not affix your signature on any paper before you have read it.

2. Do not take any monetary risks in the hope that you will make only profits.
3. Do not hesitate to say 'no'. Everyone who wishes for success in life should have in him the strength to convince others of the truth of what he says.
4. Be cautious in dealing with unacquainted persons; this is not to say that you should treat them with suspicion.
5. Always be clean, truthful, and stainless in your business affairs, and keep a record of everything.
6. Before you stand surety for any person, you should know him well.
7. Keep a strict account of every pie.
8. Be strictly punctual and keep your engagements without fail.
9. Do not hold out up hopes of doing more, than you can readily do.
10. Be truthful, but not because it pays you to do so.
11. Whatever you wish to do, do it today.
12. Think only of success, speak only of success and you will see that you will succeed.
13. Have faith in the power of your body and soul.
14. Do not ever be ashamed of hard work.
15. Never fight shy of plain speaking.¹⁵

An analysis of these fifteen points underlines their significance and relevance in the present times in which money making has virtually become a free for all business. At present, there is lot of discussions going on about ethical business. Jamnadal's maxims could provide a definite direction for the business world. The present relevance of Jamnadal's maxims underscores his foresight.

Some illustrative Cases from Jamnadal's life

The honest business dealings of Jamnadal could be illustrated by his courage to swim against the current. In cotton business it was a usual practice on the part of many dealers to pour some water on cotton bales which added to their weight as well as their apparent quality bringing high prices to the dealers. Jamnadal refused to indulge in such malpractices. It was brought to his notice by his workers that such an upright policy might ruin his business as it would not survive in the competitive market. Jamnadal Bajaj made it clear that he hardly cares for the profit or business survival, if he has to compromise with his basic business principles. Ultimately it was decided that his firm would keep primarily water free cotton bales with the mark of B.J. (Bachhraj Jamnadal) and a few bales with the mark "W.I. C" (Water in Cotton)¹⁶ for those who were willing to pay lesser price. Such was the business ethics of Jamnadal.

Once Jamnadal was accused by editor of Marathi journal *Savadhan* that he has not really gifted his Maganwadi house to All India Village Industries Association. He has just pretended to have done so. As there was no proper gift deed as such the property would ultimately go back to Bachhraj and Company which was for all practical purposes a family business. Jamnadal on the advice of Gandhi dragged him to court in a libel case and

the editor was sentenced to six months imprisonment and a fine of Rs.1000/- .This sentence was upheld by the higher court. ¹⁷

Just before 1937 elections a number of opponents of Congress spread a canard that funds collected for Congress are being misused by Jamnalal being the treasurer of Congress party. For a while he ignored it. But when the attack became persistent he decided to file a defamation suit. He told his legal consultants that all evidence should be placed before the court whether they support our case or go against us. There was one account book which his lawyers thought might go against Jamnalal case if presented to court as a piece of evidence. He refused to buy their thesis and insisted that account book must be presented in the court. This is what ultimately was done. Strangely enough it was on the basis of that account book that Jamnalal won the case.¹⁸

One of his acquaintances was in great financial difficulty; Jamnalal rescued him by providing financial help to him. After some time the same gentleman was faced with some eye problem Jamnalal paid for his eye treatment. He was again caught up in financial difficulty as he has huge amount of accumulated debt. Jamnalal asked his accountant to settle the issue. Strangely enough the same person came as a lawyer of the opposite party in the Jamnalal's defamation suit. Not only that, he cross examined Jamnalal and asked some inconvenient questions using foul language. Outside the court Jamnalal's accountant got furious with the lawyer and reminded him that he was ungrateful. When Jamnalal came to know about it he scolded his accountant. He reminded the accountant that whenever we do some benedictions to anybody we should not talk about it. Rather we should just forget about it after doing such acts. ¹⁹

Jamnalal was convinced that just for profit making he would not enter into business deal even if it meant earning crores of rupees. He firmly believed that any business which adversely affects the interest of the country and the people, he and his family would never undertake. Some of his friends advised him to takeover cotton mills, vegetable oil mills and similar other ventures. But he refused to pay any heed to their advice as it was not in consistent with his business maxims.²⁰

Jamnalal was engaged in agricultural work in a number of villages around Wardha. His workers used to look after the agricultural works in a village viz. Amargaon. One of the peasants complained against one of the employees who was looking after the village work. Jamnalal appointed a peasant worker as the *Panch* for the entire case. When the enquiry started Jamnalal himself cross examined the said employee and put forward searching questions in favour of peasants. He wanted just treatment to be meted out to everyone whether or not related to him. Thus it is clear from the above incident that the entire life of Jamnalal was governed by a deep sense of justice and fair play irrespective of parties involved in it. He hardly cared for his financial or business interest if and when it came into conflict with his sense of justice.²¹

This incident relates to the time when Jamnalal was behind the bars. There was unprecedented profit in business during a particular financial year. So his Company had to pay greater amount of Income tax for that. Jamnalal's accountant was reluctant to pay that heavy amount. So he negotiated with the Income Tax Officer and paid some bribe to avoid the payment of huge tax. Once Jamnalal came out of the jail he was apprised of the situation. He felt restless and uncomfortable for such deceitful business dealing. He took the matter to Gandhi who

advised to spend the same amount for the welfare of the people.²² That is how the matter was settled to Jamnalal's satisfaction.

J. R. D. Tata was happy with Jamnalal and his work and wanted to promote a rising businessman like him. He sought to offer 5,000 shares of a textile mill at the face value of Rs.10/- though the prevailing market value of the share was Rs.14 per share. Jamnalal refused to take the advantage because it went against his moral principles.²³ Similarly, when Tata started New India Assurance Company 1919, Jamnalal was made as one of the founder directors. He wanted the new venture to provide a model business of its own kind which would ensure benefit to insurers and investors. He persuaded many of his friends to do business with the new Company. However, he soon discovered that the other directors of the Company hardly share his liberal approach. So he resigned from the Directorship of the company.²⁴

The quintessence of Gandhi's trusteeship so far the business class was concerned lies in running business on ethical lines and the using one's earning for the welfare of others. Jamnalal's entire life was devoted to actualise Gandhi's ideas of trusteeship in true spirit. An occasion came when he was willing to offer all his property and earnings to a trust and he himself just working merely as its trustee. It was Gandhi who stopped him to take such a decision in haste. He advised him to continue with kind of life and business he was living. That is why Gandhi while paying tribute to Jamnalal publicly admitted the responsibility of deliberately restraining him against such a move.²⁵ Thus it is clear that Jamnalal Bajaj was literally willing to implement Gandhi's trusteeship ideal in toto.

A detailed history most of Gandhian institutions including Sevagram Ashram, Paunar Ashram, Mahila Seva Mandal, Shiksha Mandal, Gandhi Seva Sangh, Go Seva Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Rashtra Basha Prachar Samity, Sastha Sahitya Mandal, Charkha Sangh, All India Village Industries Association and host of other organizations, one could easily find the figure of Jamnalal standing somewhere behind them. He not only donated and collected funds for them but also incessantly worked for them. He himself led a life of simplicity so much so that the first time he bought a car to facilitate the working of Gandhi and not for his personal use despite having all resources at his disposal. Despite his involvement in the worldly affairs, he continued to be inspired by deep sense of renunciation. It was with such a perspective on life that he hardly did anything for the sake of name and fame. This could be fully illustrated by one of the incidents of his life. He went to see one of his cousins who was on death bed. Jamnalal asked him whether he could do anything to meet his last wish. The cousin replied that he had written a book to defame Jamnalal and he wished to publish it before his death. For the same he needed Rs. 500/-. Jamnalal immediately gave the sum.²⁶ Such was the human side of Jamnalal. His attitude towards business and wealth could be judged by the Will he wrote at the age of thirty two. In his Will he expressed a desire that all business should be closed after his death. However, his successors wished to continue the business they should run it with total truthfulness and for the welfare of the people and the country. That was his clear advice to his successors.²⁷

Two days after the death of Jamnalal, Gandhi had a heart to heart talk with his family members. In keeping with the spirit of entire life of Jamnalal and his own ideas, Gandhi advised

Kamalnayan Bajaj, the eldest son of Jamnalal Bajaj: “According to Hindu tradition, the eldest son, no doubt inherits a share in the father’s property like the younger ones, but at the same time he becomes the custodian of the family’s traditions as well as a follower of his father’s good deeds and principles. Hence, if you wish to carry on his business and earn money, you are welcome to do so. But, like your father, you must also do it by righteous and legitimate means, and act as a trustee of what you earn. Only if you spend your earnings in the service of the people and not for selfish ends, will your trusteeship stand justified.”²⁸ Further Gandhi wrote an article about Jamnalal in *Harijan* entitled “Fiery Ordeal” in February 22, 1942. In that article Gandhi clearly stated the contributions of Jamnalal Bajaj and his intimate relationship with him. He wrote:

“Never before, I can say, was a mortal blessed with a ‘son’ like him... Jamnalalji surrendered himself and his without reservation. There is hardly any activity of mine in which I did not receive his full-hearted cooperation and in which it did not prove to be of the greatest value. He was gifted with a quick intelligence. He was a merchant prince. He placed at my disposal his ample possessions. He became guardian of my time and my health. And he did it all for the public good.”²⁹

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it is clear that Gandhi’s ideas of trusteeship might be difficult to realize in actual life but it is not impossible and impractical. Jamnalal through his actions in various fields demonstrated that given the will and determination one could really give a practical shape to the idea of trusteeship. Of course, it requires a feeling of detachment,

renunciation and high ideals as its prerequisites and also a great will to suffer and sacrifice. But that doesn't mean that one has to disassociate himself from this phenomenal world. Jamnallal engaged himself in his business dealings with ethical restraint. Equally he fought for the freedom of the country with all intensity at his command. He also carried on Constructive programmes in various fields like *Harijan Seva*, Communal Harmony, Khadi, education etc.. It is not for nothing that Gandhi said no one has been blessed with a son like Jamnallal which he had privileged to be blessed.

Notes and References

1. It is my conviction that it is possible to acquire riches without consciously doing wrong. For example I may light on a gold mine in my one acre of land. But I accept the proposition that it is better not to desire wealth than to acquire it, and become its trustee. I gave up my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy or who would not shed the desire for wealth? I can only say to them that they should use their wealth for service.

It is true that generally the rich spend more on themselves than they need. But this can be avoided. Jamnallalji spent far less on himself than men of his own economic status and even than many middle-class men. I have come across innumerable rich persons who are stingy on themselves. For some it is a part of their nature to spend next to nothing on themselves, and they do not think that they acquire merit in so doing.

The same applies to the sons of the wealthy. Personally, I do not believe in inherited riches. The well-to-do should educate and bring up their children so that they may learn how to be independent. The tragedy is that they do not do so. Their children do get some education, they even recite verses in praise of poverty, but they have no compunction about helping themselves to parental wealth. That being so, I exercise my common sense and advise what is practicable.

Those of us, however, who consider it a duty to adopt poverty and believe in and desire economic equality may not be jealous of the rich, but should exhibit real happiness in our poverty which others may emulate. The sad fact is that those who are thus happy are few and far between.” *Harijan*, 8-3-1942.

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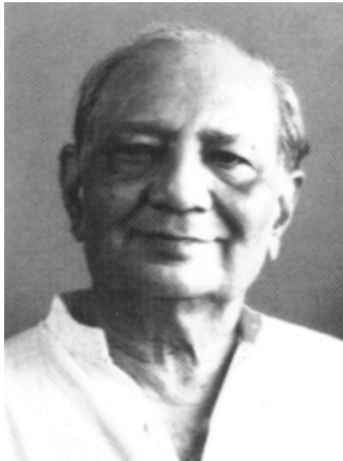
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Prof. M. L. Dantwala

Trusteeship and its underlying Principles

Shubhada Pandey

“Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs and use the remainder for the society.”¹ These lines of Gandhi echo his basic approach to wealth and resources. The beauty of this approach is that on the one side it promotes the individual initiative in the creation of wealth. On the other hand, it demands from those who are engaged in the creation of wealth to consider all wealth as the common property of the people. He was of the view that an individual can take only what is required to fulfill the legitimate needs and not for his wants or greed. So the excess wealth or property of the rich can add to the welfare of the society. Thus Gandhi combined in his concept of trusteeship both individual initiative and welfare of all.

Gandhi was very much concerned about the disparity between the rich and the poor. He wanted to bridge the gap between haves and the have-nots. However, his conception of economic equality does not mean absolute equality or everyone would literally have the same amount. Gandhi stated that if a single person demands as much as a person with wife and four children that will be a violation of the principle of economic equality. But at the same time, he made it very clear that no one should try to justify the glaring difference between the classes

and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former needs more. In fact he was guided by the maxim "To each according to his need." He envisaged that food, shelter and clothing are the basic needs of a human being and it should be provided to all.

Gandhi's concept of trusteeship was not limited to wealth and resources. He conceived the trusteeship of talents too. Gandhi wrote "People with talents will have more, and they will utilize their talents for this purpose. If they utilize their talents kindly, they will be performing the work of the State. Such people exist as trustees, on no other terms.... I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent. But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the incomes of all earning sons of the father go to the common family fund. They would have their earning only as trustees."² In short, wealth and talents should be considered as the common asset of the whole society and each person should work as a trustee.

Underlying Principles of Trusteeship

Trusteeship occupies a prominent place in Gandhi's philosophy. It is closely linked to the following principles or vows enunciated by Gandhi.

Asteya or non-stealing is an essential and necessary vow for the realisation of self or Truth. To take away something from somebody without permission; or to deprive him of the possession and livelihood is nothing but stealing. To quote Gandhi, "It is theft to take something from another even with his permission if we have no real need for it. We should not receive any single thing that we do not need."³ **Asteya** was not just a practice of not stealing. According to this principle, mankind's

greed and craving for artificial needs also constitute a form of stealing. So a person who wishes to apply *Asteya* in his life ought to lead such a simple life that he takes for himself from the society only to meet his bare minimum requirements. There should not be any question of exploitation of the poor taking place. If wealth is taken away or amassed through the exploitation of the poor, it is also a form of stealing. Thus, one should be content with the things that come by pursuing honest means. Two pertinent questions arise before us are - 'how do you practice *Asteya* in your everyday life?' and 'how do you inspire others to practice it too !' The need of the hour is that we should strive to lead a life of voluntarily austerity.

Aparigraha or non-possession and equality of rewards and the ownership of the means of production

Literally non- possession is a principle that no one holds or possesses anything. *Aparigraha*, is distinct because it is a component of Gandhi's active non-violent resistance to social problems like poverty and inequality. Non-possession does not deny the existence of the concept of possession. Gandhi interlaced non- possession and voluntary poverty in application; but living according to the guidelines of non-possession is not the same as living in poverty. Possession is a necessary component of ownership but ownership is not a necessary component of possession. By definition non-possession is the opposite of possession.

Nonprofit organisations use surplus revenues to achieve their goals rather than distributing them as profits or dividends. Their goal is to change or improve a social issue or a condition. One may relate non-possession to socialism which is a social and economic system characterised by social ownership of the means

of production and co-operative management of the economy. Social ownership may refer to co-operative enterprises, common ownership, State ownership, citizen ownership of equity, or a combination of all these.

Bread Labour (Sharir Shrama)

Gandhi was influenced by teachings of Tolstoy and Ruskin in the formulation of his concept of bread labour. According to Gandhi, the divine law is that man must labour with his own hands. Sacrifice means not to eat stolen food but work for your own food. He wrote, ‘God created man to work for his food and said that those who ate without work were thieves.’⁴ He felt that if every man rich or poor does some form of exercise, why should it not assume the form of productive labour i.e., bread labour? According to Gandhi more than half of the humanity lives by tilling the soil. How much happier, healthier and peaceful the world will become if all followed the example at least to the extent of labouring enough for their daily bread. If all worked for their bread, the distinction between the rich and poor could be exterminated. The rich could play the role of the trustees of their property, and work for the people and their development conducive to social welfare and growth. Anyone who appropriates more than his needs reduces the chances of his neighbour. The starvation of people in several parts of the world is due to hoarding of things that are not required and needed by the rich.

“Every man has an equal right to the necessities of life even as birds and beasts have”⁵ said Gandhi. Intelligent bread labour is the highest form of social service. Labour must have a well-defined purpose. One must differentiate between social service and labour for bread. Gandhi went on to say that everyone

must be his own scavenger. Evacuation is as necessary as eating and we all should dispose of our own waste. Scavenging thus intelligently taken up will help towards achieving the goal of the equality among men. Voluntary recognition of the duty of bread labour is what is required, forcing would mean slavery and discontent; there should be a willing obedience. The bread labour is not merely a concept; it is basically a way of life. Gandhi said “If I can convince the people of the value and necessity of bread-labour, there never will be any want of bread and cloth”⁶

A new hope: The mass exodus from the villages to the cities left agriculture in doldrums. It was easier to earn money as a taxi driver than an agricultural labour. This led to an artificial shortage of labour in the villages reliant on manual labour. The urbanisation of labour as domestic help also increased drastically. The only hope is that youngsters are getting attracted to organic farming. They work on their smaller units, where no pesticides are used and everything is done manually. My son is a doctor, an agriculturist and an organic farmer. He enjoys growing his own vegetables. I have a lot of faith in the new generation. They do not preach much but believe in the doctrine of ‘work’. The Gandhian philosophy of ‘bread labour’ stands a good chance in the modern ethos. Labour should know its strength and its power to say ‘No’ if there is exploitation. A new awareness for productive labour will help in furthering the social cause. The recognition for manual labour as a duty and willingness will bring about the necessary change.

Use of Wealth for service: Gandhi believed in *Sarvodaya* and the proper use of wealth by the trustees for a common cause of ‘progress of all.’ If wealth is inherited by legacy or means of trade, one should keep only enough means for an honourable livelihood and the rest should be used for the welfare of the

community at large. The rich should outgrow their greed and sense of possession to come to the level of labourer, who earns his bread by the sweat of brow. The rich have to be convinced by taking care of the welfare of the poor would lead to an ideal society based on non-violence or *Ahimsa*. If wealth is used for service of mankind there will be fewer conflicts and violence in the day to day living of men. Trusteeship implies social responsibility and welfare of the common man.

Gandhi looked upon trusteeship as means of converting the present capitalist society into an egalitarian one without violence or bloodshed. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, "As for the present owners of wealth, they would have to make their choice between class war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their own possessions and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation, and therefore, without exploitation."⁷

Trusteeship: Doctrine of Equal distribution and sharing

A society based on non-violence only can nurture the idea of equality. The first step to equal distribution is to bring down the necessary changes in one's personal life. One should reduce one's wants to the minimum and the earnings should be by honest means. Self-restraint should be exercised in every sphere of life.

The wealthy must share the superfluous wealth possessed by them for social welfare and service. There should be voluntary abdication of riches rather than violent ways of possession. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor. The poor will need to strengthen their collective power. Gandhi said, 'as soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity

enters into his earnings and there is *ahimsa* in venture.”⁸ What India needs is not concentration of capital in a few hands, but a proper distribution for the poor and needy. The government as a trustee should make available all the resources to the needy.

Role of the State: The Power of the State and its position as the trustee of all resources.

The State is the trustee of the natural resources and not the owner according to the Supreme Court of India. The role of the State is to facilitate growth and opportunities for the people. As a trustee, it should open the doors for proper employment, improve standards of health and nutrition, education, reduce inequality and decrease the disparities between the agriculturist labourer and the wealthy. The government appropriates a substantial part of the national product by way of taxes, and accounts for an even larger part of national expenditure. The government needs to address the issues of poverty, malnutrition, ill health and illiteracy. These issues necessarily need urgent redressal and State intervention.

Dignity of Labour

The labour should know its strength. There should be a dignity of labour. Production should be on the basis of need and not greed. Gandhi summarized one of main principles of Ruskin’s *Unto This Last* as follows: ‘The life of labour i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicrafts man is the life worth living.’ Dignity of labour is recognising the nobility of performing the task and not demeaning it. No work is lowly and each and every kind of work should be respected. Bapu wrote, “Our children should not be taught as to despise labour.... It is a sad thing that our school boys look upon manual labour with

disfavour, if not contempt” Labour as the work force should hold on to the truth or the insistence of truth.

Charity and Philanthropy

Gandhi did not believe in the poor living on the charity or mercy of others. He wanted *eradication of poverty through gainful employment*. There should be equal opportunities for the poor as well as for the rich. He believed in equality and social harmony. He wanted people to minimize their needs and lead a simple life. Charity should not be taken as a source of income. Each and every man should work to earn an honourable livelihood. Human dignity cannot be preserved on charity. If those who live in perpetual misery are condemned to live on the sufferance of those who are well to do, the human dignity cannot be preserved and there would be a conflict. Dada Dharmadhikari aptly stated “Trusteeship is my being responsible for my life, as well as for the life of my neighbour. This mutuality, mutual responsibility is real trusteeship”

Woman as the conscience keeper of the family

As being the first *guru* or teacher of the child, she should base her life on need rather than on greed. As the mother, she plays a pivotal role in shaping the minds of her children. The tendency to hoard anything by the children should be discouraged by her. She should propagate the idea of ‘simple living and high thinking’ and a life of dignity and welfare. As an epitome of love and sacrifice her role is more important than anyone in the family and society. A woman understands the value of sharing and giving selflessly and these values are guiding principles of trusteeship.

The final draft of Trusteeship

The draft approved and corrected by Gandhi shows the revolutionary nature and scope of his concept of trusteeship. The fundamental objective underlying trusteeship is to create a non-violent and non-exploitive society. It reads as follows:

1. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
2. It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society for its welfare.
3. It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.
4. Thus under state regulated trusteeship an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of the society.
5. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income. The difference should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
6. Under the Gandhian economic order the main character of production should be determined by social need and not by personal whim or greed.¹²

Conclusion

In consonance with above principles, the structure of the economic system should be such that every individual gets an equal opportunity for gainful employment. Each one has a right to earn his or her bread and fulfill basic or essential needs. Gandhi has rightly said, “the earth provides enough to satisfy every man’s need but not for every man’s greed.”¹³ According to Gandhian economist, J.D.Sethi, the four ethico-economic principles of trusteeship are: 1. Non- possession 2. Non-exploitation 3. Bread labour 4.Equality of rewards. Thus trusteeship is a theory of need-based production, equitable distribution and social justice. “Philosophically, trusteeship is an economic conscience by which an individual when engaged in economic activity takes into account not only his interests but also the interest of others.”¹⁴

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Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose

Gandhiji's Ideal

Of Rich Man

Late Jamnadal Bajaj

*Shri
Jyoti
24/4/40* ★

**MAN WHO GAVE
LAKHS FOR THE
NATION**



★

**MAN WHO RISKED
LIFE TO SAVE
MUSLIMS**

Trustee Of Wealth For The Poor

In paying tribute to Seth Jamnadal Bajaj, Gandhiji says: Whenever I wrote of wealthy man becoming trustee of their wealth for the always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If I reach the ideal the fault was not his.

For nearly 25 years he rendered silent and devoted service. Every house he built for himself became a Dharma Marwari millionaire to follow Gandhiji through thick and thin several times.

He organised the Nagur Flag Satyagraha and was at the most striking tribute was paid to him when he came late Maulana Mohamed Ali when he wired, 'Well done! M to touch your feet.'

WAS BUSINESS MAN

In business dealings, Seth Jamnadal and his firm had a high reputation for honesty and reliability. Seth Bajaj was among the founders of the Bombay, Stock and Share Market. One of the foundation directors of the New India Assurance Co. and for long time a director of the Tata Bank. In his business transactions, he had close contacts with Talata Parsiphi Karimbhai Sir Lala Bhai Kamaldas Sir Purshottandas Thakurdas and other well known businessmen of Bombay. The Bombay Chambers of Commerce in the early stage of its business career, several times elected him to give advice on its behalf before Government commissions and inquiries.

ONCE A GOVT FAVOURITE

Seth Jamnadal, before he joined the Congress and began to take active part in politics, he was a great favourite with the Government. He was appointed as Honorary Magistrate in 1903 and was made a 1st Bahadur in 1915. Besides, several medals and other honours were also conferred on him. His relations with three successive heads of C. P. Government and the officials at Wardha and Nagpur were very cordial and he used to play the part of their hand.

INFLUENCE OF GANDHIJI

Even before, Seth Jamnadal came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. He had been an active and enthusiastic worker in the cause of education, social reform and Swadeshi. Soon after Gandhiji's return from South Africa, he felt immediately attracted towards Gandhiji, for whom he entertained deep regard, having been a regular newspaper reader since his early boyhood. After his contact with Gandhiji, his residence at Wardha became the rendezvous of Congress leaders as it had been of high officials before. Till was indefatigable in the advocacy and efforts were made to win him away from materialistic inclination.

NOT AFRAID OF POVERTY

When little Jamnadal was a few miles from Wardha, he was even in his boyhood was evident from a episode that occurred in his early youth. When he was about 17 years of age, he adopted grandfather left out with him, for some reason or other. The angry grandfather told him that he was a miser and would get no money from him but if he liked he could fill a suit for his claim. In court Jamnadal wrote back to Set Eschichal that he was so true, I didn't know him as he was when he adopted him; that as he had no real claim to his wealth, he would not take advantage of it. On a stamped paper, Jamnadal wrote out that he had a heart claim against his grandfather and sent it to him along with his letter. The prospect of his becoming poor again did not frighten young Jamnadal in the least. This moved the old man.

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JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The sudden and unexpected death of Seth Jamnadal Bajaj will be mourned by his numerous friends and admirers all over the country, and by none more than Gandhiji whom he served with unwavering devotion as his Guru and spiritual father for nearly twenty-five years. Before he threw himself heart and soul into the Non-co-operation movement in 1920 he had won reputation as a sound business magnate. It was to no small extent through his

(a popular Gandhian principle) which he has not liberally helped. His donations to various public causes, at a modest estimate, are not less than Rs 25 lakhs.

A Dedicated Life

It is not merely for his generous contributions to Gandhian causes that he will be remembered. He had rare qualities of leadership, though he loved to serve a cause

Gandhi's Trusteeship: An Alternative to Capitalist and Socialist Systems

Siby K. Joseph

“ ‘You know Gandhi stood for the abolition of private property.’

‘So did Marx,’ ...

‘Yes, Marx was a great thinker. A genius. You must read him. His philosophy is very complex. Try to understand it, if you can. But you must study Gandhi too. Compare their great thoughts. I am sure, then you will realise how unique Gandhi is.’ ...

‘How much land does a man need?’ ...

‘Six feet long and three feet wide, a patch of land large enough for the grave.’

‘We don’t need even that. From the funeral pyre we dissolve and go back to the five elements from where we have come. Don’t we?’ ...

‘Yes, dear.’ ...

‘That is why Gandhi said there are no owners but only trustees. All that you own, whether earned or inherited, is only a trust. And you must safeguard it for posterity.’ ...

‘Father! Will you not pass on your property to us, to your own children?’ ...

‘There is nothing like *my property* or *your property*. You know what *Dravyam* means. An equivalent word for wealth or property. *Dravyam* comes from the word *drava*, ...

Dravya is liquid. Can you hold a liquid in your hand? No. It must flow. It must be floated. You have no right to arrest *dravyam*. It circulates, constantly. For the welfare of all.’ ...

‘It sounds too good. But where can you find selfless caretakers who would safeguard wealth and property for the sake of others? Such things are not practical. It is just a dream.’

... ‘Everything in the world started as a dream. I would say Gandhi’s vision is in fact much more practical than that of Marx.’ ...’

Many people say Gandhi tried to protect capitalists. Didn’t he?’

‘Who has put that idea into your mind? Absolutely baseless. Gandhi believed in not instigating labourers against capitalists. He didn’t want class wars. Capitalists should also be given an opportunity to reform themselves. From exploiters they should turn themselves into trustees. What Gandhi wanted was not a violent revolution but a change of heart. He believed in compassion, not hatred.’ ”¹

The above passage is culled out from the novel *In the Shadow of Legends* written by Sujata Sankranti. The conversations and discussions among the characters clearly reflect people’s perception about Gandhi’s approach to the institution of private property and its management. It is true that Gandhi’s idea of trusteeship has often been subjected to various

misrepresentations and misinterpretations. His critics from the Left have often asserted that his idea of trusteeship was a very ingenious attempt on his part to protect the capitalist system and the institution of private property. On the other hand, Gandhi through his trusteeship idea tried to transcend the basic limitations of both capitalist and socialist systems. Gandhi was fully aware of the fact that capitalism has become the breeding ground of inequity and injustice. In the capitalist scheme of things, the institution of private property has turned out to be one of the major means of exploitation. At the same time, he has various objections and reservations to the Marxist alternative which ultimately turned out to be nothing more than state capitalism. Hence, the main challenge before Gandhi was to evolve a new social order which would transcend the limitations of both the prevailing systems. He was aware of the fact that an unhindered capitalism will ultimately lead to violent revolution. On the other hand, Marxist system would suppress and even may kill people's freedom and initiative. Therefore, the core issue before Gandhi was how to find an alternative system which would avoid the pitfalls and limitations of both the systems. He looked upon the societal resources or wealth as a common property of the people and it should not be owned and used by a handful of people. This is what he exactly tried to achieve through his concept of trusteeship.

All this becomes quite clear if one analyses Gandhi's concept of trusteeship as it evolved in the course of time. From the very beginning, Gandhi was totally committed to the goal of attaining economic equality through non-violent means. If one scans through his writings in *Hind Swaraj* one could clearly see that his vision of a non-violent, non-exploitative ideal society primarily based on trusteeship lines.² Gandhi considered economic

equality as a necessary precondition for the attainment of *swaraj*. But his concept of economic equality fundamentally differed from the Marxist vision of the same. Like Gandhi, the Marxist also wanted to obliterate the inequality between the rich and the poor. They stood for the organization of labouring class or proletariat against the capitalists based on its theory of class struggle. They advocated violent methods to topple capitalism and to bring about revolutionary socio-economic change. But Gandhi was of the view that the inequalities prevailing in the society could not be removed by accentuating the conflict between capital and labour but only through the coordination of the two for the welfare of the society. On the basis of his experience both in India and South Africa, he wrote in *Young India* in 1927, "I do not regard capital to be the enemy of labour. I hold their co-ordination to be perfectly possible. The organization of labour that I undertook in South Africa, Champaran or Ahmedabad was in no spirit of hostility to the capitalists. The resistance in each case and the extent it was thought necessary was wholly successful."³ He wanted a healthy relationship between capitalists and labourers and they should be considered as equal partners in the production process. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* "Each is dependent on the other. What is essential today is that the capitalist should not lord it over the labourer. In my opinion, the mill-hands are as much the proprietors of their mill as the shareholders, and when the mill owners realize that the mill-hands are much mill-owner as they, there will be no quarrel between them."⁴ Though Gandhi pleaded for healthy relationship between capitalist and labourers, he was not advocating the continuance of the capitalist system by giving a human face to it. Gandhi's attempt was ultimately to destroy capitalism and replace it with an alternative system based on non-violence through his principle of trusteeship. In such an

ideal system workers would realise their real strength and potential and contribute their maximum for the welfare of the society. That is why he asserted that “By the non-violent method, we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism. We invite the capitalist to regard himself as a trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and the increase of his capital. Nor need the worker wait for his conversion. If capital is power, so is work. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realizes his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the capitalist instead of remaining his slave.”⁵ This constructive approach was further elaborated by Gandhi when he said “they will become the real rulers and the employers will be their trustees and friends in need and deed. This happy state of things will come only when they know that labour is more real capital than the capital in the shape of gold and silver which labour extracts from the grounds of the earth.”⁶ It goes to the credit of Gandhi that his ideas of trusteeship like some of his other ideas were not presented in a finished form. Rather they evolved in the changing context of time and finally took a definite shape. That is one of the reasons he has not written any detailed treatise in respect of his ideas including Satyagraha. He was of the view that his ideas are always evolving and if he writes a treatise on it that will be the end of the matter. Even his views in *Hind Swaraj* were open ended and he was always ready to improve upon them as per the changing times and situations.

It is to be noted that towards the end of 1920s the “Great Depression” overtook the world particularly the capitalist system which appeared to be on the verge of collapse. In sharp contrast to it, the Soviet system under the Stalinist leadership remained virtually untouched by the onslaught of economic crisis. Such a

development created a very favourable and conducive environment for the Marxist system to appear as strong and invincible economic order. A large number of intellectuals all over the world including those from India became well disposed towards Marxism. It was in this context that a new Marxist Party called Congress Socialist Party emerged in 1934 after the withdrawal of Civil disobedience movement in May 1934. The Congress Socialists became very critical of Gandhian ideas particularly in the economic field. Perhaps it was in response to their criticism that Gandhi tried to elaborate on his principle of trusteeship which he had held as one of his basic principles for a long time.

Though Gandhi wanted to destroy capitalism, he was not much in favour of state ownership in the place of private ownership. This is evident from the reply he had given in response to the questions put forward by N. K. Bose in the course of an interview which was published in *Modern Review* of October 1935. He admits the fact that state ownership is better than private ownership, but it is objectionable on the ground of violence. He said "It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the evils of violence itself and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship" Nevertheless in the same interview, he justified the use of minimum violence by State in the case of persons who failed to behave as trustees. At the same he expressed the fear that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it. In the interview he reminded Bose the stand he had taken in the

Second Round Table Conference in 1931, viz. "that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary with or without compensation as the case demanded." It is true that in unavoidable situations he supported minimum State ownership. But personally he was not much convinced about it. It is very much evident from one of his statements in the same interview. "What I would personally prefer would be not a centralization of power in the hands of the State, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship, as, in my opinion, the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership." But he continued to remain suspicious of State power as he believed that "nowhere the State has really lived for the poor" Besides it is likely to destroy individuality, which lies at the root of the progress."⁷

Elaborating further his principle of trusteeship in 1939, he tried to make a more nuanced presentation of the theme. He pointed out that it was in early 1930s when the country was presented with socialist scheme of things in respect of *zamindars* and ruling chiefs, that he enunciated his principle of trusteeship as a counterpoise. Emphasizing the human aspect of trusteeship he made it clear that the capitalist and *zamindars* would have to "outgrow their greed and sense of possession, and to come down in spite of their wealth to the level of those who earn their bread by labour" At the same he also underlined the fact that "the labourer has to realize that wealthy man is no less owner of his wealth than the labourer is owner of his own viz., the power to work." Reflecting on the practical aspect of trusteeship he opined that "it is immaterial whether many live up to it or only one man lives up to it. The question is of conviction. If you accept the principle of Ahimsa, you have to strive to live up to it, no matter

whether you succeed or fail. There is nothing in this theory which can be said to be beyond the grasp of intellect, though you may say it is difficult of practice.”⁸

Such an approach of Gandhi along with his friendly relationship with the capitalists led to misconception that he was supporter of capitalism. Gandhi himself was aware of it and he frankly admitted that “I am not ashamed to own that many capitalists are friendly towards me and do not fear me. They know that I desire to end capitalism, almost, if not quite, as much as the most advanced Socialist or even Communist. But our methods differ, our languages differ.”⁹ At the same time, he forcefully asserts: “My theory of ‘trusteeship’ is no make-shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. That possessors of wealth have not acted up to the theory does not prove its falsity; it proves the weakness of the wealthy. No other theory is compatible with non-violence. In the non-violent method wrong-doer compasses his own end, if he does not undo the wrong. For, either through non-violent non-co-operation he is made to see the error, or he finds himself completely isolated.”¹⁰

When he was going through individual Satyagraha, he presented his ideas of national reconstruction in a new tract viz. *Constructive Programme* in 1941 which he has been emphasizing from his South African days. While describing economic equality in his work *Consrtctive Programme*, he termed it as the ‘master key to non-violent independence’.¹¹ In the course of time, he realized the fact that it would be impossible to work towards economic equality without abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. He wrote “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”¹² He wanted to bridge the wide gulf between the rich and the poor through the ideal of trusteeship. However, he was aware that it was difficult to reach that ultimate goal but at the same time it was worth pursuing. He completely adhered to ideal of trusteeship throughout his life. In fact, he took a totally non compromising stand so far his idea of trusteeship was concerned. So much so that he firmly stated that a trustee would have no natural heir and it would be regulated and decided by the society. As he put it “A trustee has no heir but the public. In a State built on the basis of non-violence, the commission of trustees will be regulated. Princes and *zamindars* will be on a par with the other men of wealth.”¹³ Such a categorical stand on trusteeship makes it clear that he was in no way defender of capitalism and its concomitant the institution of private property.

He moved a step ahead in his interview to Louis Fischer in June 1942. He asserted in that interview that in the course of impending civil disobedience the peasants would stop paying taxes. Moreover “they will make salt despite official prohibition – their next step will be to seize the land”. When probed further by Fischer he admitted that there may be violence. “There may be fifteen days chaos” he remarked. In response to Fischer’s question regarding confiscation of land he averred that it had got to be without compensation as “it would be financially impossible for anybody to compensate the landlords.”¹⁴

It would be relevant to note that soon after the above interview Gandhi launched his Quit India movement in August 1942. He was arrested and imprisoned in the very beginning of the struggle. He remained in Jail from August 1942 to May 1944. It was during his days of imprisonment, that he lost his secretary

Mahadev Desai whom he considered as his son and his wife Kasturba. He had also undergone 21 days fast to protest against the British charge that he was responsible for prevailing violence in the country. It is to be noted that Gandhi's prison days also provided him with an opportunity to do a lot of self-introspection and sharpen his insights on his favourite ideas and principles. Like the earlier times, he further improved upon his ideas of trusteeship and basic education during his stay at Aga Khan Palace as a prisoner.

Gandhi had further discussion with Kishorlal Mashruwala, Narahari Parikh and others who reduced the principles of trusteeship into a practical formula in the form of draft. This draft was fine-tuned by the socialist leader M. L. Dantwala. Gandhi made some notable changes in the draft presented to him after his release from Aga Khan Palace and it took a final shape. It would be of interest to go into the details of the draft and the changes made by Gandhi. The final draft is as follows:

Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.

It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.

It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.

Thus under State-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.

Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.

Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.¹⁵

Let us look at the changes which Gandhi made in the original draft prepared by M. L. Dantwala and their revolutionary implications. In the point one of the draft, the word egalitarian one was added by Dantwala which was fully endorsed by Gandhi¹⁶. This endorsement clearly underscores the point that Gandhi was in no way holding a brief for capitalism rather he favoured its abolition by substituting it with an *egalitarian* system in which the institution of private property per se would have to go. Further it was Gandhi who substituted the word 'transforming' by reforming.¹⁷ It was clear notice to the propertied classes to reform immediately otherwise they will be dispossessed. It was based on Gandhi's conviction that no human is beyond redemption and reforms.

In point two also a radical change was made when he replaced the wording "except so far as *necessary* (*emphasis added*) for the service of the society" by as it may be *permitted by society* (*emphasis added*) for its own welfare.¹⁸ This change also clearly brings out the centrality of societal control over its resources which again undermines the very ideological foundation of capitalism. The endorsement of point three by

Gandhi shows his gradual acceptance of even legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth. In point four it was Gandhi who on his own changed the word 'legal' by 'state regulated' which clearly marked a basic change in his attitude towards the institution of State.¹⁹ In other words he was willing to give a decisive role for the state in his scheme of trusteeship. The original wording of the point five as formulated by Kishorlal Mashruwala favoured the minimum and maximum income difference in the ratio of 1:12. Gandhi changed it and emphasised the fact that the ultimate goal should be the obliteration of all income differences.²⁰ M. L. Dantwala himself admits that this revealed Gandhian ideal of 'ultimate social order'. The last suggestion placed by Dantwala before Gandhi was that prevention was better than cure and that instead of permitting a person to accumulate wealth and then hold himself a trustee, why not *ab initio* ensure that the economic system does not enable any one to accumulate wealth? According to Dantwala Gandhi's reaction was sharp. Gandhi wrote down in the draft: the issue is not of permitting accumulation of wealth but that of regulating (disciplining) what is already accumulated.²¹

Once the Labour Party came to power in England coupled with Quit India Movement and revolt led by Subash Chandra Bose, it became clear that India would become independent sooner than later. Hence among the Indian leadership a discussion started being held about the kind of social order which would prevail in the post independent India. This is the context of correspondence between Gandhi and Jawaharlal about the thing to come once India became independent.²² As such Gandhi became more categorical about his idea of trusteeship which should mark the economic life of independent India. He stated "As for the present owners of wealth, they will have to

make their choice between class war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They will be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent, to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and, therefore, without exploitation. The State would regulate the rate of commission which they will get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children will inherit the stewardship only if they prove their fitness for it. Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees. But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves beginning with *Gram panchayats* will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above it is liable to prove a dead weight.”²³ From the above statement it is crystal clear that Gandhi was certain such a trusteeship would not be imposed from the above rather it would come from grassroot that is from the villages.

If one looks at the statements made by Gandhi during 1946-47 in respect of trusteeship, it is clear that he moves towards a more and more radical lines. Giving stern warning he said in 1947 “I am quite prepared to say for the sake of argument that the *Zamindars* are guilty of many crimes and of omissions and commissions ...To the landlords I say that, if what is said against you is true, I will warn you that your days are numbered. You can no longer continue as lords and masters. You have a bright future if you become trustees of the poor *Kisans*. I have in mind not trustees in name but in reality. Such trustees will take nothing for themselves that their labour and care do not entitle

them to. They then will find that no law will be able to reach them. The *Kisans* will be their friends.”²⁴

To sum up Gandhi's ideas of trusteeship is quite consistent with his larger philosophy of life and the world. On the one hand he never wanted the state as a behemoth to dominate all walks of human life. At the same time he never favoured a system which is free for all in which the classes would dominate the masses. It is such conviction which inspired him to enunciate and elaborate on his concept of trusteeship. As discussed earlier he propounded his theory of trusteeship in the context of crisis in capitalism on one hand and the rise of totalitarian state power in the Communist world. From the above discussion it could be safely stated that he went on improving upon his idea of trusteeship making it more radical as well as more categorical. Towards the end of his life he wanted a system marked by the kind of equality which went much beyond both liberal democratic as well as the Marxist society. Perhaps his ideas were so revolutionary that the rulers of independent India dared not take them up for implementation. Even today it stands as a distant goal to be pursued. The problems of inequality, poverty, violence afflicting our society call for a radical movement and a new social order transcending both capitalism and socialism. Gandhi's idea of trusteeship might provide new guidelines to lead the humankind to that much desired goal of non-violent and egalitarian society.

Notes and References

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6. *Amrit Bazar Pathrika* , 3-8-1934.
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11. M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 2005), p.20.
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13. *Harijan*, 12-4-1942.
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16. M .L. Dantwala , "Trusteeship :its Value Implications" in *Gandhi Marg*, Vol.7,Nos.8,9,p.506.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. M. L. Dantwala's meeting with Gandhi was on a Sunday, a day in which he observed silence. Therefore, the dialogue

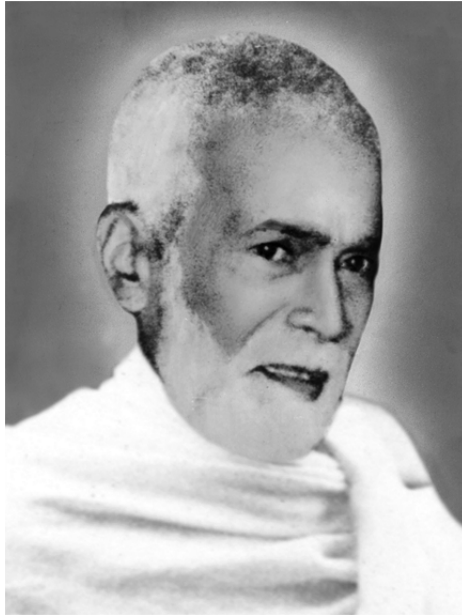
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between them took place through slip of papers. In the process, Gandhi wrote down his acceptance, rejection and amendments in the draft and the reasons for it.

22. See Gandhi's letter of October 5, 1945 addressed to Nehru and his reply of October 9, 1945.

23. *Harijan*, 31-3-46.

24. *Harijan*, 4-5-1947.



Sankararao Deo

Gandhi: Trusteeship and Socialism

Sudhanshu Ranjan

Quest for equality or at least equity or egalitarianism has been one of the major quests of human civilization. Elaborating about the term 'economic democracy', Dorothy Pickles writes that it means different things to different people, "To some, it implies the kind of egalitarianism that characterizes Communist dominated systems in which certain causes of economic inequality such as inherited wealth, private property and a free-enterprise economy are partially eliminated and the State assumes complete control of the economy, permitting new inequalities only where these appear to the government to be in the general interest, either temporarily or permanently. To many employers in private industry in so called capitalist countries, the term sometimes means no more than an intelligent system of labour relations, in the interest either of efficiency, or of the workers, or both...Economic democracy has also been interpreted to mean a system in which the economy is entirely run by the workers themselves with the intention of creating a complete reorganization of society, involving the elimination of the State and of the 'wage system', by which is meant capitalism. The doctrine of syndicalism...was an expression of the belief that a social order doing justice to the workers could never be achieved by parliamentary and constitutional means...but only by the direct action of the workers themselves, who must take

over the running of the firms and industries and ultimately impose workers' control by a general strike."¹

Gracchus Babeuf, regarded as the father of revolutionary economic egalitarianism, wrote *Conspiracy of the Equals* (1795) after his disillusionment at the failure of the French Revolution to bring equality. He was of the firm opinion that true equality was not feasible without the elimination of private property. He then embarked on to complete the revolution by a second, and in his view, final revolution, aimed at destroying forever 'distinctions of rich and poor, great and small, masters and servants, governing and governed'.² He and his associates openly advocated violence to usher in a system like this- all opponents were to be exterminated and all property and wealth confiscated and handed over to the State. In the Republic of Equals, all inhabitants were to live the same and simple life. Manifesto of the Equals put it like this:

People of France!

For fifteen centuries you lived as a slave and, consequently, unhappy. For the last six years you barely breathe, waiting for independence, freedom and equality.

EQUALITY! The first wish of nature, the first need of man, the first knot of all legitimate association! People of France! You were not more blessed than the other nations that vegetate on this unfortunate globe! Everywhere and at all times the poor human race, handed over to more or less deft cannibals, served as an object for all ambitions, as feed for all tyrannies. Everywhere and at all times men were lulled with beautiful words; at no time and in no place was the

thing itself ever obtained through the word. From time immemorial they hypocritically repeat; *all men are equal*; and from time immemorial the most degrading and monstrous inequality insolently weighs upon the human race. As long as there have been human societies the most beautiful of humanity's rights is recognized without contradiction, but was only able to be put in practice one time: equality was nothing but a beautiful and sterile legal fiction. And now that it is called for with an even stronger voice we are answered: be quiet, you wretches! Real equality is nothing but a chimera; be satisfied with conditional equality; you're all equal before the law. What more do you want, filthy rabble? Legislators, you who hold power, rich landowners, it is now your turn to listen.³

In fact, there has been a controversy over the ordering of the three ideals of the French Revolution of 1789- Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon prized liberty most and objected to its relegation to the background by any manipulation of the order. He castigated Louis Blanc, one of the heroes of the revolution of 1848, for reversing the order of these ideals like this- Equality, Fraternity and Liberty. In fact, the much-trumpeted principle of socialism was enunciated by Blanc, and not by Karl Marx as is generally understood. Marx was exploring the solution of the riddles of history, as he preferred to call it: Conflict between man and man, divergence between man and nature, incompatibility between freedom and necessity and maladjustment between individual and species. He found the answer in communism which, according to him, is the positive abolition of all forms of private properties and also of human self-alienation. He wrote, "Communism as a fully developed

naturalism is humanism and as a fully developed humanism is naturalism.”⁴ He aimed at establishing a de-alienated man in a de-alienated milieu. This paved the way for his transition from philosophy to political economy, and its first concrete outcome is *Grundrisse*

Mahatma Gandhi too was worried about the unequal distribution of wealth. But instead of abolishing the private property or going for class war, he propounded the concept of trusteeship: A trustee is one who holds property in trust for another/others. He found that the classes and the masses, as he put it, stood side by side and we could not start with a *tabula rasa* condition and build a just society in the desired manner. For him, trusteeship is the application of the law of God to human society and human institutions. Having abiding faith in the basic goodness of human beings, he believed that selfishness and acquisitiveness are not inseparable as sublime elements in the human make-up like the capacity for self-sacrifice, the ability to respond to the call for renunciation, a sense of sympathy with fellow human beings. In 1934, he wrote: “Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature...Our socialism and communism should, therefore, be based on non-violence and on harmonious cooperation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant.”⁵

In fact, capitalists who were in touch with Gandhi during the Ahmedabad campaign were exceptional people. Trusting their innate goodness, he thought that they would respond to the appeal to make available their surplus property beyond what they required for their personal needs for the rest of the society. Legal ownership would remain with the trustee and a proprietor could

pass his wealth on to his children if they, in turn, agreed to work as trustees. He personally favoured the idea that it would be much better, if there was no inheritance of wealth. In 1946, he gave his consent to a detailed draft on trusteeship which supported the concept of State regulation and statutory trusteeship. Bhoodan movement was an extension of Gandhi's idea after his death when affluent landlords voluntarily donated land to the landless at the call of Vinoba. He used to say, 'I have come to plunder you with love.'

To minimize inequality, Gandhi was also in sync with the idea of socialism. Just one day before his assassination, i.e., on 29 January 1948, veteran Socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan came to see him. JP knew that Gandhi was not palatable with the Congress and wanted to discuss the prospects of the Socialist Party. Robert Payne has written, "Often in the past, Gandhi had given his guarded approval to Socialist ideas: the time had come, according to Jayaprakash Narayan, for an abrupt turn to the left, away from the corrupt bureaucratic rule of the Congress to the cleaner rule of the young Socialists. Was Gandhi prepared to declare his allegiance to a Socialist state? Were the inequalities of the wealth to continue? Was there no relief from rule by the rich and the powerful? As they spoke Jayaprakash Narayan realized that Gandhi had no intention of coming out openly in favour of Socialism. He still regarded the rich as the trustees of their wealth, and thought it no sin to be poor."⁶

While Gandhi stood for the idea of trusteeship, his real aim was Socialism. However, it is an irony that the government has done hardly anything to usher into a Socialist State despite a clear mandate from the Constitution. The recent controversy over an advertisement of the information and broadcasting ministry of the Government of India featuring the Preamble of

the original Constitution adopted in 1949 which did not have the words “SOCIALIST, SECULAR” provides us a chance to cogitate over the controversy that it spawned. These two words were added to the Preamble by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec. 2 which came into effect from 3 January 1977. In the Constituent Assembly, Brajeshwar Prasad had suggested to add these two words, but it was not accepted. In *Golak Nath’s* case, the Supreme Court said, “The Preamble contains in a nutshell its ideals and aspirations.”⁷ It is time to reflect how far our country is socialist. So far as socialism is concerned, India was never a socialist country. Common or communal ownership of the means of production constitutes the leitmotif of a Socialist society. It is characterized by equality of opportunity which is missing in a capitalist system and the production and distribution of goods are controlled substantially by the government rather than by private enterprise. The Government of India did not adopt such a policy after independence. In *D. S. Nakara v. Union of India*⁸, the Supreme Court held that the addition of ‘socialist’ in the Preamble adumbrates at the incorporation of the philosophy of ‘socialism’ in the Constitution which aims at the obliteration of inequality in income and status and standards of life. In *Excel Wear v. Union of India*⁹, it held that it may enable the courts to lean more and more in favour of nationalization and State ownership of industry. It reiterated this view in *National Textiles Union’s Workers v. P. R. Ramakrishnan*¹⁰. After the introduction of the new economic policy in 1991, critics cried foul that socialism was given a silent burial. However, in several cases- *Delhi Science Forum*¹¹, *BALCO Employees Union*¹² -the apex court upheld the privatization of several enterprises without examining the question whether it conflicted with the word ‘Socialist’ in the

Preamble. In some other judgments, the Supreme Court construed the word 'socialist' for evolving a concept of social democracy which is proximate to the concept of social welfare state.

The concept of welfare state has its genesis in the Beveridge Report of 1942 in Britain about how the country should be rebuilt after the devastation wreaked by the Second World War. In his report, William Beveridge recommended that the government should find ways of fighting the five 'Giant Evils' of 'Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness'. In 1945, the Labour Party came to power and the new prime minister, Clement Attlee, announced that he would implement the recommendations of the Beveridge Report and introduce the welfare state. Under it, he established the National Health Service (NHS) in 1948 with free medical treatment for all. To protect the population from the 'cradle to the grave', a national system of benefits was introduced to provide social security. Curiously, Beveridge had his provenance in Bengal, India, where his father was a judge. Prior to it, there was only the Poor Law in England and Wales for the underprivileged. For the first time, it was introduced by Elizabeth I which is known as the Old Poor Law. But in 1834, the New Poor Law was passed which significantly modified the existing system of poor relief. The later statute changed the earlier system which was administered haphazardly at a local parish level and brought in a highly centralized system which encouraged the large-scale development of workhouses by Poor Law Unions. Conditions under the Poor Law were so humiliating that generally people avoided taking any relief under it.

In the present age, except some Scandinavian countries, especially Norway, there are hardly any real welfare states. It got

a body blow in the UK, the country of its origin, during the regime of Margaret Thatcher who gave a much-condemned statement, 'Where is society? I see only individuals.' In order to destroy the welfare state, she subverted the National Health Service (NHS) first. India has some welfare schemes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and the right to food but a lot more need to be done to make education and health services universal and justice accessible. So far as socialism is concerned, there has hardly been any real socialist society except some primitive tribal societies. Even the communist parties in different countries could not introduce socialism properly and power changed hands from previous rulers and tyrants to party apparatchiks. Rosa Luxemburg revolted against it by publishing Junius Pamphlet in 1915. The voting on war credits in August 1914 came as a big jolt to individual socialists and the socialist movement in Europe. Those who worked hard and passionately believed in the efficacy of organized labour to stand against war were shocked to see the major social democratic parties of Germany, France and England rush to the defence of their fatherlands. Worker solidarity had burst like a bubble. Rosa Luxemburg had foreseen it and kept warning against the stultifying effects of the overly bureaucratized German Social Democratic Party and the anti-revolutionary tendencies of the trade unions that greatly influenced the party's policy decisions. Her pamphlet became the guiding statement for the International Group which later became Spartacus League and ultimately the Communist Party of Germany. So, power never devolved down to the grassroots level except for a very brief period like Paris Commune (18 March to 28 May 1871) when workers seized power.

However, the concept of trusteeship has taken a new shape with the amendment to the Indian Companies Act, 1856 in 2013. It has incorporated the provisions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) which are mandatory for certain categories of companies. By making it compulsory, India has become the first country in the world to mandate it by legislation. Now, every company having a net worth of Rs. 500 crore or more, or a turnover of Rs. 1000 crore or more or a net profit of Rs. 5 crore or more during any financial year shall constitute a CSR Committee of the Board comprising three or more directors, out of which at least one shall be an independent director. The Committee shall formulate and recommend to the board, a CSR Policy which shall indicate the activities to be undertaken by the company; and monitor the CSR Policy of the company from time to time.

The Board of every company shall make every endeavour to ensure that the company spends, in every financial year, at least 2 per cent of the average net profits of the company made during the three immediately preceding financial years, in pursuance of its CSR Policy. If the company fails to spend the requisite amount, the Board shall, in its report, specify reasons for not spending the amount. CSR is very difficult to define. There is no agreement on one definition worldwide. It includes alternate notions such as

- Corporate philanthropy
- Giving back to the host communities
- Meeting preconditions set by society for business
- Holding business accountable
- Building essential social infrastructure
- Managing business drivers and risks

- Creating business value
- Corporate sustainability

However, specific activities covered under the CSR are specified in Schedule VII of the Companies Act, 2013, which are as follows:

- Eradicating extreme hunger and poverty;
- Promotion of education;
- Promoting gender equality and empowering women;
- Reducing child mortality and improving material health;
- Combating human immunodeficiency virus, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, malaria and other diseases;
- Ensuring environmental sustainability;
- Employment enhancing vocational skills;
- Social business projects;
- Contribution to the PM's National Relief Fund or any other fund set up by the Central Government for socio-economic development and relief and funds for the welfare of the SCs, the STs, the OBCs, minorities and women; and
- Such other matters as may be prescribed.

There are some coruscating examples of corporate philanthropy. Warren Buffet and Bill Gates of Microsoft have donated huge amounts for social works. Azim Premji, chairman of Wipro and the third richest man of India, led the country in philanthropy by making the biggest donation to the tune of \$ 2 billion towards the upliftment of education in rural areas. HCL founder Shiv Nadar has donated over

Rs. 580 crore to support education, microfinance, healthcare and environment. Similarly, Anand Mahindra contributed \$ 10 million to Harvard University Centre for a Humanity Program in the University to promote scholarships, discussion, conference and workshops.

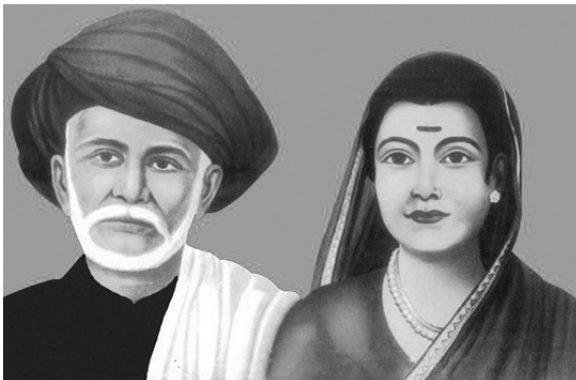
The concept of CSR is not new to India which has a glowing tradition of donations that are done anonymously. Hindu merchants always contributed huge sums following “Dharmada”, under which a part of the earning is earmarked for contributions to temples, hermitages, *dharmashalas*, etc. In Islam, there is concept of “Zakat” which is the amount carved out for charity. In Sikhism, we have the principle of “Daashaant”. Jainism and other religions have also such injunctions. Perhaps Gandhi was relying on the Indian tradition.

Initiatives were also taken by some MPs to make a law with respect to trusteeship. First of all, Rammanohar Lohia wanted to introduce the Indian Trustee Bill in May 1967, but he was not allowed by the then President, S. Radhakrishnan. It was introduced in *Lok Sabha* on 21 November 1969 by George Fernandes who mentioned that after Radhakrishnan, his successors Zakir Hussain and then acting President V. V. Giri did not grant permission either to introduce it. Finally, then acting President M. Hidayatullah gave approval and then the bill was introduced which lapsed without any discussion. Later, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Ramji Singh also introduced such a bill. But every time it lapsed without discussion.

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Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Savitribai Phule

Trusteeship and Environment

Soham Pandya

In the last 100 years the surface of the earth has changed beyond recognition. In rural areas of peninsular India, the scene is almost identical and it can be summarized in the following couplet. “Mother see my greed and lust, I got only heat and dust.” In recent past, forests were thick and they used to emanate “music of green”. Now the same landscape has given way to “silence of stone”. This is nothing but one indicator of environmental degradation. These days, fields after fields and pasture after pasture have become barren and all these are happening in the name of so called development. We as individuals, family, society, nation and group of nations have seen two digit growth and we are still striving hard to maintain that pace by putting great pressure on the natural resources and environment. This means that since last 200 years or so our capacity to consume resources (renewable as well as non renewable) is increasing year after year resulting in creation of

- 1) 46 millions of hectares of barren land in India,
- 2) Rise in atmospheric carbon dioxide from pre-industrialization level of 275 ppm to 370 ppm,
- 3) Glaciers of all major Himalayan rivers are receding at an alarming pace,

- 4) Atmospheric temperature is increasing resulting in the loss of oceans to absorb carbon dioxide, and
- 5) Industrial waste (solid as well as liquid) is polluting all our major rivers which is one of the major health hazards to all living beings

Due to technological advancement, human race has capacity to disturb every type of eco system and environmental mechanism. We could do it because we have capacities to think and bank. Our thought processes have taken a convenient route which suits our life style. We are aware that the present model of development is neither long lasting nor beneficial to human race; still we refuse to change ourselves. We have considered natural resources as commodities to be used or even abused in the name of economic growth.

There is need to change and redefine the present model of development. Our vision should be to harmonize human culture and nature's pristine resources like forest, grassland, mountain, hillocks, rivulets, rivers, oceans and all encompassing atmosphere.

Environmentalists have come to a conclusion that natural resources like forests, mines, river water etc. can no longer meet the expectation and needs of highly developed societies whose sole aim is maximization of production for profit. They are of the view that a new concept of management of resources is required for sustainable development which would meet future demands and developments. Though there is growing realization of the precarious situation, the implementation of new concept would take a longer time. After a century of exploitation of forest and environment, we have now the challenge of preserving and nurturing them. We are convinced that the new concept is a fair

one in terms of ecological, social, and economic goals and therefore it has to be carried out jointly by all. To accomplish this kind of philosophical revolution at global level, managers, planners and policy makers need to be imaginative and convinced. Environmental issues must be oriented towards

1. New and appropriate vision (one that harmonizes widely diverse human culture, and different kinds of environmental assets) beyond the traditional environmental understanding
2. The economy in commodity extraction.

This can be done by helping the people to realize that they are on this planet as trustees of environment, its health and capacity to remain productive and resilient to human made disturbances.

To be able to understand the concept of trusteeship planners sitting at local, regional, national and global level would need to understand following points:

1. Understand environment as a whole and its diverse parts. For example planners must look at forest as only forest; river only as river and mountain as only mountain. One must see it; listen to its silence and understand its dynamism in its totality.
2. Understand the science of whole system and its components or subsystems like detritus cycle, associations between biotic and abiotic factors - trees, shrubs, herbs, grasses, lianas, twines etc. Evaluate and openly question new as well as old information.

3. Understand ecological linkages among forest components, its systems and subsystems to be able to anticipate effect of management stresses.
4. Understand that
 - a. Environment is a dynamic process which is ever evolving,
 - b. Its every component is oriented in such a fashion that highly sensitive and fragile balance is achieved and it is amalgamated culturally by different societies.
 - c. Respecting nature's myriads of complex processes and patterns and allowing it to take its natural course is a need of the hour.
5. Ensure that evolutionary changes are allowed to progress in natural way. This means that diversity of the biological component of environment is operational at its maximum capacity.
6. Understand how to manage environment for a desired condition of the landscape and abandon the unworkable notion of ever increasing yield of natural resources (i.e. Development).
7. Understand how to connect global habitats and ensure ecological wholeness and biological richness (biodiversity) of the planet earth.
8. Be able to abstract, simplify, synthesize, and generalize information about complex systems so that his or her "intuitive mind" can understand relevant information prior to making decisions.

9. Be able to articulate ideas effectively, clearly, and accurately both in writing and in public speaking.
10. Be able to work openly and skillfully with people with sufficient knowledge.

If the modern environmentalist understand the meaning of trusteeship in its totality and today if they feel good about their actions taken in this direction for the sake of environment and for the people of tomorrow then environmental activities as a profession is on the right path for a sustainable future.

Above referred concepts have universal application cutting across the cultural differences; place and even time.

Human beings have the power to create. We create ourselves with our thoughts and with our thoughts we create the society and the environment in which we live, survive or become extinct.

We have control over what we choose to think and do. What to think and do what not to do is our choice and the outcome is our responsibility. We have creative power to change ourselves, one by one. Do we want to become collectors of psychological garbage? Or are we ready to take the responsibility of becoming trustees of natural wealth and human dignity? It is within our power to transform the world from toxic waste dump to heavenly garden.

Today, we are at spiritual and ecological threshold of social survival. The humanity has never stood at this point before. It is the right time for human race to work towards for its perpetual survival. Each individual has power to change and in doing so

each one assist the human society to moves towards a new and right direction.

In an experiment, a mutilated landscape was handed over to a group of village women not as its owner but as trustees.

This piece of land was a typical representative of wasteland across the length and breadth of country – denuded and without a blade of grass; over eroded; having miniscule capacity to hold rain water; emanating only despair; people living around had imbibed only negative frequency of life.

Over a period of time, because of positive actions of women's group, selected landscape developed capacity to grow and self repair itself. Now land cover is green, ground water level has risen dramatically; net primary productivity is on rise; biodiversity is remarkably rich and many natural processes are in offing silently.

One can see that this developmental process has brought not only economical growth but even ecological processes have assumed significance. All factors essential for supporting life (i.e. soil, water, air, energy and space) are harmonized, pristine and spiritual. Participants of experiment are able to redefine their culture as well as moral value.

Reflections on Trusteeship from the Experience of Friends Commune

D. John Chelladurai

A small group of friends started living in a ‘commune’ being inspired by the social principles of Gandhi. It was a kind of joint family of friends established at Thethoor, Palamedu, Madurai District, Tamil Nadu, India, in 1995. This experiment in community living continued till 2005. In the commune, families of some friends lived together having common property, common kitchen and common economy. Though it lasted for a short span of time, the learning experience was significant in terms of trusteeship. It was a blend of hope and apprehension. This presentation has two parts: one on the concept, learning and inferences of life based on trusteeship and the other on the life and its experience.

Part I

The life in the Friends’ Commune gave the members a unique insight in to the way of life which Gandhi had propounded through his principle of Trusteeship. As we understood then, trusteeship is a social concept of the principle of ‘Non-Possession’: *we do not possess anything. When something comes to us, we hold it in trust.* Gandhi said: “I gave up

my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy?... I can only say to them that they should use their wealth for service.”¹ Gandhi placed non-possession as one of the *mahavrata* and enlisted trusteeship as a social praxis.

Practice:

As members of the Commune, the life we lived could be termed as that of trusteeship.

1. The land was registered in the name of all four founder members;
2. First four years, the commune had only one hut (16 / 16ft. thatched roof, thatched wall). It worked as the reception room when guests came, kitchen during meals time, bed room at night. When one of the members got married, the new female member too lived for a year in that single room. Thereafter, we constructed two other rooms and a kitchen.
3. We kept the day to day task too in trust. We did not divide our work among ourselves on any day. Everyone instinctively knew the work s/he had in hand. We did discuss about it before we went to bed every night. And we left it to the members to choose the kind of work one like to do on any given day. Milking the cows and carrying the milk to the market, cooking food and attending to horticulture was routine works that we shared among ourselves. If one did not work, no one questioned the concerned person, as we trusted each other. In that case, it was assumed that the person had

some genuine reason. Not even once, we found any work unattended. At times, it was delayed, which did irk us.

4. A number of friends frequently visited the commune. We told them, 'it is your commune, if you have faith in it and work according to your ability while you are here and enjoy as much as you could'. One doesn't apply for membership to stay here; no one would be asked to go out for any reason. The only expectation was that the people adheres to the principle of trusteeship and translate it into action.
5. By and large, the commune was kept neat and clean (barring the weeds which were so wild and overpowering). No food was found wasted in the commune. With the kind of appetite we had, owing to strenuous physical work we were doing; waste was not a practical possibility with us. This quality came into us irresistibly, thanks to principle of 'Bread labour'. No one threw the garbage anywhere. We had dustbin that was emptied regularly in the pit for organic manure. We never planned for it; it came so naturally. It could be attributed to the trusteeship which informed our attitude. When everybody is party to the place as well as the process, every one behaves in such a manner to make it happen at best. Trusteeship is not for the leaders alone. In fact in its pristine form, it permeates every corner of the society and makes every member as a trustee. The ills of our city habitation are on account of the people not having the feeling of owning the city. If poverty still prevails in the land, it is because people are yet to have a stake in the nation.

Reflections

As we lived in the Commune we learnt the following lessons:

1. Trusteeship is an attitude, based on the realization of 'universal oneness.' Whole-hearted adherence to this principle makes the practice joyous. Partial conviction would retain a lot of disharmony. Visitors would quite often ask us, 'how is it you all live in the same hut?' How is it possible to live without an assured income? The commune experience taught us that 'if you are swimming in deep sea, do not swim like a human, but like a whale does; then ocean would be the choicest place for you.'
2. Trusteeship, to be functionally effective, requires healthy interpersonal relationship among the members concerned.
3. Consciousness of mutual dignity is an essential attitudinal component of trusteeship.
4. Trusted proximity makes trusteeship socially effective.
5. Smaller, optimum size communities are ideal for the practice of trusteeship.
6. Bread labour in practice, takes one close to the suffering masses and makes one more sensitive. The 'bread labor' is the physical labour we perform for our 'daily bread.' There is no possession to bank on. In such a state of life, the value of the produce one generates is consciously shared by everyone around. As everybody is in need, members become sensitive to each other readily. Thus sharing for them comes spontaneously and its reward is sweeter.

7. We saw children of 5-7 years of age from the neighbouring village walking five kilometers to reach the nearest primary school. Taking clue from it, we thought we would teach them. We started a primary school for them. We believed that one's ability is also governed by the principle of trusteeship and it should be used for the welfare of those in need. Thanks to our association with University and Education department, that school was adopted by the government in the very next year. Now they have a school up to fifth standard in the village.
8. Non-possession gave us great freedom. The joy we had during the Commune period was pure and complete. Many would ask the secret behind this joy. It was not artificial. It would not be an exaggeration to say that our non-possession relieved us from the burden of living for future and allowed us to live in the present to its fullness. We had so much of surplus energy and emotions that was good enough to connect with one another, see things with greater clarity and experience them with details. Life appeared to us lighter, enjoyable, and we could laugh at ease.
9. Aspiration for individual prosperity and principle of trusteeship could hardly go together. The fervour for material prosperity sucks all intellectual ability one has. In such a situation the heart would say, the poor neighbour needs support, the head would say, 'you do not have time; mind your business'. Even the best philanthropy of the mainstream life is not good enough to stand to the test of trusteeship. Because, it works against the spirit of non-possession.

Social

1. **Perspective shift:** A common man is a born bread labourer. She abides by non-possession if not by choice by compulsion. Nevertheless her/his non-possession is a virtue. Whereas, the wealth possessed by few in our midst makes the common man appear hapless. The common man lives a non-exploitative life. The life of the rich with enormous possessions makes his or her life troublesome.
2. Reverting hierarchy: Possession is concentration of wealth, engendering hierarchical differences. Wealth is not created except through the collective labour of many individuals. Garnering wealth therefore is a 'shrewd' way of convincing the partner for an inequitable sharing relationship. That is why *dan*, which in effect diminishes hierarchy, is accorded greatest place among social values by Hinduism.
3. Poor is not poor not just because of lack of initiative. Rather it is primarily because the rich is occupying lion's share from the common pool. In that sense, inequitable possession is an aberration in social living.
4. Pragmatism: human beings are functionally different from each other: some are quick-witted and many are not. Therefore, different people require different roles including 'initiators', 'stewards' 'guardians' and 'patrons'. The essential perspective is one of Trusteeship. Gandhi has seen it working in family enabling all, particularly the weak. The trustee at home too grows in stature through her / his contributions. Nation, the larger

human family, likewise would benefit from it. Gandhi believed that Trusteeship is the norm of social living.

5. Optimization of human relationship and economic wherewithal are the inner dynamics of non-possession that would maximize the scope for realizing life and its ecstasy.

Policy

1. Trusteeship stems from the belief in universal justice based on equality for all.
2. Policies seeking '*Sadak, Paani and Bijali...*' represent the spirit of Trusteeship.
3. The real expression of Trusteeship would be one in which every individual enjoys a healthy socio- economic space to lead a rightful and meaningful life. This is particularly important as the people have chosen to live as one Nation, with shared destiny.
4. The risk of nation state is that, in its zeal for oneness, it tends to concentrate power, wealth and resources. It is an irony of nation state that even though its political philosophy is of 'welfare state', it chooses the path of concentration of wealth in few hands. Therefore, it is important that we assure ourselves an equitable space for livelihood. It means a healthy space for the poor wo/man and a just sufficient space for rich on the other end.
5. This would happen only if the spirit of Trusteeship governs the policy of the State.
6. Best livelihood space comes from land and industrial employment. They need to be equitably distributed.

7. Land being the basis of life needs to be distributed equitably among the tillers. *Bhoodan* Movement adopted this principle in effect.
8. Equitable distribution of jobs assumes significance. Inequitable distribution of jobs is the real problem. It is an economic wealth which can be held Trust by the nation.

The average annual Income is Rs. 90,000/- for every Indian according to 2012 data. Equitable job distribution of the available job would have assured each family with an annual income of over rupees three hundred thousand.

Gross income – expense

Average per capita income

Job Potential = _____

9. An industry that keeps this formula in its employment, would be leading the nation out of unemployment problem.

Part II

Experience of Commune living

Four likeminded friends hailing from different backgrounds came together and formed a commune. All four were introduced to Gandhian thinking. Nonviolence was the common factor among them. We wanted to experience 'togetherness' to the extent of inter-dependence and cooperation they were capable of. Further we wanted to demonstrate that this essential practice of human life is practical.

Members:

No	Founder Members	Permanent Members	Minor Members
1	D. John Chelladurai	5 Indira	8 Ameeta J.
2	K. Selvaraj	6 Jacinta Mary	9 Arvind S.
3	S. Thangapandi	7 K. Rajeswari	10 Nijani V.
4	S. Venkatachalam		

Practice:

We pooled whatever we saved from our scholarship and other earning to buy a piece of land. We managed only one third of the required money. We had encouraging elders and friends mostly Gandhians who generously helped them to raise the remaining money. We bought four and a half acres land located thirty kilometers north of Madurai in Alanganallur Taluk. The

place was a valley in Sirumalai Hills between Palamedu and Vadipatti. It was ideally suited for such an experiment.

As we wanted it to be a land based Commune, bread-labour being our creed, we started planting fruit and fodder trees, rearing cows (for the first three and a half years we solely depended on the five milch animals we had), and doing kitchen garden.

When we acquired the land, it was devoid of plants barring two wild trees. By the turn of the new millennium we had 700 trees including 135 fruit trees and 400 fodder trees. In the first three years we had only a bore-well fitted with hand-pump for water with which we reared all these trees.

We cut bricks. Dr. Kausalya of Gandhi Gram Trust helped us with a hand operated machine to cut bricks. We built huts, kitchen and wash rooms with the mud and stone from the campus. As construction was a new experience, we hired a mason to support our work.

We did a bit of carpentry too. The first shelter had door, windows, shelves, teapoy all made by us. We used as raw material wild reeds grown on the banks of the creek flowing through the valley in which the commune was located.

We reared cows, grazed them, bathed them, milked them and marketed the milk like all our neighbours in the village did. We named the cows and made them part of their commune living.²

Learning:

Communion with Land was an art we learnt at the commune. Land and plants spoke to us more tellingly than one can imagine.³

Cultivating vegetable (grains we could not, for short of water) was a journey into 'know-thyself'. When we buy vegetables from market, we choose unblemished and shining ones and reject even if the vegetable has small patch. Whereas when our own plants bear fruits, we see beauty in the fruit whatever be its shape; we appreciate the worth of even worm drilled and shrunk ones; we mourn for plants affected by pests. We learnt the worth of things that made us enjoy what we cultivated, in fact, whatever we had.

Building one's own shelter gives the satisfaction akin to that of a mother bearing a child. Shelter is the fruit of one's labour – blood and sweat. It is part of one's life. One may not be an architect, the construction may be primitive, so what, it is a witness to one's creativity, a microscopic resemblance to the Creator, each one of us could boast of. The commune members felt so, and were so proud of their construction that they tendered it like their own life.

Larger Self: Self-reliant life led to the realization of a physical and emotional relationship with everything we used in life. A commodity we made by hand became our blood relative as it came through our labour. The food we ate, the shelter we dwelled in, the dress we wore, made our life more meaningful and real. Experiencing such relationship gave us a sense of completion. It helped one to realize one's Larger Self – my 'being' beyond 'I'

Doing is Life:

Many people asked us ‘how long would the construction of Commune go’, when would you finish? We did not have any difficulty in living in the unfinished infrastructure. We enjoyed every moment of it like the children enjoy playing with toys.

Equality: We learnt many social lessons. One of them was actual meaning of ‘equality’ which would be worth sharing. One of members, with all consciousness was treating everyone in the neighboring village as equal. This member thought he was just and proper in doing so. One day an illiterate village boy called this member by name and treated him like yet another fellow villager, though not disrespectfully, only with as much importance as he would accord to any of his fellow villager. The member felt offended; one who holds a ‘Ph D’ deserves a little more respect, his ego proposed. Then the member realized that, to uphold equality, it is not sufficient to treat others as equal; to allow others to treat one as their equal is equally important.

In the realm of human dignity, all humans deserve equal respect (potentially equal) whereas, according to the talent and responsibility held, individuals may require different levels of importance. We give more importance to elders, seniors / superior colleagues, where as everyone stands equally respectful. This distinction we understood clearly from the commune.

Poverty is dehumanizing: Another shocking lesson was ‘poverty drains away all human feelings.’ The members had seen even the most conscious beings unable to care for elders (parents) in the family when struck with penury. Villagers / slum dwellers and poor people are accused of being less civil. Not that they do not have human sensitivity, in most of the cases the inordinate struggle (unfulfilling) for basic need fulfillment drains away

softer human energy. In an acute shortage of basic needs one views everyone around as a depriver / competitor. The world has over forty percent of the people condemned to live below poverty line , owing mostly to structural causes, is in a sense a massive deprival to them of the 'climate to be humane'.

The Peace enjoyed:

It was new for us to be full time peasants doing all sorts of physical work. However, we did it with great passion, that the villagers started citing members as example to force their own educated children to work in the farm. The dignity of labour was something we did enjoy.

Indicators for Individual peace: Appetite, sleep, thirst, bowel movement, pain and fatigue-free-mind are indicators of a peaceful mind in a peaceful body. Hard physical work made their body work like an oiled machine. We had great appetite for food and the simplest food we cooked (we put rice, pulse, veg, oil and some seasoning with sufficient water together in cooker and boiled it for lunch) was quite tasty that we never found any left-over. Even the guests who joined us in the work started enjoying the food so much that it became a talk in the known circle.

In the afternoon we had little time for nap. There was no electricity. Fortunately we were on the foot of the southern hill of the valley where there was a pass. Afternoon breeze flowing through the pass was a great attraction. We all slept in the open verandah for some time. We slept like dead. At night, we used to sleep in open air gazing at the clear sky strewn with brilliant stars. Sleep came instantly. Like Thiruvalluvar stated, sleep for us was a 'death' experience. I don't remember ever having a disturbed sleep, not even a dreamy one. At four in the morning

when the alarm rings (for milking the cows) we used to get up as if from 'death'.

The visitors and guests invariably would ask the reason for the blooming face of the commune. The simple reason was the style of living in the commune which gave us all a mind unperturbed by future or the past, stature or security; a mind that was filled with the thrill of liberated living.

Fond Memories:

Commune was a place of clean air, water, sky... whenever we went to the city, however late it was we would return to the commune to rest. The humid city congestion made us feel our commune a heaven. The 250ft bore-well gave us steaming water so soothing to take bath in winter late evening or early mornings (10-15 degree may be awfully warm to any European, but for us in temperate region it is piercing cold!!!). As we did not have a bathroom in the early years, we would go as a couple to take bath, mutually supporting at the hand pump.

We loved reading good books. As dairy and horticulture took much of our time and energy, we scarcely had time to read. However, we found the travel by bus to the city with daily milk (for marketing) was a wonderful two hours to read. In fact we had a subtle competition on who would go to the market that day, just to avail this reading time. The book we all enjoyed the most was 'Earth Children Series', that time all four sequels (Alex, a friend from USA gifted us). Hours after supper we would discuss the characters of Ayla, Iza, Crub, Brun, Jondolar, Doni and the fabulous others.

The long discussions on social issues we had in the evenings and those afternoons with guests were memorable. We had an

affectionate neighbour, Guruswami teacher, who was a great admirer of commune initiative and its commitment. He would encourage us to deliberate and argue and listen with amazement. We too loved it. It was an emotional trusteeship, he extended.

We had many regular visitors to the commune. Tamil scholar Somasundaram Ayya, would come every Sunday by 10.30 with lunch box and a bunch of newspapers, would stay till 4.30 in the afternoon. He would bring in new sets of literary charm to add to our otherwise toiling day; it was Ayya's practice of Trusteeship on 'Intelligence'.

Other neighbours: The number of peacocks, mongoose and wild boar were our other regular visitors. Snake was our fellow dweller. One day we snatched away a baby rabbit from the mouth of a cobra and applied all forms of country medicine (turmeric powder...) to heal the cobra bite. Alas the baby died in two days. Jacinta, one of the members, grieved for it for almost a week. Perhaps, 'we did not understand the trusteeship of the nature in which the cobra and the rabbit were brought to live in' one of them commented.

Snake Bite: On a late evening when one of the ladies in the commune was bitten by a snake. All they could do immediately was giving her a dose of herbal antidote (*Andrographis*, a plant they grew for this purpose around the home), and then took her to the doctor in the city (30 kms). It was a pleasant story of healing, in trust with nature.

Struggle:

As friends we created a lot of bonding for each other. There was an external influence too. The commune became the talk of the circle and we were forced to show great solidarity.

Human that we were, we did have a lot of disagreements, mostly on the 'approach'. One of the members was a very quiet person, another was a socialite, the third one was a critique and the fourth was introvert. The socialite had the capacity to entertain us all, but mostly occupied the social time and he was a little demanding too. The critique had a sharp tongue and would tell on the face what he thinks about others. The introspective person would understand the under-current of all the conversation and for the sake of relationship would never argue back. The quiet person was hard working and slowly he found to be doing too much of it. We allowed our fellow members burst out on one another, albeit occasionally. The bursting out on each other was the cure by itself. We did realize that their relationship grew ever stronger through this.

We never wanted a 'constitution' to be written, we wanted it to evolve. It was our own experiment with 'trust'. As equals we all had the responsibility to grow in tandem with each other. Correction or admonition would be improper on a person who volunteers to learn. So we did not have public analysis of individual excesses. Once in a while it busted out, rather badly. However, we managed to grow in their collective understanding and solidarity. The idea of 'evolving constitution' was good in principle, however on hindsight, we felt a 'well documented constitution' would have helped us to grow a little more orderly.

Every one said to the members of commune 'if you want to stay together, do not marry'. 'You four boys have come together with certain ideology. If you marry, the girls would come in only for you and not for your ideology. She would accept you in marriage, not all your friends. There will be crack in commune life.' One of us got married on the third year. Next year another friend married. When their spouses came in, to everyone's

surprise, they built a wonderful bonding between them. Mostly the men in the commune depended on them for ventilation. They made the commune more charming. The trust rewarded them all the more.

The one front we could not mend was financial. First four years we had cows (five of them) to take care of us. All along we were learning, how to recognize the 'heat' period, their 'fever' 'jaundice', how to manage fodder shortage in summer... We made certain mistakes out of inexperience that caused loss of cows. We did not have money to buy new ones. We had to close down the dairy and go to serve outside to earn.

Though we earned enough money, in the last three years of our stay in the commune, we found ourselves moving out of the commune for work the whole day. Commune had become a night shelter for us. In the day time, only women and children were in the commune. That was not the life we wanted. We missed the life we had in the first five years. Reverting to it needed a sustainable economic venture in the commune – an investment we did not have.

That is where we decided to move away from the commune. We thought it would be for some time. But now we realized that it would be a long journey towards it.

Notes and References

1. *Harijan*, 8-3-1942, p. 6.
2. One brown calf which had a crescent like white mark on its forehead was 'Piraisudi' - literally means one who is wearing the crescent on forehead. They named her mother 'Alex', in memory of the friend, Alexandria who stayed for a couple of months with them in the commune.

3. For instance, we planted saplings in a vast open land (most part of the year the temperature is more than 37 degree Celsius). Every second day we had to water them. If we were late even by a few hours, they would droop their gloomy head. The moment we water them, all of them would raise their glowing head to give you a stately salute. When we nurture the plant with personal care they come out with lush foliage and luminous flowers and luscious fruits as if to repay their gratitude. If we tender the land thrice a year, aerate the land and irrigate it properly, the crops come up exuberantly even without all these chemical fertilizers. The year we fail to tender, they reciprocate with weak and feeble crops.



Dr J.C. Kumarappa

PART - II

ट्रस्टीशिप या थातीदारी

दादा धर्माधिकारी

ट्रस्टीशिप का अर्थ है, थातीदारी। थाती शब्द का मतलब है 'धरोहर'। संस्कृत में इसके लिए शब्द है 'न्यास'।

अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम में कण्व ऋषि का वाक्य है: प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा। शकुन्तला को अपने पति के घर भेजकर कण्व कहता है कि अब मैं स्वस्थ, शान्त हो गया हूँ। मेरे मन में बहुत समाधान है, क्योंकि जैसे किसीकी धरोहर मेरे पास रही हो, उसे मैं लौटा रहा हूँ। अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव। 'कन्या पराया धन है।' दूसरे का धन मेरे पास रखा था, उसका मैंने प्रत्यर्पण कर दिया, उसे लौटा दिया।

समाज को प्रत्यर्पण

विनोबा का 'दान' भी एक अर्थ में प्रत्यर्पण है। जिन लोगों ने सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व अपने पास रख लिया, उनका यह काम है कि वे उसे लौटायें। यह दान मौलिक दान नहीं, प्रत्यर्पण है। जो चीज हमने ले ली थी, जिस चीज का हमने अपहरण किया था, उस वस्तु का अब हम प्रत्यर्पण करते हैं। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि आज दुनिया में व्यक्तियों और संस्थाओं के पास जितनी सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व है, वह सब 'न्यास' है। वह उनके पास सँभालने के लिए रखा हुआ है, धरोहर है। न्यास प्रत्यर्पण के लिए होता है, उपभोग के लिए नहीं। यह ट्रस्टीशिप की केन्द्रीय कल्पना है।

दूसरा उदाहरण 'रामचरितमानस' में कैकेयी का है। कैकेयी राजा दशरथ से कहती है: 'मेरे वरदान आपके पास थाती हैं। अब तक मैंने माँगे नहीं, भंजाये नहीं हैं। मेरे वरदान आपके पास धरोहर हैं।' इस प्रकार मेरे पास जो वस्तु है, उसे मैं समाज या ईश्वर की धरोहर

मानता हूँ। वह अन्त में धरोहर ही है। ट्रस्टीशिप की मूलभूत भावना यही है।

स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति में प्रतिष्ठा

असल में समाज-परिवर्तन के जितने विचार हुए और जितनी आर्थिक योजनाएँ बनीं, उनमें मुख्य विचार यह था कि स्वामित्व के प्रति मनुष्य का क्या रुख हो और सम्पत्ति के विषय में दो मनुष्यों के परस्पर सम्बन्ध क्या हों। सम्पत्ति के साथ मनुष्य का सम्बन्ध क्रान्ति-विचार का एक मुख्य आधार रहा। उसकी बहुत-सी अन्य बुनियादों में यह एक मुख्य बुनियाद रही कि मनुष्य का मालकियत और मिल्कियत की तरफ क्या रुख हो। पुराने जमाने में माना जाता था कि स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति प्रतिष्ठा के आधार हैं। मेरा स्वामित्व और मेरी सम्पत्ति—दोनों ही मेरी प्रतिष्ठा के प्रतीक हैं। कारण यह था कि सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व का उपार्जन पराक्रम का द्योतक था। मालकियत और स्वामित्व—उपार्जन दो प्रकार से होता था—एक पराक्रम से और दूसरे मितव्ययिता, संयम से।

भर्तृहरि का वाक्य है: उद्योगिनं पुरुषसिंहम् उपैति लक्ष्मीः। जो उद्योगी पुरुषसिंह हैं, उनके पास लक्ष्मी जाती है। दैवेन देयम् इति कापुरुषाः वदन्ति। जो कायर हैं, निकम्मे हैं, आलसी हैं, वे कहते हैं कि दैव देगा, तो लक्ष्मी मिलेगी। किस्मत, मुकद्दर चमकेगा—ऐसा जो कहते हैं, वे कापुरुष हैं, पुरुषार्थहीन पुरुष हैं।

आप कहते हैं कि हाथ कुछ तंग है। तंग का मतलब पैसा कम है, ऐसा नहीं, मुट्ठी कुछ चुस्त है। यह सद्गुण नहीं हैं क्योंकि सूम है, कंजूस है। जो आदमी बचा-बचाकर खर्च करता है, उसके बारे में हम कहते हैं कि वह खुले दिल का आदमी नहीं है। उसकी मुट्ठी खुली हुई नहीं होती, वह अपनी थैली की रस्सियाँ बहुत कसकर रखता है। लेकिन मितव्ययिता अलग चीज है। पुराने जमाने में वह चारित्र्य का लक्षण समझा जाता था। व्यवस्थित खर्च, अभिक्रम, उद्योगशीलता और पुरुषार्थ से मनुष्य को संपत्ति और स्वामित्व मिलता था। इसलिए उपार्जन में उसका पुरुषार्थ और संयम प्रकट होता था। लोग कहते थे कि 'प्रापटी इज प्रोप्राइटी,' 'सम्पत्ति ही शिष्टता है'। पुराने अर्थशास्त्र में स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति दोनों की प्रतिष्ठा है। यह

मनुष्य का ऐसा अधिकार था जिसे कोई छीन नहीं सकता था। तीन अधिकार मुख्य समझे जाते थे: 1. जीवन, 2. सम्पत्ति और 3. सुख का शोध। मनुष्य का मालकियत रखने का और सुख की योजनाएँ बनाने का अधिकार माना जाता था।

समाजवाद का अर्थशास्त्र

इसके बाद समाजवाद का अर्थशास्त्र आया। क्यों आया, कैसे आया, यह तो सब लोग जानते ही हैं। स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति के अर्थशास्त्र में जब यन्त्रीकरण का युग आया, तब सम्पत्ति के पैमाने का कोई ठिकाना नहीं रह गया। सम्पत्ति के उपार्जन की एक ऐसी विधि मालिकों के हाथ में आ गयी, जिससे मालकियत केन्द्रित होती गयी और श्रम का समाजीकरण होता गया। इसमें से फिर अन्तर्विरोध पैदा होता गया। वह धीरे-धीरे बढ़ता गया।

जब यह विरोध भीतर-ही-भीतर लगातार बढ़ता चला जाता है, तो परिणाम-स्वरूप समाज का छिलका यानी पके हुए फल का ऊपरी सख्त कवच अपने-आप फूट जाता है। इसे वे 'क्रान्ति' कहते हैं। मार्क्स अपनी 'केपिटल' में बड़े रोमांचकारी शब्दों में पूँजीपतियों को चेतावनी देता है। पूँजीवादी पद्धति का परिणाम यह होता है कि वह कवच फट जाता है और उसमें से क्रान्ति होती है। 'दी एक्सप्रोप्राइटर्स आर एक्सप्रोप्रिएटेड।' जिसने आज तक अपहरण किया था, जिसने परिहरण किया था, उनका अब अपहरण होता है। वे कहते हैं कि हम सारे अपहरणकर्ताओं का परिहरण करेंगे।

तो, ट्रस्टीशिप में हमने यह माना कि जितनी भी सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व है, वह न्यास है और यह न्यास प्रत्यर्पण के लिए है। प्रत्यर्पण न करेंगे, तो जो अपहर्ता हैं, उनका परिहरण होगा। समाजवाद ने क्रान्ति की इस प्रक्रिया को, क्रान्ति के इस तर्क को पूँजीवादियों के सामने रखा।

सम्पत्ति और शोषण

समाजवादियों में पहले सुधारवादी, आर्थिक सुधारवादी आये। एक पुराने समाजवादी ने कहा था कि 'मोस्ट प्रापर्टी इज इम्प्रापर्टी'! अधिकांश स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति 'इम्प्रापर्टी' है, अशोभनीय है।

समाजवादियों ने कहा कि 'प्रापर्टी इज थेफ्ट'। सम्पत्ति चोरी है। इससे आगे जो और बढ़े, वे तीव्र समाजवादी या आत्यंतिक मतवादी थे। उन लोगों ने कहा कि 'प्रापर्टी इज मर्डर' (सम्पत्ति हत्या है); क्योंकि इसमें शोषण है। एक ने मालकियत, स्वामित्व को अशोभनीय कहा, तो दूसरे ने चोरी कहा और तीसरे ने हत्या।

परिग्रह में चोरी

हमारे एकादश व्रतों में अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह साथ-साथ आते हैं। जब हम स्तेय और परिग्रह को एक साथ रखते हैं, तो उसका मतलब यह होता है कि परिग्रह स्तेय है — 'प्रापर्टी इज थेफ्ट'। जितना परिग्रह है, वह अपने में चोरी है। परिग्रहके दो ही कारण हैं: एक लोभ और दूसरा अरक्षिता। कारण, समाज में आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति का आश्वासन नहीं है।

ऐसा नहीं मानना चाहिए कि केवल लोभ ही परिग्रह का कारण है। ऐसा मानेंगे, तो हम आइडिआलिस्ट (प्रातिभासिका) बन जायेंगे। प्रातिभासिक सत्तावाद का मतलब यह है कि सारी-की-सारी दुनिया स्वप्नवत् है। जाग्रति में दिखाई देती है, लेकिन स्वप्नवत् है, वह प्रातिभासिक है। अगर हम मानेंगे कि मनुष्य के केवल लोभ नाम के एक विकार से सारी-की-सारी पूँजीवादी रचना बन पड़ी और पनपी तो वह गलत होगा, अवैज्ञानिक होगा।

सारी दुनिया कुछ मनुष्यों के लालच का परिणाम है, ऐसा नहीं मान सकते। सम्पत्ति केवल मनुष्य के पुरुषार्थ का या केवल उसकी मितव्ययिता का परिणाम है, यह भी हम नहीं मानते। पूँजीवादी समाज में मनुष्यों को अपनी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति का आश्वासन नहीं है। इसलिए संग्रह आया। संग्रह और परिग्रह चोरी इसलिए हैं कि दूसरी तरफ अभाव है, आवश्यकता है। एक तरफ कहीं-कहीं विपुलता है, तो दूसरी तरफ आवश्यकता और दुर्भिक्ष दोनों हैं। इसलिए यह सही है कि जितनी सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व है, वह चोरी है। सम्पत्ति चोरी इस अर्थ में है कि लोगों को आवश्यकता है और उन्हें मिलता नहीं है, फिर भी हम अपने पास संग्रह रखते हैं। यहाँ दोनों में वस्तुस्थिति के कारण जो भेद या विषमता पैदा हुई है, उस आधार पर हम कहते हैं कि यह चोरी है। अपने मन में लालच हो या

न हो, शोषण हो या न हो, लेकिन परिणामतः यह स्तेय है, यह चोरी है। वस्तुतः परिग्रह चोरी है।

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में, पूर्व अफ्रीका में पहले-पहले गोरा आदमी गया, तो क्या लेकर गया? वह तराजू और बाइबिल लेकर गया था। पर अब दक्षिण अफ्रीका निवासी क्या कहता है? 'पहले जब गोरा आदमी आया, तो उसके पास बाइबिल थी, हमारे पास जमीन। पर अब उसके पास जमीन है, हमारे पास बाइबिल।' जो लोग बाइबिल लेकर गये थे, वे जमीन छीनने के लिए नहीं गये थे, लेकिन जो लोग तराजू लेकर गये थे, उन्होंने एक पलड़े में बाइबिल को रख दिया।

ऐसा नहीं है कि जिसके पास परिग्रह होता है, वह हमेशा ही दुष्ट होता है। अहिंसक प्रक्रिया में इस बात को समझ लेना बहुत आवश्यक है। बहुत-सी बूढ़ी स्त्रियाँ अस्पृश्यता की पक्षपाती हैं, वे अपने-आपमें व्यक्ति के नाते दुष्ट नहीं होतीं। वे बहुत दयावान् हो सकती हैं।

तो, परम्परा से यह जो मालकियत और स्वामित्व आये, इनका निवारण किस प्रकार हो, यह मुख्य सवाल है। इस पर जब आप सोचें, तो ये दो चीजें ध्यान में रखें कि एक तरफ तो थातीदारी है और दूसरी तरफ अपरिग्रह का सिद्धांत। जब लोग यह कहते हैं कि स्वामित्व और संपत्ति की संस्था को हम चिरस्थायी बनाना चाहते हैं या इसे हम पूरी तरह स्थायी बनाना चाहते हैं, तब उनको इन दो चीजों को मिलाकर विचार करना चाहिए। मुख्य सिद्धांत अपरिग्रह का है। अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह आर्थिक रचना के मूल सिद्धांत हैं। समाजवाद का आधारभूत सिद्धांत है-आवश्यकता के अनुसार लेना और सामर्थ्य के अनुसार देना। यहाँ मुख्य सिद्धांत केवल व्यक्तिगत आचरण का नहीं, सामाजिक आर्थिक संयोजन का भी है। संयोजन का आधार क्या होगा? अस्तेय होगा। संयोजन का स्वरूप क्या होगा? अपरिग्रह होगा।

इन सिद्धांतों के साथ हमें ट्रस्टीशिप को जोड़ना चाहिए। राजाजी, मसानी रंगा और दूसरे लोग कहते हैं कि व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति और व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व की संस्था को बनाये रखना आवश्यक है।

क्यों? समाज के विरोध में आपके पास कोई आश्वासन नहीं है। समाज के खिलाफ व्यक्ति-स्वातन्त्र्य के आश्वासन का अगर कोई सबसे बड़ा आधार हो सकता है, तो वह व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व और व्यक्तिगत संपत्ति ही है।

व्यक्तिगत संपत्ति और स्वामित्व

सवाल है कि व्यक्तिगत संपत्ति और व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व की मर्यादा क्या हो? ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धांत तब अमल में आयेगा, जब मनुष्य संग्रह करेगा और यह समझेगा कि यह संग्रह मेरे अपने उपभोग के लिए नहीं है, समाज के लिए इसका विनियोग करना है। समाज के लिए विनियोग करना है, तो संग्रह क्यों करता है? मनुष्य कहता है—संग्रह इस भय से करता हूँ कि समाज के और मेरे मन्तव्य में जिस दिन आत्यंतिक विरोध होगा, उस दिन समाज के खिलाफ मेरे पास कौन-सा संरक्षण रहेगा? यह संरक्षण मालिकियत और मिल्कियत का है। संरक्षण के लिए मेरे पास मालिकियत और मिल्कियत का कवच है। यह अगर नहीं होगा, तो मनुष्य का सारा-का-सारा व्यक्तित्व और उसकी स्वतन्त्रता समूहवाद में खो जायेगी। इस बात को अगर ठीक समझना हो, तो इसे अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह के साथ मिलाना होगा। अगर नहीं मिलायेंगे, तो इसके विकास को नहीं समझ सकेंगे।

समाजवादी विचार विकसित होता गया है, पर उसमें एक दरार रह गयी। वह यह है कि उसमें किसान का विचार नहीं आया। समाजवाद ने इसका विचार नहीं किया। इसका विचार 'फिजियोक्रैट्स' ने किया। वे समाज से कुछ अलग समझे जाते थे, लेकिन मैं इन लोगों को समाजवादी मानता हूँ। इनमें से दो नाम महत्व के हैं: एक सिसमंडी और दूसरा है हेनरी जार्ज। हेनरी जार्ज की 'प्रोग्रेस एण्ड पावर्टी' किताब पढ़ते समय ऐसा मालूम होता है कि उसे कोई भूदानी ही लिख रहा है।

अस्तेय, अपरिग्रह और ट्रस्टीशिप को जब हम साथ-साथ लेते हैं, तब हमें यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि आधारभूत सिद्धांत अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह है। ट्रस्टीशिप व्यक्तिगत है। व्यक्तिगत इस तरह है कि संयोजन और समाज-परिवर्तन दोनों का आधार है— ट्रस्टीशिप।

सत्ता और सम्पत्ति दोनों श्रमिक-वर्ग के हाथ में हों। इसे 'डिक्टेटरशिप ऑफ दी प्रोलेतारियत' कहते हैं। इसका जवाब यह है कि सत्ता भी श्रमिक-वर्ग के हाथ होगी और सम्पत्ति भी। क्यों? तो इसका जवाब यह है कि अब तक वह पूँजीपति के हाथ में थी। जिस वर्ग को हमें मिटाना है, उस वर्ग के हाथ में अब वह नहीं रहेगी। जिस वर्ग की प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ानी है, उस वर्ग के हाथ में वह रहेगी। और जब वर्ग ही नहीं रहेंगे, तो राज्य की आवश्यकता भी नहीं रहेगी।

संक्रमण-काल की स्थिति

सवाल है कि समाज-परिवर्तन के संक्रमण-काल में क्या होगा? आक्षेप यह है कि संक्रमण की अवस्था में जिनके हाथ में सत्ता और सम्पत्ति दोनों केन्द्रित हो जायँगी, वे क्या फरिश्ते होंगे जो अपनी मर्जी से उन्हें छोड़ देंगे? वर्ग-निराकरण के लिए जितने दिन लगेंगे, उतने दिन में एक नया वर्ग पैदा हो जायगा, जिसको सत्ता और सम्पत्ति दोनों का अभ्यास हो जायगा। इस अभ्यास के कारण 'ये मेरे अधिकार हैं' यह संस्कार उसके मन में पैदा होगा इसमें से एक नया वर्ग पैदा होगा। पहले का वर्ग सम्पत्तिधारियों का, मालिकों का, अमीरों का वर्ग था। सारी सत्ता उसके हाथ में होती थी। धीरे-धीरे लोकशाही आयी और राज्य-सत्ता उसके हाथ से क्षीण होने लगी। राज्य-सत्ता को वह खरीद सकता था, लेकिन सारी-की-सारी राज्य सत्ता का हकदार नहीं रह गया।

बाद में क्या होगा? विधान से, कानून से और क्रान्ति-सिद्ध अधिकारों से मुड़ीभर आदमी, जो अपने को श्रमिकों के प्रतिनिधि कहलायेंगे, सत्ता और सम्पत्ति दोनों के अधिकारी बन जायँगे। एक अनर्थ को मिटाने के लिए वे एक दूसरा भयानक अनर्थ दुनिया में स्थापित करेंगे। यह आक्षेप है।

सम्पत्ति मेरी नहीं, समाज की

इस आक्षेप से बचने का रास्ता ट्रस्टीशिप है। ट्रस्टीशिप में यह योजना है कि जो सम्पत्ति मेरे पास है, उसे मैं अपनी नहीं मानँगा। यहाँ स्वेच्छा के लिए परिस्थिति में भी प्रेरणा है। परिस्थिति का दबाव है। केवल नैतिक या हृदय की उदारता की प्रेरणा नहीं, बल्कि एक

भौतिक प्रेरणा भी है। यह भौतिक प्रेरणा कौन-सी है? पूँजीवाद के अन्तर्गत विरोध प्रकट हो रहा है। पूँजीवादियों ने विरोध पैदा कर दिया। राज्य साधारण मनुष्य के हाथ में दे दिया। सत्ता सार्वत्रिक है और सम्पत्ति सार्वत्रिक नहीं है, यह विरोध ज्यादा दिन नहीं चल सकता। उसमें स्वेच्छा तो अवश्य है। लेकिन स्वेच्छा के लिए परिस्थिति में प्रेरणा भी है। तो, जितनी सम्पत्ति आज मेरे पास है, उतनी सम्पत्ति मैं अपनी नहीं, समाज की मानूँगा।

अब इसमें कौन-सी मर्यादा आती है? ट्रस्टीशिप की क्या पहचान है? हर अमीर कहेगा कि मैं ट्रस्टी हूँ, मैं अपनी सम्पत्ति समाज के लिए मानता हूँ। आज किसीके पास दो लाख रुपये हैं। दो साल बाद आप उससे पूछने गये: 'कितनी सम्पत्ति है?' तो कहता है : 'दस लाख!' यह ट्रस्टीशिप नहीं है।

जो सम्पत्ति मेरे पास परिस्थिति या जन्म से आयी है, उसका अगर मैं अपने-आपको ट्रस्टी मानता हूँ, तो उसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश नहीं करूँगा। क्योंकि उसे तो मुझे कभी-न-कभी समाज को सौंपना ही है समाज के लिए ही मैं रख रहा हूँ। लेकिन जिस समाज में वह रहता है, वह समाज अगर कहेगा कि इतनी-इतनी सम्पत्ति आप हमें बढ़ाकर दे दीजिये, तो वह बढ़ाकर दे सकता है। किन्तु समाज विवेकी होगा, तो ऐसा नहीं होगा। क्यों? उसके लिए संपत्ति पर ब्याज लेना पड़ेगा। नतीजा यह होगा कि मूलधन ज्यों-का-त्यों बना रहेगा और समाज यह चाहेगा कि ब्याज पर ही हमारा काम चले। अगर समाज समाजवाद की तरफ जा रहा हो, तो वह यह चाह नहीं सकता। हाँ, पूँजीवादी समाज हो, तो कोई बात ही नहीं। उसमें भी कर लगाना होता है। तो, समाज बहुत जल्दी यह कह देगा कि इस तरह तुम सम्पत्ति बढ़ा रहे हो, यह ठीक नहीं करते।

सम्पत्ति बढ़ाना बन्द करें

जितनी सम्पत्ति है, उसे मनुष्य बढ़ा सकता है या नहीं, इसमें मुख्य विचार यह करना होगा कि सम्पत्ति बढ़ाने का साधन क्या होगा—मुनाफा, किराया या ठीका? इसका आरम्भ करना होगा अपनी संस्थाओं से। उसके बाद ट्रस्टी से कह सकेंगे। आज तो हमने उल्टे पैमाने लगाये हैं। गांधी-स्मारक निधि के लिए यह लागू नहीं है,

कस्तूरबा ट्रस्ट के लिए यह लागू नहीं है, पी. एस. पी. के फण्ड के लिए यह लागू नहीं है, सर्व-सेवा-संघ के लिए यह लागू नहीं है, ऐसा कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। पहले आप संस्थाओं से कहेंगे कि संपत्ति को बढ़ाने की कोशिश न करें।

दूसरा सवाल यह आता है कि कोई अपने-आपको ट्रस्टी कहता है और अपनी संपत्ति भी बढ़ाता जाता है, तो क्या किया जाय? अगर वह ट्रस्टी है, तो अपनी सम्पत्ति की घोषणा करेगा। उसमें जितनी अभिवृद्धि होगी, वह समाज को दे देगा। तो, इसमें से लाभ की जो प्रेरणा है, वह कम हो जाती है। इसके बाद भी व्यवहार में जो दुष्टता रहेगी, उसके लिए अलग उपाय सोचने होंगे। जैसे, आपने परिस्थिति में एक दबाव पैदा किया कि उसको ट्रस्टी घोषित करने की प्रेरणा हुई। दूसरे, ट्रस्टीशिप आनुवंशिक नहीं हो सकती। हाँ, समाज अगर कहे कि तुम्हारा पिता ट्रस्टी था, अब तुम भी रहो, तो ठीक है। समाज को हर वक्त दोबारा विचार करना होगा। एक ट्रस्टी की मृत्यु के बाद अगर उसके पास संपत्ति बच गयी हो, तो समाज उसके विनियोग पर विचार करेगा। अगर न रही हो, तो सवाल ही नहीं है।

इस तरह कई तरीके सोचे जा सकते हैं।

ट्रस्टी होने की एक पहचान यह है कि व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति में वृद्धि नहीं होनी चाहिए।

ट्रस्टीशिप का समग्र सिद्धान्त

सामाजिक परिस्थिति या अपने पुरुषार्थ से हमें जो कुछ प्राप्त हो, उस सबको हम न्यास, थाती या धरोहर मानेंगे। इस वृत्ति का नाम है 'ट्रस्टीशिप'।

दूसरी चीज यह भी है कि जो कुछ हमें प्राप्त है, वह अपने उपभोग के लिए नहीं, 'प्रत्यर्पण' के लिए है। 'प्रत्यर्पण' इसलिए कि आज की जितनी सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व है, उसका अधिकांश भाग अपहरण का है। अपहरण चोरी है। परिग्रह चोरी है, स्तेय है। अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह दोनों साथ-साथ चलते हैं। अस्तेय और परिग्रह दोनों साथ-साथ नहीं रह सकते। इसलिए सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व के विषय में समाज में अलग-अलग धारणाएँ और सिद्धान्त उत्पन्न हुए।

क्रान्ति की बुनियाद

सारे क्रान्तिकारियों में से जो सुधारवादी थे, उन्होंने यहाँ तक कहा कि हम यह नहीं जानते कि सारा—का—सारा परिग्रह चोरी है या नहीं; लेकिन इतना हम जानते हैं कि बहुत—सा परिग्रह ऐसा है, जिसे 'चोरी' कहा जा सकता है या जो चोरी का परिणाम है। इसलिए सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व की तरफ से मनुष्य का रुख बदलना, मनुष्यों का सम्पत्ति के आधार पर आज जो पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध है, उसमें आमूल परिवर्तन करना, क्रान्ति की बुनियाद मानी गयी।

संक्रमणकाल में आज मुझे जो सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व प्राप्त है, वह समाज को प्रत्यर्पित करने के लिए है, लौटा देने के लिए है। आपने उपभोग के लिए वह नहीं है। मैं उसमें अभिवृद्धि, इजाफा नहीं करूँगा। बल्कि जो है, उसे कम करने की कोशिश करूँगा। अगर समाज के लिए उसे बढ़ाना ही हो, तो ब्याज, किराया, मुनाफा, ठीका या दलाली इन साधनों से मैं उसे नहीं बढ़ाऊँगा।

ट्रस्टीशिप के विचार में क्रान्ति

जिस समाज में ट्रस्टी रहता है, उस समाज ने ट्रस्टी से अगर कहा कि अपनी सम्पत्ति हमें बढ़ानी है और इसे बढ़ाने की सिफत हमसे ज्यादा तू जानता है, तो इसे बढ़ा। वह बढ़ा देता है, पर सम्पत्ति जितनी बढ़ेगी, वह सारी—की—सारी समाज की होगी। अगर यह नहीं होता, तो ट्रस्टीशिप का विचार क्रान्तिकारी नहीं हो सकता।

ट्रस्टीशिप समाज—परिवर्तन का साधन होना चाहिए। यानी ट्रस्टीशिप से सम्पत्ति के प्रति, स्वामित्व के प्रति मनुष्य का रुख बदलना चाहिए और सम्पत्ति पर आधारित मनुष्यों के जो सम्बन्ध हैं, उनमें परिवर्तन होना चाहिए। अगर यह नहीं है, तो ट्रस्टीशिप एक प्राचीन परम्परागत संस्था बन जाती है, जिसे हम दान—वृत्ति की संस्था कहते हैं। उसमें किसी प्रकार की समाज—परिवर्तन की शक्ति पैदा नहीं होती।

जब हम कहते हैं कि ट्रस्टीशिप होनी चाहिए तो उस ट्रस्टीशिप का आधार होगा—अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह। आधार होगा अस्तेय, उसका स्वरूप होगा अपरिग्रह। अगर अपरिग्रह और अस्तेय का सिद्धान्त नहीं

माना गया, तो ट्रस्टीशिप और व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व में कोई अन्तर नहीं रह जायगा। पुरातन—मतवादी, जिन्हें मैं जीर्ण—मतवादी कहा करता हूँ, कहते थे कि सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व का अधिकार मनुष्य का मूलभूत अधिकार है। तो, क्या उनका विचार ट्रस्टीशिप में आता है? अगर उनके लिए ट्रस्टीशिप में स्थान है, तो आप ट्रस्टीशिप को समाज—परिवर्तन का साधन नहीं मान सकते।

स्वामित्व की प्रेरणा का प्रश्न

व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व और व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति का आयोजन इसलिए किया गया था कि समाज के विरोध में व्यक्ति के लिए कुछ स्वतन्त्रता का आश्वासन हो। उसे व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता का आधार माना गया था। व्यक्ति और समाज इन दोनों में विरोध पैदा हो जाता है, तो समाज के विरोध में अपनी स्वतन्त्रता का संरक्षण करने के लिए क्या व्यक्ति के पास कोई साधन है? जवाब मिलता है कि व्यक्ति के पास ऐसा साधन है, मनुष्य की व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति। समाज में वह जो परिश्रम करता है, उसके लिए क्या उसके पास कोई प्रेरणा है? इसका जवाब मिलता है कि प्रेरणा स्वामित्व की है।

आरम्भ में यह विचार गांधी का भी रहा, उनके साथियों का भी रहा। इसलिए ऐसा एक भ्रम पैदा हुआ कि गांधी के विचार में व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व एक अनिवार्य स्थान रखता है। दूसरा भ्रम यह पैदा हुआ कि उनके आदर्श समाज में वर्ग रहेंगे और वर्ग का समन्वय होगा, वर्ग का निराकरण नहीं होगा। यही भ्रम स्वतन्त्र पक्ष आज हमारे सामने बार—बार रखता है। लेकिन हमने देखा कि गांधी और उनके सहयोगियों के मन में ट्रस्टीशिप के विचार का विकास हुआ। इसका कारण यह था कि समाज की रचना के लिए उन्होंने जो आधारभूत सिद्धान्त माने थे, वे अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह के थे। ये सिद्धान्त मान लेने के बाद सम्पत्ति और स्वामित्व की भावना में कई प्रकार का परिवर्तन चलता है।

ब्रह्मचर्य का व्रत

एक उदाहरण लीजिये। ब्रह्मचर्य का व्रत विवाह का विरोध करने के लिए नहीं है। लेकिन आश्रम के नियमों में कहा गया कि वहाँ

‘विवाहित ब्रह्मचर्य’ होगा। विवाहित ब्रह्मचर्य जब कह देते हैं, तब विवाह का जो प्रयोजन था, वह स्वतः नष्ट हो जाता है। दोनों साथ-साथ रहते हैं, लेकिन पति-पत्नी के नाते साथ नहीं रहते। विवाह का सम्बन्ध गौण हो जाता है और ब्रह्मचर्य मुख्य। उसी प्रकार संतान-निरोध का सवाल आता है, तो कहते हैं कि वह संयम से होना चाहिए। इसका अर्थ है कि विवाहित अवस्था में भी ऐसे नैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचर्य से रहना चाहिए कि सन्तान पैदा होने की सम्भावना ही न रहे। साफ है कि ब्रह्मचर्य के आधार पर विवाह होता है, तो विवाह की भूमिका गौण होती है। जहाँ पति-पत्नी का शरीर-संबंध गौण होता है, वहाँ प्रेम मुख्य होता है।

विवाह की भूमिका यह है कि स्त्री और पुरुष के शरीर-संबंध की अपेक्षा उनका प्रेम-संबंध अधिक महत्व का है। नहीं तो विवाह का कोई प्रयोजन नहीं रहता। इस तरह जब हम आर्थिक क्षेत्र में अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह के आधारभूत सिद्धान्तों को लेते हैं, तो स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति की भूमिका, उसका आशय इतना बदल जाता है कि स्वामित्व और सम्पत्ति का लगभग विसर्जन हो जाता है।

कला, प्रतिभा और श्रम

आज सम्पत्ति के विषय में कानून में जो शब्द है, वह बड़ा अन्वर्थक है। वह है ‘होलिडिंग प्रापर्टी’। ‘आइ होल्ड’—मैं धारण करता हूँ। कानून में प्रापर्टी के लिए दूसरा शब्द भी है। वह है — ‘पजेशन’। कानून में आपके कब्जे में अगर कोई चीज है, तो वह 90 प्रतिशत आपकी हो ही गयी। दस प्रतिशत वह इसलिए नहीं है कि शायद कोई यह साबित कर दे कि आपने उस चीज का अपहरण किया है। सवाल है कि जिस समाज में अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह होगा, क्या उस समाज में भी ‘ट्रस्टीशिप’ का कोई स्थान होगा? इसका उत्तर समाजवादियों ने दिया है, दूसरे अर्थशास्त्रियों ने भी दिया है और सदाचारवादी नीतिवादी लोगों ने तो दिया ही है। अर्थशास्त्री कहते हैं कि पूँजी आज श्रम से काम लेती है। मेहनत वाले को, मजदूर को पूँजी काम देती है। पूँजी मालिक है, मजदूर नौकर है। असल में मालिक कौन है? परिश्रम मालिक है और परिश्रम पूँजी का उपयोग

करेगा। श्रम के लिए पूँजी का उपयोग होना चाहिए, पूँजी के लिए श्रम का नहीं। मुख्य वस्तु है—कला, प्रतिभा और श्रम।

श्रम भी प्रत्यर्पण की वस्तु

ट्रस्टीशिप की माँग यह है कि जिसके पास श्रम—शक्ति है, उसे उसको भी प्रत्यर्पण की वस्तु मानना चाहिए। श्रम—शक्ति भी उपभोग के लिए नहीं है। 'मेरे श्रम का मुझे जो फल मिलता है, वह मेरा है', ऐसा माननेवाला ट्रस्टी नहीं है। कारीगर अपने को अपने औजारों का और अपनी मेहनत का ट्रस्टी मानेगा। वह यह नहीं कह सकेगा कि यह मेरा औजार है, मैं इसके साथ चाहे जो कर सकूँगा। मैं इसे तोड़ दूँगा या नदी में फेंक दूँगा, वह ऐसा नहीं कह सकता। अगर वह ऐसा कहता है, तो वह ट्रस्टी नहीं है। पूँजीवाद के युग में पूँजीवादी मालिक अपने को जिस तरह का मालिक मान रहा है, उसी तरह वह छोटा मालिक है। छोटा है, इसलिए वह कम पूँजीवादी नहीं हो जाता। वह उतना ही बड़ा पूँजीवादी बन जाता है, जितना बड़ा वह, जो कहता है कि यह मेरी फाउंटनपेन है, इसका चाहे जो उपयोग मैं करूँगा। यह मेरी रोटी है, मैं इसे चाहे जहाँ फेंकूँगा। समाज कहेगा कि समाज में वस्तु का अपमान सांस्कृतिक दोष है।

ये सारी जीवन की विभूतियाँ हैं और इनके लिए भी आदर होना चाहिए। इस संसार में जीवन सम्पन्न करनेवाली जितनी—जितनी वस्तुएँ हैं, वे सब जीवन की विभूतियाँ हैं। जो वस्तुएँ जीवन संपन्न करनेवाली नहीं हैं, वे भी जीवन की विभूतियाँ हैं। मनुष्य कहता है कि 'नल में पानी है, मैं इसे चाहे जैसा बहने दूँगा; क्योंकि मैंने उसका टैक्स दिया है।' यह ठीक नहीं। ट्रस्टीशिप में सृष्टि के प्रति जैसा आदर रहेगा, उसी तरह का आदर वस्तु के प्रति, उपकरण के प्रति और श्रम के प्रति भी रहेगा।

आत्महत्या: शरीर और आत्मा

शरीर के प्रति आदर की बात बताते हुए मैंने कहा था कि अपने शरीरके प्रति जुगुप्सा, तुच्छता का भाव न धार्मिक है, न आध्यात्मिक; न नैतिक है, न सांस्कृतिक। दूसरे का शरीर अवध्य है, अनाक्रमणीय है, दूसरे के शरीर पर कोई आक्रमण नहीं कर सकता, कोई उसकी

इच्छा के विरुद्ध उसके शरीर का उपयोग नहीं कर सकता, करना भी नहीं चाहिए। जिस प्रकार दूसरे का शरीर अनाक्रमणीय है, अवध्य है, उसी प्रकार मेरा अपना शरीर भी अनाक्रमणीय है, अवध्य है। कानून से आत्म-हत्या को गुनाह करार कर दिया गया है, यह अलग चीज है। अगर यह गुनाह पूरा हो गया, तो कानून कुछ नहीं कर सकता। बच गये, तो सजा होती है। आत्महत्या का गुनाह पूरा हो जाता है, तो कानून से परे हो जाते हैं। कानून में 'सुइसाइड' (आत्महत्या) की जो परिभाषा है, वह एक संकेत है। हर मनुष्य अवध्य है, किसी मनुष्य को आप नहीं मार सकते— यह संकेत है।

दूसरे मनुष्य का शरीर अनाक्रमणीय और पवित्र है। वह जीवन में प्रतिभा और कला का विकास कर सकता है। इसलिए भगवान् के मंदिर से अधिक पवित्र है। दूसरे के शरीर के प्रति जैसा मैं मानता हूँ, वैसा ही अपने शरीरके प्रति भी मानूँ

मनुष्य आत्महत्या करने की चेष्टा करता है। वह बच जाता है, तो कानून सजा करता है और वह उस प्रयत्न में सफल हो जाता है, तो कानून क्या करता है? कानून की कमजोरी की पूर्ति मनुष्य के ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धान्त से होती है। अपने को अपने शरीर का वह ट्रस्टी मानता है। 'यह शरीर गधा है, मैं उसके साथ चाहे जो कुछ करूँगा। इस शरीरसे ऊब गया हूँ, यह बदसूरत है इस शरीर में क्या है, आज मर जाऊँ, तो अच्छा है!'

अरे, तो तू क्यों नहीं मर जाता? शरीर को क्यों मारना चाहता है? लेकिन शरीर उसके साथ इतना जुड़ा है कि उसके बिना मरना भी मुश्किल है।

'इस शरीर से ऐसा तंग आ गया हूँ कि इसे छोड़ जाऊँ, ऐसा लगता है।'

'शरीर तो मणिकर्णिका चला जायगा। लेकिन तू कहाँ जायगा?' उसने सोचा कि इससे छूटकर अच्छी जगह जाऊँगा।

एक तरफ तो इतना ऊब गया कि उससे छूटना चाहता है और दूसरी तरफ बगैर शरीरके मर नहीं सकता! ट्रस्टीशिप कहती है कि शरीर से इतना अभिमान नहीं होना चाहिए। 'यह मेरा शरीर है, इसके साथ मैं चाहे जो करूँगा', यह तटस्थता नहीं है, नम्रता नहीं है। हर

मनुष्य दूसरों के लिए शक्तिभर काम करेगा और केवल आवश्यकता के लिए उपभोग लेगा। 'प्रतिग्रह आवश्यकता के अनुरूप और काम क्षमता के अनुरूप'—जब इस सिद्धान्त पर अमल होगा, तब मनुष्य अपनी क्षमता को 'अपनी' नहीं मानेगा।

हमने ऐसे समाज की कल्पना की है, जिसमें मनुष्य स्वतन्त्र प्रेरणा से अपनी शक्ति और रुचि के अनुसार काम करेगा, कलापूर्ण काम करेगा और काम करने की अपनी कुशलता बढ़ायेगा। दूसरी तरफ जितनी आवश्यकताएँ हैं, उतना ही वह प्रतिदान लेगा। अगर समाज में दुर्भिक्ष है, तो प्रतिग्रह कम करता चला जायगा, काम करने की क्षमता बढ़ाता चला जायगा। यानी वह अधिक—से—अधिक देगा और कम—से—कम लेगा। जीवन के ये मूल्य अवान्तर प्रेरणाओं से पैदा नहीं हुए। अवान्तर प्रेरणाओं से, अवांतर कारणों से जीवन के मूल्यों पर आवरण आ गया है। ऐसा है, तो उसके कारण ढूँढ़ने चाहिए। लेकिन जीवन के जो प्रधान मूल्य हैं, वे जीवन की प्रवृत्ति में से आते हैं। यहाँ यह नहीं समझना चाहिए कि हम संयम की बात कर रहे हैं। प्रेम मनुष्य का स्वभाव है और प्रेम में जितने अवांतर प्रयोजन होंगे, उतना वह कलुषित होता है। उसमें दोष पैदा होता है। इसलिए कहते हैं कि मित्र का प्रेम, सखा का प्रेम सबसे शुद्ध प्रेम है।

सगुण मूर्ति

सामने कुछ सगुण मूर्ति चाहिए। तेरी कला, तेरी प्रतिभा, तेरा श्रम प्रत्यर्पण के लिए है। किसके प्रत्यर्पण के लिए? वह है पड़ोसी के लिए। इसका नाम गांधी ने 'स्वदेशी' रखा। मानव का कोई सगुण रूप चाहिए, जिसके लिए सब कुछ हैं। यह ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त समाज—परिवर्तन और समाज—धारणा का सिद्धान्त है।

दोनों तरह से हमने इस प्रश्न पर विचार किया। हमारे पास सम्पत्ति और उसे रखने की इच्छा है, तो ऐसी कौन—सी पद्धति होगी, जिसमें हम सम्पत्ति रख सकेंगे और इससे समाज में प्रतिष्ठा भी मिल सकेगी? 'इसके लिए यह ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त सुविधाजनक है'—इस तरह की जिसकी मनोवृत्ति होगी, उसके लिए ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त नहीं है, फिर वह किसान हो या बड़ा भारी पूँजीपति।

जो किसान मालकियत से चिपका हुआ है, वह छोटे पैमाने पर पूँजीपति है, बुर्जुआ है। आकार छोटा भले ही हो, लेकिन उसकी वृत्ति पूँजीपति की ही है। स्वामित्व का विसर्जन करना अगर किसी क्षेत्र में सबसे अधिक मुश्किल है, तो वह जमीन के क्षेत्र में। जमीन के साथ किसान का यानी जमीन जोतनेवाले मालिक का जो स्नेह होता है, जो प्रेम होता है, वह केवल भौतिक वस्तु नहीं है। जो महान् निरीक्षक हैं, उन्होंने इसका गहराई के साथ अध्ययन किया है। पर्ल बक ने बहुत छोटी उम्र से किसान का जीवन देखा। उसने बताया है कि किसान का उसकी भूमि के साथ क्या सम्बन्ध होता है।

भूमि और किसान

गोल्डस्मिथ ने देखा कि बड़े-बड़े जमींदार हजारों एकड़ जमीन अपने पास रखकर घरे डालने लगे हैं। किसान अपनी जमीनें छोड़-छोड़कर बेघर हो रहे हैं। उनमें से कई अमेरिका जा रहे हैं। इन सब बातों का उसने 'डेजर्टेड व्हिलेज' में वर्णन किया है। वह जब किसान का वर्णन करता है, तो उसकी वेदना का वर्णन करता है। किसान का जमीन के साथ सम्बन्ध उतना ही सजीव है, जितना देशभक्त का अपने देश के साथ होता है। जिस भूमि में मनुष्य पैदा हुआ है, उसके प्रति उसकी एक भावना होती है। यह भावना केवल भौतिक नहीं होती।

किसान के मन में अपनी जमीन के लिए जो भावना रहती है, उसके दो पहलू हैं। एक तो यह कि किसान अपनी जमीन नहीं छोड़ेगा। आज स्वतन्त्र-पार्टी-वाले और दूसरे लोग कहते हैं कि किसान का जमीन से जो लगाव है, इसको अगर आप समझें और देखें, तो किसान की मालकियत कायम रहनी चाहिए। आप यह मत समझिये कि वह अपनी मालकियत छोड़ देगा।

इससे ठीक उल्टा पहलू विनोबा ने लिया। माता के लिए किसान की जितनी पूज्य बुद्धि है, उतनी ही भूमि के लिए है। तीन माताएँ मानी गयी हैं—जननी, जन्मभूमि और गाय। भावना की दृष्टि से सबसे पहले जननी, फिर जन्मभूमि और बाद में गाय। जन्मभूमि के लिए जो भावना है, उस भावना के प्रतिकूल मालकियत की भावना है, यह चीज उसे समझाना चाहिए। जमीन के विषय में किसान की जो

भूमिका है, वह मालकियत के विसर्जन के अनुकूल है। कहीं-कहीं गांधी के विचार में भी इसकी ध्वनि आती है। वे कहते हैं कि पंचतवों में से भूमि एक तत्व है और इसे भगवान के सब पुत्रों को समान रूप से प्राप्त होना चाहिए।

गांधी की बातों में यह ध्वनि निकलती है कि किसान अपने को ट्रस्टी मान सकता है और यह कह सकता है कि भूमि में जो परिश्रम होता है, वह अनमोल है। क्यों? एक दूसरा संकेत इसके साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। हमारे देश में अन्न दान शुद्ध दान माना जाता है। इतना शुद्ध दान दूसरा कोई है नहीं। कारण आप पूछिये, तो यह बतलाते हैं कि अन्न का दुरुपयोग नहीं हो सकता। अन्न के दान का एक ही पात्र है—उदर—पात्र। तो, उदर के पात्र में अन्न का दान बहुत निर्दोष माना जाता है, अन्न का विक्रय सदोष माना जाता है। एक जमाने में दूध का विक्रय भी सदोष माना जाता था। इसमें यह तत्त्व छिपा हुआ है कि अन्न का उत्पादक अपने उत्पादन का मालिक नहीं माना जाएगा। अर्थात् उसका श्रम अनमोल है। परन्तु अर्थशास्त्र का गणित बिलकुल उलटा है। दुनिया अन्न सस्ते में माँगती है। जिस देश में भूख है, उस देश में अन्न सुलभ होना चाहिए। आर्थिक दृष्टि से अन्न से ज्यादा महँगा कच्चा माल, कच्चे माल से पक्का माल और पक्के माल से व्यापारी माल महँगा होता है। यह जो आज का अर्थशास्त्र है, इसे बदल देना होगा या फिर यह जो अन्न का उत्पादन करता है, उसे अन्न के उत्पादन के लिए कोई भौतिक प्रेरणा नहीं होगी। भौतिक प्रेरणा नहीं होगी, तो फिर अन्न उत्पादन कैसे होगा?

सामाजिक प्रेरणा

अब तक की समाज की प्रेरणा धार्मिक थी। उसकी जगह सामाजिक प्रेरणा दाखिल करनी होगी। अगर अन्न कच्चे माल के साथ, पक्के माल के साथ और व्यापारी माल के साथ प्रतियोगिता नहीं कर सकता, तो अन्न की और उसके उत्पादन की भी एक विशिष्ट भूमिका होनी चाहिए। इस दृष्टिसे लोग कहते और उदाहरण भी देते हैं कि किसान एक सेर बोता है और एक मन लेता है। बगैर मेहनत से इतना गुना किसीका उत्पादन नहीं होता। मुट्ठीभर कपास डाला और धोती निकल आयी हो, ऐसा नहीं होता। एक फिजियाक्रेट

अर्थशास्त्री का कहना था कि सबसे ज्यादा टैक्स किसान से लेना चाहिए। दूसरों से क्यों ले?

रेशनिंग के पीछे की भावना

किसान की भूमिका में और दूसरे की भूमिका में यह जो अन्तर है, उसमें अद्भुत रहस्य है। अकाल के जमाने में जो अन्न पैदा होता है, वह सारा का सारा ट्रस्ट बन जाता है। एक तरह से सारी सम्पत्ति ट्रस्ट बन जाती है। आप कण्ट्रोल करते हैं। कहते हैं कि जो सामग्री है, उसे हम बाँटेगे। बाँटने का मतलब यह नहीं कि जो ज्यादा दाम देकर खरीदेगा, उसे देंगे। आज का बाजार नीलाम का बाजार है। सौदे की अपेक्षा नीलाम ज्यादा है। उसमें वस्तु उसे मिलती है, जो सबसे अधिक दाम दे सकता है। लेकिन समाज में वस्तुओं के दाम निश्चित करने की आवश्यकता पैदा होती है। सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता तब होती है, जब आवश्यकता अधिक और वस्तु कम हो। तब आप कण्ट्रोल, करते हैं, नियंत्रण करते हैं और वितरण को व्यवस्थित कर देते हैं। समाज में यह जो आवश्यकता पैदा होती है, उसके पीछे छिपी हुई भावना ट्रस्टीशिप की भावना है।

तीन प्रकार के स्वामित्व

यह ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त अपने विकसित रूप में क्रान्तिकारी सिद्धान्त हैं। ट्रस्टीशिप के विचार को बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से समझ लेना आवश्यक है। आज तीन तरह के स्वामित्व की बात चल रही है—राज्य—स्वामित्व, संस्था—स्वामित्व और व्यक्ति—स्वामित्व या कौटुम्बिक स्वामित्व। एक चौथा स्वामित्व भी है, जो समाजवाद और कम्युनिज्म में सही माना गया है, वह है—भोग्य वस्तुओं का व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व। अब ये दो चीजें हुईं। सम्पत्ति निर्माण करने के साधनों का स्वामित्व कौटुम्बिक न हो, व्यक्तिगत न हो। उपभोग करने की चीजों का स्वामित्व व्यक्तिगत और कौटुम्बिक हो सकेगा। समाजवाद और साम्यवाद में यह जो विशेष बात है, उसे समझ लेना आवश्यक है। भोग्य वस्तु और उपयोगी वस्तुओं का व्यक्तिगत और कौटुम्बिक स्वामित्व रहेगा। केवल आपके कपड़े ही नहीं, आपका रहने का मकान, आपकी मोटरकार, आपकी टेबल—कुर्सी, आपका पलंग, आपकी थाली—इन सब वस्तुओं पर आपका स्वामित्व रहेगा।

अति संग्रह कुसंस्कार

उपभोग की वस्तुओं का अति संग्रह कुसंस्कार है। मनुष्य का यह स्वभाव नहीं है, क्योंकि उसकी भोग-क्षमता सीमित है। मराठी में खाडिलकर का एक नाटक है। एक पात्र दस अँगुलियों में दस अँगूठियाँ पहनकर आता है। उसके पास बीस अँगूठियाँ हैं। भगवान् से कहता है कि दो हाथ और मागूँगा, तो मैं भगवान् ही बन जाऊँगा, चतुर्भुज बन जाऊँगा। दो पैर और मागूँगा—नूपुर बाँधने के लिए। चतुर्भुज नहीं तो चतुष्पाद ही सही!

आपके पास कुर्ते पचास हैं, तब भी पीठ एक ही है। मोटरें सौ हैं, तब भी सीट एक ही है। तो अब पचास कुर्ते क्यों रखेंगे? शान के लिए। जिस दिन उसमें शान नहीं रहेगी, उस दिन कोई क्यों व्यर्थ ही रखेगा? आपसे कोई कहे कि चौक में घूम आओ, तो आप बिस्तरे में रखे हुए इस्तरी के कपड़े निकाल लेंगे। पर शंकररावजी से मिलने जायेंगे, तो क्या कोई इस्तरी के कपड़े पहनकर जायेंगे?

जहाँ सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा उपभोग के साधनों की बहुलता में नहीं होती, वहाँ मनुष्य उपभोग के साधन जुटाने में दिलचस्पी नहीं रखता। मनुष्य का जैसे-जैसे सांस्कृतिक विकास होता है, वैसे विलास की चीजों की सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा कम होती चली जाती है। इसका उदाहरण है कम्युनिज्म। उसमें एक पुरुष की चार स्त्रियाँ सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा का लक्षण नहीं है। कम्युनिज्म भोगवादी हैं, तो भी एक पति की चार स्त्रियाँ प्रतिष्ठा का साधन नहीं है। समाजवादी देश मानते हैं कि वेश्या किसी शहर की शोभा का साधन नहीं है। शराब विलास का साधन नहीं है।

मानवीय प्रकृति

मनुष्य की भोग-क्षमता सीमित है। लोग कहते हैं कि उसकी आकांक्षा अनन्त है। आकांक्षा के पीछे भोग के साधन चलते हैं, क्षमता नहीं। भोग-क्षमता अपने में मनुष्य के संग्रह को मर्यादित कर देती है। सभी जानते हैं कि भोग के साधन जितने बढ़े, समाज में भोग की आकांक्षा उतनी बढ़ी; लेकिन भोग की क्षमता उस अनुपात में नहीं बढ़ी। मान लीजिये कि इस वक्त मेरी आकांक्षा पकौड़ी खाने की है, लेकिन क्षमता नहीं है। दो मोटरें रखने में सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा नहीं

होगी, तो मनुष्य दो मोटरें नहीं रखेगा। क्योंकि दो मोटरें रखने पर भी वह एक ही सीट पर बैठेगा। मनुष्य की संग्रहशीलता उसका स्वभाव नहीं है। वह नाहक का बोझ नहीं ढोना चाहता।

हर वस्तु के लिए आदर

मनुष्य की उपभोग और संग्रह की इच्छाओं में अन्तर है। समाजवाद और साम्यवाद आपके उपयोग की वस्तुओं और उपभोग की वस्तुओं की मालकियत क्षम्य मानता है। ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त है कि उसके भी आप अपने को ट्रस्टी मानें। पांडेचेरी में हर चीज पर एक चिप्पी लगी हुई है कि 'इस चीज का अपना व्यक्तित्व है, कृपा करके इसे बिगाड़िये मत'। यह है वस्तु के लिए आदर।

हर साहित्यिक और कवि जब उपमाएँ देता है, तब कहाँ से लाता है? वह हर वस्तु को विभूति मानता है और तब उपमा देता है। नहीं तो उसके साहित्य में शोभा नहीं आती। सारी सृष्टि को जिसने विभूति न माना हो, उसके साहित्य में शोभा कहाँ से आयेगी? कालिदास, वाल्मीकि आदि में आप किसी वेश्या का दृष्टान्त पाते हैं, तो वह भी विभूति बनकर आती है। सारी सृष्टि अपने में विभूति है। ट्रस्टीशिप, सृष्टि, जीवन के साधन और उत्पादन के उपकरण, उपभोग्य वस्तुओं आदि पर भी हमें इसी दृष्टि से विचार करना होगा। कोई आदमी कुर्ता फाड़ता है। ट्रस्टी कहेगा कि 'यह कुर्ता क्यों फाड़ रहे हो?'

'अरे, कपड़े की इफरात है, चाहे जितना कपड़ा बनेगा।'

'नहीं, कपड़ा बनाने के साधन अपरिमित हैं, फिर भी तुझे कपड़ा फाड़ना नहीं चाहिए। गंगाजल अपरिमित हो, तो भी उसे फेंकने का तुझे कोई अधिकार नहीं है।'

विदेशी वस्त्र जब जलाये गये, तो दीनबन्धु एण्ड्रयूज ने गांधीजी पर आक्षेप किया और लिखा कि 'एक बन्धु के बनाये हुए सुन्दर वस्त्र को, गांधी, तुम जलाते हो?' गांधी ने इसका जवाब दिया: 'हर वस्तु मेरे भाई की कला-कृति है। मैं अपनी बेटी की बनायी हुई रोटी का आदर करता हूँ उसी तरह हर मनुष्य की बनायी हुई जो वस्तु है, उसके लिए मनुष्य के मन में आदर होना चाहिए। परन्तु उस रोटी में

अगर विष या रोग के बीज पड़ गये हों, तो मैं उसे नष्ट करूँगा। मैंने गांधी की बात अपने ढंग से रखी है।

सृष्टि के लिए आदर का अर्थ

सृष्टि के लिए आदर की बात जब हम कहते हैं, तो उस सृष्टि में 'केपिटल रिसोर्सेस' उत्पादन का मूलधन, — जमीन, लोहा, कोयला, आसमान, प्रकाश, तेल आदि सबका समावेश होता है। उपकरणों के लिए आदर हो। जिन वस्तुओं का निर्माण हुआ है, उन वस्तुओं के लिए भी आदर हो। यह ट्रस्टीशिप का समग्र सिद्धान्त है। हमने उसको बहुत सीमित कर दिया था। ट्रस्टीशिप की मनोवृत्ति में और उसके समग्र सिद्धान्त में ये सारी चीजें आती हैं। इसमें सभ्यता को लेकर संयम अपने-आप आ जाता है। वस्तु के लिए आदर होगा, तो हम उसका नाश और दुरुपयोग नहीं होने देंगे।

ट्रस्टीशिप : प्रेरणा : कर्म—स्वातन्त्र्य

भोग—क्षमता की एक सीमा है। उसका अर्थ यह है कि उपभोग ऐसा होना चाहिए, जिससे भोग—शक्ति क्षीण न हो। भोजन ऐसा होना चाहिए, जिसमें हाजमा कमजोर न हो। वगैर संयम के शरीर—धारणा नहीं होती।

युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु।

युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा ॥ (6-17)

गीता में योग का ऐसा लक्षण किया है। आहार—विहार युक्त होना चाहिए। युक्त से मतलब है—मर्यादित और सन्तुलित। कर्म और बाकी दूसरी सारी चेष्टाएँ, अन्य व्यापार भी मर्यादित हों—जागरण और सोना भी मर्यादित हो। ऐसा जो पुरुष होता है, उसके लिए योग 'दुःखहा' यानी दुःख का हरण करनेवाला होता है। यह योगयुक्त जीवन मनःस्वास्थ्य और शरीर—स्वास्थ्य के लिए आवश्यक है। इतनी बात ट्रस्टीशिप के विचार में जोड़नी चाहिए।

कौटुम्बिक जीवन में ट्रस्टीशिप

एक सवाल उठाया गया है कि ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त मामूली कौटुम्बिक जीवन में कैसे लाया जा सकता है? इसके लिए हमें व्यापकत्व की ओर बढ़ना होगा। अपने कुटुम्ब में तो जो मुख्य पुरुष होता है, वह ट्रस्टी के नाते होता है। अब इस मनोवृत्ति का विस्तार करना है। इसे और अधिक व्यापाक बनाना है। इसके दो-तीन प्रकार के रूप हो सकते हैं।

एक प्रकार तो यह होगा कि उसकी अपनी खेती में शोषण नहीं होगा। न तो पशु का शोषण होगा और न मनुष्य का। आज हमारी मनोवृत्ति बड़ी अजीब है। कभी-कभी मनुष्य की सम्पत्ति और उसके स्वामित्व की भावना इतनी उत्कट हो जाती है कि वह प्राणी और मनुष्य के प्रति उसकी सहानुभूति क्षीण कर देती है। बच्चे के पैर में चोट आ जाय, तो मनुष्य को उतना दुःख नहीं होता, जितना काँच का प्याला टूट जाने से होता है। वस्तु के लिए आदर तो होना ही चाहिए, लेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि जीवन के प्रति वस्तु से कम आदर हो। सम्पत्ति की भावना में यह बात आ जाती है। इसीलिए मालिकियत के लिए एक भाई दूसरे भाई का खून भी कर डालता है। मनुष्य ट्रस्टी बनना चाहे, तो ये तीन भावनाएँ प्रमुख हो जाती हैं—एक तो उसके यहाँ बैल को कम-से-कम तकलीफ़ होनी चाहिए; दूसरे, जो लोग उसके साथ काम करते हैं, उनके प्रति उसकी भावना यह होनी चाहिए कि वे लोग भी जमीन के उतने ही मालिक हैं, जितना मैं हूँ। कानूनी मालिकियत में शायद वह उन्हें शामिल न कर सके, लेकिन उसकी यह भावना होनी चाहिए कि ये लोग भी मेरी ही तरह जमीन के मालिक हैं। इसलिए इनके और मेरे व्यवहार में यह नहीं होना चाहिए, कि मैं हमेशा इनसे ज्यादा काम लूँ और दाम कम दूँ। इनकी और मेरी भूमिका शेयरिंग की—हिस्सेदारी की होनी चाहिए। तीसरे, उसका संकल्प होना चाहिए कि मेरे कुटुम्ब में अगर कोई जोतनेवाला न हो, तो कम-से-कम मेरे बाद यह जमीन मेरे पास न रहे। इस बात के लिए अपने जीते-जी उसे अपने कुटुम्ब को तैयार करना चाहिए। ये तीन बातें अगर वह करता है, तो ट्रस्टीशिप की तरफ़ कदम बढ़ाता है।

गाँव की मालकियत का अर्थ

ट्रस्टीशिप आनुवंशिक नहीं होगी। किसान का जोतने का अधिकार आनुवंशिक मान सकते हैं। जो किसान आज जोत रहा है, उसका लड़का अगर जोतना चाहता है, तो गाँव को चाहिए कि जहाँ तक हो, वह जमीन उसीको दे। उसका अधिकार पहला मानना चाहिए। लेकिन गाँव अगर यह समझे कि वह जोतने के लिए तैयार तो है, लेकिन उसके योग्य नहीं है, तो उसे यह कहने का अधिकार होगा कि वह किसान ट्रस्टी नहीं हो सकता। बापके बाद बेटा ट्रस्टी हो या नहीं, इसका विचार करने का अधिकार समाज को दिया जाय। अन्त में तो हम समाज का भी स्वामित्व नहीं मानें, समाज को भी अपरिग्रही बनाना चाहते हैं।

ग्रामदानी गाँव वालों से यह कहना चाहिए कि तुम्हारे गाँव की जितनी उपज होगी, उसमें से तुम्हारी आवश्यकता के लिए जितना चाहिए, उतना ही तुम्हें मिलेगा। फालतू उपज बाजार के लिए नहीं है और विनिमय के लिए भी नहीं है। जमीन गाँव की है, इसका मतलब इतना ही है कि जोतने के लिए वह गाँव की है। गाँव उसे बेच नहीं सकता।

गाँव की मालकियत की मर्यादा यह है कि गाँव चाहे भी तो जमीन को बेच या बिगाड़ नहीं सकता। एक गाँव में कम जमीन है, दूसरे गाँव में ज्यादा। एक गाँव में कम आदमी हैं, दूसरे में ज्यादा, तो दोनों गाँव मिलकर एक क्षेत्र होगा। आपको अनाज चाहिए और दूसरे को कपास, तो दोनों अदल-बदल कर लेंगे। अदल-बदल का मतलब यह नहीं है कि जितनी कीमत की चीज आप लेंगे, उतनी कीमत की चीज उसे देंगे। फालतू उपज जहाँ आवश्यकता है, वहाँ जानी चाहिए। विकास के लिए जितना आवश्यक है, वह आपके पास रहेगा। जो अतिरिक्त होगा, वह वहाँ दे दिया जायगा, जहाँ विकास के लिए उसकी आवश्यकता है।

मानवीय प्रेरणा

आदमी भूखा हो, तो पहले वह अपनी भूख का विचार करता है। कहा जायगा कि उसमें अभी मानवता का आरम्भ नहीं हुआ। पर उसमें मानवता का आरम्भ हो सकता है। भगवान् ने मनुष्य को इतनी

अद्भुत शक्ति दी है कि भूखा आदमी भी मन्दिर में जाकर कुछ चढ़ाता है, यह हम रोज देखते हैं। मनुष्य की इस प्रेरणा को हम साथ-साथ जाग्रत करते चले जाये। ऐसा न हो कि वह प्रेरणा नष्ट हो जाय, वह आज ही सक्रिय भले ही न हो सके। दुर्भिक्ष है, तो पहली प्रेरणा उसके निवारण की होती है वह अधम प्रेरणा नहीं, सही प्रेरणा है।

हम उपभोग क्यों मर्यादित करते हैं? कहते हैं कि हमें चारित्र्य का विकास करना है, यह एक प्रेरणा हुई। लेकिन दूसरी प्रेरणा, भोग-क्षमता सौ साल तक हमे रखनी है—शरीर-स्वास्थ्य सौ साल तक रखना है। तो ऐसा उपभोग नहीं होना चाहिए, जो भोग-शक्ति को क्षीण करे।

विभूतियाँ और गुण

कार्लाइल जैसे कुछ लोगों ने माना है कि इतिहास के निर्माता और इतिहास के विधाता वीर पुरुष होते हैं। कार्लाइल ने फ्रांसीसी क्रान्ति के बारे में एक किताब लिखी। उसकी दूसरी प्रसिद्ध किताब है 'हीरो एण्ड हीरो वर्शिप'। एक अंश तक यह सही है कि संसार में कुछ विभूतियाँ आती हैं। विभूतियों का मतलब है जीनियस, जिनमें कोई गुण ऊर्जित अवस्था में होता है। जहाँ गुण प्रकट होता है, उसे ऊर्जित गुणवान् मनुष्य कहते हैं। भगवद्गीता के दसवें अध्याय में भगवान् ने अर्जुन से कहा कि 'तू जहाँ-जहाँ गुण का वैभव और तेज देखेगा, वहाँ-वहाँ मेरा अंश मानो।' ये विभूतियाँ आती हैं और संसार में परिवर्तन करती हैं, यह सही है। लेकिन केवल विभूतियों से समाज में परिवर्तन होता है, यह कहना गलत है। वीर पुरुष संसार का इतिहास बनाता है, यह सत्य है; लेकिन वह आंशिक सत्य है। सन् 1910-13 में रेम्झे मैकडोनाल्ड ने एक किताब लिखी। उसने कोयले की खान में कोयले से तख्ती पर लिखना-पढ़ना सीखा था। बाद में वह इंग्लैंड का प्रधानमंत्री हुआ। वह लेबर पार्टी का था। उसने 'सोशियलिस्ट मूवमेंट' पर एक किताब लिखी। उसमें उसने महापुरुषों की जीवनियों को 'रोमांटिक हिस्टरी', 'काव्यमय इतिहास' कहा है। लेकिन इतिहास में एक दूसरा हिस्सा है, जिसमें लोगों की प्रेरणा और लोगों का पराक्रम मुख्य होता है।

जिन लोगों को भोजन नहीं मिलता था, उनके मन में समाज-परिवर्तन की प्रेरणा हुई। लेकिन जिनको मिलता था, उन लोगों के मन में भी ऐसी प्रेरणा हुई। ये दोनों बातें सही हैं। जिसके पास है, उसका हृदय-परिवर्तन हो सकता है, साथ ही उसका भी, जिसके पास नहीं है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि मेरे पास क्या है, इसकी अपेक्षा मैं क्या हूँ, इस पर सोचा जाय। प्रतिकूल परिस्थिति में भी जो ठहरता है, वह चारित्र्य है। हमारे यहाँ पाँच स्त्रियाँ चारित्र्यवान् मानी गयीं—अहल्या, द्रौपदी, सीता, तारा, मन्दोदरी। इनमें से ऐसी एक भी स्त्री नहीं है, जो कलंकित न हुई हो। या तो वे कलंकित हुई हैं या उन पर कलंक का आरोप हुआ है, चारित्र्य सजीव वस्तु है। जीवन में वह केवल निषेधात्मक नहीं है। इन स्त्रियों को प्रतिकूल परिस्थितियों में लोभ और भय का सामना करना पड़ा। उसके लिये यंत्रणा सहनी पड़ी। दण्ड सहन करना पड़ा। इसमें से खरी उतरी तो वे चारित्र्यवान् कहलायीं।

टामस हार्डी ने दो किताबें लिखी। एक है 'मेयर ऑफ़ कैस्टरब्रिज' और दूसरी 'टेस ऑफ़ डर्बर विलेस'। दोनों दोषी हैं, अपराधी हैं—टेस नाम की लड़की और कैस्टरब्रिज का मेयर। लेकिन दोनों में विलक्षण चारित्र्य है। प्रतिकूल परिस्थिति में ठहरने का जहाँ माद्दा होता है, जीवट होता है, वहाँ सत्व होता है। यह सत्व मनुष्य का चारित्र्य है। यह चीज साधारण मनुष्य में विकसित हो सकती है। साधारण मनुष्य निर्दोष शुकदेव नहीं बन सकते। हमारे यहाँ एक भी ऋषि निर्दोष नहीं है।

दोष और चारित्र्य

एक भाई ने प्रश्न किया था कि जो मांस खाता होगा, उसमें कुछ-न-कुछ क्रूरता तो आती ही होगी। परम करुणामूर्ति राम हिरण का शिकार करने गया। वह मांस खाता था या नहीं, यह सवाल छोड़ दीजिये; लेकिन इतना तो मानना ही पड़ेगा कि वह हिरण का शिकार करने गया और शिकार में उसने उसे मारा। सीता को तो पता नहीं था कि वह मारीच था। इस हिरण की छाल लाकर मुझे दो, पत्नी की ऐसी माँग सुनकर राम हिरण को मारने गया, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। फिर भी वह परम कारुणिक अति कृपालु था, इसमें भी कोई सन्देह

नहीं। इसी तरह हमारे तमाम ऋषि काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोह, द्वेष से ग्रस्त रहे हैं, शुक्राचार्य जैसा एकाध भले न रहा हो। फिर भी इन ऋषियों ने वेद—मन्त्र प्रकट किये। जो परंपरागत अर्थ में सद्गुणी नहीं होते, उनकी वाणी शुद्ध नहीं होती—यह उन लोगों का भ्रम है, जिन्होंने अपने जीवन को तंग फीते से कस लिया है। मैं ज्यों—ज्यों सोचता हूँ त्यों—त्यों भगवान् की विलक्षणता से अभिभूत होता हूँ।

टेनिसन ने 'इन मेमोरियम' में गाया है।

“द ओल्ड आर्डर चेंजेथ यील्लिंग प्लेस टु न्यू
एण्ड गॉड फुलफिल्स हिमसेल्फ इन मेनी वेज,
लेस्ट वन गुड कस्टम शुड स्पोर्ट्स द वर्ल्ड।”

कहीं ऐसा न हो कि एक सदाचार ही दुनिया का सर्वनाश करें। यह एक बहुत बड़ी चीज है, जो हम सबको सोचनी चाहिए। जहाँ दोष है, वहाँ हमें यह नहीं मानना चाहिए कि चारित्र्य नहीं है। ऐसा मानना नास्तिकता होगी। जहाँ दोष है, उसके नीचे चारित्र्य छिपा हुआ है। यह वस्तु साधारण मनुष्य में और दुर्जन में भी हमारी श्रद्धा बढ़ाती है।

चारित्र्य का प्रकट होना अलग चीज है और चारित्र्य का प्रवृत्त होना बिलकुल अलग चीज। प्रवृत्त मुझमें, अपने में हो सकता है और प्रकट दूसरे में। उसका तेज मेरे व्यक्तित्व में न फैले, लेकिन मेरे अपने हृदय के भीतर वह प्रकट हो सकता है। समाज उसे प्रकट नहीं होने देता। एक दफा जो अपराधी हो गया, उसे समाज हमेशा के लिए अपराधी और दुर्जन बना देता है।

‘ला मिजरेबल’ का नायक

विक्टर ह्यूगो ‘ला मिजरेबल’ में चित्रण किया कि एक मनुष्य एक दफा अपराध करने के बाद लगातार कोशिश करता है कि मैं अच्छा बनूँ। बार—बार अपराध की प्रवृत्ति प्रकट होती है, वह गिरता है, फिर उठने की कोशिश करता है। लेकिन जितनी दफा वह गिरता है, सज्जन उसे दबाने की कोशिश करते हैं। इसके बाद भी अगर वह उठ सका है, तो केवल अपने दृढ़ निश्चय के कारण।

नियतिवाद और इतिहासवाद का आश्रय लेकर मार्क्स ने इसकी आवश्यकता को समाप्त कर दिया। उसने समाज-परिवर्तन की एक ऐसी प्रक्रिया और ऐसे वैज्ञानिक सिद्धांतों का अविष्कार या स्वीकार किया, जिनके कारण क्रांतिकारी के चित्त से इस प्रकार के परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता समाप्त कर दी। इतिहास के विकासक्रम में सृष्टि की नैसर्गिक नियति है, तो वहाँ चारित्र्य का आकर्षण कम हो गया। अगर मुझसे कोई यह कह दे कि तुमने उम्र भर जितने पाप किये हैं, एक दफा गंगाजी में नहाने से समाप्त हो जाते हैं, तो पाप न करने की मेरी प्रवृत्ति क्षीण हो जायगी? उल्टे गंगाजी के घाट तक या पानी तक जितने पाप होते जायेंगे, मन में यही कहता चला जाऊँगा कि होते हैं तो होने दो, मैं जा ही रहा हूँ डुबकी लगाने, वहाँ तो वे समाप्त होने ही वाले हैं। इस तरह मनुष्य की जिम्मेवारी कम हो जाती है और जिम्मेदारी कम होना ही मनुष्यता का क्षीण होना है। इस जिम्मेवारी की भावना का, दायित्व का विकास भले-बुरे दोनों में हो सकता है। इसके लिए इतिहास साक्षी है।

अंग्रेजी में एक कहावत है: 'इट्स बेटर टु वियर आउट देन टु रस्ट आउट।' 'जंग लगने की अपेक्षा घिस जाना बेहतर है।' गांधी के सामने यह सवाल था कि मैं अपनी जिंदगी में मोर्चा लगने दूँ या घिस-घिसकर खत्म हो जाऊँ। वे अपने जीवन की ज्योति जगाये रखना चाहते थे, लेकिन जहाँ दूसरों का जीवन मुहाल हो रहा था, वहाँ वे अपना जीवन समर्पण करना चाहते थे। गांधी जैसा मनुष्य परिमित भोग लेकर जीवन का आनंद उठाना चाहता है और जितने साल जीता है, उतने साल वो आनंद से जीना चाहता है। लेकिन अवसर आने पर आनंदपूर्वक आत्मोत्सर्ग कर देता है।

इतिहास का विकास-क्रम

आप हमसे कहते हैं कि इतिहास का यह विकास-क्रम है कि अब पूँजीवादी पद्धति में से अंतर्विरोध पैदा होंगे, उन अंतर्विरोधों का परिणाम यह होगा कि श्रमिक वर्ग संगठित होगा, क्योंकि बहुत-से श्रमिक कारखाने में एक जगह काम करते हैं। मालकियत कम होती जायगी, श्रमिकों की संख्या बढ़ती जायगी। ये श्रमिक संगठित होते चले जायेंगे। तब इनके पुरुषार्थ से क्रान्ति होगी। ऐसा होना

अवश्यम्भावी है। यह इतिहास का क्रम है, यही नित्य नैसर्गिक सिद्धांतों की नियति है। इतना आप मानते हैं, तो ठीक है। लेकिन, यहाँ आप मनुष्य को नियति का खिलौना तो नहीं बना रहे हैं? यह प्रश्न विचारणीय है।

हर व्यक्ति एक विभूति

हर व्यक्ति अपने में विभूति है, यह कहने का मतलब यह है कि हर व्यक्ति में कुछ ऐसी चीज है, जो मुझमें नहीं है। यह जिस दिन आप मान लेंगे, उस दिन आप सारे भूतों के सामने नम्र हो जायेंगे। शेर में, हाथी में, चींटी में, हर प्राणी में और हर मनुष्य में कोई विशेष शक्ति है, जो मुझसे कुछ विशेषता रखती है। यह शक्ति कहाँ से आती है? अन्धा अँधेरा क्या देखेगा? अँधेरा देखने के लिए आँख में रोशनी चाहिए। अन्यत्र शक्ति के दर्शन के लिए भीतर शक्ति होती है। एक गा रहा है। गाने की यह शक्ति मुझमें विशेष नहीं है। फिर गाने का आनन्द लेने की शक्ति मुझमें कहाँ से आयी? इसका अर्थ है कि संगीत मुझमें छिपा हुआ है। ये सारी सुप्त शक्तियाँ हैं। कुछ शक्तियाँ व्यक्त होती हैं। किसीमें गायन की विभूति है, किसीमें नृत्य की। इस तरह दुनिया में एक-एक जीनियस, एक-एक विभूति आती है।

कर्म—स्वातंत्र्य और कर्म—फल

अपने बुरे कामों का फल मनुष्य नहीं लेना चाहता। उसमें कर्म—स्वातंत्र्य है। जिम्मेवारी का अर्थ यह है कि अपने बुरे कामों के लिए मैं जिम्मेवार हूँ और अच्छे कामों के लिए भी। अक्सर होता यह है कि मनुष्य अपने अच्छे कामों का फल चाहता है, बुरे कामों का फल नहीं चाहता। वह सत्कर्म का फल चाहता है, लेकिन सत्कर्म करना नहीं चाहता। पाप का फल नहीं चाहता, लेकिन पाप करता है। मनुष्य जो बुरा काम करता है, उसके लिए क्षमा चाहता है; जो अच्छा काम करता है, उसके लिए इनाम चाहता है। 'मैंने भला काम किया, पर आपने धन्यवाद भी नहीं भेजा! तो मेरा उत्साह कैसे बढ़े? आप कुछ कद्र तो करते! माला न पहनाते तो न सही!'—इतनी अपेक्षा मनुष्य रखता है।

कर्म अपने में जड़ है। कर्म करते ही फल हो, ऐसा हमेशा नहीं होता। परिणाम होता है, फल नहीं होता। मैंने किसी मनुष्य को तलवार मार दी। वह मर गया, यह परिणाम हुआ; लेकिन इस काम का जो फल मुझे मिलना चाहिए, वह उसी वक्त नहीं मिलता। मैं उस फल से भागता हूँ तब यह फल देनेवाला कौन हो? तो कहा, यह ईश्वर है। योगशास्त्र में ईश्वर को माना है। ईश्वर की आवश्यकता इसलिए हुई कि मनुष्य जिम्मेवार है। उसे अपने भले-बुरे कर्मों का फल मिलना चाहिए। वह स्वयं तो लेना नहीं चाहता। तब कौन दे? एक ऐसी शक्ति चाहिए, जिसका अपना कर्म कुछ नहीं है, जो तटस्थ है, नित्य-तृप्त है, शुद्ध-बुद्ध-मुक्त है। यह शक्ति कौन-सी होगी? यह ईश्वर होगा, नियंता होगा, विधाता होगा।

भले-बुरे कर्म ईश्वरार्पण

पुण्यकर्म अहंकार का कारण अधिक होता है। पर जो पापकर्म होता है, उसमें से अहंकार पैदा नहीं होता, यह विलक्षणता है। पापी डींग नहीं हाँक सकता। पापी अपनी नजर से गिर जाता है, दूसरों की नजर से गिर जाता है, इसीलिए पाप में से अहंकार पैदा नहीं होता। पुण्य में से अहंकार पैदा होता है, इसलिए पुण्य अधिक बंधनकारक होता है। पाप कम बाँधता है। अब पुण्य के इस सुनहले, रेशमी बंधन में से छूटने का क्या रास्ता है? रास्ता यह है कि हम उसे भगवान् को समर्पित कर दें। हम कहें कि जो कुछ होता है, तेरी कृपा से होता है, मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

सवाल है कि भगवान् को क्यों समर्पित करें? बुरा काम मनुष्य समर्पित करने को तैयार ही है। अपराध हो जाता है, तो कहता है कि भाई गलती हुई, मुझे माफ करना। आप पेंसिल छील रहे थे और चाकू हमारी नाक में लगा। यह कोई कम गलती नहीं है, भयानक गलती है। परिणाम भी जो होना था हो गया, लेकिन फल उसका आप भुगतना नहीं चाहते। आप कहते हैं कि माफ कर दीजिये, यानी इसे सह लीजिये। अपराध तो आप समर्पित करने को पहले ही तैयार बैठे हैं, आपके सत्कर्म भी समर्पित होने चाहिए। सत्कर्म किसे समर्पित हो सकते हैं? उसीको, जिसमें सत्कर्म हजम करने की शक्ति है। सत्कर्म को हजम करना बहुत कठिन है। तो, वह ऐसे को समर्पण

करो, जिसका अपना कोई कर्म न हो। इस तरह ईश्वर की प्राप्ति हुई। यह एक औपाधिक कल्पना है। यह कब तक वास्तविक है? जब तक मेरे जीवन में उसका स्थान है। अंतिम वास्तविकता यही है कि उसमें और मुझमें अंतर नहीं। मेरे पिताजी कल्पनात्मक भी हैं और वास्तविक भी। वास्तविक हैं मेरे जनक के नाते। भावनात्मक हैं मेरे पिताजी के रूप में।

अन्तर्यामी की पुकार

जिस क्षण मैं यह मान लेता हूँ कि अपने कर्मों के लिए मैं ही जिम्मेवार हूँ, ईश्वर नहीं, उसी क्षण यह बाहर का ईश्वर मेरे भीतर आकर बैठ जाता है। वह अन्तर्यामी हो जाता है। अन्तरात्मा की आवाज का रूप ले लेता है।

अच्छे और बुरे का आधार आप अपने समाज को बनाते हैं और पड़ोसी को बनाते हैं। आपका जो स्वार्थरहित और विकाररहित स्वरूप है, इसीको आपने ईश्वर कहा है। जब तक आपके जीवन में यह आकांक्षा है कि मैं अपने को बुरे कामों का फल नहीं दे सकता, अपने पड़ोसी के अच्छे कामों की कद्र मैं नहीं करता, तब तक मनुष्य के लिए ईश्वर की आवश्यकता है।

आध्यात्मिक चंचलता

आप दस आदमियों के दस तरह के आध्यात्मिक सन्देश सुनते हैं। इसमें आप असावधान रहें, तो आध्यात्मिक चंचलता पैदा होती है। आपको अभिभूत नहीं होना चाहिए। जो व्यक्ति अभिभूत होता है, उसके पैर उखड़ जाते हैं। अगर आपने यह मान लिया कि किसी विभूति के दर्शन से, बिना आपके प्रयत्न से कुछ होनेवाला है, तो सारी आध्यात्मिकता से आप हाथ धो बैठेंगे। किसीके दर्शन से कुछ होनेवाला है, ऐसा आप मानते हैं, तो यह ईश्वर की नियति के विरुद्ध है। ईश्वर की नियति यह है कि अपने कर्मों का फल मैं भोगूँ, ईश्वर की करुणा अदना-से-अदना इन्सान में भी पैदा हो सकती है और महान्-से-महान् विभूति में भी। उनके अनुग्रह से यह सम्भव है कि मेरे चित्त में परिवर्तन हो।

मेरे कर्मों का फल दूसरों को भुगतना पड़ता है, तो इसका आशय यह है कि मैं कुकर्म न करूँ। मैं सड़क पर केले का छिलका न फेंकूँ, यह उसका अर्थ है। छिलका फेंकने के बाद कोई गिरा, तो ऐसा तर्क गलत है कि हजारों आदमियों में से यही क्यों गिरा? दूसरा क्यों नहीं गिरा? यहाँ दिमाग की शतरंज के ऊँट की—सी चाल हो जाती है। सीधी गति यह है कि जिनके साथ मैं रहता हूँ, उनका कर्म मेरे कर्म में शामिल है, मैं उनके कर्म में शामिल हूँ, क्योंकि वह 'सह—कर्म' कहलाता ही है। उसका नाम ही 'सहयोग' है। एक—दूसरे पर कर्म का परिणाम होगा ही, क्योंकि सह—जीवन है, सहकर्म है। इसीलिए कुछ दार्शनिकों ने यहाँ तक माना कि वैयक्तिक मुक्ति असंभव है, क्योंकि हमारा सहकर्म है और सह—जीवन है। इसलिए सहमुक्ति होनी चाहिए। श्री अरविंद का सिद्धान्त कुछ इसी प्रकार का है। वे ऐसा मानते हैं कि सह—मुक्ति का आरम्भ वही करता हैं, जो स्वयं मुक्त होता है। जो मनुष्य जीवन्मुक्त हो जाता है, अपनी मृत्यु अपनी आँखों देख लेता है, वह सामुदायिक और सामाजिक मुक्ति का आरम्भ करता है। यह श्री अरविंद का अवतारवाद है। वे मानते हैं कि समाज के लिए जो नया जीवन आरंभ होता है, उसमें कुछ अतीन्द्रिय या विलक्षण शक्ति आती है। इस प्रकार परम योगी का फिर अवतार होता है।

साधन और साध्य दोनों में प्रकार—भेद नहीं है। साधना जब परिपूर्ण हो जाती है, तो उसका नाम सिद्धि है। सिद्धि जब तक प्रायोगिक अवस्था में है, तब तक साधना है।

चित्त का संतुलन आवश्यक

तो, इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि चित्त का संतुलन रहे, समत्व रहे। हम मुक्त रहें, अहंकार न हो, लेकिन खुले रहने का यह अर्थ नहीं कि चंचल रहें। पानी की तरह बेरंग भी न रहें। जिसमें चाहे जैसा रंग मिलाकर उस रंग में रंग लो, यह चित्त के प्रसाद का लक्षण नहीं।

भौतिकता और वैज्ञानिकता की प्रतिक्रिया में से आध्यात्मिकता की आकांक्षा सारे संसार में पैदा हो गयी है। प्रतिक्रियाजनित होने से यह बहुत उपद्रव कर रही है। यह चित्त की समता को नष्ट कर रही है।

पहले मनुष्य अपने सामने ऐतिहासिक और वैज्ञानिक सपने रखता था। आज उस पर आध्यात्मिकता की धुन सवार है। जीवन्मुक्ति का भ्रम तो उसे जीवन में हजारों बार होता है। हम सिर्फ अपना विचार करें, औरों का नहीं। औरों के बारे में हमसे लोग पूछते हैं कि वे महापुरुष हैं, उनके विषय में आपका क्या विचार है? वे जीवन्मुक्त हैं या नहीं, हमें इसका क्या पता है? तुम दूसरों के बारे में पूछने आये हो, लेकिन तुम अगर अपने मन में चालबाज और दगाबाज हो, तो इसका पता लगाने की क्या जरूरत है? इस बात का पता चल भी गया, तो क्या मिल गया? क्या ब्रह्म-ज्ञान मिल गया? इसे मैं आध्यात्मिक चंचलता कहता हूँ। पर मनुष्य विभूतियों को खोजने लगता है, संस्थाओं को खोजने लगता है, पचासों जगह जाता है और अंत में लौटकर आता है, तो वही शालिग्राम का शालिग्राम!

समाज-व्यवस्था में व्रतों का स्थान

क्रान्ति के दौरान में संपत्ति और स्वामित्व के विसर्जन के लिए ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धान्त का अपने से आरंभ होना चाहिए। व्यक्तिगत संपत्ति और मालिकी के विसर्जन के लिए ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धान्त का उपयोग होगा। अहिंसक समाज में ट्रस्टीशिप के लिए हम अपनी श्रम-शक्ति, बुद्धि-शक्ति और अन्य शक्ति को अपनी धरोहर मानेंगे, अपने स्वामित्व की वस्तु नहीं। साथ ही उपकरणों के प्रति, नैसर्गिक संपत्ति और शक्तियों के प्रति, निसर्ग में जो धन है, उसके प्रति भी हमारी वही श्रद्धा होगी। वस्तुओं के प्रति भी एक आदर और निष्ठा होगी। यह आदर की भावना मनुष्य के स्वभाव में मौजूद है। आप जब बाजार में जाते हैं, तो किसी चीज को पसंद करने में देखते हैं कि वह समूची, ढबदार, चमकदार, सुडौल होनी चाहिए। किसी चीज में अगर दाग लगा हो, दरार पड़ी हो या वह देखने में बेढब हो, तो आप उसे नहीं खरीदते। यह सौंदर्य की भावना मनुष्य में जन्मसिद्ध, स्वयंसिद्ध है।

स्वच्छता, सुंदरता और पवित्रता की भावना मनुष्य में है। उसके विकास के लिए अवसर चाहिए, संयोजन चाहिए। जहाँ वस्तुनिष्ठा की माँग होती है, वहाँ कभी-कभी स्वामित्व की भावना रहने पर वस्तु में, जीव में और प्राणी में लोग उचित विवेक नहीं करते। नतीजा यह

होता है कि कभी-कभी वस्तु को जीव की अपेक्षा अधिक प्रधानता दे देते हैं। यह नहीं होना चाहिए। मनुष्य के जीवन का आदर करना चाहिए। दूसरे जीवधारियों के प्रति आदर मनुष्य के स्वभाव में निहित है। हमें याद रखना चाहिए कि जिन लोगों ने करुणा का उपदेश किया है, वे सभी शाकाहारी नहीं थे। हमारे देश में जितने धर्मसंस्थापक हुए, उनमें भी शाकाहारी बहुत कम हुए। विशेषकर जिन दो महान् विभूतियों ने, बुद्ध और महावीर ने, अहिंसा-धर्म की स्थापना इस देश में की, वे क्षत्रिय-वर्ण में पैदा हुए। गीता के उपदेशक भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण भी ब्राह्मण नहीं थे। नानक ने सिख-धर्म की स्थापना की। वह अहिंसा और करुणा का धर्म भले ही न हो, लेकिन मानवीय सद्गुणों का उपदेश उस धर्म में है। इतिहास में कुछ ऐसा संयोग हुआ है कि जीवन और जीव की प्रतिष्ठा के लिए आदर-बुद्धि का उपदेश जिन लोगों ने दिया, ये शाकाहारी नहीं थे। तो, जीवन की प्रतिष्ठा मनुष्यमात्र में है। वस्तु की प्रतिष्ठा जीवन की प्रतिष्ठा का अगला कदम है। मनुष्य की जो बनायी चीज है, उसका हम आदर करेंगे।

सार्वजनिक धर्म के सिद्धान्त

एक प्रश्न किया गया कि क्या गांधीजी की आश्रम-संस्था के मूल में हमारी प्राचीन विचारधारा में से कोई सिद्धान्त है?

आश्रम-संस्था के मूल में हमारी प्राचीन विचारधारा का कौन-सा विचार है, यह तो स्पष्ट ही है। आश्रम के जितने व्रत हैं, वे हमारे पुराने सार्ववर्णिक धर्म से लिये गये हैं। मनु ने अहिंसा, सत्य आदि सार्ववर्णिक धर्म गिनाये हैं। ब्राह्मण का अलग धर्म, क्षत्रिय का अलग धर्म, वैश्य का अलग धर्म और शूद्र का अलग धर्म—इस तरह अलग-अलग जाति के, वर्ण के अलग-अलग धर्म बतलाते हुए भी उन्होंने सारे वर्णों के लिए समान धर्म बतलाये। सत्य, अहिंसा, अस्तेय, ब्रह्मचर्य, अपरिग्रह आदि ये सारे सार्ववर्णिक धर्म हैं—सभी मनुष्यों के लिए धर्म हैं। इन्हें सामूहिक आचरण के व्रत का रूप दिया है। गांधी ने आश्रम-संस्था में इन्हें सामाजिक मूल्य बनाने की चेष्टा की। यह उस संस्था की विशेषता है।

समाज-परिवर्तन के लिए सत्य, अहिंसा, ब्रह्मचर्य, अपरिग्रह की आवश्यकता है। इन व्रतों से परिवर्तन हो सकता है— यह बात किसीने नहीं कही। सामान्य रूप में सबने यही कहा कि आरोग्य की आवश्यकता है। आरोग्य की आवश्यकता अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन में इसलिए है कि समाज में उसकी प्रतिष्ठा हो। लोगों को उसमें विश्वास हो। समाज में सेवा करनी है, काम करना है, तो ईमान चाहिए, सचाई चाहिए। इस प्रकार की बातें गांधी से पहले कही गयी थीं; लेकिन सत्य, अहिंसा, ब्रह्मचर्य, अपरिग्रह आदि समाज-व्यवस्था के आधारभूत सिद्धान्त हैं, यह बात पहले नहीं कही गयी थी।

इसमें दो चीजें हैं। एक तो ये शब्द परम्परागत संकेत से लिये गये हैं, लेकिन उनमें आशय नया भर दिया गया है। इस प्रकार उनका सामाजिक मूल्यों में परिवर्तन करने की चेष्टा की गयी है। दूसरी बात यह कि संस्था और कुटुम्ब, दोनों में किसी प्रकार भी क्रान्तिकारी जीवन होना समाज में असम्भव पाया गया। कुटुम्ब पुरानी परम्परा के अनुसार चलते थे। कुछ कुटुम्ब भले ही सुधारवादी बन जायँ, लेकिन सभी कुटुम्ब क्रान्तिकारी संस्था बन सकें, यह आज नहीं होता। तब क्या किया जाय? तो, गांधी ने यह कोशिश की कि इस प्रकार का प्रयोग किया जाय कि क्रान्तिकारी मूल्य हो और कौटुम्बिकता भी। सोचा गया कि ऐसी कोई संस्था हो, जिसमें मूलभूत कौटुम्बिक मूल्य भी आ सकें, स्नेह हो, पवित्र्य हो और उसके साथ-साथ सामाजिक क्रान्ति के कार्यक्रम उसका मुख्य कार्यक्रम बन सके। सामाजिक क्रान्ति के कार्यक्रम का नित्य आचरण हो और उसके साथ पवित्रता और स्नेह दोनों हों। यह प्रयोग आश्रम-संस्था के जरिये गांधी ने करने की कोशिश की।

कृष्णमूर्ति और गांधी

एक प्रश्न उठा है कि कृष्णमूर्ति का मत है कि जब तक पूर्णता न आये, तब तक व्यक्ति समाज-क्रान्ति नहीं कर सकता। तो, क्या पूर्णता पाने के बाद ही हमें समाज-क्रान्ति करनी होगी? गांधी और कृष्णमूर्ति का समन्वय यहाँ कैसे हो सकता है?

कृष्णमूर्ति पूर्णता और अपूर्णता को नहीं मानते। सामाजिक क्रान्ति जैसी कोई चीज उनके मन में नहीं है। समाज नाम की कोई वस्तु

है? उसमें क्रान्ति करनी है—यह वे नहीं मानते। मनुष्यों के एक—दूसरे के साथ पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध हैं। यही वास्तविक है। समाज नाम की कोई एक स्वतन्त्र वस्तु नहीं है। मनुष्य के मनुष्य के साथ ये जो सम्बन्ध हैं, उनमें प्रतियोगिता नहीं होनी चाहिए, ईर्ष्या नहीं होनी चाहिए, लोभ नहीं होना चाहिए। सारे सम्बन्धों का आधार प्रेम होना चाहिए। प्रेम मनुष्य में स्वाभाविक है ही। तब प्रतियोगिता कहाँ से पैदा होती है? प्रतियोगिता तुलना में से पैदा होती है। वह अपने साथ दूसरों की तुलना करते हैं, फिर दूसरे की बराबरी पर पहुँचना चाहते हैं। इससे ईर्ष्या आती है। प्रतियोगिता में ईर्ष्या होती है। आज मैं जैसा हूँ, वैसा न रहकर दूसरे की तरह बनना चाहता हूँ। कुछ हूँ और कुछ होना चाहता हूँ। इसके बीच जो द्वन्द्व है उसीमे से यह सारी समस्याएँ पैदा होती है। द्वन्द्व का स्वरूप समझ लेने से द्वन्द्व समाप्त हो जाता है। समस्याओं को समझना ही समस्या का अन्त कर देना है। समस्या का अन्त करने के लिए कोई जवाब नहीं खोजना पड़ता।

विनोबा मन से ऊपर उठने की जो बात कहते हैं, वह कोई अलग चीज नहीं। मन से ऊपर साधन भी ये ही हैं और प्रक्रिया भी यही है। मन से ऊपर उठने की साधना अगल चीज है और यह अगल चीज, ऐसा अगर आप मानेंगे, तो चालीस या पचास वर्ष तक सार्वजनिक सेवा करते रहने के बाद शायद यह कहने लगेंगे कि मन से ऊपर उठने का अभ्यास करने के लिए मुझे अन्यत्र जाना चाहिए। तब कहना पड़ेगा कि ये पचास साल आपने व्यर्थ खो दिये !

सत्य की शोध के लिए तपस्या

गांधी और कृष्णमूर्ति में समन्वय की कोशिश ही नहीं करनी चाहिए। दो भिन्न विभूतियों में समन्वय कहाँ होता है, इसका विचार हम न करें। उनके विचार में जो अच्छाइयाँ हैं, उनको हम ग्रहण करते हों, तो पहली चीज हमें यह ग्रहण करनी होगी कि मनुष्य की आत्मा अंतिम प्रमाण है:

आत्मार्थ पृथ्वी त्यजेत् ।

‘सत्य क्या है, इसके विषय में क्या कोई ग्रन्थ या कोई गुरु प्रमाण है?’ यह पूछने पर गांधी ने उत्तर दिया कि मेरी बुद्धि को सत्य का जो प्रकाश दिखाई देता है, मेरे लिए वही सत्य है। कृष्णमूर्ति कहते हैं कि ‘हरएक का मार्ग अपना होगा, एक का मार्ग दूसरे के काम का नहीं।’ तो, सत्य के विषय में यह भूमिका है कि मेरी आत्मा मेरे लिए परम प्रमाण है। विकारहीन और स्वार्थ-निरपेक्ष बुद्धि ही सत्य की खोज का मेरा एकमात्र साधन है।

उस बुद्धि की शुद्धि के लिए मैं सेवा करता हूँ स्वार्थ के निराकरण के लिए मैं क्या करता हूँ? अपना स्वार्थ छोड़कर दूसरों का स्वार्थ और समाज के हित की तरफ देखता हूँ। इससे मेरा स्वार्थ कम होता चला जाता है। विकार कम करने के लिए मैं क्या करता हूँ? सत्य की खोज में जहाँ दूसरे के साथ विरोध आता है, वहाँ कष्ट उसको नहीं देता, स्वयं सहता हूँ। इस तरह मैं अपनी बुद्धि को तप से, बलिदान से और क्लेश-सहन से शुद्ध करता हूँ। सत्य की खोज में मैं लगा हुआ हूँ, सत्य की खोज में सेवा करता चला जाता हूँ। अपने स्वार्थ से ऊठने के लिए उस सेवा में जहाँ दूसरों के साथ भेद या विरोध पैदा होता है, तो ‘उसे भी सत्य को खोजने का उतना ही अधिकार है, जितना कि मुझे’ ऐसा मानकर निर्विकार होने के लिए उसका क्रोध सहता हूँ, स्वयं क्रोध नहीं करता। उसकी हिंसा सहता हूँ, स्वयं हिंसा नहीं करता। कष्ट देने के बदले कष्ट झेलता हूँ—यह मेरा साधन है। व्यक्ति के लिए अपनी अन्तरात्मा ही प्रमाण होनी चाहिए। सत्य के निर्णय का साधन विकाररहित बुद्धि और स्वार्थरहित अन्तःकरण है। सेवा के पीछे निरपेक्षता की, प्रेम की भावना चाहिए। अन्य प्रेरणाओं में विवेक आता है, विचार आता है, ‘अगर-मगर’ आता है; लेकिन प्रेम की प्रेरणा में विवेक, विचार और ‘अगर-मगर’ कुछ भी नहीं आता।

मनवाने का प्रयोग

क्रान्ति में मनवाने का प्रयोग होता है। मनवाने के दो साधन हैं—एक है दबाव डालना, सत्ता का प्रयोग करना, अधिकार का प्रयोग करना। दूसरा है प्रभाव डालना। हमारी क्रान्ति में प्रभाव डालना आज

क्षम्य माना जाता है, क्योंकि हमने यह माना और स्वीकार कर लिया है कि हममें समझाने की शक्ति नहीं है। इसके साथ-साथ यह भी मान लिया है कि हमारी समझने की शक्ति भी कुछ मर्यादित है। ऐसी स्थिति में हम यह कोशिश करते हैं कि 'प्रेशर' का दबाव अलग तरह का हो और 'कोअर्शन' का दबाव अलग प्रकार का।

'प्रेशर' में हम ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ पैदा करना चाहते हैं, जिससे उसकी सद्भावना जाग्रत हो, मानवता जाग्रत हो, उसके स्वाभिमान को चोट न पहुँचे, उसके व्यक्तित्व का विकास न रुक जाय।

एक आदमी आता है। वह आँखें तरेरकर आपको घुरा दिखाता है। इसमें 'कोअर्शन' है। इससे भय और क्रोध, दोनों भाव जाग्रत होते हैं। दूसरा आदमी आता है। उसके व्यवहार से क्रोध और भय जाग्रत नहीं होता, करुणा जाग्रत होती है। आपका मत परिवर्तन नहीं होता। वह चाहता है कि एक गरीब आदमी का मकान जल गया है, लेकिन उसे आप बनवा दें। आप मानते हैं कि यह बनवाना मेरा कर्तव्य नहीं है। लेकिन उसने जो अनुनय की, जिस प्रकार उसने आपको समझाने की कोशिश की उससे करुणा जाग्रत हो गयी। उसने दबाव तो रखा, लेकिन दबाव के साथ जो भावना जाग्रत हुई, यह आपके विकास के लिए अनुकूल है, प्रतिकूल नहीं।

सत्याग्रह में 'प्रेशर' है और 'इन्फ्ल्युएन्स' भी। उसमें आप प्रभाव डालते हैं, लेकिन वह किसी सत्ता, संपत्ति और शस्त्र का नहीं। संख्या का भी नहीं। संख्या का कुछ प्रभाव तब होता है, जब आकार से मनुष्य को यह पता चलता है कि यह माँग व्यापक है। संख्या का एक कार्य यह भी है कि वह आपको यह बतलाती है कि अधिक लोग ऐसा चाहते हैं। संख्या डराने के लिए नहीं होती। हमारी तरफ ज्यादा आदमी हैं, तुम्हारी तरफ कम, यह संख्या का प्रतिकूल प्रभाव है। लेकिन उसका एक नैतिक प्रभाव भी है।

आप मुझे प्रवचन के लिए बुलाने आये। मैंने कहा कि भाई, इस वक्त मुझे प्रेरणा नहीं हो रही है, और यह कोई समय भी नहीं है। तो आप कहते हैं : "नहीं, यह तो सब लोगों की इच्छा है।"

'यह सब लोगों की इच्छा है', यह कहने का प्रभाव मेरे चित्त पर पड़ता है। आप जब यह कहते हैं कि 'मेरे अकेले की नहीं, यह

सबकी इच्छा है, तो मैं इसकी कद्र करता हूँ। मेरे मन में एक मनुष्य की इच्छा के लिए लिहाज तो है ही, लेकिन अधिक मनुष्यों की इच्छा के लिए अधिक लिहाज है। यह भी एक स्वाभाविक वृत्ति है।

किसीने आपसे कहा कि वहाँ आपने जो भाषण किया, उसकी लोग बहुत तारीफ कर रहे थे। आप कहते हैं: "हाँ, एक-दो मित्रों ने तारीफ कर दी होगी।" वह कहता है: "नहीं साहब, कई आदमी थे और हर एक ने तारीफ की।" आप फूलकर कुप्पा हो उठते हैं; क्योंकि तारीफ करनेवाले की संख्या अधिक थी। निंदा करनेवाला एक होगा, तो मनुष्य कहेगा: 'होगा एक आध कोई पागल।' पर, कहीं निंदा करनेवाले 50 हों, तो मनुष्य सूखकर काँटा हो जायगा। ये मनुष्य में स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्तियाँ हैं।

मनुष्य के स्वभाव की खोज करनी चाहिए। मनुष्य —स्वभाव का ज्ञान अगर न हो, तो मानवीय क्रान्ति असंभव है। ईश्वर की खोज आसान है, परन्तु मनुष्य की खोज बहुत मुश्किल है, क्योंकि वह अपनी खोज करता नहीं है। कोई हमसे कहे कि उसने आपकी निंदा कर दी, तो सुनते ही हम घबड़ा उठते हैं। किसीने हमारी तारीफ की, तो सुनते ही खुश हो उठते हैं। सोचते हैं कि तारीफ में अगर दम है, तो निंदा में क्यों नहीं? जो मनुष्य दूसरे के मत की कद्र करता है, वह निंदा—स्तुति की तरफ से लापरवाह नहीं रह सकता। हाँ, तटस्थ रह सकता है। निंदा स्तुति के विषय में तटस्थ हो जाय, यह नम्रता है, निरहंकारिता है। लेकिन उनके विषय में लापरवाह हो जाय, यह अहं है, अहंकार है। हमें सोच लेना चाहिए कि यह चीज भी हमारे भीतर छिपी हुई है।

हमारे सत्याग्रह में, हमारी प्रक्रिया में दबाव होगा। लेकिन यह शस्त्र का नहीं होगा, संख्या का नहीं होगा; धन और सत्ता का नहीं होगा। वह होगा—सदाचार और सद्गुण का।

आज एक-एक कर हजारों आदमी अपनी मालकियत छोड़ रहे हैं। इससे मालकियत छोड़ने के लिए परिस्थिति में दबाव पैदा है। जिसे आप देखिये, गांधी टोपी लगाकर घूम रहा है। आप भी गांधी टोपी लगाते हैं। आपका बेटा आपसे पूछता है कि 'कल तक तो आप गांधी टोपी के खिलाफ थे, आज क्यों अनुकूल हो गये?' आप कहते

हैं : 'अरे भाई, क्या कहूँ? हर आदमी लगा रहा है। मैं नहीं लगाऊँगा, तो इन सबसे अलग दिखाई दूँगा। लोग मेरी ही सूरत ताकेंगे। इसलिए अब मैं गांधी टोपी लगाता हूँ।' इस प्रकार हम कोई सदाचार या गुण समाज में जब प्रतिष्ठित कर देते हैं, तब उसका एक दबाव होता है।

आपने किसी समाज की इतनी सेवा की कि आपका प्रभाव जम गया। तब आप उससे कहें कि 'देखिये, यह काम हो जाना चाहिए। मेरे मन में बहुत दर्द है। अगर यह काम नहीं होगा, तो मैं अन्न नहीं खाऊँगा।' (यह मोह नहीं है, मोह अगल चीज है।) आपका चित्त व्यथित होता है, यह नैतिक दबाव है। इस प्रकार का नैतिक दबाव आ सकता है।

हाँ, याद रखने की बात इतनी ही है कि सत्याग्रह में समझने और समझाने के सिवा और कुछ नहीं है। प्रयोग के क्षेत्र में आत्मबल का स्थान है, अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में नहीं। मान लीजिये, भगवद्गीता का एक श्लोक मैं आपको समझा रहा हूँ आप कहते हैं कि 'समझ नहीं आ रहा है।' मैं कहता हूँ 'ठीक है, तो मैं उपवास करूँगा।' तो फिर आगे क्या होगा? दूसरे दिन आप कहेंगे कि 'समझ में आ गया, भोजन कर लीजिये।' झगड़ा खत्म! तो, आपके त्याग और तितिक्षा का अध्ययन में स्थान नहीं है, क्रान्ति के प्रयोग में स्थान है। अध्ययन और शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में अगर यह नैतिक दबाव दाखिल होगा, तो उतने अंश में शिक्षण कलुषित होगा।

कार्यकर्ता और जन-सम्पर्क

एक प्रश्न किया गया है, 'कार्यकर्ता से कहा जाता है कि जन-संपर्क बढ़ाये। वह कैसे क्या करे?

यह एक वास्तविक समस्या है। इसके दो तरीके हैं। एक तो यह कि कार्यकर्ता जनता की हर मुश्किल को अपना अवसर माने। पर हर संकट का जवाब कार्यकर्ता के पास नहीं हैं तब कहा जाता है कि हर संकट का उपयोग संकटग्रस्त व्यक्ति का क्रोध बढ़ाने के लिए किया जाय। यह एक तरीका है। इसे वर्ग-संघर्ष का तरीका कहते हैं। संकट के हर प्रसंग का अपनी क्रान्ति के लिए उपयोग कर लो। और संकट न आये, तो संघर्ष के अवसर पैदा करो।

थोड़ी देर के लिए समझ लीजिये कि लोकेंद्र मेरे साथ रहा। इसके पहले जब मैं बीमार था, तो लवणम् मेरे साथ था। कहने लगा की 'भगवान् की कृपा है कि हमें आपकी सेवा करने का अवसर मिला।' हमने कहा कि 'भगवान् करे, तेरी सेवा का अवसर हमें न मिले।' यानी हमने यह प्रार्थना की कि 'तुझे यह फोड़ा न हो।' हमें हो गया, इसमें तुझ पर तो भगवान् की भारी कृपा हुई, हम पर भगवान् की कृपा न हो।

जो क्रान्तिकारी है, वह जनता के संकट को क्रान्ति का अवसर मानता है। उसकी मनोवृत्ति अस्वास्थ्यपूर्ण हो जाती है, ऐसी स्थिति में कार्यकर्ता क्या करे? गाँव में संकट है, तो उसे साफ कहना चाहिए कि आपका सारा गाँव एक तरफ है, यह पटवारी एक तरफ है। गाँव के भरोसे वह जीता है और गाँव पर रोब गाँठता है। मेरी और पटवारी की कुश्ती हो, तो गाँववाले कहते हैं कि हम आपका साथ देने के लिए तैयार हैं। साथ देने की जरूरत नहीं है। तुम्हारे गाँव में अगर झूठा आदमी नहीं चल सकता, तो यह पटवारी कुछ नहीं कर पाता। पटवारी की चलती क्यों है? इसके पीछे जो अव्यक्त सत्ता खड़ी है, उसका गाँववालों को डर है। इस पटवारी के पीछे पुलिस खड़ी है, पुलिस के पीछे कलेक्टर खड़ा है और कलेक्टर के पीछे गवर्नर। इस सारी शक्ति का गाँववालों को डर है।

गाँववालों से कार्यकर्ता पूछे कि क्या इसे बदलने के लिए आप लोग कुछ करने को तैयार हैं या इसे रखते हुए कुछ करना चाहते हैं? इसको बदलने के लिए अगर आप कुछ करने को तैयार हैं, तो उसका तरीका हम बतलाते हैं। उसमें कुछ तकलीफ होगी, पर बगैर तकलीफ के कोई काम नहीं हो सकता। गाँव में आपकी संपत्ति है, स्वार्थ है, आपको ज्यादा तकलीफ होनेवाली है।

हो सकता है कि कार्यकर्ता को पुलिस उठाकर जेल में डाल दे। पर उसके बाद क्या होगा, यह बात गाँववालों को समझानी होगी।

आखिर क्रान्ति की आवश्यकता क्यों है? छोटी शिकायतों को हम दूर नहीं कर सकते। हर छोटी शिकायत को हम दूर कर सकें, तो क्रान्ति की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं। अब सवाल इतना ही है कि क्या हर छोटी शिकायत का उपयोग हम क्रान्ति के कार्य के लिए करें?

यानी असंतोष को बढ़ाने के लिए करें? क्या हम हर छोटी शिकायत को संघर्ष का मौका बनाना चाहते हैं? अगर ऐसा करना चाहते हैं, तो क्रान्ति के दूसरे तरीकों से काम लेना होगा।

यह कहना ठीक नहीं कि हर साधारण आदमी इस तथ्य को नहीं समझ सकता। वह बहुत अच्छी तरह समझ सकता है। उससे आप यह पूछिये कि जब तक यह पटवारी है और जब तक आप हैं, तब तक समाज नहीं बदलता, तो आपके पास इसका कौन-सा उपाय है? या तो पटवारी गाँव में रहे या आप, यही उपाय है न? वह आपसे क्या कहता है? यही कि 'पटवारी से आप उलझते रहिये और काम हमारा हो जाना चाहिए।' इस पर उससे कहना चाहिए कि 'हम ऐसा करनेवाले नहीं हैं।'

गाँव में कुछ लोग बड़े होते हैं, पटवारी भी उन्हीके पक्ष में होता है। ऐसे चन्द बड़े लोगों का गाँव पर जादू रहता है। इस जादू के असर को आप कम करें। इस असर को कम करने के लिए एक साधन तो यह है कि आप बड़ों के खिलाफ खड़े हो जायें। लोग कहेंगे : 'यह एक आदमी आ गया, किसीको कुछ नहीं समझता। मालगुजार को कुछ नहीं समझता, जमीनदार को कुछ नहीं समझता, दारोगा को कुछ नहीं समझता। हमारे यहाँ एक तीरंदाज आ गया।' यह एक तरीका है। इसमें से थोड़ी हिम्मत बढ़ सकती है। लेकिन गाँव के मनुष्यों में ही सत्व जाग्रत करने का यह तरीका नहीं है। उन बड़े आदमियों में आप भी एक हो जायेंगे, बस। गाँव के कुल पाप-ग्रहों की जगह आप एक शुभ ग्रह बन जायेंगे। गाँव की कुंडली में इतना परिवर्तन हो सकता है। इससे अधिक परिवर्तन इस प्रक्रिया से नहीं हो सकता।

'भिन्न' प्रकार का सत्याग्रह

इसलिए कार्यकर्ता को देखना चाहिए कि पचास, साठ या सौ शिकायतों में से कौन-सी शिकायत ऐसी है, जिसमें से समाज-परिवर्तन हो सकता है? उसे वह प्रतिकार का साधन बना ले।

जब गांधी थे और जब से गांधी नहीं रहे, तब से हम यह देखते हैं कि सत्याग्रह ही सत्याग्रह होते हैं। सत्याग्रह का नाम अगर कोई नहीं लेता, तो वह सिर्फ विनोबा है, जो गांधी का उत्तराधिकारी

कहलाता है। बाकी जो लोग गांधी के मार्ग को गलत मानते हैं, विनोबा के मार्ग को अपर्याप्त मानते हैं, वे ही आज सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं। इनके सत्याग्रह और आपके सत्याग्रह में जो अन्तर होगा, वह लोगों को स्पष्ट दिखाई देना चाहिए। लोग यह कह सकें कि अब तक जो सत्याग्रह हम देख रहे थे, उससे यह सत्याग्रह कुछ अलग तरह का मालूम होता है। यह भिन्न सत्याग्रह है।

यह 'भिन्न' सत्याग्रह असफल होता है, तो क्यों? कहते हैं कि यह बहुत ही शुद्ध सत्याग्रह है, इसलिए असफल हुआ। ये लोग जरा भी इधर-उधर करने को तैयार नहीं थे, तो सफलता कहाँ से मिलती? फिर आप कहेंगे: हमारा जो जन-संपर्क हुआ था, उससे तो नुकसान ही हुआ।

अब तक के सब सत्याग्रह असफल हो चुके।

अगर आपका सत्याग्रह असफल हुआ तो याद रखिये, फिर सत्याग्रह का नाम बाद में कोई नहीं लेगा। आपका सत्याग्रह तो शुद्ध ही होना चाहिए। आप ऐसी परिस्थिति में सत्याग्रह करना चाहते हैं, जहाँ लोग आपके सत्याग्रह में शामिल भी होते हैं और जिनके खिलाफ सत्याग्रह होता है, उनको व्होट भी देते हैं। इस विरोध का विचार हमने नहीं किया है। लोकतंत्र में सत्याग्रह अवश्य हो सकता है। लेकिन जो लोग आपके साथ सत्याग्रह करें, वे उन्हींको व्होट दें, जिनके खिलाफ वे सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं, तो वह सत्याग्रह की भूमिका नहीं है।

आज जिस प्रकार के सत्याग्रह हो रहे हैं, वे आपको बुलाते हैं कि आइये और हमारे सत्याग्रह में शामिल होइये! हम कहते हैं कि ये सत्याग्रह ही नहीं है। वे कहते हैं कि ठीक है, हमारा सत्याग्रह अगर सही सत्याग्रह नहीं है, तो तुम सही सत्याग्रह करो। हम सही सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं, तो लोग पूछते हैं कि हम तुम्हारे सत्याग्रह में शामिल हो सकते हैं या नहीं? यदि आप कहते हैं कि नहीं शामिल हो सकते तो आपके सत्याग्रह में जो शामिल हो सकते हैं, वे थोड़े-से ही आदमी होंगे।

सवाल है कि आप यह सत्याग्रह किसके नाम पर करते हैं? अपने नाम पर करते हैं, तो किसीको कुछ कहना नहीं है। लेकिन अगर यह

कहते हैं कि यह विनोबा का सत्याग्रह है, तो वह सत्याग्रह ऐसा होना चाहिए, जिसे विनोबा स्वीकृति दे। वह तो कहता है कि 'मैं सत्याग्रह के नाम से ही घबड़ाता हूँ।' तो आप कहते हैं कि 'कायर हो गये, क्रान्तिकारी नहीं रहे।' 'तब तू मुझसे पूछने क्यों आता है? मेरे नाम पर सत्याग्रह क्यों करना चाहता है? अपने नाम पर कर, अपनी छाप का सत्याग्रह कर! यह तुझे अधिकार है, हरएक को अधिकार है।'

सत्याग्रह और हिंसा

बिलकुल शुद्ध सत्याग्रह तो शायद होगा ही नहीं। उसमें थोड़ी-बहुत हिंसा तो होगी ही। गांधी के वक्त में हुई थी, हमारे सत्याग्रह में भी कुछ-न-कुछ होनेवाली है, भले ही वह कम-से-कम हो। आज परिस्थिति ऐसी है कि जहाँ सत्याग्रह होता है, वहाँ गांधी के जमाने में जितनी हिंसा होती थी, उससे कुछ अधिक ही होती है, कम नहीं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में जिसको हमने नेता माना, उसके हृदय में सत्याग्रह का प्रत्यय नहीं है। इस परिस्थिति में हमको सत्याग्रह करना होगा। दबाव से आप काम ले सकते हैं, लेकिन दबाव परिस्थिति का होना चाहिए, प्रत्यक्ष बल-प्रयोग का नहीं। वह नैतिक होना चाहिए।

नैतिक दबाव तब होगा कि जिस दोष को मिटाने के लिए आप झगड़ा कर रहे हैं, वह दोष आपमें नहीं होना चाहिए। उस समूह में वह दोष नहीं होना चाहिए जो सत्याग्रह करता है। अंग्रेजों से हम कहते थे कि तुम्हारे साम्राज्य के खिलाफ हमारा सत्याग्रह है, तो उसके साथ-साथ यह भी कहते थे कि हमारा देश किसी देश पर हुकूमत नहीं करेगा। हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारा राज्य किसी दूसरे देश पर काबिज हो। जब हम यह कहते हैं कि मालकियत और मिलकियत मिटेगी, तो वह सिर्फ कहने की बात नहीं रह गयी, हम भी मालकियत और मिलकियत छोड़ देंगे। सत्याग्रही में ये गुण आने चाहिए:

अस्पृश्यता-निवारण सत्याग्रही के जीवन में हो चुका है। हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता में उसका विश्वास है। वह कताई और खादी का आचरण करता है। सत्याग्रहियों के जैसे नियम गांधीजी ने बनाये थे, उसी तरह की कुछ आपकी शर्तें होंगी। उसमें सबसे बड़ी शर्त

यह होगी कि जिस मालकियत और मिल्कियत को मिटाने के लिए यह सत्याग्रह है, वह सत्याग्रही के पास नहीं हो। जितनी थी, उसका विसर्जन करने के लिए वह तैयार है, उसका उसने संकल्प कर लिया है। उसके पीछे ये सारी शर्तें हों, तो कोई वजह नहीं कि सत्याग्रह न हो सके। यह अपनी सामर्थ्य की बात है।

संदर्भ बदल गया है, इतनी बात आपको खूब समझ लेनी चाहिए! प्रतिनिधिक सत्ता के खिलाफ जहाँ सत्याग्रह होगा, वहाँ आपको यह देख लेना होगा कि जिस संस्था के खिलाफ सत्याग्रह हो रहा है, उन्हीं आदमियों को व्होट दोबारा नहीं मिल जाता है। यह सारा विचार उसके साथ करना होगा।

किसान-मजदूरों की समस्या

एक प्रश्न किया गया है कि सर्वोदय-आन्दोलन में मजदूर और किसानों की समस्या का स्वरूप क्या है? मजदूरों के काम के घंटे कम हों, उनकी मजदूरी बढ़े, उनकी सुख-सुविधा बढ़े यह कैसे हो?

मजदूर की समस्या के दो स्वरूप हैं। एक यह कि हम मजदूर को अधिक वेतन दिलायें, उसके काम के घंटे कम करें और जीवन की सुविधाएँ उसको अधिक दिलायें। लेकिन यह असली क्रान्ति का उपाय नहीं है। असली क्रान्ति का उपाय यह है कि 'वेज अर्नर'-मजदूर नाम का कोई व्यक्ति न रहना चाहिए। मजदूरी लेकर काम करनेवाला समाज में कोई न होना चाहिए। इसलिए कारखानों की मालकियत को हम समाप्त करना चाहते हैं। आज कारखाने की मालकियत सार्वजनिक करने में कम-से-कम इस देश में राज्य की मालकियत में उसे परिवर्तित करना होगा। हमारे देश में अब तक ऐसी सार्वजनिक मनोवृत्ति नहीं है कि कोई सार्वजनिक कॉर्पोरेशन, सार्वजनिक मालकियत, बन जाय। मजदूरों का ही कॉर्पोरेशन, उत्पादकों का ही कॉर्पोरेशन मालिक बन जाय और वह सार्वजनिक हित के लिए कारखाने चलाये, इस प्रकार की कोई परिस्थिति इस देश में हम नहीं बना सकते।

ये जो बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हैं, उनका राज्यीकरण होगा। इन कारखानों के लिए दूसरा तरीका नहीं है। इनके लिए आज अगर आप कॉर्पोरेशन स्थापित करेंगे, तो वे भी कारखानेदार बन जायेंगे।

कॉर्पोरेशनों का पूँजीवाद आ आयगा। राज्य में कम-से-कम इतना है कि वह आपके प्रतिनिधि के हाथ में रहता है। कॉर्पोरेशन अगर उत्तरदायी हों, 'फंक्शनल' (व्यवसायाश्रित) हों— जैसे युगोस्लाविया में बने हुए हैं, तो उसमें से बीच का एक रास्ता हो सकता है। समाजवाद आज इस कोशिश में है कि राष्ट्र का स्वामित्व न हो और अन्य प्रकार से सार्वजनिक स्वामित्व स्थापित हो सके। इसके मार्ग हमारे देश में भी खोजे जा सकते हैं।

अभी हम तो उद्योग के क्षेत्र का विचार कर रहे हैं। इसके लिए इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि मालिकों और मजदूरों का कोई निहित स्वार्थ न बन जाय। मान लें कि जूता बनानेवाले ने एक को-ऑपरेटिव्ह सोसाइटी बनायी और कहा कि दस रुपये से कम में जूता नहीं बेचेंगे। उधर खरीदारों ने भी अपनी एक को-ऑपरेटिव्ह बना ली और कहा कि हम आठ रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं देंगे। इस तरह दो निहित स्वार्थ होते हैं, तो उसमें से संघर्ष पैदा होता है।

झगड़ा या सौदेबाजी करने की अपेक्षा अच्छा यह होगा कि मालिकों के मत-परिवर्तन की कोशिश हो। उन लोगों को सार्वजनिक मालकियत की तरफ लाने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिए। मान लीजिये कि ट्रेड यूनियन है। कोई मालिक कहता है कि मजदूर से आठ घंटे की जगह चार घंटे काम लेना है। उसके साथ-साथ वह यह भी कहता है कि आठ घंटे का वेतन नहीं, सोलह घंटे का वेतन दूँगा। सोलह घंटे का वेतन और आठ घंटे के बदले चार घंटे का! अगर मालिक ऐसा कर देता है, तो क्या मजदूर कोई क्रान्ति चाहेंगे?

मजदूर एक तो अपनी मजदूरियाँ मिलाकर एक कर लें, दूसरे, मजदूर-यूनियन यह कहे कि कोई मजदूर नियत घंटों से कम काम नहीं करेगा। और हमारी यूनियन में कोई मजदूर अकुशल और काम-चोर नहीं होगा। ये ठोस बातें उनके जीवन में आ जानी चाहिए। तब मजदूरों में सामर्थ्य आयेगी। गांधीजी के सामने अहमदाबाद में मजदूर-सत्याग्रह के वक्त मजदूरों ने निश्चय किया कि हम चंदे से नहीं जीयेंगे, कोई-न-कोई उद्योग करेंगे। नतीजा यह हुआ कि वे आश्रम के मकान बनाने के लिए ईंटें उठाते थे। जब ऐसी विधायक मनोवृत्ति आती है, तब उसका नैतिक दबाव पड़ता है। अगर यह नहीं होता, तो केवल संख्या का दबाव रहेगा और उससे

उसकी भूमिका बदल जायगी। यह सोचना ठीक नहीं कि हमारे यहाँ मजदूरों के संगठन के लिए स्थान नहीं है।

असफलता से निराश न हों

यहाँ हमें यह बात याद रखनी चाहिए कि जब तक समाज का ढाँचा नहीं बदलता, तब तक क्रान्ति के प्रयोग पूरी तरह सफल नहीं हो सकते। जैसे ग्रामदानी गाँव मँगरौठ में ग्राम-स्वराज्य का संपूर्ण चित्र दिखाई देना चाहिए। पर आज यह संभव नहीं है। यह मान्यता असमर्थता में से नहीं आयी है, यह वैज्ञानिक मान्यता है। समाज का परिवर्तन आप करना चाहते हैं, पर आज समाज के नाप अगल हैं। आप अपने छोटे-से क्षेत्रों में एक प्रयोग कर रहे हैं और सोच रहे हैं कि यह प्रयोग क्रान्ति का संपूर्ण दर्शन करायेगा। उसके लिए आपको आज के पैमाने छोड़ देने होंगे। संपूर्ण दर्शन का मतलब क्या है? आपने खेती की, फसल हो गयी, यह संपूर्ण दर्शन हुआ। लेकिन आपने खेती की और आप स्वावलंबी नहीं हुए, क्योंकि अन्न के भाव आपके हाथ में नहीं है, तब आप कहते हैं कि प्रयोग असफल हुआ। प्रयोग क्रान्तिकारी करते हैं, पर पैमाने लेते हैं बाजार के। ये कुछ ऐसी चीजें हैं, जिनके कारण हमारे प्रयोग असफल होते हैं। आपके सत्याग्रह के प्रयोग हों या कोई भी प्रयोग हों, यह बात मान लीजिये कि अगर सत्याग्रह सफल होगा, तो वह अंतिम सत्याग्रह होगा या सत्याग्रह के बिना भी सफलता होगी। बयालीस के आन्दोलन में असफलता हुई, पर उसके बाद स्वराज्य आया। जब हम क्रान्ति का वैज्ञानिक विचार करते हैं, तो उसमें इतना अवश्य समझना चाहिए कि हर क्रान्ति में असफलता क्रान्ति का एक मुकाम हैं। असफलताओं की ऐसी कई मंजिलें होंगी। मुकाम कितने होंगे—यह हमारे पुरुषार्थ पर निर्भर है। जन-शक्ति पर, लोक-शक्ति पर और हमारे पुरुषार्थ पर यह निर्भर है। परन्तु इतना अवश्य है कि ऐसी मंजिलें बीच-बीच में आती रहेंगी।

न्यासिता : आर्थिक लोकतंत्रीकरण

नंदकिशोर आचार्य

अर्थशास्त्र का सम्बन्ध जहाँ, एक ओर, उत्पादन की शक्तियों अर्थात् प्रौद्योगिकी से होता है, वहीं दूसरी ओर, उत्पादन के साधनों पर स्वामित्व और उत्पादन से होने वाले लाभ के वितरण से भी है। इस सम्बन्ध में कार्ल मार्क्स की यह स्थापना बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है कि उत्पादन शक्तियों के आधार पर ही उत्पादन-सम्बन्धों का निर्धारण होता है। इस का अर्थ यह है कि प्रौद्योगिकी स्वयं ही अपने स्वामित्व और उत्पादन से होने वाले लाभ के वितरण के बारे में दिशा-संकेत दे देती है। जब हम विशाल पैमाने के उत्पादन की ओर उन्मुख केन्द्रीकरण के स्वभाव वाली प्रौद्योगिकी भी स्वीकार करते हैं तो स्वाभाविक हैं स्वामित्व का स्वरूप भी केन्द्रीकृत हो जाता है—फिर चाहे उस के केन्द्रीकरण का स्वरूप निजी स्वामित्व यानी पूँजीवादी प्रकार का हो या राजकीय स्वामित्व अर्थात् समाजवादी प्रकार का। इस केन्द्रीकृत स्वामित्व के कारण लाभ के वितरण के सवाल पर स्वामी और श्रमिक में संघर्ष बना रहता है—एक रूप में यह संघर्ष पूँजीपति के विरुद्ध होता है तो दूसरे रूप में राज्य के विरुद्ध भी हो सकता है अर्थात् पूँजी और श्रम के सम्बन्ध संघर्षपूर्ण बने रहते हैं। लेकिन महात्मा गांधी जिस उत्पादन तकनीकी का आग्रह करते हैं, उस में उत्पादन के साधनों पर केन्द्रीकृत स्वामित्व की सम्भावना ही नहीं रहती, जिस का अर्थ यह है कि यह तकनीकी शोषण का माध्यम बन ही नहीं सकती। स्वदेशी की संकल्पना से प्रेरित इस तकनीकी द्वारा उत्पादन के लिये न तो बड़ी पूँजी की जरूरत रहती है, न बड़ी संख्या में श्रमिकों को भाड़े पर नियोजित करने की और न ही उसे उपभोक्ता तक पहुँचाने के लिए किसी बड़ी मध्यवर्ती संस्था की। इस तकनीकी की मूल प्रवृत्ति स्वामी और श्रमिक के भेद को ही

समाप्त करने की ओर उन्मुख रहती है। कह सकते हैं कि स्वामी, श्रमिक और, विक्रेता तीनों एक ही हो जाते हैं।

इस प्रौद्योगिकी से प्रसूत उत्पादन-सम्बन्धों के कारण पूँजी का शोषणकारक केन्द्रीकरण सम्भव नहीं रहता और लाभ के समान वितरण अर्थात् आर्थिक समानता का आदर्श बड़ी हद तक स्वयं ही लागू हो जाता है। दरअसल ऐसी समान-व्यवस्था को वास्तविक न्यायपूर्ण व्यवस्था कहना चाहिए जिस आर्थिक प्रक्रिया में शोषण की गुंजाइश ही न रहे। महात्मा गांधी स्वदेशी पर आश्रित जिस ग्राम-केन्द्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था की बात करते हैं, उसे वह इसी तरह के शोषण-मुक्त काम-धन्धों के आधार पर संगठित मानते हैं। उन्हीं के शब्दों में “मेरी दृष्टि में, उस गुण का कोई मूल्य नहीं रह जाता जो केवल व्यक्तियों तक सीमित हो या उस पर आचरण करना केवल व्यक्तियों के लिए ही सम्भव हों।”¹ वैयक्तिक गुण तो केन्द्रीकृत व्यवस्था में भी कुछ लोगों में रह सकते हैं, पर, अपनी सारी सदाशयता के बावजूद, वह हिंसक व्यवस्था को ही बदलने के प्रयास में शामिल नहीं होता। इसी बात को स्पष्ट करते हुए गांधीजी कहते हैं: “बड़े पैमाने की मशीनें एक आदमी के हाथ में धन का केन्द्रीकरण कर देती हैं जो बाकी लोगों पर हुकूम चलाता है और वे उस की गुलामी करते हैं। हो सकता है कि वह अपने कारीगरों के लिए आदर्श परिस्थिति पैदा करने का प्रयास करे, पर तब भी शोषण तो वह करता ही है, जो हिंसा का ही एक रूप है।”²

लेकिन, हम जानते हैं कि वर्तमान समाज की आर्थिक संरचना आधुनिक तकनीकी की ओर उन्मुख है, अतः वहाँ श्रम और पूँजी के हिंसात्मक सम्बन्धों के सवाल का हल किस प्रकार सम्भव हो सकता है? साथ ही, स्वयं गांधीजी भी यह मानते हैं कि स्वदेशी वाली ग्रामोद्योगी आर्थिक व्यवस्था में भी उन की सहायता करने तथा हाड़तोड़ श्रम के निराकरण के लिए कुछ भारी उद्योगों की भी आवश्यकता पड़ेगी ही, अतः उन के स्वामित्व और लाभ के समतामूलक वितरण का सवाल अहिंसा की दृष्टि से हल करने पर भी विचार जरूरी होगा। क्या गांधीजी इस बारे में कुछ सुझाते हैं?

यज्ञ और ‘ईशावास्यम् इदम् सर्वम्’ की अवधारणाओं से महात्मा गांधी स्वामित्व के सवाल का एक ऐसा समाधान प्रस्तुत करते हैं जो

केवल वैयक्तिक सदाशयता पर निर्भर न रहकर एक सांस्थानिक परिवर्तन बन जाता है। इसे गांधीजी ने 'न्यासिता' कहा है। 'न्यासिता' एक प्रकार का 'अनासक्त स्वामित्व' है। महात्मा गांधी यह मानते हैं कि वर्तमान में आर्थिक साधनों पर स्वामित्व रखने वाले पूँजीपतियों और भूमि-मालिकों को एक न्यासी की तरह व्यवहार करना चाहिए और अपनी पूँजी को एक न्यास में परिवर्तित कर देना चाहिए। वह पूँजीपतियों का आह्वान करते हैं: "मैं उन व्यक्तियों को, जो आज अपने आप को मालिक समझ रहे हैं, न्यासी के रूप में काम करने के लिए आमंत्रित कर रहा हूँ अर्थात् यह आग्रह कर रहा हूँ कि वे स्वयं को अपने अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक न समझें, बल्कि उन के अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक समझें, जिस का उन्होंने शोषण किया है।"³ गांधीजी के इस कथन से यह भी ध्वनित हो जाता है कि न्यासिता एक प्रकार से मालिकों द्वारा शोषण से उत्पन्न पाप का प्रायश्चित भी है। इस प्रकार गांधीजी मालिकों के नैतिक बोध को जागृत करने का प्रयास करते हैं। उन के अनुसार जैसे कोई धर्म के अनुकूल आचरण नहीं करता है, वह धर्म की नहीं, संदर्भित व्यक्ति की कमज़ोरी है, उसी प्रकार यदि धनवान लोग न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त के अनुसार काम नहीं करते हैं इस से सिद्धान्त की नहीं, धनवानों की दुर्बलता सिद्ध होती है।⁴

मालिकों के हृदय-परिवर्तन के प्रयास को ही अहिंसा का एक मात्र-रूप मान लेने के कारण यह भ्रम उत्पन्न होता है कि न्यासिता का सिद्धान्त एक आदर्श कल्पना अवश्य है पर उसे व्यावहारिक रूप नहीं दिया जा सकता क्योंकि बहुत कम उद्योगपति ऐसे होंगे जो स्वेच्छापूर्वक इसे मानने को प्रस्तुत होंगे। लेकिन हम अक्सर यह भूल जाते हैं कि, स्वयं महात्मा गांधी के अनुसार, शिक्षण या समझाना-बुझाना एकमात्र अहिंसक उपाय नहीं है। न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त को व्यावहारिक रूप देने के लिए महात्मा गांधी त्रिआयामी कार्यक्रम प्रस्तावित करते हैं। वह, एक ओर, पूँजीपतियों से तो न्यासिता को स्वीकार करने का आग्रह करते ही हैं; लेकिन, साथ ही, वह श्रमिकों और राज्य को भी अपनी भूमिका निबाहने का निर्देश देते हैं। शिक्षण ही नहीं, अहिंसक असहयोग और सविनय अवज्ञा भी गाँधी जी की दृष्टि में दो सही और अचूक उपाय हैं।⁵ गांधी जी श्रमिकों

से अनुरोध करते हैं। कि यदि मालिक उनके प्रति अभिभावकों की तरह व्यवहार करने को तैयार न हो तो उन्हें मालिकों के प्रति असहयोग और सविनय अवज्ञा का सहारा लेना चाहिए। जिन उपायों को ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य जैसी शक्ति के विरुद्ध काम में लिया जा सकता है, उन्हें पूँजीवाद के शोषण और अन्याय को मिटाने के लिए क्यों नहीं काम में लिया जा सकता? यह सिद्धान्त की नहीं, उसे व्यवहार में लाने का प्रयत्न करने वालों की ही भूल माननी चाहिए कि उन्होंने मात्र लोक-शिक्षण को तो महत्त्व दिया, पर अहिंसक सत्याग्रह को नहीं। गांधीजी श्रमिकों के साथ-साथ राज्य से भी इस सम्बन्ध में सक्रिय होने का आग्रह करते हैं। यद्यपि वह, जहाँ तक सम्भव हो, पूँजीपतियों द्वारा स्वेच्छापूर्वक न्यासिता पर अमल को वरीयता देते हैं, लेकिन पूँजीपतियों द्वारा किसी हृदय-परिवर्तन का प्रमाण न मिलने पर, वह राज्य से भी यह आग्रह करते हैं कि वह कानून द्वारा न्यासिता को लागू करे। इस सन्दर्भ में गांधीजी के इस लम्बे कथन को देखना बहुत उपयोगी होगा: "मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता होगी अगर लोग न्यासी के रूप में आचरण करें, लेकिन, यदि वे ऐसा नहीं करते तो हमें राज्य के जरिये न्यूनतम हिंसा का प्रयोग करते हुए उन्हें उनकी सम्पत्ति से वंचित करना होगा। इसीलिए मैंने गोलमेज सम्मेलन में कहा था कि प्रत्येक न्यासहित की जाँच पड़ताल की जानी चाहिए और जहाँ आवश्यक हो, राज्यसातकरण के आदेश दिये जाये। जिनकी संपत्ति का राज्यसातकरण करना हो, उन्हें मुआवजा दिया जाये या नहीं, इसका निर्णय हर मामले की तफसील पर गौर करके किया जाये। मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से इस बात को तरजीह दूँगा कि राज्य के हाथों में शक्ति के केन्द्रीकरण के बजाय न्यासिता के भावना का विस्तार किया जाये क्योंकि मेरी सम्मति में निजी स्वामित्व की हिंसा राज्य की हिंसा से कम हानिकारक है। लेकिन, अपरिहार्य हो तो मैं न्यूनतम राज्य स्वामित्व का समर्थन करूँगा।"⁶

इसके अलावा यह भी स्मरणीय है कि राज्य के समर्थन के बिना किसी भी प्रकार का उद्योगवाद और पूँजीवाद पनप नहीं सकता है। आधुनिक उद्योगों के लिए कई तरह की राजकीय सुविधाओं और सार्वजनिक संसाधनों की आवश्यकता होती है जिन्हे राज्य की सहायता से ही निजी उद्योगों को मुहय्या करवाया जाता है। जिस ज्ञान के आधार पर पूँजी का विकास होता है, वह भी सम्पूर्ण मानवता

की संपत्ति अर्थात् सामाजिक संसाधन है। श्रम भी एक प्रकार की पूँजी है, यह रिकार्डो जैसे पूँजीवादी अर्थशास्त्री भी स्वीकार करते हैं। अतः, पूँजी के एक प्रकार द्वारा पूँजी के अन्य प्रकारों का शोषण केवल नैतिक दृष्टि से, बल्कि अर्थशास्त्रीय दृष्टि से अनुचित है। इसी प्रकार, सभी उद्योग पर्यावरण को हानि पहुँचाते हैं, जो उनकी निजी संपत्ति नहीं है। और राज्य की अनुमति के बिना वे ऐसा नहीं कर सकते। यदि राज्य हिंसा का प्रयोग न भी करे और केवल असहयोग करे तब भी पूँजीपतियों को न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त को मानने के लिए प्रस्तुत होना होगा — और इसे हिंसा नहीं कहा जा सकेगा क्योंकि कोई भी हिंसक व्यक्ति या संस्था किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति या संस्था से अपने ही विरुद्ध की जाने वाली हिंसा में सहयोग देने का आग्रह नहीं कर सकता— न नैतिक और न कानूनी स्तर पर। वास्तविक लोकतांत्रिक राज्य को सत्याग्रही भी होना होता है, इसलिए पूँजीवादी शोषण व अन्याय के खिलाफ सत्याग्रह राज्य का नैतिक दायित्व है, हिंसा नहीं — और एक सत्याग्रही श्रमिक या सार्वजनिक संपत्ति के शोषण में सहयोगी हो भी कैसे सकता है?

इसके अतिरिक्त महात्मा गांधी भी यह मानते ही हैं की लौकिक जीवन में पूर्ण अहिंसा का पालन संभव नहीं है और कभी कभी वह रक्षात्मक हिंसा को भी मान्यता देते हैं, इसलिए, एक लोकतांत्रिक राज्य द्वारा न्यासिता के सिद्धान्तों को लागू करने के लिए की गई इस कानूनी हिंसा को क्षम्य समझा जा सकता है। स्वयं गांधीजीके ही शब्दोंमें, “दुनिया केवल तर्क के सहारे नहीं चलती। जीवन में थोड़ी बहुत हिंसा तो है। अतः, हमें न्यूनतम हिंसा के रास्ते को अपनाना है”⁷। राज्य द्वारा कानून बनाकर न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त को लागू करने के प्रयोजन से एक ‘सरल और व्यावहारिक न्यासिता सूत्र’ किशोरलाल मश्रुवाला और नरहरि पारिख द्वारा गांधीजी को भेजा गया था (जो वस्तुतः, प्रोफेसर एम. एल. दाँतवाला ने प्रचारित किया था) और किंचित् संशोधन के साथ गांधीजी ने उसका अनुमोदन भी कर दिया था।⁸ मैं यहाँ उस सूत्र को विस्तार से उद्धृत नहीं कर रहा हूँ, पर उस में यह स्पष्ट था कि वहाँ निजी स्वामित्व का किसी भी प्रकार की कोई गुँजाइश नहीं होगी। इस ‘व्यावहारिक सूत्र’ के अनुमोदन से भी कुछ समय पूर्व ही गांधीजी स्वयं ‘हरिजन’ में लिख चुके थे कि न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त के अन्तर्गत मालिकों को अपनी

सेवा और समाज के लिए उस के मूल्य को देखते हुए कमीशन मिलेगा, जिस की दर का नियमन राज्य द्वारा किया जायेगा। उन के बच्चों को उन के स्थान पर न्यासी बनने की आज्ञा तभी मिलेगी जब वे स्वयं को इस के योग्य सिद्ध कर देंगे।⁹

यहाँ यह भी स्मरणीय है कि न्यासिता का यह सिद्धान्त केवल मध्यम उद्योगों के लिये ही है क्योंकि गांधी विचार में स्थानीय स्तर का उत्पादन स्वदेशी पर आधारित होगा, जिस में श्रम-शोषण की गुंजाइश न्यूनतम होगी और बड़े उद्योगों को तो गांधीजी स्वयं ही राज्य के सीधे नियंत्रण में रखने के पक्ष में है। कुछ बड़े उद्योगों की आवश्यकता को मानते हुए उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा था: “जिन उद्योगों में बड़ी संख्या में लोग एकसाथ काम करते हैं, वे राजकीय स्वामित्व में होने चाहिए। इन में कुशल और अकुशल दोनों ही प्रकार के श्रमिक राज के माध्यम से अपने उत्पादों के स्वामी होंगे।”¹⁰ यन्त्रों के बारे में अपनी राय प्रकट करते हुए बड़े कारखानों की आवश्यकता से सम्बन्धित एक सवाल के जवाब में रामचन्द्रन से उन्होंने कहा था: “हाँ, लेकिन मैं इतना कहने की हद तक तो समाजवादी हूँ ही कि ऐसे कारखानों का मालिक राष्ट्र हो या जनता की सरकार की ओर से ऐसे कारखाने चलाये जायें। उन की हस्ती नफे के लिए नहीं, बल्कि लोगों के भले के लिए हो। लोभ की जगह प्रेम को कायम करने का उनका उद्देश्य हो।”¹¹

बहुत से आलोचकों का मानना है कि न्यासिता को आर्थिक क्षेत्र में लागू करना अव्यावहारिक होगा क्योंकि निजी आकांक्षाओं की प्रेरणा ही वहाँ प्रभावी एवं सफल हो सकती है। लेकिन, इस तर्क के आधार पर तो राजनीतिक लोकतंत्र को भी खारिज किया जा सकता है क्योंकि राजनीति के क्षेत्र में भी निजी आकांक्षाओं की प्रेरणा कम प्रभावी नहीं रही है। इस के बावजूद, लोकतंत्र एक प्रकार की राजनीतिक न्यासिता है और कई कमियों के बावजूद (जिन्हें सुधारने की प्रक्रिया भी चलती रहती है) राजनीतिक शक्ति को पुनः राजतंत्रीय व्यवस्था में लौटकर जा सकना वांछनीय नहीं हैं। इसी प्रकार आर्थिक शक्ति को भी निजी हाथों में बने रहने देना वांछनीय नहीं माना जा सकता। न्यासिता एक प्रकार का आर्थिक लोकतंत्र है, जिसे चाहे तो ‘सात्विक समाजवाद’ कह सकते हैं। यहाँ यह उल्लेख

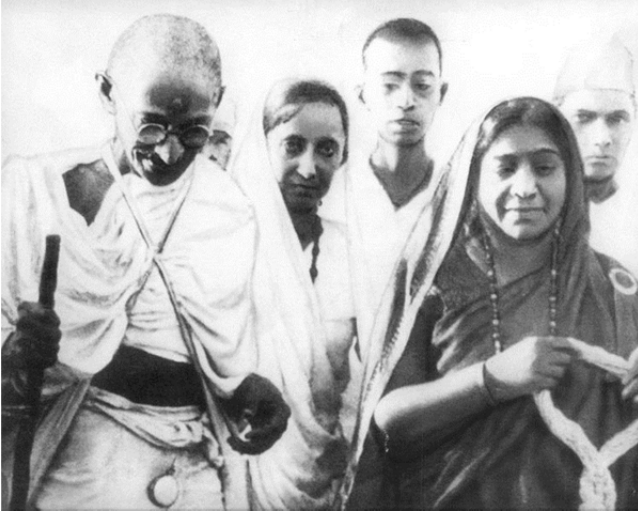
भी प्रासंगिक होगा कि बहुत-से सहकारी उद्योग दुनिया भर में सफलतापूर्वक चल रहे हैं, जो प्रकारान्तर से न्यासिता ही है।

यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका तक में ऐसे कई संस्थान सफलतापूर्वक संचालित हो रहे हैं, जिन का स्वामित्व श्रमिकों या ग्राहकों का है अथवा उनमें श्रमिकों की बड़ी भागीदारी है। एक अध्ययन के अनुसार, करीब दस हजार कंपनियों में ई एस ओ पी (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) लागू है और उन में से 19 प्रतिशत कंपनियों में बहुमत अंशधारक श्रमिक वर्ग है। करीब 13 हजार क्रेडिट युनियन हैं, 100 के करीब सहकारी बैंक हैं, 100 से भी कुछ अधिक सहकारी बीमा कंपनियां हैं, करीब 2000 म्युनिसिपल सेवाएँ और 115 के लगभग टेलिकम्युनिकेशन सहकारी समितियाँ हैं। और ये सभी सफलतापूर्वक संचालित हो रही हैं।¹² अमूल और मुंबई की टिफीन सर्विस जैसी कई संगठन भी सहकारी प्रयासों के उत्तम उदाहरण हैं। ये सभी प्रयास प्रकारान्तर से न्यासिता की अवधारणा के ही रूप हैं।

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Gandhiji with Sorojini Naidu

ट्रस्टीशिप से सम्बन्धित कुछ विचार बिन्दु

भरत महोदय

गांधीजी ने जीवन से सम्बन्धित लगभग सभी पहलुओं पर विचार किया है। चाहे वह व्यक्ति का जीवन हो या समाज का जीवन हो। दोनों प्रकार के जीवन एक-दूसरे में घुले-मिले हुए भी हैं। कुछ बातें जो गांधीजी के पहले तक केवल व्यक्ति से ही सम्बन्ध रखने वाली मानी जाती थी, उन्हें गांधी ने समाज के मन और जीवन के विविध क्षेत्रों से भी जोड़ा। कहा जा सकता है कि इस प्रकार की कोशिश गांधीजी की मानवता को एक बड़ी देन है। सत्य और अहिंसा का व्यापक, सामूहिक तथा व्यावहारिक प्रयोग ऐसा ही कार्य है, यह सभी मानते हैं। संसार इससे आश्चर्य चकित हो गया है। ऐसा करने की शक्ति उन्हें सत्य की आराधना तथा अहिंसा के मार्ग पर चलने से प्राप्त हुई थी। यह आध्यात्मिक शक्ति थी। आत्मकथा में उन्होंने लिखा है “लेकिन अपने आध्यात्मिक प्रयोगों का, जिन्हें मैं ही जान सकता हूँ और जिनके कारण राजनीति के क्षेत्र में मेरी शक्ति भी जन्मी है, वर्णन करना मुझे अवश्य ही अच्छा लगेगा” (आत्मकथा: पृष्ठ 6) “सत्य ही ईश्वर है” में उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया है कि “मैं केवल सत्य का शोधक हूँ। मेरा दावा है कि मुझे सत्य का रास्ता मिल गया है।” (पृष्ठ 3) इस रास्ते पर वे आजन्म चलते रहने की कोशिश करते रहे तथा उससे विचलित न होते हुए, मानव और मानवता के सभी प्रश्नों का हल ढूँढ़ते रहे। मानव जीवन को शुद्ध और पवित्र बनाने तथा अपने जीवित संपर्क और विचारों के प्रभाव से मानव जीवन को उच्चतर भूमिका पर लाने के लिए सतत प्रयासरत रहे। उन सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित रचना-कार्य करना, उन्हें प्रत्यक्ष आचरण में उतारना

यही उनके लौकिक जीवन का सार है। तभी तो उन्होंने कहा कि “मेरा जीवन ही मेरा संदेश है।”

किन्तु यह भी सत्य है कि उनका पूरा जीवन—कार्य उनके सभी विचारों का प्रत्यक्ष अमलीकरण नहीं था। किसी भी व्यक्ति की आयु—मर्यादा इसे सीमित कर देती है। अतः जीवन—कार्य से भी ज्यादा जरूरत विचार तथा उसकी जड़ों को समझने की है, ऐसा मानकर विचार मीमांसा करना उचित ही होगा।

समाज रचना के संदर्भ में गांधीजी का “रामराज्य” शब्द सर्वश्रुत और सर्वज्ञात है। रामराज्य से उनका तात्पर्य था धर्म का राज्य और “धर्म का अर्थ है नीति” (आत्मकथा, पृष्ठ 7) अर्थात् वे नीति आधारित समाज के संचालन के पक्षधर थे। ऐसे राज्य में विषमता की कोई जगह नहीं हो सकती। तुलसीदासजी ने ऐसे समाज का चित्रण करते हुए कहा है “वैर न कर काहू सन कोई, राम प्रताप विषमता खोई।” एक दूसरे से वैर न रखना यह वर्गभेद के उन्मूलन हो चुकने की अभिव्यक्ति है तथा किसी एक वर्ग के हित का दूसरे वर्ग के हित से विरोध न होने की स्थिति है। विषमता खोना अर्थात् समता स्थापित होना यह साम्यवाद की प्रिय विषयवस्तु है तथा फ्रान्स की क्रांति का एक उत्पाद है। विषमता वैर की बीज है तथा उर्वरा भूमि भी है। विषमता वैर की जननी है। समतामूलक समाज वैर रहित समाज बन सकता है।

प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या सर्वार्थ में समता मानव—समाज में प्राप्त की जा सकती है? यहि हाँ तो कैसे और यदि ना तो क्यों नहीं? इन प्रश्नों के उत्तर गांधी खोजते हैं। उनकी खोज की नींव के पत्थर है सत्य और अहिंसा। इस नींव पर समतायुक्त समाज की इमारत खड़ी करते—करते दो और मूल्यों का सहारा लेना आवश्यक है, यह समझ में आता है और वे दो मूल्य हैं — **संयम और सादगी**। गांधी की न्यासिता के विचार की इमारत इन्हीं पर खड़ी है।

न्यासिता या ट्रस्टीशिप गांधी के आर्थिक विचारों का एक अंग है तथा अर्थ विचार जीवन की एक प्रमुख आवश्यकता है। अर्थ—व्यवस्था के आधार पर ही अधिकतर राज्य व्यवस्था तथा सामाजिक व्यवस्था निर्भर होती है। अतः इसकी पड़ताल गंभीरता से करनी चाहिये।

क्या है गांधी की ट्रस्टीशिप या न्यासिता की व्याख्या? सन 1945 में प्रोफेसर दांतवाला, श्री किशोरलाल भाई मश्रुवाला, प्यारेलाल एवं नरहरि पारिख ने गांधीजी के समक्ष ट्रस्टीशिप की व्यावहारिक व्याख्या का एक मसौदा तैयार करके रखा जिसमें कुछ संशोधन करके गांधीजी ने उसे अंतिम रूप दे दिया। वह छह सूत्री व्याख्या गौर करने लायक है:

1. ट्रस्टीशिप वर्तमान पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था को समानतावादी व्यवस्था में बदल देने का एक साधन मुहैया कराती है; यह पूँजीवाद को कोई प्रश्रय नहीं देती, बल्कि मौजूदा मालिक वर्ग को अपने सुधार का मौका देती है। उसका आधार यह श्रद्धा है कि मानव—स्वभाव कभी सुधार से परे नहीं होता।
2. समाज स्वयं अपनी भलाई के लिए जितनी इजाजत दे उससे अधिक सम्पत्ति के निजी स्मामित्व का कोई अधिकार ट्रस्टीशिप स्वीकार नहीं करती।
3. वह सम्पत्ति के स्वामित्व और उपयोग का नियमन करने के लिए कानून बनाने का निषेध नहीं करती।
4. इस प्रकार राज्य द्वारा नियमित ट्रस्टीशिप में कोई अपने स्वार्थपूर्ण कार्य के लिए अथवा समाज के हित की परवाह न करके अपनी सम्पत्ति रखने या काम में लाने को स्वतन्त्र नहीं होगा।
5. जैसे उचित अल्पतम जीवन—वेतन निश्चित करने का प्रस्ताव है, वैसे ही समाज में किसी मनुष्य की अधिक—से—अधिक

आय कितनी हो, इसकी मर्यादा भी तय होनी चाहिए। इस कम-से-कम और ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा आमदनी के बीच का अन्तर उचित, न्यायसंगत और समय-समय पर बदल सकनेवाला होना चाहिए और वह इस तरह से कि प्रवृत्ति उस अन्तर को मिटाने की रहे।

6. गांधीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था में उत्पादन का स्वरूप समाज की जरूरत के अनुसार निश्चित होगा, न कि व्यक्ति की सनक, मरजी या लालच से होगा¹

उपरोक्त व्याख्या का कुछ विश्लेषण करना उचित होगा ताकि इस विमर्श को आगे बढ़ाया जा सके।

यह विश्लेषण स्पष्ट करता है कि ट्रस्टीशिप धन, संपत्ति तथा शक्तियों के समायोजन का अहिंसक साधन है। यह पूँजीवादी शोषणयुक्त व्यवस्था को समता मूलक व्यवस्था में परिवर्तित करने का प्रयास है। यह व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व तथा वंशानुगत स्वामित्व की समाप्ति की भी घंटी बजाती है। ईशोपनिषद के प्रथम मंत्र को इसकी गंगोत्री मानकर कहा जा सकता है कि सभी प्रकार की संपत्ति ईश्वर की है अर्थात् समाजरूपी ईश्वर की है। वही इसका स्रोत है तथा इसलिये वही इसका गंतव्य होना चाहिये। ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धान्त में उत्पादन के स्वरूप को समाज की जरूरत के अनुरूप निश्चित करना एक क्रांतिकारी वस्तु है, पर अत्यंत ही दुरुह है और पूरी मानवीय सोच को बदल डालने की आवश्यकता की मांग भी रखती है। यह पूरी व्याख्या कुछ और मुद्दों पर सोचने को विवश करती है। वे प्रश्न कुछ इस प्रकार हैं— मनुष्य का स्वभाव क्या है? मनुष्य एक स्वार्थी प्राणी है या नैतिक प्राणी है? (जैसा गांधी मानते हैं)। स्वभाव क्या होता है? क्या वह अपरिवर्तनीय है या बदला जा सकता है या क्या परिस्थिति परिवर्तन द्वारा स्वभाव परिवर्तन किया जा सकता है? (जैसा साम्यवाद मानता है)। जब चींटी जैसे प्राणी भी परिग्रह की आवश्यकता को महसूस करके तदनुसार कार्य करते हैं तो क्या

मनुष्य जैसा विकसित प्राणी अपरिग्रही बन सकता है? और यदि बन सकता है तो क्या उसकी कुछ वांछनीय मर्यादाएं नैतिकता के प्रकाश में निश्चित की जा सकती हैं? ट्रस्टीशिप का विचार मूलतः अपरिग्रह का ही तो विचार है। यह विचार मनुष्य में निहित देवांश को मानकर ही तो आगे बढ़ाया जा सकता है, जो कि वस्तुतः अहिंसा का अधिष्ठान है। उस श्रद्धा पर ही तो गांधी की अहिंसा तथा उनका सत्याग्रह खड़ा है और वह श्रद्धा कहती है कि मानव का हृदय परिवर्तन हो सकता है। उसी तर्क को आगे बढ़ायें तो मानना होगा कि मन परिवर्तन और विचार परिवर्तन भी हो सकता है और विचार ही दुनिया पर शासन करते हैं। अलग-अलग समय पर अलग-अलग विचार आये और उन्होंने संसार पर राज्य किया। अब अहिंसा के विचार का समय आया है तथा इसीलिये न्यासिता के विचार का भी समय आया है, ऐसा क्यों न मानें?

ट्रस्टीशिप पर विचार करते समय कुछ कठिनाईयां उपस्थित होती हैं, उनका भी विचार विमर्श करें, उनसे कतराना भी ठीक नहीं होगा।

ट्रस्टीशिप धनिकों से अपेक्षा करती है कि वे स्वेच्छा से अपने धन के ट्रस्टी बन जायें। वे अपनी कमाई का उचित अंश अपने उपभोग के लिये रखें तथा बाकी का समाज के लिये त्याग दें। (भोग के अधिकार का निषेध नहीं है, ईशोपनिषद में भी नहीं है। विनोबा ने अपनी शैली में दोनों की मात्रा निश्चित कर दी है — दो भाग त्याग, एक भाग भोग यही जीवन है)। इस तर्क को आगे बढ़ाते हुए गांधीजी का मत है कि धनार्जन करने की कला सभी के पास नहीं होती। अतः धनिकों को धनार्जन करने दिया जाय तथा वे ट्रस्टीशिप की भावना को सतत जागृत रखते हुए जीवन-यापन करें। वे समाज में एक नवीन नैतिक दायित्व का वातावरण निर्मित करना चाहते हैं। किन्तु कोई भी धनिक पूँजी का संग्रह किन तरीकों से कर सकता है? निर्मल कुमार बोस के साथ उनका वार्तालाप मननीय है —

प्रश्न : क्या खुली या गुप्त हिंसा के बिन पूँजी जमा करना संभव है?

उत्तर : व्यक्ति जबतक हिंसात्मक तरीका ग्रहण न करे, तब तक पूँजी जमा करना संभव नहीं है, किन्तु एक अहिंसक समाज में राज्य के द्वारा पूँजी का जमा किया जाना न केवल संभव है बल्कि इष्ट और आवश्यक है।

अंग्रेजी में यह वार्तालाप इस प्रकार है —

Question : Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence whether open or tacit?

Answer: Such accumulation by private persons is impossible except through violent means, but accumulation by the State in a non-violent society is not only possible, it is desirable and inevitable.²

तब क्या धनिकों को धनार्जन की छूट देना (तथा बाद में उसका जरूरतमंदों में वितरण) हिंसा करने की अनुमति देना है? क्योंकि उपर उल्लेखित वार्तालाप में गुप्त या प्रकट हिंसा के बिना पूँजी एकत्र करना संभव नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार का निष्कर्ष एकाएक निकालना उचित नहीं होगा उसको समझना होगा क्या यह माना जाय कि उपरोक्त वार्तालाप के समय अहिंसा पर करुणा हावी हो गई थी? क्या पूँजीपति पर ये तटस्थ विचार हैं? अन्यथा गांधीपर जो साम्यवादी आरोप लगाया जाता है कि वे पूँजीपति और पूँजीवाद को संरक्षण दे रहे हैं, उसका निराकरण कैसे होगा? इस बिन्दु तक पहुँचते हुए वे पूँजीवादी विचारधारा के प्रति नरम रुख अपना रहे हैं ऐसा प्रतीत होता है।

इसी सिलसिले को आगे बढ़ाते हुए ट्रस्टीशिप के उस बिन्दु पर गौर करें जो कहता है कि ट्रस्टीशिप में धन के स्वामित्व और उपयोग के कानूनी नियमन की मनाही नहीं है। संरक्षता राज्य द्वारा नियंत्रित हो सकेगी तथा व्यक्ति समाज के हित के विरुद्ध संपत्ति पर अधिकार रखने या उसका उपयोग करने के लिये स्वतंत्र नहीं होगा

कानून के द्वारा इस प्रकार का नियंत्रण समाजवादी विचार के नजदीक जाता है। तब सहज यह प्रश्न उठता है कि गांधीजी का दृष्टिकोण यूरोप से आये दृष्टिकोण या बाद में साम्यवादी देशों द्वारा अपनाए गए दृष्टिकोण से किस प्रकार भिन्न है? क्या यह माने कि साम्यवादी दृष्टिकोण नीति-रहित है और गांधी का आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण मूलतः नैतिक है? और उसकी जड़ें आध्यात्मिक विश्वास में हैं? इसे निश्चित ही भविष्य में आनेवाली अर्थ रचना के लिये दिशा निर्देश या ध्रुव तारे के रूप में हमें रखना चाहिये। यूरोपीय दृष्टिकोण ने तो आज हमें—विलास प्रधान जीवन दिया है जो मानव-सम्भ्यता से सुसंगत नहीं है। धन को इतनी प्रधानता मिल गई है कि उसके पेट में सभी श्रेष्ठ नैतिक मूल्य समा गये हैं।

किन्तु शायद ट्रस्टीशिप कुछ और भी कहती है। वह मानती है कि सम्पत्ति एक शक्ति है। संपत्ति इंश्वरीय वस्तु है। ईशोपनिषद् भी यही आदर्श सिखाता है। समृद्धि भी उसमें से जन्म लेती है, जो एक सीमा तक क्यों न हो, जरूरी है (सीमा आप खुद तय करें)

कोई भी समृद्ध या धनी व्यक्ति जो जानबुझकर नैतिक या कानूनी रूप से असामाजिक साधनों का उपयोग नहीं करता, किसी को प्रत्यक्ष या प्रच्छन्न दुःख नहीं देता, उल्टे उन्हें कम करने में मदद देता है। उससे किसी को हानि नहीं होती। वह एक भला व्यक्ति ही है। यह हो सकता है कि उसकी समझ पूर्ण विकसित नहीं हुई हो और वह संपत्ति को सुख मान बैठा हो। हो सकता है उसने संयम और सादगीपूर्ण जीवन की मिठास और स्वाद न चखा हो। हो सकता है कि वह अभी "देने" के सुख को समझ नहीं पा रहा हो और मानता हो कि "लेने" में ही सुख है। परिग्रह में ही सुख है। वह नहीं जानता कि संग्रह वृत्ति एक प्रकार से पाप है। ऐसे व्यक्तियों का हिंसक तरीके से नाश करना उचित नहीं होगा। उन्हें सत्याग्रह द्वारा जगाना ही उचित है जो गांधीजी ने कई बार किया है। राज्य तो आत्माहीन होता है जो कानून की हिंसा पर चलता है। मनुष्य तो

चेतन है किन्तु गुण-दोषमय है। तुलसीदास ने विश्व कैसा है यह सही तरीके से समझाया है — “जड़-चेतन, गुण-दोषमय, बिस्व कीन्ह करतार।” अतः चेतन से आशा रखना तर्कपूर्ण है।

ट्रस्टीशिप और अपरिग्रह

अर्थ-विचार में दो बातें हैं। एक अर्थ प्राप्ति कैसे की जाये? दो-उसका परिमाण क्या हो? गांधीजी के एकादश व्रत में दोनों का समावेश है। अस्तेय इस बात को स्पष्ट करता है कि अर्थ प्राप्ति कैसे की जाये? तथा अपरिग्रह या असंग्रह उसका परिमाण निश्चित करता है।

अपरिग्रही बनना अस्तेय की भावना के विरुद्ध जीवन जीने से संभव ही नहीं। अस्तेय हमें शरीर द्वारा उत्पादक श्रम की ओर ले जाता है। और यदि उस पर जीवन का आधार हो तो सादगीपूर्ण जीवन और संयमित जीवन की ओर ले जाता है। अपरिग्रह का व्रत पालने वाला ट्रस्टी भावना से ही धन-संपत्ति की ओर देखेगा ऐसा जीवन स्वभावतः ही अनेक पापों से व्यक्ति और समाज को बचा लेता है जो परिणामतः **नैतिक राज्य, धर्मराज्य, रामराज्य** की स्थापना में मदद देगा अपरिग्रह और श्रमाधारित जीवन द्वारा इतना ज्यादा उत्पादन हो ही नहीं सकता कि उससे अमर्यादित संग्रह हो सके। फिर भी जो संग्रह होगा उसे सतत समाज को अर्पण करने की व्यवस्था ट्रस्टीशिप है। इसे ही हिन्दू धर्म दान कहता है और इस्लाम जकात या सदका कहता है। हालांकि ये ट्रस्टीशिप से भिन्न है। अन्य धर्मों में भी दान की धारणा को अक्षुण्ण रखने के अपने-अपने तरीके हैं। “देना” यह मनुष्य के व्यक्तित्व की अविभाज्य वृत्ति है जो प्रेम या अहिंसा से उपजती है। गांधी का अपरिग्रह बहुत ऊंचे स्तर का था। जो वस्तु दूसरों को नहीं मिलती वह लेना संग्रह है ऐसा वे मानते थे। इसीलिये उनके तन पर की लंगोटी और सेवाग्राम में बापू कुटी में विद्युत कनेक्शन न लेना, सीमित भोजन करना इत्यादि समझ में आते हैं। **अहिंसा के साथ अपरिग्रह, अस्तेय और संयम** को न

जोड़े तो अहिंसा टिकती नहीं, ऐसा विनोबा मानते हैं। गांधी सतत जीवन को पवित्र बनाने के प्रयास में रहे। यह प्रयत्न उन्हें समाज के जीवन में भी आवश्यक प्रतीत हुआ। अतः वे अर्थ शुचिता में से जन्मी ट्रस्टीशिप की अवधारणा हमें दे सके। मनु ने भी कहा है— यो अर्थशुचिः स शुचिः अर्थात् जिसके जीवन में आर्थिक शुचिता है, उसका जीवन पवित्र है।

ट्रस्टीशिप और सी.एस.आर

इन दिनों C.S.R. [Corporate Social Responsibility] की चर्चा खूब चली है। इसे कानूनी जामा भी पहनाया गया है। कानून द्वारा कुछ विशिष्ट धनपतियों द्वारा उनके शुद्ध लाभ का दो प्रतिशत समाज के लिये अर्पण करने की सख्ती है। जैसा कि पहिले कहा जा चुका है, दानधारा बहुत प्राचीन समय से चली आ रही है। जब कानून नहीं था तब भी श्री जमनालाल बजाज जैसे वैरागी पुरुषों ने दिल खोलकर समाज को धन प्रदान किया है।

किन्तु C.S.R. में और ट्रस्टीशिप कुछ अंतर है, जैसे —

- 1- ट्रस्टीशिप धन के स्वामी को अपने उपयोग के लिये **कम से कम** धन अपने पास रखने की छूट देती है, जब की C.S.R में **अधिक से अधिक** दो प्रतिशत समाज को देने की बात है।
- 2- ट्रस्टीशिप आध्यात्मिक उन्नति का मार्ग है, C.S.R में ऐसी बात नहीं के बराबर है।
- 3- C.S.R. में कानून की सख्ती है, ट्रस्टीशिप में करुणा का स्नेह है।
- 4- C.S.R पूँजीवादी विषम व्यवस्था को कायम रखती है, ट्रस्टीशिप समतावादी व्यवस्था की ओर ले जाती है।

अंत में इस बात की ओर भी ध्यान आकृष्ट करना होगा की धन या मुद्रा ही पूँजी नहीं है, श्रम भी पूँजी है। किन्तु आज श्रम के गौरव की प्रतिष्ठा नहीं है। श्रम के औचित्य को देखे तो ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त धनपतियों पर पहले लागू होना चाहिए, श्रमिकों पर बाद में।

गांधीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था श्रम और पूँजी के बीच तथा समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों के बीच समन्वय स्थापित करके संघर्ष समाप्ति और शांति स्थापना करने में सक्षम है। आज विश्व को इसकी जरूरत है।

संदर्भ

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Pyarelal Nayyar

भविष्य का समाज और ट्रस्टीशिप: सिद्धांत और व्यवहार

पुष्पेंद्र दुबे

वैश्विक परिस्थिति और भारत

इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में भारत में नयी संभावनाएं दिखाई दे रही हैं। विश्व में राजनैतिक साम्राज्यवाद समाप्त हो गया है, साम्यवादी विश्व बिखर रहा है, लोकतंत्र का तेजी से प्रसार हो रहा है, संचार क्रांति, सूचना क्रांति ने पूरे विश्व को एक गांव में रूपांतरित कर दिया है। आर्थिक क्षेत्र में विश्व अर्थव्यवस्था ने एक निश्चित आकार ले लिया है। शिक्षा के लोकव्यापीकरण और ज्ञान आधारित समाज के विस्तार ने नवीन वैश्विक मानव मूल्यों को अंगीकार किया है। वस्तुतः नये विश्व और नये मनुष्य की ही रचना हो रही है। शोषण और हिंसा पर आधारित समाज में से शोषण मुक्त और अहिंसक समाज का जन्म कैसे हो, इस विषय पर बीसवीं सदी के संत और मनीषी आचार्य विनोबा भावे के विचार अत्यंत प्रासंगिक हैं।

बीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में दुनिया के लगभग 150 देश गुलाम थे और भारत गुलाम देशों में सबसे बड़ा देश था। महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत ने आजादी की अनूठी लड़ाई लड़ी और वह स्वतंत्र हुआ। भारत के आजाद होने के बाद दुनिया के दूसरे गुलाम देश भी आजाद हुए। लेकिन दूसरी ओर दुनिया के देश उपभोक्तावादी संस्कृति, औद्योगिक संस्कृति की आर्थिक — सामाजिक — मानसिक — नैतिक गुलामी में फंस गये हैं।

साम्यवाद नहीं साम्ययोग

दुनिया के अनेक प्रगतिशील विचारकों और बुद्धिजीवियों को आशा थी कि कार्लमार्क्स की विचारधारा समानता, स्वतंत्रता और बंधुत्व की विश्व संस्कृति का विकास कर सकेगी, जहाँ 'मुक्त मानवों का मुक्त भाईचारा' होगा। सारा समाज शोषण रहित और शासन रहित होगा, परंतु सोवियत संघ के विघटन, वहाँ गृहयुद्ध की विभीषिका और चीन के ध्यान आन मन स्ववेयर में लोकतंत्र समर्थकों पर गोलियों की बौछारों ने यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि साम्यवाद या मार्क्सवाद में विश्व को आर्थिक गुलामी से मुक्त करने की शक्ति और प्रेरणा नहीं रही है।

कार्लमार्क्स ने सन् 1848 में अपने विचार 'साम्यवाद का घोषणा पत्र' में विस्तृत रूप में व्यक्त किया था। उसकी प्रेरणा से सन् 1917 में रूस में क्रांति हुई। विचार क्रांति को प्रत्यक्ष व्यवहार में लाने में समय लगता है, क्योंकि विचारक वर्तमान समस्याओं के संदर्भ में चिंतन करते हैं और भविष्य के लिए कार्यक्रम की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत करते हैं। उनके विचारों पर प्रत्यक्ष अमल होने में समय का अंतराल रहता है। विनोबा जैसे मनीषी के साथ भी यह सत्य है। एक बीमार व्यक्ति अपनी बीमारी से तंग आकर उससे छूटने का प्रयास करता है, अनेक चिकित्सकों के पास जाता है, अनेक नुस्खे प्रयोग करता है, लेकिन उसे बीमारी से तभी मुक्ति मिलती है, जब बीमारी का ठीक से निदान होता है, बीमारी के कारणों की जानकारी होती है और उसके अनुसार उपचार होता है। समाज में आर्थिक विषमता, शोषण, गरीबी, बेकारी आदि सामाजिक व्याधियों के बारे में भी ऐसा ही है। इन समस्याओं के मूल कारण हमें समझने होंगे और इन कारणों का निराकरण करना होगा। तभी हमें इनसे मुक्ति मिलेगी। विनोबा ने अत्यंत सूक्ष्मता से इन समस्याओं का अध्ययन किया है, कारणों का विश्लेषण किया है और इनके निराकरण के लिए प्रयोग किए हैं।

विनोबा एक ऐसे समाज विज्ञानी हैं, जिनके द्वारा किया गया शोधन वर्तमान समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए अत्यंत प्रासंगिक है।

हमारा देश विश्व की प्रतिकृति है। विश्व में आज जैसी परिस्थिति है उसका प्रतिबिंब भारत में भी दिखाई देता है। यदि भारत की समस्याओं का निदान हम कर सकें और निराकरण कर सकें तो सारे विश्व पर उसका प्रभाव पड़ेगा। हमारा सौभाग्य है कि हमारे देश में विनोबा जैसे विचारक और मनीषी हुए, जिन्होंने हमारी कठिन से कठिन समस्या का वैचारिक और व्यावहारिक समाधान प्रस्तुत किया है। वस्तुतः उन्होंने वर्तमान शोषण, हिंसा और उपभोगवादी संस्कृति के विकल्प के रूप में नयी साम्ययोगी संस्कृति का प्रारूप ही प्रस्तुत किया है।

आर्थिक समस्या और समाधान

विनोबा जी ने वर्तमान आर्थिक समस्याओं के समाधान के रूप में जो विचार और कार्यक्रम दिए, वे विचारणीय हैं:

1. उपभोक्तावादी संस्कृति के शमन के लिए 2 भाग त्याग+1 भाग भोग = सम्यक जीवन का सूत्र, अस्तेय, अपरिग्रह और विश्वास वृत्ति (ट्रस्टीशिप) का सिद्धांत,
2. भूमि समस्या के समाधान के लिए भूदान यज्ञ
3. आर्थिक परावलंबन, बेरोजगारी, अर्ध बेरोजगारी और गरीबी के निराकरण के लिए ग्रामाभिमुख खादी तथा ग्रामोद्योग
4. टूटती बिखरती ग्राम व्यवस्था की रक्षा के लिए ग्रामदान, ग्रामस्वराज्य
5. साम्प्रदायिक, जातीय, दलीय और हिंसक गतिविधियों के शमन के लिए शांति सेना

6. पैसे पर आधारित बाजार अर्थव्यवस्था (जिससे सट्टा, ब्याज, किराया, संग्रह, मुनाफा और गला काट स्पर्धा निहित है) के स्थान पर कांचन मुक्त, बाजार मुक्त अर्थव्यवस्था का विचार
7. जीवाश्म ऊर्जा जैसे कोयला, पेट्रोल, डीजल, अणु ऊर्जा पर आधारित अति ऊर्जा केंद्रित हिंसक टेक्नालॉजी के स्थान पर परिमित अहिंसक ऊर्जा जैसे मानव ऊर्जा, मवेशी ऊर्जा, जल ऊर्जा, पवन ऊर्जा, गोबर गैस ऊर्जा, सौर ऊर्जा जैसे उन्नत मानवीय टेक्नालॉजी का विचार। ट्रैक्टर खेती, कीटनाशकों पर आधारित रासायनिक खेती के स्थान पर बैल खेती, गोबर खाद और संतुलित अहिंसक पद्धति की खेती और गोरक्षा का विचार।

आज भौतिक समृद्धि और वस्तुओं की प्रचुरता में मनुष्यता कहीं खो गई है। हम अपनी शांति, स्वाधीनता और पारस्परिकता को खोकर जो भौतिक वस्तुएं और सुख खरीद रहे हैं क्या यह सौदा महंगा नहीं है ? क्या यह संभव है कि हम शांति, साम्य और समृद्धि का समन्वय साध सकते हैं ? यदि ऐसा कर सकते हैं तो कैसे ? इन्हीं प्रश्नों का उत्तर विनोबा जी ने दिया है।

क्रांति की नयी परिभाषा

समाज जीवन में प्रचलित क्रांति से भिन्न अर्थ विनोबा ने दिया है। उनके अनुसार समाज के जीवन मूल्यों में बुनियादी परिवर्तन होने को क्रांति कहते हैं और परिवर्तित जीवन मूल्यों के अनुसार जीवन जीना विकास है। यह क्रांति की प्रक्रिया सतत चलती रहती है। मनुष्य ने कर्म शक्ति को कृति में रूपांतरित किया। इसीसे संस्कृति का निर्माण हुआ। विकृतियों से संस्कृति की ओर जाना विकास है। इसकी पहली पायदान आरण्यक संस्कृति रही है। इस जीवन की मुख्य उपलब्धियां इस प्रकार थीं :

- 1- समाज व्यवस्था में 'परिवार संस्था' का विकास। परिवार में सेवा त्याग वात्सल्य—शिक्षण सहयोग आदि अनेक मानवीय मूल्यों का विकास हुआ।
- 2- मानव शक्ति से चलने वाले उपकरण ओर औजारों का विकास।
- 3- वृक्ष, वनस्पतियों के गुण, उनके खाद्य, अखाद्य गुणों का ज्ञान।
- 4- पशु—पालन का ज्ञान।
- 5- सामुदायिक जीवन, सामूहिक नृत्य, गान, संगीत आदि।
- 6- सादा सरल प्रकृति से समरस जीवन।

आरण्यक संस्कृति की सर्वोत्तम कृति वेद और उपनिषद हैं। इस संस्कृति में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण घटना कृषि की खोज है। इसने आरण्यक जीवन में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन कर दिया। इससे एक नयी सभ्यता का उदय हुआ। इसे कृषि संस्कृति कहा गया। इसने पोषण के साधनों में, उत्पादन के साधनों में बुनियादी परिवर्तन कर दिया। कृषि की खोज ने मानव जीवन में नये मूल्य दाखिल किए। इसने मानवीय संबंधों में भी परिवर्तन कर दिया। वर्ण व्यवस्था और पंचायत व्यवस्था विकसित हुई। अर्थशास्त्र की दृष्टि से वर्णव्यवस्था का अत्यधिक महत्व था। यह स्पर्धा रहित व्यवस्था थी, जिसमें सभी को पूर्ण संरक्षण प्राप्त था। सभी वर्ण परस्पर आश्रित थे, उनमें पूर्ण समानता थी और अस्पृश्यता नहीं थी। यह स्वावलंबी व्यवस्था थी। इस व्यवस्था में भी उत्पादन आधिक्य और अभाव के प्रश्न उपस्थित होते थे। भोजन के बदले श्रम की व्यवस्था थी। बाद में इसने बेगार का रूप ले लिया। व्यापार में वस्तु विनिमय माध्यम की खोज हुई। यहां से वस्तुओं के मूल्य मापन का प्रश्न उपस्थित हुआ। मूल्य का निर्धारण किन सिद्धांतों पर किया जाए, यह प्रश्न भी आया। मूल्य

निर्धारण के लिए पहले नैतिकता को ही आधार माना गया। पहले के विचारकों और लेखकों ने आर्थिक व्यवहार के लिए अलग से सिद्धांत नहीं बनाए और न ही स्वतंत्र ग्रंथ की रचना की। कृषि संस्कृति में व्यापार का विकास हुआ और इसे समृद्धि का आधार माना गया। मनुष्य की आवश्यकताओं में निरंतर विकास होता गया। ग्राम स्वावलंबन का विकास परावलंबन में हुआ और अंततः इसी में से व्यापारवाद का भी विकास हुआ।

पश्चिम का अर्थशास्त्र

पश्चिम के अर्थशास्त्रियों में संत एविनास (1225–1275), मार्टिन लूथर (1483–1546), जीन बोडिन, थामस मून, पी.डब्ल्यू. हार्निक का साहित्य उल्लेखनीय है। बेंजामिन फ्रेंकलिन ने मूल्य निर्धारण के लिए नये सिद्धांतों का प्रतिपादन किया। कालांतर में कृषि संस्कृति का विकास व्यापारिक संस्कृति में हो गया। इस व्यापारिक संस्कृति में से ही औद्योगिक संस्कृति की उत्पत्ति हुई। औद्योगिक संस्कृति ने मानव जीवन के मूलभूत जीवन मूल्यों, रहन-सहन, खान-पान, शिक्षा-चिकित्सा, मनोरंजन, उत्पादन पद्धति, व्यापार पद्धति, विनिमय पद्धति, राज्य पद्धति, टेक्नालॉजी, साहित्य, कला सभी क्षेत्रों में क्रांति कर एक नयी संस्कृति की स्थापना की। यद्यपि इसकी समयावधि कम है, परंतु औद्योगिक संस्कृति का मनुष्य जीवन पर जबर्दस्त प्रभाव हुआ। औद्योगिक क्रांति ने नगर विकसित किए और नगरीकरण की प्रक्रिया प्रारंभ हुई। आज उद्योग, व्यापार, शिक्षा, चिकित्सा, कला, संस्कृति, राजनीति, दूरसंचार, परिवहन प्रणाली आदि सभी के केंद्र नगर हैं और उसके आसपास ही सारे गांव, खेती, पशुपालन आदि घूम रहे हैं। ग्राम जीवन तो लगभग समाप्त हो रहा है।

यद्यपि औद्योगिक संस्कृति ने मानवता को उत्पादन की उन्नत बेहतर पद्धतियां, आकर्षक वस्त्र, सुविधायुक्त आवास, सार्वजनिक शिक्षा, आरोग्य और चिकित्सा के आधुनिक साधन, खेल मनोरंजन के

विविध साधन, काम के अच्छे औजार, संचार परिवहन के तीव्र साधन, रेडियो, टेलीफोन, टेलीविजन, कम्प्यूटर आदि प्रदान किए हैं, परंतु इसी सभ्यता ने भयानक शोषण, हिंसा, गुलामी, नस्लवाद, उपनिवेशवाद, साम्राज्यवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद, आतंकवाद, युद्ध—महायुद्ध जैसी बुराईयां भी उत्पन्न की हैं। विकास और विकास दर बढ़ाने की स्पर्धा ने वनों का विनाश किया, भूमि, जल, वायु और आकाश को नष्ट होने की सीमा तक प्रदूषित किया है। सारे समाज का शस्त्रीकरण, सैनिकीकरण और अपराधीकरण भी हुआ है। प्रदूषित वातावरण ने और स्वच्छंद जीवन ने कैंसर और एड्स जैसे रोग भी फैलाए हैं। नशाखोरी ने नींद हराम कर रखी है। इस सबसे ऐसा लगता है कि क्या इस औद्योगिक संस्कृति को अपनी संपूर्ण उपलब्धियों के साथ कायम रखा जा सकता है ? क्या यह समाज एक स्थायी समाज रह सकता है ?

आधुनिक अर्थशास्त्रियों में एडम स्मिथ, माल्थस, डेविड रिकार्डो, जॉन स्टुअर्ट मिल, हेनरी जॉर्ज, कार्लमार्क्स, प्रिंस क्रापटकिन, हॉब्सन, आगस्ट कॉम्टे, मार्शल, संत सायमन, वेब्लेन, जे.एम.कीन्स, गालब्रेथ, गुन्नरा मिर्डल आदि ने औद्योगिक सभ्यता से संबंधित इन्हीं प्रश्नों पर गहराई से चिंतन किया और अनेक सिद्धांतों का प्रतिपादन किया। आधुनिक अर्थशास्त्रियों के चिंतन पर विज्ञान के विकास का भी बहुत प्रभाव हुआ। इसलिए वे न केवल वस्तु स्थिति का वर्णन करते हैं, बल्कि इसे बदलने का विश्लेषण भी प्रस्तुत करते हैं।

औद्योगिक संस्कृति और सर्वोदय विचार

औद्योगिक क्रांति के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में क्रांति की उपलब्धियों को सारे समाज में प्रसारित करने पर ज्यादा जोर रहा। औद्योगीकरण के रास्ते में आने वाली बाधाओं को हटाने पर सारा ध्यान केंद्रित किया। जब यह देखा कि औद्योगीकरण अपने साथ में विकृतियां भी ला रहा है तो उनके निराकरण पर भी जोर दिया गया। महात्मा गांधी के

पदार्पण तक औद्योगीकरण सर्वमान्य हो गया था। सारे सुधारकों का जोर उसके दोषों के निवारण पर ही था। औद्योगीकरण ही सबसे बड़ा दोष है और यही सब दोषों का मूल कारण है, इसकी अनुभूति सबसे पहले गांधीजी को हुई। स्वराज्य के पहले भारत में दो प्रसिद्ध अर्थशास्त्री हुए — दादाभाई नौरोजी और डॉ. जे. सी. कुमारप्पा। दादाभाई नौरोजी ने 'पावर्टी एंड अनब्रिटिश रूल इन इंडिया' नामक ग्रंथ लिखा। कुमारप्पा जी ने 'सार्वजनिक वित्त व्यवस्था और हमारा दारिद्र्य' विषय पर शोध ग्रंथ लिखा। अपने आर्थिक विचारों को प्रकट करने के लिए उन्होंने दो अन्य ग्रंथ लिखे : **गांव आंदोलन क्यों?** और **स्थायी समाज व्यवस्था**। दूसरी ओर आर्थिक नीतियों को लागू करने के संबंध में गांधी-नेहरू मतभेद जगजाहिर है। डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया ने भाव बांधने पर विशेष जोर दिया। उन्होंने उद्योगों में व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व के स्थान पर ट्रस्टीशिप लागू करने के लिए एक विधेयक भी संसद में प्रस्तुत किया। लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण प्रखर समाजवादी विचारक थे। पहले वे मार्क्सवादी थे, परंतु बाद में विनोबा के भूदान यज्ञ आंदोलन में सम्मिलित हो गए और भूमि वितरण के काम में लगे। अंत में उन्होंने संपूर्ण क्रांति का विचार दिया और जनआंदोलन का नेतृत्व किया।

आज स्थिति यह है कि विश्व में औद्योगिक देश दुनिया के विकासशील और अर्धविकसित देशों में अपने उत्पादन के लिए बाजार खोज रहे हैं। उन्होंने अर्थव्यवस्था का विश्वव्यापीकरण कर दुनिया को उदारीकरण, निजीकरण और मुक्त बाजार का क्षेत्र बना दिया है। वे अपनी समृद्धि को जैसे-तैसे टिकाए रखना चाहते हैं। दूसरी ओर विकासशील और अल्पविकसित देशों में चेतना तेजी से बढ़ रही है। वे राष्ट्रीय स्वावलंबन की प्रेरणा से अपने आर्थिक संगठनों को मजबूत करने में लगे हैं। विकसित देशों में अनेक कारणों से असंतोष है। समृद्धि की अपनी समस्याएं हैं जो ज्यादा गंभीर हैं। इसलिए सारे विश्व में नये विचार के लिए नयी संस्कृति की आकांक्षा उत्पन्न हुई

है। वस्तुतः इस नयी संस्कृति का सूत्रपात भारत में गांधी विचार, सर्वोदय विचार के रूप में हुआ है।

औद्योगिक संस्कृति में जो आर्थिक सिद्धांत विकसित हुए वे अंतर्विरोधों से भरे हुए हैं और अस्थिर हैं। भारत में गांधी के नेतृत्व में अहिंसक क्रांति हुई, जिसका असर सारे विश्व पर हुआ। यद्यपि गांधीजी सामान्य अर्थ में अर्थशास्त्री नहीं थे, लेकिन ऐसे दार्शनिक थे जिन्होंने जीवन के हर पहलू पर अपने विचार प्रकट किए। उन्होंने इसे सर्वोदय संस्कृति नाम दिया है।

गांधीजी ने सुप्रसिद्ध आध्यात्मिक अर्थशास्त्री जान रस्किन की पुस्तक अनटू दिस लास्ट का भावानुवाद किया और इस पुस्तक को नाम दिया 'सर्वोदय'। रस्किन की पुस्तक का आधार बाइबिल की कहानी थी। पुस्तक को पढ़ने के बाद गांधीजी ने अपना बेरिस्टरी का जीवन त्याग दिया और सेवा का जीवन अपना लिया। यूरोप में कार्लाइल, रस्किन और रूस के टाल्सटाय ने पैसे की बाजार वाली अर्थव्यवस्था पर तीखे प्रहार किए। धन के शास्त्र के रूप में अर्थशास्त्र का जो विकास हो रहा था, उसमें ये तत्त्वज्ञानी चिंतित थे और इसके खिलाफ अनेक ग्रंथ और लेख लिखे। रस्किन की पुस्तक में जो मुख्य तत्व थे उसे गांधीजी ने इस भाषा में रखा 1 सबके भले में अपना भला अर्थात् समाज के भले में ही व्यक्ति का भला है, 2 वकील, नाई, भंगी और प्रोफेसर के काम की कीमत एक-सी होनी चाहिए क्योंकि आजीविका का हक सबका समान है, 3 मजदूर और किसान का जीवन ही सच्चा जीवन है। ये तीन सर्वोदय विचार के बुनियादी सिद्धांत हैं। उन्होंने इनके आधार पर अपने जीवन में प्रयोग किए। आर्थिक सिद्धांतों की दृष्टि से गांधीजी द्वारा प्रवर्तित निम्नांकित रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमों का उल्लेख आवश्यक है :

1 खादी तथा ग्रामोद्योग आंदोलन

2 मजदूर-महाजन संस्था का विचार

3 गोसेवा

4 ट्रस्टीशिप

5 सत्याग्रह

भारत के गांवों में गरीब से गरीब व्यक्ति और बेसहारा महिलाओं की तत्काल सहायता हो और ग्रामों में स्वावलंबन वृत्ति भी जाग्रत हो, इसके लिए उन्होंने खादी ग्रामोद्योग का कार्यक्रम शुरू किया। इसके द्वारा उन्होंने लोगों में ग्रामभावना, स्वदेशी भावना, गरीबों के लिए त्याग भावना उत्पन्न की और खादी ग्रामोद्योग का अहिंसक अर्थशास्त्र, शोषण विहीन और प्रदूषण रहित तकनीक का प्रवर्तन किया। इस प्रकार उपभोग, उत्पादन, विनिमय, वितरण का समन्वित चित्र भी प्रस्तुत किया। अखिल भारत चरखा संघ और ग्रामोद्योग संघ के गठन और संचालन से गांधी जी ने यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि गरीबों की प्रेरणा से ऐसा संगठन चल सकता है जिसके लोगों में लाभ कमाने की प्रेरणा का अभाव हो। अर्थात् बिना लाभ-हानि के भी व्यापारिक और औद्योगिक गतिविधियां चलायी जा सकती हैं। इस प्रकार गांधीजी ने ऐसे अर्थशास्त्र की नींव रखी जो प्रचलित औद्योगिक व्यावसायिक बाजार व्यवस्था से भिन्न स्वतंत्र अर्थव्यवस्था है।

वर्तमान में केंद्रित उद्योगों में मालिक भी हैं और मजदूर भी। ऐसी मान्यता थी कि इन दोनों वर्गों में हित विरोध है। इसके आधार पर मार्क्स ने वर्ग-संघर्ष की कल्पना भी रखी। लेकिन गांधीजी ने इससे सर्वथा भिन्न विचार रखा और सिद्ध किया कि मालिक, मजदूर, महाजन ये सभी एक समाज के घटक हैं, एक-दूसरे के पूरक हैं, पोषक हैं और सहायक हैं। इनके हित आपस में जुड़े हुए हैं और विरोध जैसा कुछ भी नहीं है। उद्योग के हित में ही मजदूर मालिक दोनों का हित है। इस आधार पर गांधीजी ने अहमदाबाद में मजदूर महाजन संस्था का गठन और संचालन भी किया।

इस विचार को आगे बढ़ाकर गांधीजी ने अर्थशास्त्र के लिए 'ट्रस्टीशिप' का विचार दिया। ट्रस्टीशिप का विचार सारे विश्व को गांधीजी की अनुपम देन है। ट्रस्टीशिप में स्वामित्व के विसर्जन की कल्पना है, भले ही वह व्यक्ति का हो, समूह का हो, संस्था का हो, संगठन का हो, राज्य का हो। वे मनुष्य शरीर के सारे शारीरिक, बौद्धिक गुणों की भी मालिकियत स्वीकार नहीं करते थे। मनुष्य अपने शरीर का और इन सब गुणों का मालिक नहीं वरन् ट्रस्टी है।

इन गुणों से प्राप्त धन, संपत्ति आदि का भी अपने को स्वामी न मानकर उतने ही भोग का अधिकारी है, जितना उस शरीर या उस गुण की रक्षा करने के लिए अनिवार्य हो या समाज जितने उपभोग की इजाजत दे। इसी प्रकार जिस व्यक्ति के पास जो कुछ भी वस्तु, पद, प्रतिष्ठा, सत्ता, संपत्ति हो उसका भी वह ट्रस्टी है, क्योंकि उसे इन सबका व्यापक समाज और सृष्टि के हित में उपयोग करने के लिए अधिकृत किया गया है। उसे इन सबका स्वयं के हित में उपयोग करने का नैतिक अधिकार नहीं है। वह समाज की या हिताधिकारियों की अनुमति से अपनी इस सेवा या समुचित कमीशन पाने का हकदार अवश्य है। इस प्रकार गांधीजी का ट्रस्टीशिप का विचार राजकीय स्वामित्व या सामाजिक स्वामित्व से बहुत आगे बढ़ा हुआ और उनसे बहुत भिन्न विचार है।

महात्मा गांधी और ट्रस्टीशिप

गांधीजी के ट्रस्टीशिप के निम्नांकित मूलतत्त्व हैं :

- 1 मानव के अस्तित्व का मुख्य उद्देश्य धन संपत्ति नहीं है। और न कुछ सामाजिक कर्तव्यों की पूर्ति मात्र है वरन् आध्यात्मिक विकास है।
- 2 जीवन में संपत्ति का एक स्थान अवश्य है, लेकिन उसका स्वामित्व और भोग के अधिकार से कोई संबंध नहीं है।

- 3 संपत्ति रखने का उद्देश्य संग्रह वृत्ति के संतोष के लिए न होकर, मानवीय सुख और व्यक्ति का विकास हो।
- 4 धन संपत्ति की तरह ही मनुष्य का कोई शारीरिक या बौद्धिक गुण हो सकता है। इसे भी वह ईश्वर या प्रकृति प्रदत्त माने और समाज से उसे यह गुण मिला है यह भावना रखकर समाज के कल्याण के लिए ट्रस्टी की तरह अपने गुण और शक्ति का उपयोग करे।

यदि कोई स्वेच्छा से ट्रस्टी न बने तो? इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में से ही 'सत्याग्रह' का विचार निकला है। यदि कोई मनुष्य ट्रस्टी जैसा व्यवहार नहीं करता और हिताधिकारियों के हित के खिलाफ या विरुद्ध धन, संपत्ति का उपभोग करता है तो असहयोग और सविनय अवज्ञा अर्थात् सत्याग्रह द्वारा उसके ऐसे व्यवहार को ठीक किया जा सकता है। आवश्यक होने पर सत्याग्रह द्वारा उन्हें ट्रस्टी के पद से हटाया भी जा सकता है। गांधीजी पहले अंग्रेजों को भारत का ट्रस्टी मानते थे, क्योंकि अंग्रेज अपने को ऐसा ही कहते थे। लेकिन जब उन्होंने इस विश्वास को भंग किया तब गांधीजी ने सत्याग्रह द्वारा उन्हें ट्रस्टीशिप से हटाने का आंदोलन चलाया। ऐसे ही सत्याग्रह की कल्पना भूमि, धन, संपत्ति आदि के मालिकों के संबंध में की जा सकती है।

गांधीजी के इन विचारों पर विश्व के अनेक विचारकों ने चिंतन किया जैसे इंग्लैंड के शूमाखर, अमेरिका में रिचर्ड ग्रेग, विल्फ्रेड बेलाक, होरेल एलेक्जेंडर, फ्रिट ज्याफ काप्रा, एल्विन टॉफ्लर, एरिक फ्राम आदि। भारत में विनोबा।

भूमि समस्या और समाधान

उत्पादन के लिए पांच तत्व की जरूरत होती है : 1 भूमि, 2 श्रम, 3 पूँजी, 4 संगठन, 5 साहस। भूमि उत्पादन का अनिवार्य साधन है।

वेद में इसे माता कहा गया है मातः भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं पृथिव्याः। भूमि हमारी माता है और हम उसके पुत्र हैं। व्यावसायिक विकास के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में भूमि, खरीद-बिक्री की चीज नहीं थी। भूमि के व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व के विकास के साथ ही खरीद बिक्री का तत्त्व उसमें दाखिल हो गया। भूमि का सारा नियंत्रण राजा के हाथ में था। किसान यदि जमीन नहीं जोत सकता था, तो उसे वापस राज्य को सौंप देता था। राजा उसे दूसरे किसान को दे देता था। व्यावसायिकता में वृद्धि होने के साथ भूमि का महत्व दिनोदिन बढ़ गया। दुनिया में क्रांतियों का प्रमुख कारण भूमि का स्वामित्व रहा है। भूमि पर किसका स्वामित्व हो? दूर से नियंत्रण करने वाले सम्राट का, महाराजा का, राजा, जमींदार, जागीरदार का हो या खेती करने वालों किसानों का हो? भारत में आजादी आंदोलन में यह तथ्य स्पष्ट हो गया कि हमारी गरीबी का सबसे बड़ा कारण अंग्रेजी राज है, इसलिए अंग्रेजी राज हटाने पर सभी ने जोर दिया। धीरे-धीरे यह भी स्पष्ट हो गया कि यह देश कृषि प्रधान है और जमीन का स्वामित्व यदि राजा, महाराजा, जमींदार, जागीरदार और मालगुजारों के पास रहता है तो किसानों का शोषण जारी रहेगा। उत्पादन में वृद्धि नहीं होगी और गरीबी भी नहीं मिटेगी। स्वराज्य मिलते ही राजाओं के राज्यों को भारत संघ में विलय कर दिया गया। जमींदार, जागीरदारी, मालगुजारी समाप्त कर दी गई। लेकिन अनेक राजा, जमींदार, जागीरदार, मालगुजार सब तुरंत किसान बन गए और अपने नियंत्रण की भूमि के बड़े-बड़े भूखण्ड खुदकाश्त के अंतर्गत आ गए। यूरोप, अमेरिका जैसे देशों में औद्योगिक क्रांति के बाद खेती में यंत्रीकरण हुआ और खेत मजदूरों के स्थान पर यंत्र आ गए। रूस में क्रांति के बाद खेती का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया। जापान में जनरल मेकाथर ने जागीरदारी प्रथा समाप्त कर भूमि सुधार लागू किए और भूमि की सीमा अधिकतम दो हैक्टेयर का कानून लागू किया। चीन में क्रांति हुई और भूमि का निजी स्वामित्व समाप्त कर गांव की सारी भूमि कम्यून बना दी गई। लेकिन भारत में जमींदार, जागीरदारी

समाप्त होने पर भी किसानों और मजदूरों को जमीन नहीं मिली। इस कारण गांवों में निराशा फैली और हिंसा में वृद्धि हुई। इस परिस्थिति से साम्यवादी लाभ उठाना चाहते थे। गांधी विचारक इस प्रश्न को अहिंसा से हल करना चाहते थे। साम्यवादी क्रांतिकारियों ने आंध्रप्रदेशके तेलंगाना को अपना कार्यक्षेत्र बनाया और हिंसक क्रांति द्वारा उस क्षेत्र को मुक्त क्षेत्र जैसा बनाने का प्रयत्न किया।

भूदान—ग्रामदान और मालकियत विसर्जन

गांधीजी के आध्यात्मिक उत्तराधिकारी विनोबा भी उस क्षेत्र में शांति और अहिंसक क्रांति की खोज में गए। हिंसा और अशांति का मूल कारण तो भूमि है। यदि खेतीहर बेजमीन मजदूरों को जमीन मिल जाए तो इस प्रश्न का समाधान हो सकता है। विनोबा ने अपनी सभा में गरीबों के लिए जमीन वालों से जमीन की मांग की और 18 अप्रैल 1951 को रामचंद्र रेड्डी ने अपनी 100 एकड़ जमीन गांव के भूमिहीनों को दान में देने का संकल्प जाहिर किया। विनोबा ने इससे प्रेरणा लेकर जमीन मांगना प्रारंभ किया। विनोबा ने इसे भूदान यज्ञ कहा। उन्होंने गांव—गांव में पदयात्रा की। कुछ ही दिनों में उन्हें सैकड़ों एकड़ जमीन दान में मिली। सारे तेलंगाना पर इसका अच्छा प्रभाव हुआ, हिंसा समाप्त हो गई और साम्यवाद का सारा आंदोलन ठप पड़ गया। जिस समस्या के समाधान के लिए महाभारत का युद्ध हुआ, रूस और चीन में हिंसक क्रांतियां हुईं, जापान को विदेशी दासता भोगनी पड़ी, वहीं भारत ने इस समस्या का समाधान अहिंसक तरीके से किया।

विनोबा जी ने भूदान आंदोलन के दौरान पूरे भारत की पदयात्रा की। उन्हें परिस्थिति की गंभीरता का अहसास हुआ। इसलिए उन्होंने इस समस्या के हल के लिए एक नया तरीका निकाला वह था 'ग्रामदान'।

इसकी चार शर्तें हैं :

- 1 गांव के सब लोग मिलकर ग्रामसभा का निर्माण करेंगे। गांव के सब वयस्क इसके सदस्य होंगे। ग्रामसभा अपने निर्णय सर्वसम्मति से या सर्वानुमति से करेगी।
- 2 जमीन का कब्जा काश्त का अधिकार और विरासत का अधिकार किसान का ही रहेगा लेकिन जमीन का स्वामित्व ग्रामसभा का होगा।
- 3 गांव के सभी किसान अपनी पैदावार का ढाई प्रतिशत मजदूर, व्यापारी, वेतनभोगी लोग अपनी आय का तीसवां हिस्सा 'ग्राम कोष' में देंगे। इस ग्राम कोष से विकास और कल्याण के कार्य किए जाएंगे।
- 4 गांव के सब किसान अपनी जमीन का बीसवां हिस्सा अर्थात् 5 प्रतिशत भूमिहीन श्रमिक को देंगे।

इस प्रकार विनोबा ने भूमि के स्वामित्व विसर्जन का एक क्रांतिकारी कार्यक्रम शुरू किया। भूदान में भूमिवान अपनी जमीन का एक हिस्सा भूमिहीन श्रमिकों को देते थे। लेकिन ग्रामदान में भूमि का स्वामित्व ग्रामसभा में निहित है। 31 मार्च 1972 तक देश में 1 लाख 68 हजार 108 ग्रामदान प्राप्त हुए।

भूदान—ग्रामदान आंदोलन के बाद भी प्रश्न यह है कि क्या इससे देश की भूमि का समस्या का समाधान हुआ? क्या समस्या हल हुई? इसका उत्तर नकारात्मक है। केवल इससे इतना ही पता चलता है कि भूमि समस्या का समाधान मानवीय अहिंसक पद्धति से भी किया जा सकता है।

विनोबा को यह भलीभांति जानकारी थी कि यदि भूमि समस्या हल नहीं हुई तो देश में अशांति बढ़ेगी। वे कहते हैं, "मैं जहाँ—जहाँ गया, वहाँ जो देखा, उस पर से एक वस्तु साफ दिखायी दी कि

हिंदुस्तान के गरीब लोगों की हालत बिगड़ती ही जा रही है। स्वराज्य मिलने के बाद भी उनको राहत नहीं मिल रही है। देश में अगर शांति चाहते हैं तो उनके लिए फौरन हमें कुछ करना चाहिए। अहिंसक समाज रचना हम करना चाहते हैं, तो अपरिग्रह का ख्याल रखना चाहिए। यानी जिनके पास संपत्ति है, उन्हें सच्चे अर्थ में उसके ट्रस्टी बनना चाहिए, तभी अहिंसा का दर्शन होगा। नहीं तो उत्तरोत्तर अशांति बढ़ती जाएगी। उसके आसार भी दिखाई दे रहे हैं।”

विनोबा ने अनेक बार इस ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया कि विज्ञान के जमाने में व्यक्तिगत मालिकियत नहीं टिकेगी। उन्होंने कहा कि, “व्यक्तिगत जीवन में जो स्थिति श्वास की है, सामाजिक जीवन में वही विश्वास की है। जिस तरह श्वास के अभाव में व्यक्ति मर जाता है, उसी तरह हमें समझना चाहिए कि जब सामाजिक जीवन की इकाइयों में परस्पर विश्वास नहीं रह जाता, तो समाज मृतप्राय—सा हो जाता है। विश्वास, यानी विस्तृत, व्यापक श्वास, कुल जनता का श्वास। भारत में महाजनों के और आम लोगों के बीच विश्वास उत्पन्न होना चाहिए।”

“सारी जायदाद सार्वजनिक मानी जानी चाहिए और उसकी व्यवस्था के बारे में कुछ नियम होने चाहिए। अगर ट्रस्टी इन नियमों के अनुसार जायदाद की देखभाल न करें, तो उनकी ट्रस्टीशिप रद्द कर देने का अधिकार जनता को होना चाहिए। जिनके पास संपत्ति है, वे यदि इस संपत्ति का उपयोग सार्वजनिक काम के लिए नहीं करते हैं, तो उनके पास से यह धन—दौलत छीन ली जाए। इस छीन लेने की प्रक्रिया में हिंसा की जगह न हो।”

“सर्वोदय समाज के लिए दो—तीन चीजें करनी हैं। पहली हमारे पास जो चीजें हैं, उनके हम मालिक नहीं ट्रस्टी हैं। ऐसी भावना चाहिए। मेरा खेत, मकान या फैक्टरी हो, मैं उसका मालिक नहीं।

मनुष्य के जीवन का उद्देश्य है न्यास यानी समाज में लीन हो जाना, व्यक्तिगत मालिकी मिटाकर समूह की शरण लेना।

आज विश्व में जिन कारणों से अशांति है, उनमें से एक कारण है कि हर मनुष्य अपना संकुचित स्वार्थ सोचता है और अपनी मालिकी बनाकर रहता है। यह मेरा घर, मेरा खेत, मेरा धन, इस तरह मेरा-मेरा करता है, इसलिए दूसरे के साथ टकराहट होती है। जमीन की मालिकी आज दुःखों के मूल में है।

“मनुष्य मालिकी इसलिए चाहता है कि वह दूसरों के परिश्रम से जीना चाहता है। दूसरे श्रम करें, उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ मुझे मिले, क्योंकि मैं मालिक हूँ। स्वयं शरीर परिश्रम टालना और दूसरों के श्रम का लाभ उठाना, यह दुनिया के दुःखों का कारण है। जो लोग मालिकों से द्वेष करते हैं, वे खुद मालिकी चाहते हैं। मालिक बड़ी-बड़ी मालिकी छोड़ने को तैयार नहीं, तो ये छोटी-छोटी मालिकी छोड़ने को तैयार नहीं। छोटे मालिक बड़े मालिकों से द्वेष करते हैं, लेकिन स्वयं छोटी मालिकी से चिपके रहते हैं।”

भारत में मालिकी हरगिज नहीं टिक सकती, क्योंकि यहां उस पर दोनों ओर से हमले हो रहे हैं। भारतीय आत्मा को व्यापक मानते हैं और जो लोग आत्मा को मानते हैं, वे मालिकी नहीं टिका सकते। इस तरह यहां एक ओर से मालिकी पर अध्यात्म विद्या का प्रहार हो रहा है, तो दूसरी ओर वैज्ञानिक युग का प्रहार हो रहा है। भूमि समस्या हल हुए बिना दूसरी योजनाओं से गरीबों का शोषण ही होने वाला है। भारत में और दुनिया में ट्रस्टीशिप के अनेक उदाहरण मिल सकते हैं। संयुक्त परिवार व्यवस्था में इस सिद्धांत का कुछ व्यवहार होता है। भारत में अहिल्याबाई होलकर जैसी रानी, भामाशाह जैसे साहूकार और जमनालाल बजाज जैसे उद्योगपति का अनेक उदाहरण

मौजूद हैं। गांधीजी इन अनुभवों पर से समाज व्यवस्था और अर्थव्यवस्था में बुनियादी परिवर्तन करना चाहते थे।

सन् 1945 में सुप्रसिद्ध अर्थशास्त्री श्री दांतवाला, श्री किशोर लाल मश्रुवाला और श्री नरहरि पारिख ने महात्मा गांधी के ट्रस्टीशिप सिद्धांत की व्यावहारिक व्याख्या की। इसमें स्वयं महात्मा गांधी ने कुछ संशोधन किए। यह व्याख्या इस प्रकार थी :

- 1 ट्रस्टीशिप वर्तमान पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था को समानतावादी व्यवस्था में बदल देने का एक साधन मुहैया कराती है। यह पूँजीवाद को कोई प्रश्रय नहीं देती, बल्कि मौजूदा मालिक वर्ग को अपने सुधार का मौका देती है। उसका आधार यह श्रद्धा है कि मानव स्वभाव कभी भी सुधार से परे नहीं है।
- 2 समाज स्वयं अपनी भलाई के लिए जितनी इजाजत दे उससे अधिक संपत्ति के निजी स्वामित्व का कोई अधिकार ट्रस्टीशिप स्वीकार नहीं करती।
- 3 वह संपत्ति के स्वामित्व और उपयोग का नियमन करने के लिए कानून का निषेध नहीं करती।
- 4 इस प्रकार राज्य द्वारा नियमन ट्रस्टीशिप में कोई अपने स्वार्थपूर्ण संतोष के लिए अथवा समाज के हित की परवाह न करके अपनी संपत्ति रखने या काम में लाने को स्वतंत्र नहीं होगा।
- 5 जैसे उचित अल्पतम जीवन वेतन निश्चित करने का प्रस्ताव है वैसे ही समाज में किसी मनुष्य की अधिक से अधिक आय कितनी हो, इसकी मर्यादा भी तय होनी चाहिए। इस कम से कम और ज्यादा से ज्यादा आमदनी के बीच का अंतर उचित न्याय संगत और समय-समय पर बदलने वाला होना चाहिए। और वह इस तरह से कि प्रवृत्ति उस अंतर को मिटाने की रहे।

- 6 गांधीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था में उत्पादन का स्वरूप समाज की जरूरत के अनुसार निश्चित होना चाहिए न कि व्यक्ति की सनक या मरजी या लालच से।”

व्यक्तिगत मालकियत विसर्जन और परिवार

आदि शंकराचार्य ने धन-संपत्ति पर अपना चिंतन प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहा है, ‘अर्थ अनर्थ का कारण है। इसमें तनिक भी सुख नहीं है। एक पिता को अपने पुत्र से भय लगता है कि कहीं यह संपत्ति न हड़प ले’। आठवीं सदी में कही गई उनकी बात के कई उदाहरण हमें देखने को मिलते हैं। आज की सभ्यता का सबसे बड़ा संकट व्यक्तिगत मालकियत का है। इसने कर्तव्यपालन को तिलांजलि देकर अधिकार अथवा हक के विचार को स्थापित किया है। पूँजीवादी सभ्यता से फले-फूले बाजारवाद ने पूरी दुनिया को अपनी गिरफ्त में ले लिया है। बीच में कुछ समय के लिए कार्लमार्क्स के विचारों ने दुनिया को पूँजीवाद से मुक्त करने के लिए हलचल पैदा की, परंतु पूँजीवाद की प्रतिक्रिया में उपजा यह विचार कालांतर में स्वयं एक वाद में परिवर्तित हो गया। विकसित देशों में व्यक्तिगत मालकियत को बहुत अधिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त है। वहां के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक इत्यादि समस्त क्षेत्रों में अर्थ का प्रभुत्व है। इसलिए वहां अनेक पैमानों पर धनवानों की संपत्ति का आकलन करके उसे अंतर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित किया जाता है।

दुनियाभर के सत्ता प्रतिष्ठान, न्यायपालिका और कार्यपालिका आमजन की आधारभूत समस्याओं को हल करने में नाकाम साबित हो रहे हैं। इससे पनपने वाले विद्रोह और आतंक ने परिवार से लेकर राष्ट्रों तक को अशांति के गर्त में ढकेल दिया है। महात्मा गांधी ने अपने जीवनकाल में पश्चिमी सभ्यता की समस्याओं को बहुत नजदीक से देखा था और उन्होंने इसका हल ट्रस्टीशिप अथवा संरक्षकता के सिद्धांत में सुझाया था। इसी विचार को विनोबा ने आगे

बढ़ाते हुए मालकियत विसर्जन में रूपांतरित किया। भूदान आंदोलन की अंतिम परिणति तो मालकियत भाव मिटाने की है। इस आंदोलन में कम भूमिधारकों ने भी अपनी हैसियत के अनुसार दान दिया। महाभारतकाल में भगवान श्रीकृष्ण को दुर्योधन ने यह कहकर लौटा दिया था कि सुई की नोंक के बराबर भी जमीन नहीं मिलेगी, वहीं भूदान में 45 लाख एकड़ जमीन दान में मिली। टॉल्स्टाय ने भी अपने चिंतन में सुखी समाज के लिए मालकियत विसर्जन को मान्य किया।

आज भारतीय समाज को मालकियत विसर्जन के विचार की अत्यधिक आवश्यकता है। बाजार अपने विस्तार के लिए सबसे पहले स्थायी संपत्ति की तलाश करता है। उसकी नजरें हमेशा भूमि-भवन को देखती रहती हैं। अपनी जरूरतों की पूर्ति के लिए वह नैतिक-अनैतिक सभी तरह के हथकंडे इस्तेमाल करता है। बाजार के पास इतनी शक्तियां हैं कि वह पूरी दुनिया को अपनी ऊंगलियों पर मनचाहा नाच नचा रहा है। मालकियत विसर्जन में भोगवादी संस्कृति के खिलाफ सत्याग्रह की कुंजी छिपी है। इस कुंजी से संपत्ति को लेकर व्याप्त मोह के ताले को खोला जा सकता है। इसकी शुरुआत परिवार से होगी तो इस भावना का विस्तार ग्राम, जिले, राज्य, देश और दुनिया तक होगा।

भारतीय समाज में भोगवादी संस्कृति का विस्तार होने से वृद्धों की स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय हो गई है। उनके द्वारा पुरुषार्थ से अर्जित की गई संपत्ति पर परिवार के सदस्य दृष्टि गड़ाये रहते हैं। इसे लेकर अनेक बार अप्रिय वार्तालाप और उससे आगे जाकर अप्रिय कृत्य के समाचार प्रकाशित होते रहते हैं। वृद्धावस्था में असुरक्षा की भावना तीव्र हो जाती है। इससे उन्हें अपनी संपत्ति का मोह भी बढ़ जाता है। उनके मोह और पारिवारिक सदस्यों के लोभ से कलह पैदा होकर अशांति फैलती है। वृद्धाश्रम की बढ़ती संख्या इसी कलह का परिणाम है। जीवन के उत्तरार्ध में हरिभजन करने के स्थान पर वृद्धों

को कोर्ट—कचहरियों की सीढ़ियां चढ़ते—उतरते देखा जा सकता है। देश की अदालतों में लंबित दीवानी मुकदमों में सर्वाधिक मुकदमों संपत्ति विवाद के हैं। महात्मा गांधी के ट्रस्टीशिप और विनोबा के मालकियत विसर्जन के विचार में इसका हल निहित है। यदि वृद्ध अपने पुरुषार्थ द्वारा अर्जित संपत्ति को व्यक्तिगत ट्रस्ट में परिवर्तित कर दें तो इससे मोह भी छूटेगा और पारिवारिक कलह से भी मुक्ति मिलेगी। ट्रस्ट में मुख्य शर्त यही होगी कि पारिवारिक सदस्य उस संपत्ति का उपयोग कर सकते हैं, जीर्ण—शीर्ण होने पर उसका रखरखाव कर सकते हैं, पुनर्निर्माण कर सकते हैं, परंतु उस संपत्ति को बेचना या खरीदना निषिद्ध रहेगा। आज गांव और शहरों में संपत्ति को लेकर स्थिति में कोई विशेष फक्र नहीं है। सभी जगह भाई—बंटवारे के कारण अक्सर विवाद की स्थितियां निर्मित होती रहती हैं। यदि बाप—दादा अपनी संपत्ति से मोह कम कर इसका ट्रस्ट बना देंगे तो इससे ग्रामीण और शहरी क्षेत्र में संयुक्त परिवार बचेंगे। इसके समस्त कानूनी पहलुओं पर विचार करने की सख्त आवश्यकता है। समाज में बुजुर्गों की दशा सुधारने की दिशा में यह महत्वपूर्ण कदम होगा। सर्वोदय अथवा सत्य, प्रेम, करुणा, निर्भय, निर्वैर, निष्पक्ष विचार में विश्वास करने वाले मनुष्य इस व्यक्तिगत ट्रस्ट का नाम 'सर्वोदय—दंपत्ति ट्रस्ट' रख सकते हैं। विश्व में शांति—स्थापना की शुरुआत सत्ता प्रतिष्ठानों से नहीं बल्कि परिवार से होगी।

संदर्भ

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Narahari Parikh

न्यासिता : एक पुर्नव्याख्या

शंभू जोशी

महात्मा गांधी व्यावहारिक आदर्शवादी थे। अपने सम्पूर्ण जीवन में उन्होंने एक जीवन दृष्टि — या कहना चाहिए — अहिंसा दृष्टि के आधार पर चीजों को समझा और अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किए। उनकी यह अहिंसा दृष्टि एक विकासशील दृष्टि भी थी जो जीवन के हर नए अनुभवों से नवीन रूप व आयाम ग्रहण करती थी। गांधीजी की जीवन-दृष्टि को तो उसकी सम्पूर्णता में ही समझा जा सकता है। इस जीवन-दृष्टि के अनुसार जीवन समग्र है, अतः जीवन के विभिन्न आयामों को संचालित करने वाले नियम समान होने चाहिए। जीवन को समग्रता में देखने के कारण ही उन्होंने जीवन के विभिन्न आयामों को अहिंसा दृष्टि से संचालित करने का प्रयास किया। अहिंसा दृष्टि के कारण ही समाज को देखने, समस्याओं और समाधानों के प्रति उनकी दृष्टि अन्य विचारकों की तुलना में भिन्न थी। वह समाज को सम्पूर्ण आंगिक रूप (Organic Whole) में देखते थे, जहाँ हर कोई दूसरे अन्य के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। अतएव यह आवश्यक है कि सभी की उन्नति एक-दूसरे की उन्नति के जरिए ही प्राप्त की जाए। तब समाज के हर सदस्य का उत्थान ही समाज के उत्थान की कसौटी हो जाता है। यही कारण है कि गांधीजी आर्थिक क्षेत्र में भी अहिंसा दृष्टि के माध्यम से ऐसी अर्थव्यवस्था के निर्माण का प्रयास करते हैं जहां सबका अबाधित विकास हो सके। अहिंसक अर्थव्यवस्था में स्वदेशी और न्यासिता का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है।

श्रम-पूँजी संबंध के बारे में अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करते हुए गांधीजी दोनों के बीच सहयोग एवं पारस्परिकता की बात कहते हैं। ठीक उसी प्रकार स्वामित्व की समस्या पर विचार करते हुए ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धांत प्रस्तुत करते हैं। यह सिद्धांत उनके जीवन दर्शन से प्रसूत हैं जिसमें पूर्वी एवं पश्चिमी सांस्कृतिक विरासत है जो आध्यात्मिक एवं धार्मिक तथा अपनी प्रकृति में नैतिक एवं सामाजिक है।¹ अपने गहन एवं विस्तृत अध्ययन से गांधीजी ने स्वामित्व की समस्या का हल भगवद्गीता और उपनिषद के जरिए प्राप्त किया। ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धांत सत्य दृढ़हिंसा को आधार बनाकर स्वामित्व की पुनर्चना कर समाज में महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन को जन्म देता है। एक अध्येता के अनुसार गांधीजी का न्यासिता सिद्धांत सम्पूर्ण आर्थिक व्यवस्था के समाजीकरण के मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांत में सकारात्मक सुधार है।² प्रो. जे.डी.सेठी के अनुसार यह गांधीजी का सर्वाधिक मौलिक विचार था।³ भारतन कुमारप्पा ने गांधी विचार की विशिष्टता की ओर संकेत करते हुए लिखा कि गांधीजी की दृष्टि ज्यादा गहरी और सूक्ष्म थी। वह यह जानते थे कि युद्ध व हिंसा तब तक खत्म नहीं किए जा सकते हैं जब तक कि सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक जीवन में से हिंसा के बीजों को हटा न दिया जाए। वह व्यक्ति के भीतर और उसके चारों ओर व्याप्त वातावरण में उपस्थित हिंसा को जड़मूल से समाप्त करना चाहते थे, उनके उपाय ज्यादा क्रांतिकारी और दूरगामी है।⁴ हम कह सकते हैं कि ट्रस्टीशिप/न्यासिता इसी का हिस्सा है। गांधीजी ने स्वामित्व के विचार को भ्रामक एवं हिंसापूर्ण बताते हुए उसमें सुधार किया। तात्कालिक स्वामित्व विचार व्यक्ति को व्यक्ति और प्रकृति पर विशेषाधिकार प्रदान करते हुए मानवीय कानून और सामाजिक कायदों को अतिक्रमित करता है। यह अवधारणा समाज में शोषण, स्वार्थ, परिग्रह को आश्रय देते हुए संघर्ष को बढ़ाती है। अतएव उन्होंने इसे अहिंसक संघर्ष में तब्दील किया। उनका न्यासिता का सिद्धांत एक विकासशील सिद्धांत रहा है।

तार्किकता

गांधीजी द्वारा प्रस्तुत न्यासिता सिद्धांत के संबंध में गांधीजी ने अपनी आत्मकथा में लिखा कि ⁵ —

“गीता के अध्ययन के फलस्वरूप “ट्रस्टी” शब्द का अर्थ विशेष रूप से समझ में आया।”

गांधीजी के अनुसार ट्रस्टी या न्यासी वह है जो ट्रस्ट के अपने दायित्वों को ईमानदारी से और अपने आश्रितों के सर्वोपरि हित के लिए निभाता है। प्रो. अजीत के. दासगुप्ता के अनुसार अपने न्यासिता सिद्धांत के लिए गांधीजी ने तीन महत्वपूर्ण तर्क दिए हैं :

1. यह अहिंसा के सिद्धांत पर आधारित है ।
2. परोपकारिता और आत्महित को संयुक्त करना संभव है।
3. नैसर्गिक क्षमता/कौशल असमान रूप से वितरित है। उद्यमशीलता एवं कौशल का सही उपयोग समाज के लिए हितकर है।⁶

गांधीजी द्वारा प्रस्तुत न्यासिता सिद्धांत की तार्किकता को हम निम्न बिन्दुओं के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्त कर सकते हैं—

1. गांधीजी न्यासिता को “यज्ञ” की अवधारणा के साथ जोड़ते हैं। उनके लिए यज्ञ का अर्थ है:

“कोई ऐसा कृत्य जो फल की कामना के बगैर दूसरों के कल्याण के लिए किया गया हो, यह कृत्य लौकिक या आध्यात्मिक किसी भी प्रकार का हो सकता है... इसके अलावा मौलिक त्याग कोई ऐसा कृत्य होना चाहिए जो अधिकतम व्यापक क्षेत्र के अधिकतम जीवों का अधिकतम कल्याण करने वाला हो और जिसे अधिकतम स्त्री-पुरुष कम-से-कम कष्ट उठाकर कर सकते हों। तदनुसार किसी तथाकथित ऊँचे उद्देश्य के लिए किया गया कृत्य यदि एक जीव को

भी हानि पहुँचाने के उद्देश्य से किया गया हो तो वह यज्ञ नहीं कहला सकता, महायज्ञ तो और भी नहीं।”⁷

यह उद्धरण इस बात को इंगित करता है कि व्यक्ति स्वार्थ से ऊपर उठकर अन्य लोगों के हित में जब कार्य करता है तभी उसका कार्य त्यागपूर्ण होता है। स्मरण रखना होगा कि “सर्वोदय” के सिद्धांत के अनुसार सबकी भलाई में ही स्वयं की भलाई निहित है। परंतु सबकी भलाई स्वयंमेव नहीं हो सकती। इसका आधार हर व्यक्ति द्वारा अपने त्यागपूर्ण कर्म में है। न्यासिता का आधार भी यही त्याग है।

2. गांधीजी न्यासिता के आधार के रूप में “ईशोपनिषद्” के मंत्र “ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वं” की व्याख्या को प्रस्तुत करते हैं। वह कहते हैं—

“तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथाः” — अपनी संपत्ति का त्याग करके तू उसे भोग। इसको जरा विस्तार से समझा कर कहूँ तो यह कहूँगा: “तू करोड़ों खुशी से कमा। लेकिन समझ ले कि तेरा धन सिर्फ तेरा नहीं, सारी दुनिया का है, इसलिए जितनी तेरी सच्ची जरूरतें हों, उतनी पूरी करने के बाद जो बचे उसका उपयोग तू समाज के लिए कर।”⁸

गांधीजी इस मंत्र द्वारा एक तरह के “अनासक्त” स्वामित्व की अवधारणा लाते हैं।⁹ प्रो. नंदकिशोर आचार्य के अनुसार यज्ञ की अवधारणा और “ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वं” के माध्यम से गांधीजी स्वामित्व का एक ऐसा समाधान प्रस्तुत करते हैं जो केवल व्यक्तिगत सदाशयता पर निर्भर नहीं रहता बल्कि एक संस्थागत परिवर्तन बन जाता है।¹⁰ यह “अनासक्त” स्वामित्व अपनी बुनियादी जरूरतों को पूरा करने के पश्चात समाज के कल्याण हेतु समर्पित होना चाहिए।

3. गांधीजी न्यासिता के आधार के रूप में “अपरिग्रह एवं अस्तेय” के धार्मिक सिद्धांत को अर्थशास्त्रीय आयाम प्रदान करते हैं और उसे एक अहिंसक अर्थव्यवस्था की बुनियाद बनाते हैं। वह अपनी आवश्यकता से अधिक संग्रह करने को चोरी की संज्ञा देते हैं।
4. गांधीजी सामाजिक न्याय को न्यासिता विचार की स्थापना में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्रदान करते हैं। सामाजिक न्याय व्यक्तियों के बीच हर तरह की समानता का स्वीकार है। इसमें हर व्यक्ति को अवसर की समानता, मानवीय गरिमा, अपने सर्वांगीण विकास हेतु उचित वातावरण निर्माण, लाभ में समान भागीदारी इत्यादि बातें शामिल हैं। हर व्यक्ति को अपनी आजीविका कमाने और काम के अवसर का समान अधिकार सामाजिक न्याय की पूर्व शर्त कही जा सकती है।

उपर्युक्त आधारों पर यह स्पष्ट है कि गांधीजी समाज में विद्यमान असमानता को समाप्त करने हेतु एक अहिंसक आधार उपलब्ध कराते हैं। अपनी अहिंसा दृष्टि के जरिए वह स्वामित्व की अवधारणा में सार्थक बदलाव का रचनात्मक प्रयास करते हैं ।

चतुर्यामी प्रक्रिया

गांधीजी द्वारा प्रस्तुत न्यासिता सिद्धांत के क्रियात्मक पक्ष को अलग-अलग विद्वानों ने विभिन्न तरीके से व्याख्यायित किया है। प्रो.नंदकिशोर आचार्य ने इसके तीन आयाम बताए हैं— पूँजीपति, श्रमिक एवं राज्य।¹¹

गांधीजी द्वारा प्रस्तुत न्यासिता सिद्धांत एक चतुर्यामी कार्यक्रम है—



चित्र-1 चतुर्यामी प्रक्रिया

गांधीजी पूँजीपतियों, मिल मालिकों से यह उम्मीद करते हैं कि उन्हें एक न्यासी की तरह कार्य करना चाहिए। अपनी पूँजी को न्यास में तब्दील कर उसका प्रयोग समाज के हित में करना चाहिए। वह पूँजीपतियों से आह्वान करते हैं—

“मैं उन व्यक्तियों को जो आज अपने आप को मालिक समझ रहे हैं न्यासी रूप में काम करने के लिए आमंत्रित कर रहा हूँ अर्थात् यह आग्रह कर रहा हूँ कि वे स्वयं को अपने अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक न समझें, बल्कि उनके अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक समझें जिनका उन्होंने शोषण किया है।”¹²

गांधीजी पूँजीपतियों को यह अवसर देते प्रतीत होते हैं कि वे स्वयं तथा दूसरों के प्रति की जाने वाली हिंसा से मुक्त हो सकें। पूँजीपतियों का हृदय-परिवर्तन का विचार गांधी विचार की विशिष्टता है। इसका मूल इस अहिंसा दृष्टि में है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति सदगुण सम्पन्न है। कोई व्यक्ति ऐसा नहीं है जो सुधार से परे हो। गांधीजी की दृष्टि में मानव का स्वभाव परिवर्तित किया जा सकता है। मगर यह परिवर्तन हिंसक नहीं बल्कि अहिंसक प्रक्रिया द्वारा लाया जाना चाहिए।

इस बिंदु पर यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि क्या श्रमिक उस दिन की प्रतीक्षा करें कि कब पूँजीपतियों का हृदय परिवर्तन होगा और कब वे न्यासिता को स्वीकार करते हुए न्यासी बनेंगे? गांधीजी श्रमिकों से यह अपील करते हैं कि उन्हें पूँजीपतियों के हृदय परिवर्तन की अनंतकाल तक इंतजार करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यदि उन्हें ऐसा प्रतीत हो कि पूँजीपति उनके जायज हकों को स्वीकार नहीं कर रहा है तो वे बिना किसी परिवर्तन की प्रतीक्षा किए असहयोग, सविनय अवज्ञा का प्रयोग करते हुए सत्याग्रह की शुरुआत कर सकते हैं। सत्याग्रह किसी भी अन्याय के विरुद्ध अहिंसक संघर्ष का कारगर उपाय है। स्वयं गांधीजी ने इसका प्रयोग कर अन्याय के विरुद्ध संघर्ष किया। श्रम संगठनों के संबंध में जब गांधीजी शिक्षा की बात करते थे, वहाँ उनका अर्थ असहयोग व सविनय अवज्ञा की शिक्षा से भी था।¹³

गांधीजी **उपभोक्ता** को भी अपने न्यासिता सिद्धांत का हिस्सा बनाते हैं।¹⁴ उनके अनुसार श्रम-पूँजी आपस में एक-दूसरे का सहयोग करते हुए “न्यासी” बन जाएँ और समाज के कल्याण हेतु अपनी भूमिका अदा करें। दोनों मिलकर उपभोक्ता के न्यासी बनें ताकि समाज में सबके हितों का कल्याण हो सके। गांधीजी की दृष्टि में यदि औद्योगिक संबंध (श्रम-पूँजी संबंध) सामाजिक जीवन का ही एक भाग है तो वह व्यापक समाज के प्रति अपनी जिम्मेदारी से नहीं भाग सकता है। वह कहते हैं कि—

“... सच तो यह है कि तब पूँजीपति और श्रमिक एक दूसरे के न्यासी बन जाएँगे और दोनों मिलकर उपभोक्ताओं के संयुक्त न्यासी बन जाएँगे। मेरा न्यासिता का सिद्धांत, जैसाकि मैंने समझाया है, एक पारस्परिक और उभयपक्षी चीज है; इसमें प्रत्येक संबंधित पक्ष यही मानता है कि दूसरे पक्ष के हितों की रक्षा में ही उसका अपना सबसे अधिक हित है।”¹⁵

इसके साथ ही वह यह भी अपेक्षा करते हैं कि इसी न्यासी भाव में लाभांश, मजदूरी और कीमतों के बीच सामंजस्य स्थापित हो जाए। यह तभी संभव है जब श्रम-पूँजी एक-दूसरे के सहयोग के माध्यम से समाज की भलाई के लिए अपना लक्ष्य स्थापित करें वे कहते हैं;—

“एक ऐसा वक्त जरूर आयेगा और वह जल्द आए उतना ही अच्छा होगा— जब भागीदारों के लाभांश, मजदूरों की मजदूरी और उपभोक्ताओं द्वारा अदा की जाने वाली कीमतों के बीच समुचित सामंजस्य स्थापित हो जाएगा।”¹⁶

यह उद्धरण श्रम व पूँजी के उपभोक्ताओं के प्रति न्यासी बनने की प्रक्रिया का एक हिस्सा है। गांधीजी के लिए उचित कीमत निर्धारण दोनों पक्षों का समाज के प्रति दायित्व है। साथ ही वे यह भी प्रस्ताव करते हैं कि उपभोक्ता भी इसी व्यवस्था का हिस्सा है तब वह अपने उत्तरदायित्वों से कैसे विमुख हो सकता है? उनके अनुसार यदि

पूँजीपति का “हृदय परिवर्तन” न हो रहा हो, श्रमिक असहयोग, सविनय अवज्ञा आदि सत्याग्रह का प्रयोग कर रहा हो या न कर रहा हो, ऐसी स्थिति में उपभोक्ता का दायित्व है कि वह उन वस्तुओं का बहिष्कार करें जो शोषण से उत्पन्न की जा रही हो। अगर कोई वस्तु शोषण से उत्पन्न है तो उपभोक्ता का उस सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था के प्रति सत्याग्रह करना कर्तव्य हो जाता है। ऐसे में उपभोक्ता एक सत्याग्रही उपभोक्ता हो जाता है। समाज की भी यह जिम्मेदारी है कि वह स्वस्थ औद्योगिक संबंधों को स्थापित करे। समाज अपनी भूमिका से पलायन नहीं कर सकता है। अतः यदि कोई भी पक्ष स्वस्थ औद्योगिक संबंधों की स्थापना में बाधा उत्पन्न करता है तो उसके प्रति सत्याग्रह उपभोक्ता सहित सम्पूर्ण समाज का भी दायित्व स्वयंमेव हो जाता है।

गांधीजी का प्रारंभ से ही विचार था कि पूँजीपति स्वेच्छा पूर्वक न्यासिता को स्वीकार कर लें परंतु ऐसा न किए जाने पर वह राज्य के हस्तक्षेप को स्वीकार करते हैं। वह राज्य द्वारा कानून बनाकर न्यासिता कार्यक्रम को लागू करना प्रस्तावित करते हैं।¹⁷

महात्मा गांधी द्वारा स्वीकृत न्यासिता सूत्र¹⁸ पूँजीवाद को सिरे से खारिज करता है। गांधीजी व्यवहार में कुछ वृहद उद्योगों की संभावना भी देखते हैं। लेकिन इन वृहद उद्योगों का स्वामित्व राज्य के जरिए जनता का होगा।¹⁹ लोभ के स्थान पर प्रेम को कायम करना उनका उद्देश्य होगा।²⁰ इसी के साथ गांधीजी न्यासिता से जुड़े एक अन्य पहलू को भी स्पष्ट करते हुए कहते हैं कि “न्यासी का कोई वारिस नहीं होता, जनता ही उसकी वारिस होती है।”²¹ साथ ही यह भी कि न्यासी को अपनी सेवा और समाज के लिए उसके मूल्य को देखते हुए कमीशन मिलेगा, जिसकी दर का नियमन राज्य द्वारा किया जाएगा। उनकी संतान को उनके स्थान पर न्यासी बनने की आज्ञा तभी मिलेगी जबकि वे स्वयं को इसके योग्य सिद्ध कर सकेंगे।²² साथ ही गांधीजी का विचार था कि स्वतंत्र भारत में

न्यासिता नीचे से यानी ग्राम पंचायत के स्तर से प्रारंभ होनी चाहिए। इसके लिए जनता के बीच इसका अर्थ ले जाना इसके अनुकूल वातावरण निर्माण करना होगा ताकि यह एक सामूहिक पहल के जरिए स्वेच्छा से कानून रूप में तब्दील हो सके। ऊपर से आरोपित होने पर यह बोझ जैसा महसूस होगा।²³

हम यह कह सकते हैं कि न्यासिता संबंधी अधिकांश आलोचनाएं निम्नलिखित दो कारणों से उत्पन्न होती है—

1. न्यासिता सिद्धांत को उसकी सम्पूर्णता में न समझकर उसे हृदय परिवर्तन तक ही सीमित करना ।
2. इसकी अहिंसक प्रणाली ।

सम्पूर्ण विवेचन यह दर्शाता है कि औद्योगिक संबंधों एवं श्रम संघवाद पर गांधीजी ने एक सुव्यवस्थित सिद्धांत प्रस्तुत किया है जो सत्य एवं अहिंसा पर आधारित होने के कारण विशिष्ट है। इसीलिए वह कहते हैं—

*“न्यासिता” का मेरा सिद्धांत कोई कामचलाऊ सिद्धांत नहीं है— निश्चित रूप से यह कोई छद्मावरण नहीं है। मुझे पक्का विश्वास है कि अन्य सभी सिद्धांतों का लोप हो जाने के बाद भी यह सिद्धांत जीवित रहेगा।”*²⁴

साथ ही एक व्यावहारिक दृष्टिकोण अपनाते हुए भी वह कहते हैं कि—

“यूक्लिड की बिंदु की परिभाषा की तरह पूर्ण न्यासिता भी एक अमूर्त विचार है और इसे प्राप्त करना भी उतना ही असंभव है। लेकिन अगर हम उसके लिए प्रयास करते रहें तो हम धरती पर समानता स्थापित करने की दिशा में अन्य किसी उपाय की अपेक्षा

(न्यासिता के सिद्धांत पर आचरण करके) अधिक प्रगति कर सकते हैं।”²⁵

यह सिद्धांत अपने सत्य व अहिंसा के आधारों के कारण पूर्ववर्ती मार्क्सवादी एवं पूँजीवादी सिद्धांतों से पृथक् हो जाता है। कहीं-न-कहीं इसका मूल आधार मनुष्य एवं उसके प्रयोजन की व्याख्या में निहित है। न्यासिता अहिंसक प्रक्रिया को माध्यम बनाकर स्वामित्व परिवर्तन की पहल करता है जो स्वयं में क्रांतिकारी विचार है।

महात्मा गांधी का ट्रस्टीशिप सिद्धांत सत्ता, सम्पत्ति तथा एकाधिकार के खिलाफ एक प्रकार के जनवादी आंदोलन का प्रतीक है। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में महात्मा गांधी न तो पूँजीवादी नियंत्रण के पक्ष में है और न तो राज्य नियंत्रण के बहाने नौकरशाही के, क्योंकि दोनों का आधार शोषण एवं हिंसा है।²⁶ प्रो. राघवन अय्यर के अनुसार गांधीजी का न्यासिता सिद्धांत संपत्ति, मुद्रा, समय और कौशल के प्रति हमारे दृष्टिकोण को बदलता है।²⁷ गांधी विचार के विद्वान श्रीमन्नारायण ने ट्रस्टीशिप विचार की व्याख्या करते हुए इसमें सामाजिक अंकक्षण (सोशल ऑडिट) की अवधारणा को जोड़ा।²⁸ प्रो. जे.डी. सेठी के अनुसार न्यासिता के पीछे आधारभूत उद्देश्य एक अहिंसक एवं शोषणमुक्त संपत्ति संबंध बनाना है। यह संपत्ति या स्वामित्व का विरोधी नहीं है बल्कि सम्पत्ति की उत्पत्ति एवं प्रयोग के तरीकों पर ध्यान केंद्रित करता है। यह आवश्यकता आधारित उत्पादन, समानतापूर्ण वितरण और सामाजिक न्याय पर आश्रित है।²⁹

संदर्भ

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श्रीमन्ननारायण के अनुसार निजी क्षेत्र के लिए वित्तीय अंकेक्षण (फायनांसियल आडिट) की तरह समय-समय पर सामाजिक अंकेक्षण (सोशल आडिट) की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए जिससे जनता को इस क्षेत्र के सामाजिक एवं सृजनात्मक कार्य की

जानकारी हो सके। इसमें उपभोक्ता, श्रेयधारकों, श्रमिकों एवं मालिकों की वार्ता होनी चाहिए। इससे सार्वजनिक जवाबदेही तय की जा सकेगी।

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Jamnalal Bajaj with Gandhiji

ट्रस्टीशिप की अवधारणा

मिथिलेश कुमार

“संपत्ति और सत्य में सदा अनबन रही है और अंत तक रहेगी। जो संपत्ति से चिपकता है वह सत्य की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि सत्याग्रही के पास संपत्ति हो ही नहीं सकती। हो सकती है, किन्तु उसका पैसा उसका परमेश्वर नहीं बन सकता। सत्य का सेवन करते हुए पैसा रहे तो ठीक है, अन्यथा उसको हाथ का मैल समझकर त्यागने में एक पल के लिए भी झिझक न हो। जिसने अपना मन ऐसा बना लिया हो वही सच्चा सत्याग्रही हो सकता है। जिसने अपना मन ऐसा नहीं बनाया हो उससे सत्याग्रह हो ही नहीं सकता। इसके अतिरिक्त, जिस देश में राजा के विरुद्ध सत्याग्रह करना पड़ता है, उस देश में सत्याग्रही के पास संपत्ति होना मुश्किल बात है।...करोड़पति अरबपति होना चाहता है फिर भी उसे संतोष नहीं है। कंगाल करोड़पति होना चाहता है। कंगाल को भरपेट भोजन पर संतोष हो ही, ऐसा कम देखा जाता है। फिर भी उसे भरपेट भोजन पाने का हक और उसे इतना पाने योग्य बनाने का कर्तव्य समाज का है। संरक्षकता का सिद्धांत इसी कर्तव्य से संबंधित है।”¹

आर्थिक समानता गांधीजी के अहिंसक आंदोलन की कुंजी है। आर्थिक समानता के लिए काम करने का मतलब है कि पूँजी और श्रम के बीच के आपसी संघर्ष को समाप्त करना। इसे समाप्त करने के लिए गांधीजी ने जो सिद्धांत प्रतिपादित किये उसे संरक्षकता का

सिद्धांत या ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धांत (Theory of Trusteeship) कहा जाता है।

आर्थिक क्षेत्र में पायी जाने वाली असमानताओं को दूर करने के दो उपाय हैं।

1. साम्यवादी उपाय : इसके अंतर्गत राज्य धनवानों से जबरदस्ती धन छीनकर सर्वहित के कल्याण के लिए उसका उपयोग करें।
2. दूसरा उपाय यह है कि धनी लोग स्वेच्छा से अपने धन का उपयोग समाज के कल्याण के लिए करें तथा स्वयं को धन का मालिक नहीं, संरक्षक समझें।

चूँकि पहले उपाय में हिंसा की गुंजाइश अधिक है इसलिए गांधीजी दूसरे मत के समर्थक थे। गांधीजी के शब्दों में :

*"अहिंसक मार्ग यह है कि जितनी उचित आवश्यकता है उतना पूरा होने के बाद जो बचे उसका धनी, प्रजा की ओर से ट्रस्टी बन जाय।"*²

यहाँ आर्थिक समानता के अर्थ को समझ लेना भी उचित है। गांधीजी कहते हैं कि :

*"मेरी कल्पना की आर्थिक समानता का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि हरेक को अक्षरशः उसी मात्रा में कोई चीज मिले। इसका मतलब इतना ही है कि हरेक को अपनी आवश्यकता के लिए काफी मिल जाना चाहिए। मिसाल के लिए चींटी को हाथी से हजार गुणा कम खुराक चाहिए, परंतु यह असमानता का चिह्न नहीं है। इस प्रकार आर्थिक समानता का सच्चा अर्थ यह है कि सबको अपनी जरूरत के अनुसार मिले।"*³

यहाँ यह स्पष्ट करना जरूरी है कि हरेक की अपनी जरूरत कितनी है। इसका उत्तर देते हुए गांधी कहते हैं कि *"हरेक के पास इतनी संपत्ति होनी चाहिए जिससे वे अपनी कुदरती आवश्यकतायें पूरी कर सकें।"*⁴ फिर ये उसके अपने विवेक पर निर्भर है कि उसकी कुदरती आवश्यकतायें कितनी हैं। इसलिए गांधीजी ने इसको

नैतिकता के साथ जोड़ा है। ट्रस्टीशिप के सिद्धांत को न्यासिता का सिद्धांत भी कहा जाता है। गांधीजी ने न्यासिता के सिद्धांत को यज्ञ की अवधारणा से जोड़ा है। इशोपनिषद् के 'ईशा वास्यमिदम् सर्वं' मंत्र की व्याख्या करते हुए गांधीजी का निष्कर्ष था कि सभी कुछ ईश्वर को समर्पित कर देने का आह्वान ही यज्ञ का मूल प्रयोजन है।

इसी प्रकार जब सभी कार्यों के फलों का स्वामी हम अन्य को समझ लेते हैं तो हम एक प्रकार के न्यासी हो जाते हैं। इस प्रकार न्यासिता एक प्रकार का अनासक्त स्वामित्व है।

गांधीजी 'तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद् धनम्' मंत्र का सहारा लेते हुए कहते हैं कि—

"तू करोड़ों खुशी से कमा लेकिन समझ ले कि तेरा धन सिर्फ तेरा नहीं, सारी दुनिया का है, इसलिए जितनी तेरी सच्ची जरूरत हो उतनी पूरी करने के बाद जो बचे उसका उपयोग तू समाज के लिए कर।"⁶

गांधीजी यंग इंडिया के 26 नवम्बर, 1931 के अंक में लिखते हैं :

*"I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent. But the bulk of his greater earning must be used for the goods of the state] just as the income of all coming sons of the father goes to the common family fund. They would have their earnings only as trustees."*⁶

इसी बात को और भी अच्छे ढंग से समझाते हुए गांधीजी लिखते हैं कि:

"समाज की मेरी जो कल्पना है वह यह कि हम पैदा तो समान होते हैं परंतु हम सबकी क्षमता एक सी नहीं होती। प्रकृति की रचना ही, ऐसी है कि क्षमता एक सी हो नहीं सकती इसलिए कुछ लोग कमाने की योग्यता अधिक रखते हैं और कुछ कम। बुद्धिशाली की योग्यता अधिक होती है। वे अपनी बुद्धि का इस्तेमाल अधिक कमाने के लिए करेंगे। लेकिन यदि वे उपकार की भावना रखकर

बुद्धि का उपयोग करेंगे तो राज्य का ही काम करेंगे। ऐसे लोग ट्रस्टी बन कर रह सकते हैं।”⁷

गांधीजी की मान्यता थी कि आर्थिक साधनों पर स्वामित्व रखने वाले पूँजीपतियों और भूमि मालिकों को एक न्यासी की तरह व्यवहार करना चाहिए। गांधीजी मानते थे कि केवल न्यासिता के द्वारा ही आर्थिक समानता कायम हो सकती है। पूँजीपतियों का आह्वान करते हुए वे कहते हैं कि :

“मैं उन व्यक्तियों को जो आज अपने आपको मालिक समझ रहे हैं, न्यासी के रूप में काम करने के लिए आमंत्रित कर रहा हूँ। अर्थात् यह आग्रह कर रहा हूँ कि वे स्वयं को अपने अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक न समझें, बल्कि उनके अधिकार की बदौलत मालिक समझें जिन का उन्होंने शोषण किया है।”⁸

गांधीजी के इस कथन में यह ध्वनि भी निकलती है कि न्यासिता एक प्रकार से मालिकों द्वारा शोषण से उत्पन्न पाप का प्रायश्चित भी है। इस प्रकार गांधीजी मालिकों के नैतिक बोध को जागृत करने का प्रयास करते हैं। उनके अनुसार

“जैसा कोई धर्म के अनुकूल आचरण नहीं करता है तो यह धर्म की नहीं संदर्भित व्यक्ति की कमजोरी है, उसी प्रकार यदि धनवान लोग न्यासिता के सिद्धांत के अनुसार काम नहीं करते तो इससे सिद्धांत की नहीं, धनवानों की दुर्बलता सिद्ध होती है।”⁹

गांधीजी अपनी पुस्तक संरक्षकता का सिद्धांत में कहते हैं:

“यह प्रकृति का निश्चित बुनियादी नियम है कि वह रोज उतना ही पैदा करती है जितना हमें चाहिए और यदि हरेक आदमी जितना उसे चाहिए उतना ही ले, उससे ज्यादा न ले, तो इस दुनिया में गरीबी नहीं रहेगी और एक भी आदमी इस दुनिया में भूखा नहीं मरेगा मैं समाजवादी नहीं हूँ और जिसके पास संपत्ति का संचय है उनसे मैं संपत्ति छीनता नहीं चाहता। लेकिन मैं जरूर कहता हूँ कि हममें से जो लोग अंधेरे से बाहर निकलकर

प्रकाश का दर्शन करना चाहते हैं, उन्हें व्यक्तिगत तौर पर इस नियम का पालन करना चाहिए क्योंकि मैं कोई ऐसी चीज लेता और रखता हूँ जिसकी मुझे अपने किसी तात्कालिक उपयोग के लिए जरूरत नहीं है, तो मैं किसी दूसरे से उसकी चोरी ही करता हूँ।”¹⁰

ट्रस्टीशिप की अवधारणा को समझाते हुए गांधीजी कहते हैं कि एक सच्चा ट्रस्टी वह है जो आत्म संवेदनशील हो, जो उत्तरदायित्वों के निर्वाह में निपुण हो, जो नैतिक रूप से उच्च हो तथा जिसका आंतरिक और बाह्य जीवन खुला हो।

गांधीजी से जब यह पूछा गया कि क्या ट्रस्टीशिप या संरक्षकता का सिद्धांत कानून की एक कल्पना मात्र है, व्यवहार में उसका कोई अस्तित्व दिखाई नहीं पड़ता। तो इसके जवाब में गांधी जी कहते हैं :

“यदि लोग इस पर सतत विचार करें और उसे आचरण में उतारने की कोशिश भी करते रहें, तो मानव जाति के जीवन की नियामक शक्ति के रूप में प्रेम की जितनी सत्ता आज दिखाई देती है उससे अधिक दिखाई देगी। बेशक, पूर्ण संरक्षकता तो युक्लिड की बिंदू की व्याख्या की तरह एक कल्पना ही है और उतनी ही अप्राप्त भी। लेकिन यदि हम उसके लिए कोशिश करें तो दुनिया में समानता की सिद्धि की दिशा में हम दूसरे किसी उपाय से जितने आगे जा सकेंगे उसके बजाय इस उपाय से ज्यादा आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।”¹¹

उपरोक्त कथन से अक्सर लोगों को यह ध्वनित होता है कि मालिकों का हृदय परिवर्तन ही एकमात्र उपाय है। इससे यह भ्रम भी पुष्ट होता है कि न्यासिता का सिद्धांत एक आदर्श सिद्धांत है उसे व्यवहारिक रूप नहीं दिया जा सकता। लेकिन हम अक्सर यह भूल जाते हैं कि समझाना-बुझाना या शिक्षण एक उपाय है, एकमात्र उपाय नहीं। न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त को व्यावहारिक रूप देने के लिए महात्मा गांधी त्रिआयामी योजना प्रस्तावित करते हैं।

पहले चरण में गांधीजी श्रमिकों से अनुरोध करते हैं कि यदि मालिक उनके अभिभावकों की तरह व्यवहार करने को तैयार न हों

तो उन्हें मालिकों के प्रति असहयोग और सविनय अवज्ञा का सहारा लेना चाहिए। गांधीजी कहते हैं कि, जिन उपायों को ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य जैसी शक्ति के विरुद्ध काम में लिया जा सकता है, उन्हें पूँजीपतियों के शोषण और अन्याय के विरुद्ध काम में क्यों नहीं काम में लिया जा सकता?

दूसरे चरण में वह उपभोक्ताओं से आग्रह करते हैं कि जिस वस्तु में शोषण है उस वस्तु का बहिष्कार किया जाय। इससे पूँजीपतियों के हौसले पस्त होंगे और आर्थिक समानता लाने में मदद मिलेगी।

तीसरे और अंतिम चरण में गांधीजी राज्य से भी इस संबंध में कुछ सक्रियता की आशा रखते हैं। यद्यपि वह जहाँ तक संभव हो पूँजीपतियों द्वारा स्वेच्छापूर्वक न्यासिता पर अमल को ही वरीयता देते हैं और कहते हैं :

*“हम न तो पूँजीपति को नष्ट करना चाहते हैं और न पूँजीवाद को। हम इन्हें निमंत्रण देते हैं कि वह अपने को उन लोगों का संरक्षक माने जिनके परिश्रम पर वह अपनी पूँजी को बनाने, कायम रखने तथा बढ़ाने के लिए आश्रित है।”*¹²

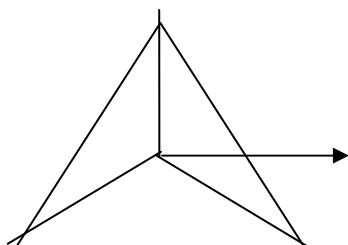
लेकिन पूँजीपतियों द्वारा किसी हृदय-परिवर्तन का प्रमाण न मिलने पर वह राज्य से भी यह आग्रह करते हैं कि वह कानून द्वारा न्यासिता के कार्यक्रम को लागू करे। इस संदर्भ में गांधी जी कहते हैं:

“मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता होगी अगर लोग न्यासी के रूप में आचरण करें, लेकिन यदि वह ऐसा नहीं कर पाते तो हमें राज्य के जरिये न्यूनतम हिंसा का प्रयोग करते हुए उन्हें उनकी संपत्ति से वंचित करना होगा। इसीलिए मैंने गोलमेज सम्मेलन में कहा था कि प्रत्येक न्यस्त हित की जाँच-पड़ताल की जानी चाहिए और जहाँ आवश्यक हो, राज्यसात्करण के आदेश दिये जायें। जिनकी सम्पत्ति का राज्यसात्कार करना हो, उन्हें मुआवजा दिया जाये या नहीं, इसका निर्णय हर मामले की तफसील पर गौर करके किया जाय। मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से तो इस बात को तरजीह

दूँगा कि राज्य के हाथों में शक्ति के केन्द्रीकरण के बजाय न्यासिता की भावना का विस्तार किया जाय क्योंकि, मेरी सम्मति में, निजी स्वामित्व की हिंसा राज्य की हिंसा से कम हानिकारक है। लेकिन अपरिहार्य हो तो मैं न्यूनतम राज्य स्वामित्व का समर्थन करूँगा”¹³

यहाँ यह बात ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए कि राज्य के समर्थन के बिना किसी भी तरह का उद्योगवाद और पूँजीवाद पनप ही नहीं सकता है। आधुनिक उद्योगों के लिए कई तरह की राजकीय सुविधाओं और सार्वजनिक संसाधनों की आवश्यकता होती है जिन्हें राज्य द्वारा निजी उद्योगों को मुहैया करवाया जाता है। इसी प्रकार सभी उद्योग पर्यावरण को हानि पहुँचाते हैं जो उनकी निजी सम्पत्ति नहीं है और राज्य की अनुमति के बिना उन्हें ऐसा करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। यदि राज्य हिंसा का न्यूनतम भी प्रयोग न करें और केवल असहयोग करे तब भी पूँजीपतियों को न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त को मानने के लिए प्रेरित किया जा सकता है और इसे हिंसा नहीं कहा जा सकता क्योंकि कोई भी हिंसक व्यक्ति या संस्था किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति या संस्था से उसके ही विरुद्ध की जाने वाली हिंसा में सहयोग लेने की नैतिक अधिकारी नहीं है। वास्तविक लोकतांत्रिक राज्य सत्याग्रही भी होता है, इसलिए कम से कम पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था के खिलाफ सत्याग्रह तो उसका नैतिक कर्तव्य है, हिंसा नहीं।

इस प्रकार गांधीजी के त्रियामी योजना को अगर एक रेखाचित्र के माध्यम से व्यक्त करें तो वह कुछ इस प्रकार होगा



मजदूर + उपभोक्ता

(असहयोग, सविनय अवज्ञा बहिष्कार)

पूँजीपति (हृदय परिवर्तन, लोकशिक्षण)

ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धान्त:

: समाज कल्याण

स्वामित्व— का वितरण

राज्य (न्यूनतम हिंसा का प्रयोग करते हुए कानून बनाकर)

कानून बनाकर न्यासिता के सिद्धांत को लागू करने के प्रयोजन से एक 'सरल और व्यावहारिक न्यासिता सूत्र' जिसे मूलतः प्रो. एम. एल. दाँतवाला ने तैयार किया था, किशोर लाल मश्रुवाला और नरहरि पारिख द्वारा गांधीजी को भेजा गया। जिसे किंचित संशोधनों के साथ गांधीजी ने अनुमोदित कर दिया था। इस व्यावहारिक सूत्र में छः बिन्दु हैं :—

1. न्यासिता समाज की वर्तमान पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था को समतावादी व्यवस्था में रूपान्तरित करने का एक साधन है। न्यासिता पूँजीवाद को बख्शाती नहीं है, पर वह वर्तमान मालिक वर्ग को सुधार का एक अवसर प्रदान करती है। यह इस विश्वास के साथ है कि मानव प्रकृति कभी सुधार से परे नहीं होती।
2. यह निजी स्वामित्व के किसी अधिकार को नहीं मानती, सिवा उसके जिसकी अनुमति समाज अपने कल्याण के लिए दे।
3. यह धन संपत्ति के स्वामित्व और उपयोग के कानूनी विनियमन की वर्जना नहीं करती।
4. तदनुसार राज्य द्वारा विनियमित न्यासिता के तहत, कोई व्यक्ति अपनी स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिए अथवा समाज के हितों की अनदेखी करते हुए अपनी संपत्ति को धारण करने अथवा उसके इस्तेमाल करने के लिए स्वतंत्र नहीं होगा।
5. जिस प्रकार एक समुचित न्यूनतम निर्वाह मजदूरी तय करने का प्रस्ताव है, उसी तरह समाज में व्यक्ति की अधिकतम आय भी नियत कर देनी चाहिए। न्यूनतम और अधिकतम आयों के बीच जो अंतर हो वह युक्ति संगत और न्यायोचित हो और उसमें समय-समय पर इस दृष्टि से परिवर्तन हो कि अन्ततः वह मिट जाय।
6. गांधीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था में उत्पादन का स्वरूप, व्यक्तिगत सनक या लोभ द्वारा नहीं, सामाजिक आवश्यकता द्वारा निर्धारित होंगें¹⁸

इस व्यावहारिक सूत्र के अनुमोदन से कुछ माह पूर्व ही गांधीजी ने हरिजन में लिखा था कि न्यासिता के सिद्धान्त के अंतर्गत मालिकों

को अपनी सेवा और समाज के लिए उसके मूल्य को देखने हुए कमीशन मिलेगा जिसकी दर का नियमन राज्य द्वारा किया जायेगा।

उत्तराधिकारी के संबंध में पूछे जाने पर गांधीजी कहते हैं कि उनके बच्चों को उनके स्थान पर न्यासी बनने की आज्ञा तभी मिलेगी जबकि वे स्वयं को इसके योग्य सिद्ध कर सकेंगे।¹⁹

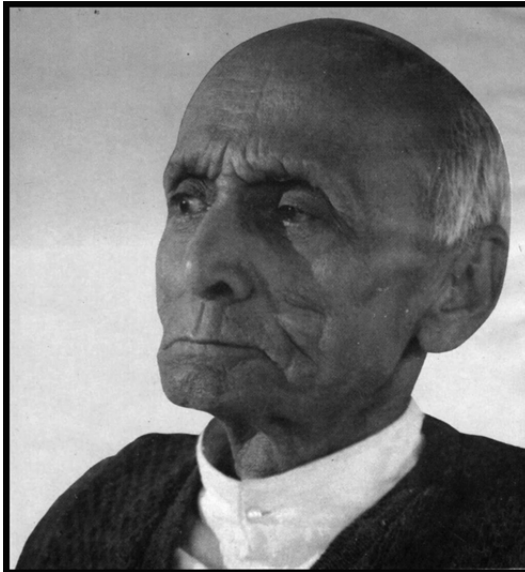
इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ बड़े उद्योगों को गांधीजी सीधे राज्य के नियंत्रण में ही रखने के पक्ष में थे। कुछ बड़े उद्योगों की आवश्यकता को मानने हुए उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा था :

“जिन उद्योगों में बड़ी संख्या में लोग एक साथ काम करते हों, वे राजकीय स्वामित्व में होने चाहिए। इनमें कुशल और अकुशल दोनों ही प्रकार के श्रमिक राज्य के माध्यम से अपने उत्पादों के स्वामी होंगे...ऐसे उद्योग नफे के लिए नहीं बल्कि लोगों के भले के लिए हों। लोभ की जगह प्रेम को कायम करने का उसका उद्देश्य हो”¹⁴

निष्कर्षतः कहा जा सकता है कि गांधीजी द्वारा प्रस्तुत ट्रस्टिशिप का सिद्धान्त स्वामित्व से संबंधित सिद्धान्त है। लोभ के नियम के बरक्स प्रेम का नियम ही इसकी मूल प्रेरणा है। ठोस आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं की कहीं भी अनदेखी न करते हुए यह सिद्धान्त सत्य और अहिंसा की मूल प्रेरणाओं को सदैव केन्द्र में रखता है। इसका उद्देश्य सिर्फ आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करना नहीं बल्कि मनुष्य का नैतिक-आध्यात्मिक विकास करना हो जाता है। अहिंसक स्वामित्व विकसित करने की अहिंसक प्रक्रिया के दिशा-निर्देशों द्वारा महात्मा गांधी हमें बार-बार यह स्मरण कराते हैं कि हम केवल आर्थिक-प्राणी या उपभोक्ता मात्र नहीं हैं। यदि हम अपने वास्तविक आत्मा को नहीं भूलें तो हमारी आर्थिक आवश्यकताएँ हमारे नैतिक विकास में कहीं भी आड़ें नहीं आती हैं। इसके साथ-साथ हमारी प्रत्येक आर्थिक क्रिया एक प्रकार की आध्यात्मिक साधना भी है यदि हम यह स्मरण रखें कि हम इस समग्र से अलग नहीं, इसी के अंश हैं।

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Dada Dharmadhikari

PART – III

Appendices

Whether crores can be earned by legitimate means?

Shankarrao Deo raised the following question before Gandhi:

“In the last issue of Harijan, in your article ‘A Deplorable Incident’, you say to the rich: ‘Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.’ When I read this, the first question that arose in my mind was: Why first earn crores and then use them for society? As society today is constituted the means of earning crores are bound to be impure; and one who earns crores by impure means cannot be expected to follow the mantram: *Tena tyaktena bhunjita* because in the very process of earning crores by impure means the man’s character is bound to be tainted or vitiated. And moreover you have always been emphasizing the purity of means. But I am afraid that there is a possibility of people misunderstanding that you are laying an emphasis here more on the ends than on the means.

I request you to emphasize as much, if not more, the purity of means of earning money as on spending. If purity of means is strictly observed, then, according to me, crores could not be accumulated at all and the difficulty of spending for society will assume a very minor prospect.”

I must demur. Surely a man may conceivably make crores through strictly pure means, assuming that a man may legitimately possess riches. For the purpose of my argument, I have assumed that private possession itself is not held to be

impure. If I own a mining lease and I tumble upon a diamond of rare value, I may suddenly find myself a millionaire without being held guilty of having used impure means. This actually happened when Cullinan diamond, much more valuable than the Kohinoor, was found. Such instances can be easily multiplied. My argument was surely addressed to such men. I have no hesitation in endorsing the proposition that generally rich men and for that matter most men are not particular as to the way they make money. In the application of the method of non-violence, one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in human beings and expect response. Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, only not for personal aggrandizement but for the good of all? We do not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish. I therefore suggest that my advice that moneyed men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound. *Tena tyaktena bhunjita* is a *mantra* based on uncommon knowledge. It is the surest method to evolve a new order of life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbour.

M. K. Gandhi

Harijan, 22-2-1942

Gandhi's interview with Nirmal Kumar Bose¹

Q. Is love or non-violence compatible with possession or exploitation in any shape or form? If possession and non-violence cannot go together, then do you advocate the maintenance of private ownership of land or factories at an unavoidable evil which will continue so long as individuals are not ripe or educated enough to do without it? If it be such a step, would it not be better to own all the land through the State and place the State under the control of the masses?

A. Love and exclusive possession can never go together. Theoretically when there is perfect love, there must be perfect non-possession. The body is our last possession. So a man can only exercise perfect love and be completely dispossessed, if he is prepared to embrace death and renounce his body for the sake of human service.

But that is true in theory only. In actual life, we can hardly exercise perfect love, for the body as a possession will always remain with us. Man will ever remain imperfect, and it will always be his part to try to be perfect. So that perfection in love or non-possession will remain an unattainable ideal, as long as we are alive, but towards which we must ceaselessly strive.

Those who own money now are asked to behave like trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor. You may say that trusteeship is a legal fiction. But if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present. Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point,

and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth than by any other method.

Q. If you say that private possession is incompatible with non-violence, why do you put up with it?

A. That is a concession one has to make to those who earn money but who would not voluntarily use their earnings for the benefit of mankind.

Q. Why then not has State-ownership in place of private property and thus minimize violence?

A. It is better than private ownership. But that too is objectionable on the ground of violence. It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself, and will fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship.

Q. Let us come to a specific instance. Supposing an artist leaves certain pictures to a son who does not appreciate their value for the nation and sells them or wastes them, so that the nation stands to lose something precious through one person's folly. If you are assured that the son would never be a trustee in the sense in which you would like him to be, do you not think the State would be justified in taking away those things from him with the minimum use of violence?

A. Yes, the State will, as a matter of fact, take away those things, and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum of

violence. But the fear is always there that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it. I would be very happy indeed if the people concerned behaved as trustees; but if they fail, I believe we shall have to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence. That is why I said at the Round Table Conference that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary with or without compensation as the case demanded.

What I would personally prefer would be not a centralization of power in the hands of the State, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership.

Q. Then, sir, shall we take it that the fundamental difference between you and the Socialists is that you believe that men live more by self-direction or will than by habit, and they believe that men live more by habit than by will; that being the reason why do you strive for self-correction while they try to build up a system under which men will find it impossible to exercise their desire for exploiting others?

A. While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. We know of so many cases where men

have adopted trusteeship, but none where the State has really lived for the poor.

Q. But have not those cases of trusteeship which you sometimes cite been due to your personal influence rather than to anything else? Teachers like you come infrequently. Would it not be better, therefore, to trust to some organization to effect the necessary changes in man, rather than depend upon the casual advent of men like yourself?

A. Leaving me aside, you must remember that the influence of all great teachers of mankind has outlived their lives. In the teachings of each prophet like Mohammed, Buddha or Jesus, there was a permanent portion and there was another which was suited to the needs and requirements of the times. It is only because we try to keep up the permanent with the impermanent aspects of their teachings that there is so much distortion in religious practice today. But that apart, you can see that the influence of these men has sustained us after they have passed away. Moreover, what I disapprove of is an organization based on force which a State is. Voluntary organization there must be.

The Hindustan Times, 17-10-1935

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1. Nirmal Kumar Bose met Gandhi on November 9 and 10, 1934. The report was published after correction by Gandhi.

वाणिज्य धर्म और ट्रस्टीशिप

शायद भारत ही ऐसा देश है कि जहाँ पर व्यापार एक सुव्यवस्थित धर्म माना गया है। प्रामाणिकता, सत्यनिष्ठा धर्म है, यह मानी हुई बात है। परंतु व्यापार ही स्वयमेव एक धर्म है, इस बात का भान इसी देश में समाज को कराया गया। गीता में कहा गया — कृषिगौरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम्। मतलब, शास्त्रकारों ने यह बात आदेश के तौर पर कही कि अध्ययन करनेवाले मनुष्य को जो मोक्ष प्राप्त होता है, वैसा ही मोक्ष निष्काम और सेवा-बुद्धि से व्यापार करनेवाले वैश्य को भी प्राप्त होता है। मतलब, एक समाज-सेवा-परायण व्यापारी एक साधक और भक्त की श्रेणी में दाखिल है। इतनी जिम्मेवारी और प्रतिष्ठा भारत में धर्मशास्त्र द्वारा व्यापारियों को दी गयी।

हिंदुस्तान में जो आध्यात्मिक विचार चला, उसमें दयाभाव का विशेष अंश था। अन्य प्राणियों के लिए मानवों को प्रीति होनी चाहिए, इसलिए यहां के लोगों ने मांसाहार-परित्याग का प्रयोग किया। वह घटना दुनिया के दूसरे देशों में नहीं घटी। वहाँ व्यक्तिगत शाकाहारी लोग मिलेंगे, परंतु पूरी की पूरी जमात मांसाहार-निवृत्त हुई हो, ऐसा नहीं दीखता। भारत में ऐसी जमातों में ज्यादातर वैश्य और व्यापारी हैं। यह हिंसा और दया का विचार विशेषतः जैन धर्म में फैला और भक्तिमार्ग ने इसे उठा लिया। इसका व्यापारी वर्ग पर बहुत प्रभाव हुआ और उन्होंने मांसाहार छोड़ दिया। हम इसे छोटी बात नहीं समझते। यह एक महान प्रयोग है और इसके पीछे विशेष ही अनुभव है। शास्त्रकारों ने व्यापारियों के प्रति जो विश्वास दिखाया, उसका परिणाम हिंदुस्तान के व्यापारी-वर्ग पर इस तरह हुआ। साथ-साथ यह बात भी है कि हमारी समाजरचना, विशेषतः आर्थिक रचना इतनी गलत हो गयी है कि मनुष्य चाहे न चाहे, निष्ठुर बन जाता है। परंतु मांसाहार-त्याग दयाभाव का ही लक्षण है।

इस दयाभाव के उपरांत व्यापारीवर्ग में व्यवस्था शक्ति भी है, जो सभी देशों के व्यापारियों की विशेषता है। तो सर्वत्र उपलब्ध व्यवस्था शक्ति का गुण और अपने देश का विशेष दया का गुण, ये दोनों गुणोंवाले हमारे व्यापारी अपने देश के लिए बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं।

आज हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हमें समाजवादी रचना करनी है, इस वास्ते 'प्राइवेट सेक्टर' कम होना चाहिए और 'पब्लिक सेक्टर' बढ़ना चाहिए। हम यह भेद समझ नहीं पाते। सर्वोदय में इस विचार की कोई कीमत नहीं है। अगर कोई हमसे पूछे कि हाथ के काम को ज्यादा महत्व है या उंगली के काम को, तो हम क्या जवाब देंगे? यह जो हाथ है वह 'पब्लिक सेक्टर' है और अंगुलियां 'प्राइवेट सेक्टर' है। अगर व्यापारी की करुणा बुद्धि और व्यवस्था शक्ति लोगों की सेवा में लगती है, तो वे जो भी खाजगी काम करेंगे, वे पूरे तौर पर सामूहिक होंगे।

इससे व्यापारियों को डरने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। उन्हें आगे आकर कहना चाहिए कि आप क्या समाजवादी रचना करेंगे? वह रचना तो हम करनेवाले हैं। हम अपने कुल उद्योग सेवा के लिए करेंगे। हमारे पेट के लिए जितना मेहनताना चाहिए, उतना लेंगे। उसका भी हिसाब हम जनता के सामने पेश करेंगे और जनता की टीका में जो सत्य होगा, उसे दुरुस्त करने को तैयार रहेंगे।

एक व्यापारी भाई ने मुझे कहा था कि यह बात हमारे लिए कठिन नहीं है क्योंकि हमारा जीवन काफी सादगी से चलता है। दुनिया के व्यापारी जैसे ऐशो-आराम और शान-शौकत से रहते हैं, वैसे हम नहीं रहते। हिन्दुस्तान के व्यापारियों की यह सादगी और एक विशेषता है।

बड़े-बड़े उद्योग यदि दो-पाँच लोगों के हाथ में हों, तो उसमें जोखिम है। खाजगी मालिकी होगी, तभी मालिकों को प्रेरणा मिलेगी, यह मानना बिलकुल खुला अधर्म-विचार है। जैसे जमीन की मिलकियत गांव की हो, वैसे बड़े-बड़े उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो, उसी को मैं धर्मव्यवस्था मानता हूँ। अपने पास जो बुद्धि, संपत्ति है, वह समाज के लिए है, ऐसा धर्म-विचार फैलेगा, तो सबकी अकल का लाभ राष्ट्र को मिलेगा। इसलिए अब उद्योगपतियों को आगे आकर अपने उद्योग का ट्रस्ट बना कर अपनी शक्ति का उपयोग

देश के लाभ में करना चाहिए। यह 'ट्रस्ट' यानी विश्वसनीयता है। शास्त्रकारों ने महाजनों की इतनी प्रतिष्ठा की है, उनके बिना किसी का काम नहीं चलता, उनके मन में करुणा है, व्यवस्था शक्ति और सादगी है, फिर भी आज उन्हें गालियाँ मिलती हैं। ऐसा क्यों, इसका चिंतन व्यापारियों को करना चाहिए। हिंदुस्तान के व्यापारियों के सामने एक मौका है। वैश्यवृत्ति को करुणा का राज्य बनाने का मौका है।

विश्वास: तीसरी शक्ति

विश्वास शक्ति के बिना साम्ययोग की स्थापना ही नहीं होगी। एक जमाना था जब भारत में महाजनों पर विश्वास था। किसी के पास पाँच हजार रुपये हैं, उसको बद्री-केदार जाना है, वह महाजन के पास रख देता था। दो साल के बाद वह जब वापस आयेगा तब महाजन उसे मूल रकम के साथ उसका ब्याज भी देता था और यात्रा कर के आया है इसलिए प्रणाम भी करता था। और यदि वह वापस आया ही नहीं तो उसके लडकों को बुला कर पूरी रकम ब्याज सहित दे देता था। यह भारत की संस्कृति है। भारत में महाजनों पर अत्यंत विश्वास था। समाज के विविध घटकों के बीच अन्योन्य विश्वास ही दुनिया के बचाव के लिए साधन है। इसी लिए हमने कहा है—

“वेदांतो विज्ञानं विश्वासश्चेति शक्तयस्तिस्त्र : ...”

‘ट्रस्ट’ के लिए संस्कृत शब्द है — विश्वास। और ‘ट्रस्टीशिप’ को कहेंगे विश्वस्त-वृत्ति। महाजनों की शक्ति बढ़ेगी, विश्वास शक्ति से। मैंने महाजनों के लिए एक समीकरण बनाया है। आज चर्चा चलती है दुनिया में, एक प्राइवेट सेक्टर और एक पब्लिक सेक्टर। प्राइवेट सेक्टर 50 प्रतिशत हो। पब्लिक सेक्टर 50 प्रतिशत हो। और $50+50=100$ । देश की प्रगति ज्यादा होगी तो क्या होगा? प्राइवेट सेक्टर 40 प्रतिशत पब्लिक सेक्टर 60 प्रतिशत होगा। 40 और 60 मिल कर 100 होगा। इस तरह होते-होते आखिर $0+100=100$ होगा। यह आदर्श है। यानी तब प्राइवेट सेक्टर जीरो शून्य हो जायेगा, बिग जीरो (बड़ा शून्य), छोटा जीरो नहीं। और पब्लिक सेक्टर 100 होगा। यह आज की चिंतन पद्धति है। लेकिन मेरा अरिथमेटिक दूसरा है। मैं गणितशास्त्र उत्तम जानता हूँ। मैंने गणित

किया है, $100+100=100$ होना चाहिए। और दोनों मिल कर 100 हो। मतलब, प्राइवेट सेक्टर ही पब्लिक सेक्टर हो जाये। इसी के लिए ट्रस्टीशिप का विचार आया।

ट्रस्टीशिप के विचार में संपूर्ण वैचारिक क्रांति निहित है। हमारी सारी शक्ति समाज को समर्पित कर के अपनी आवश्यकता के मुताबिक लेना, यह साम्ययोग है। सेवा की कीमत पैसे से नहीं की जाती। माँ की सेवा का पैसे में क्या मूल्य करेंगे? आज समाज में 'पैसा-पैसा' हो रहा है, साथ-साथ पैसे का मूल्य घट रहा है। ये सारे नासिक में छपनेवाले पैसे — क्रियेटेड मनी— हैं, जिसे संस्कृत में **लोभमूलानि पापनि** कहा है। पैसा पापमूलक है। पाप का कारण लोभ है। इससे हमें मुक्त होना चाहिए।

विनोबा भावे



Acharya Vinoba Bhave

The Draft Indian Trusteeship Bill, 1967

Statement of Object and Reasons

Mahatma Gandhi had once said that when India became free, all the capitalists would be given an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees. The Bill seeks to provide such an opportunity to the owners of large companies and proposes necessary provisions for the democratic management of the resultant trust corporations in accordance with the principles of trusteeship formulated by Gandhiji. The provisions of the Bill are intended to usher peacefully an era of a socialist society. As the Planning Commission has observed in the Second Five Year Plan, a socialist society is built up not solely on monetary incentives but on ideas of service to society. It is necessary, therefore, that the worker should be made to feel that he is helping to build a socialist state. The provisions of the Bill are expected to promote increased productivity by giving the workers a sense of full and intelligent participation in the processes of production, purchases, sales and investments of the enterprise. This Bill is not a compulsory but a permissive measure enabling the present owners of large companies to transform their existing titles based on absolute rights into trust ownership.

- Dr. Rammanohar Lohia

A Bill

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Seventeenth year of the Republic of India as follows:

Short title, extend and commencement

- I. 1. This Act may be called the Indian Trusteeship Act, 1967.
2. It shall extend to the whole of India.
3. It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Definitions

- II. 2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires:
(a) “company” means any public or private limited company registered under the Companies Act, 1956, and having a subscribed capital of more than a million rupees;
(b) “business” means and includes industries, plantations, banks, trade, transport or any other activity carried on for profit;
(c) “Trust corporation” means any company the owners whereof have declared themselves to be its trustees in the manner prescribed in this Act;
(d) “Panchayat” means the organ of management or a trust corporation constituted in the manner provided in this Act.
3. The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law for the time being in force.

Formation of a trust Corporation

4. A company may, by a resolution passed by a majority of shareholders present and voting at its general meeting, declare itself to be a trust corporation.

Registrar to be informed

5. Immediately after the passing of the resolution referred to in section 4, the managing agent or the manager or the secretary of the company shall notify the same to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies in whose jurisdiction the head office of the company is situated.

Management during interim period

6. The Registrar, on receiving such notice, shall direct the managing agent, the manager or the secretary, as the case may be, to carry on the day to day business of the company as an interim managing trustee.

Panchayat of Trustee:

7. The Registrar shall, as soon as possible, arrange to take stock of the assets and liabilities of the company and shall constitute a panchayat of trustees consisting of not more than sixteen numbers, in the following manner, to supervise, control and direct the managing trustee:
 - (a) not more than five trustees to be nominated by the shareholders of the company at its general meeting;
 - (b) not more than five trustees to be elected by the trade union of the employees of the company, of whom at least one shall be from the managerial staff, one from

the jobbers and the rest from any section of the employees;

- (c) five trustees to be nominated by the Registrar as experts, one each from the Planning Commission, Ministries of Commerce or Industry, Department of Company Law Administration, Department of Labour of the State Government concerned and a nominee of the Municipal Committee or Corporation of the Locality in which the head office of the company is situated;
- (d) the interim managing trustee shall be an *ex officio* member of the panchayat.

Right of worker to vote

- 8. Every worker who has been in the employment of the company for not less than six months shall have the right to vote in the election of the trustees.

Qualification of workers to be elected as trustees

- 9. No representative of workers shall be included in the panchayat unless he belongs to a united trade union which makes an active demand for responsible participation in the management of the trust corporation.

Functions of the Panchayat

- 10. The panchayat shall decide all major questions relating to the management of the business of the trust corporation and, in particular, frame rules for the

efficient management of the corporation, approve its annual production plans and annual accounts, construction and development programme, purchases, sales, loans, credits, wages, salaries, bonuses to employees and interest, if any, to shareholders.

Profits to be credited to the Government

11. The net profits of the trust corporation, after due provision being made for depreciation and provident funds, shall be credited to the income-tax folio of the Ministry of Finance, Government of India, for being allocated to the different States according to the recommendations of the Finance Commissions.

Wage of employees

12. The employees of the trust corporation shall not demand any rise in wages which is not commensurate with the earnings of any average villager or the uniform scales of wages determined by the Ministry of Labour. Employment and Rehabilitation of the Government of India.

Payment of bonus

13. The panchayat may sanction payment of general bonus or individual merit bonus for surpassing the annual production targets fixed for the corporation.

Works Committee

14. Works Committee of employees shall be formed in every department of the trust corporation and they shall be

entrusted with the job of explaining the decisions of the panchayat to the employees, maintenance of the discipline and execution of welfare schemes of the trust corporation.

Managing trustee

- 15 The managing agent, the manager or the secretary of the company which has declared itself to be a trust corporation, shall become the *ex-officio* managing trustee of the corporation.

Managing trustee to be nominated in certain cases

- 16 If the managing agents are a company or a firm, such company or firm may nominate the first managing trustee of the trust corporation.

Term of office of managing trustee

17. The first managing trustee shall continue in office for five years or till he attains the age of sixty years, whichever is longer.

Removal of managing trustee

18. The managing trustee shall be liable to be removed from office by the panchayat for a criminal breach of trust.

Remuneration of managing trustee

19. (1) The remuneration of the first managing trustee shall be fixed by a contract between him and the panchayat.

- (2) In case of dispute regarding the remuneration of the first managing trustee, the registrar of Joint Stock Companies shall fix the same after taking into consideration the standard of life to which the first managing trustee is accustomed.
20. The first managing trustee may recommend a successor to his office but the final appointment shall be made by the panchayat.

Salaries

21. The salaries of subsequent managing trustees and other supervisory or subsequent staff shall be fixed by the panchayat.

Chairman of Trust

22. The Panchayat shall elect a Chairman from among its members who will summon its meetings from time to time and shall preside over the same.

Panchayat to act through the managing trustee

23. The Panchayat shall supervise the work of the managing trustee, examine his reports and give him instructions in regard to the day-to-day administration as also the policies and programme of the corporation.

Control over employees

24. All employees of the trust corporation shall be subject to the authority of the managing trustee in performing their duties.

Powers of Managing trustee

25. The managing trustee shall be empowered to impose disciplinary penalties on defaulting employees.

Audit

26. The accounts of the trust corporation shall be audited by the Auditor-General of India.

Scrutiny of accounts

27. Statements of income and expenditure, balance-sheets, and statements of assets and liabilities shall be placed before a joint annual general meeting of all employees of the trust corporation and all shareholders of the company.

Government to acquire trust corporations in certain cases

28. The Registrar of Joint Stock Companies on being satisfied on the basis of auditor's report that the affairs of a trust corporation are being conducted in a manner harmful to the interests of the community, may recommend to the Central Government to take over the assets of the corporation and dispose them of in any manner it seems fit.

Co-ordination with national plans

29. The co-ordination of the industrial or commercial activities of the trust corporation with the national plans for economic development shall be the responsibility of

the nominee of the Planning Commission on the panchayat, whose decisions in this regard shall be final.

Acquired undertakings

30. Any industry or undertaking whose management has been taken over by the Government under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, and entrusted to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies may be treated as a trust corporation for the purpose of this Act.

New trust corporations

31. New trust corporations may be floated *ab initio* by an individual entrepreneur investing fifty per cent of the subscribed capital, provided that the Central or the State Government concerned agrees to contribute the other half, so however that the total equity capital does not exceed twenty lakh rupees.

Application of rules

32. A trust corporation formed under section 31 shall be subject to the same rules as are applicable to any other trust corporation formed under this Act.

Managing trustee of a new corporation

33. The terms agreed to between the managing trustee of a corporation formed under section 31 and the Government in respect of remuneration shall be valid during the active life time of the original managing trustee.

Power to make rules

34.(1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out purposes of this Act: Provided that the rules made hereunder shall not make any discrimination between companies owned or managed by Indian and foreign nationals.

(2) Every rule made under this section shall be laid as soon as, may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament while it is in session for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions, and if before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect, as the case may be; so however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, M.P.

The Janata Trusteeship Bill, 1978

Bill No. 66 of 1978

To provide for the creation of Trust Corporations for further development of enterprises and for matters connected therewith.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Republic of India as follows:

Short title, extent and commencement

1. (1) This Act may be called the Janata Trusteeship Act, 1978.
- (2) It shall extend to the whole of India.
- (3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Definitions

2. In this Act unless the context otherwise requires,-
 - (a) "business" means and includes industries, plantations, banks, trade, transport or any other activity carried on for profit;
 - (b) "company" means any public or private limited company registered under the Companies Act, 1956, (1 of 1956) and having a subscribed capital of more than a million rupees.
 - (c) "panchayat" means the organ of management of a trust Corporation constituted in the manner provided in this Act.

- (d) "Trust Corporation" means any public or private limited company which has declared itself a Trust Corporation under this Act.

Provisions to have effect notwithstanding any law in force

The Provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law for the time being in force.

Formation of a Trust Corporation

4. A company may, by a resolution passed by a majority of shareholders present and voting at its general meeting, declare itself to be a Trust Corporation.

Information to Registrar

5. Immediately after the passing of the resolution referred to in section 4, the managing agent or the manager or the secretary of the company shall notify the same to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies in whose jurisdiction the head office of the Company is situated.

Interim management

6. The Registrar, on receiving such notice, shall direct the managing agent, the manager or the secretary, as the case may be, to carry on the day to day business of the Company as an interim managing trustee.

Panchayat of Trustees

7. The Registrar shall, as soon as possible, arrange to take stock of the assets and liabilities of the Company and shall constitute a panchayat of Trustees consisting of not more than sixteen members, in the following manner, to supervise, control and direct the managing trustee.

- (a) not more than five trustees to be nominated by the shareholders of the company at its general meeting;
- (b) not more than five trustees to be elected by the trade union of the employees of the company of whom at least one shall be from the managerial staff, one from the jobbers and the rest from any section of the employees;
- (c) five trustees, to be nominated by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, as experts, one each from the Planning Commission, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Department of Company Law, Department of Labour of the State Government concerned and a nominee of the Municipal Committee or Corporation of the locality in which the Head Office of the Company is situated.
- (d) the interim managing trustee shall be an ex-officio member of the panchayat.

Right of workers to vote

- 8. Every worker who has been in the employment of the company for not less than six months shall have the right to vote in the election of the trustees.

Qualification for election as trustees

- 9. No representative the workers shall be included in the panchayat unless he belongs to a united trade union which makes an active demand for responsible participation in the management of the Trust Corporation.

Functions of Panchayat

- 10. The panchayat shall decide all major questions relating to the management of the business of the Trust Corporation and, in particular, frame rules for the efficient management of the corporation, approve its annual

production plans and annual accounts, construction and development programme, purchases, sales, loan, credits, wages, salaries, bonus to employees and interest, if any, to share-holders.

Profits to be credited to Government of India

11. The profits of the trust Corporation after due provision being made for depreciation and provident funds, shall be credited to the income tax folio of the Ministry of Finance, Government of India for being allocated to the different States according to the recommendations of the Finance Commission.

Payment of bonus

12. The employees of the Trust Corporation shall not demand any rise in wages which is not commensurate with the earnings of an average villager or the uniform scales of wages determined by the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation of the Government of India.

Payment of bonus

13. The panchayat may sanction payment of general bonus or individual merit bonus for surpassing the annual production targets fixed for the Corporation.

Works committees

14. Works Committees of employees shall be formed in every department of the Trust Corporation and they shall be entrusted with the job of explaining' the decisions of the panchayat to the employees, maintenance of the discipline and execution of welfare schemes of the Trust Corporation.

Managing trustee

15. The managing agent, the manager or the secretary of the company, which has declared itself to be a Trust Corporation shall become the *ex-officio* managing trustee of the corporation.

Managing trustee to be nominated in certain cases

16. If the managing agents are a company or a firm, such company or firm may nominate the first managing trustee of the Trust Corporation.

Term of office of managing trustee

17. The first managing trustee shall continue in office for five years or till he attains the age of sixty years, whichever is longer.

Removal of managing trustee

18. The managing trustee shall be liable to be removed from office by the panchayat for criminal breach of trust.

Remuneration of managing trustee

19. (1) The remuneration of the first managing trustee shall be fixed by a contract between him and the panchayat.
(2) In case of a dispute regarding the remuneration of the first managing trustee, the Registrar of Joint Stock companies shall fix the same after taking into consideration the standard of life to which the first managing trustee is accustomed.

Successor of managing trustee

20. The first managing trustee may recommend a successor to his office but the final appointment shall be made by the panchayat.

Salaries

21. The salaries of subsequent managing trustees and other supervisory or technical staff shall be fixed by the panchayat.

Chairman of Panchyat

22. The panchayat shall elect a Chairman from among its members, who shall summon its meetings from time-to time and shall preside over the same.

Panchayat to act through managing trustee.

23. The panchayat shall supervise the work of the managing trustee, examine his reports and give him instructions in regard to the day to day administration as also the policies and programme of the Corporation.

Control over the employees

24. All employees of the Trust Corporation shall be subject to the authority of the managing trustee in performing their duties.

Power of managing trustee

25. The managing trustee shall be empowered to impose disciplinary penalties on defaulting employees.

Audit

26. The accounts of the Trust Corporation shall be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India.

Scrutiny of accounts

27. Statements of income and expenditure, balance-sheets and statements of assets and liabilities shall be placed before a joint annual general meeting of all employees of the Trust Corporation and the shareholders of the company.

Government to acquire Trust Corporation in certain cases

28. The Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, on being satisfied on the basis of auditor's report that the affairs of a Trust Corporation are being conducted in a manner harmful to the interests of the community, may recommend to the Central Government to take over the assets of the corporation and dispose them of in any manner it deems fit.

Coordination with national plans

29. The Co-ordination of the industrial or commercial activities of the Trust Corporation with the national plans for economic development shall be the responsibility for the representative of the Planning Commission on the panchayat, whose decisions in this regard shall be final.

Acquired undertakings

30. Any industry or undertaking whose management has been taken over by the Government under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, (65 of 1951)

and entrusted to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, may be treated as a trust corporation for the purposes of this act.

New Trust Corporations

31. New Trust Corporations may be floated *ab initio* by an individual entrepreneur investing fifty per cent of the subscribed capital, provided that the Central of the State Government concerned agree to contribute the other half; so, however, that the total equity capital does not exceed twenty lakh rupees.

Applications of rules

32. A Trust Corporation formed under section 31 shall be subject to the same rules as are applicable to any other Trust Corporation formed under this Act.

Managing trustee of a new corporation

33. The terms agreed to between the managing trustee of a corporation formed under section 31 and the Government in respect of remuneration shall be valid during the active lifetime of the original managing trustee.

Power to make rules

34. (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act: Provided that the rules made hereunder shall not make any discrimination between companies owned or managed by Indian and foreign nationals.
- (2) Every rule made under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of

Parliament while it is in session for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions, and if before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

President's Recommendation under Articles 117 and 274 of the Constitution of India

[Copy of letter No. 7/45/77-CL-V, dated the 13th March, 1978 from Shri Shanti Bhushan, Minister of Law, Justice and Company Affairs to the Secretary, Lok Sabha.]

The President having been informed of the subject-matter of the Janata Trusteeship Bill by Dr. Ramji Singh, Member Lok Sabha, recommends under clause (1) of article 117 and clause (1) of article 274 of the Constitution the introduction of the Bill and under clause (3) of article 117 of the Constitution the consideration of the said Bill by the Lok Sabha.

Financial Memorandum

Clause 31 of the Bill provides that the Central Government may invest 50 per cent of the authorized capital of a new Trust Corporation that may be set up by any entrepreneur. The Bill, therefore, if enacted is likely to involve a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 25 lakhs from the Consolidated Fund of India. No non-recurring expenditure is likely to be incurred.

Memorandum Regarding Delegated Legislation

Clause 34 of the Bill confers on the Central Government power to make rules to carry out the purposes of the Bill when enacted. Generally, these rules will relate to matters of details and procedure. The delegation of legislative power is, therefore, of a normal character.

Financial Memorandum

Clause 30 of the Bill provides that the Central Government may invest 50 per cent of the authorized capital of a new Trust Corporation that may be set up by any entrepreneur. The Bill, therefore, if enacted is likely to involve a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 25 lakhs from the Consolidated Fund of India.

No non-recurring expenditure is likely to be incurred.

Memorandum Regarding Delegated Legislation

Clause 33 of the Bill confers on the Central Government power to make rules to carry out the purposes of the Bill when enacted. Generally, these rules will relate to matters of details and procedure. The delegation of legislative power is, therefore, of a normal character.

Dr. Ramji Singh. M.P.

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INSTITUTE OF GANDHIAN STUDIES

The Institute of Gandhian Studies (Gandhi Vichar Parishad) is an educational and public charitable institution that has been set-up as one of the commemorative projects of the Jamnalal Bajaj Centenary Year. It was established at Wardha in October 7, 1987. The object of the Institute is to promote, organize, sponsor, undertake the study of the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi as well as the predecessors of Gandhi and contemporary thinkers and social revolutionaries who have drawn inspiration from Gandhi, or arrived at similar views as a result of their own experience and reflections, as also, to undertake comparative studies of the philosophy and methodology of Gandhiji and other thinkers and social revolutionaries. It offers courses of study of different durations oriented towards the academic community including the Departments of Gandhian Studies in universities, thinkers, religious groups, activists, trade unionists, panchayat leaders, workers among unorganized labour, workers of voluntary/grass root organisations, women, youth, students and similar other groups. The Institute is also the venue of district level Renewable Energy Education Park.

Institute of Gandhian Studies

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