
UNIT 1 UNDERSTANDING GLOBALISATION AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS-I (ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGICAL)

Structure

1.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

1.2 Genesis of Economic Globalisation

1.3 Decelerating Global Economy and its Ramifications

1.4 Globalisation of Science and Technology

1.5 Summary

1.6 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Historically, globalisation is a flight of the development process of human civilisation from an isolated socio-economic formation of primitive society to present satellite stage of global interaction of economy and technology across the globe. As Amiya Bagchi puts it, “Globalisation, in its proper sense, is the sense of ordinary human beings experiencing and being enriched by influences emanating from all over the world, is coterminous with human history. Human beings probably originated in Africa and then spread throughout the globe. They invented language, and languages spread in all kinds of ways. Then human being domesticated plants and animals, and agriculture and animal husbandry were invented. These technologies, wherever they might have originated, in ancient China or in ancient Mesopotamia or, in Central America – also travelled throughout the world. Other technologies such as metallurgy also travelled. In this sense, globalisation has been there through all known phases of human history.” Also, “in the sense of peoples of all continents or regions becoming aware of one another, and trading objects and commodities, plants and techniques with one another – in that sense, globalisation has been with us only since the sixteenth century.” This term became popular with the process of global economic reforms, i.e., liberalisation of provisions of public sector, privatisation of public sector and relaxing national restrictions for global interaction.

Therefore it is also known as crossing national boundaries, internationalisation, universalisation, etc. Bagchi has also distinguished current phase of globalisation from the globalisation of sixteenth century. “Free trade and free markets have become *mantra* of the current devotees of globalisation”. Marx and Engels considered Free Trade as Freedom of Capital which will necessarily result into sharpening antagonism of capitalist and wage workers. The process of integration has gradually been faster than ever before with the experiences of world economy, polity, institutions, technologies, societies, cultures, markets, etc. Thus, globalisation has acquired important place and has been a centre of debates in social sciences. Expert opinions have been mixed and divided on the consequences and ramifications of globalisation. Many of them have advocated globalisation as panacea for all sorts of crises that the humanity is facing today but it could not do so because of the absence of proper reform process. However, there are other experts with contrary views which considered present streams of globalisation harmful for poor and marginalised and hardly sustainable. Now the world economy is in the trap of global meltdown which is potentially greater than that of Great Depression of 1930s. This Unit intends to understand the processes, challenges and ramifications of globalisation with respect to economy and technology.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- The concept and meaning of Globalisation.
- The genesis of economic globalisation and its ill-effects.
- The globalisation of science and technology.

1.2 GENESIS OF ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION

At the level of organised thought if one attempts to deal with the process of economic globalisation through history of economic thought if not earlier than mercantilism, one could trace that the trade was considered as the most important factor to acquire precious metals as wealth for which the state was the powerful mechanism to exploit colonies, promote exports and restrict imports during the sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries. However, Physiocrats advocated *lessez fair* economy free from all restrictions, i.e. a true

sense of globalisation. Eighteenth century, with industrial revolution, reinforced restricted globalisation and politics of dominance. Even the limited scale of industrial production in developing countries under colonies was destroyed systematically to capture hinterland for their industrial products and raw material for their industrial requirements. Trafficking of indentured labourers from colony to industrialised country was another dimension of globalisation of enslaved people. As Maddison says, “this is not for the first time that the world has experienced globalisation. At the end of 19th century massive migration took place from Europe and Asia to Australia and North and South America. Between 1891 and 1900, more than 3.5 million immigrants landed in the United States, 8.8 millions more followed in the next decade. The 19th century also witnessed an enormous expansion in trade. Globalisation of arms and domination resulted in two World Wars towards relocating control and hegemony. Great Depression was another dimension of globalising crises which emerged in the experiments of industrialism and clash of interest. The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels reveal that: “The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere” (Marx & Engels, 1888, p.46). He further emphasised that “The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character of production and consumption in every country” (ibid). Various dimensions of globalisation emerged since industrial revolution. “All old established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are daily being dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe” (ibid). Capitalism emerged with stronger imperialist approach in due course which created keen competition among them. As Lenin observed, “The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw material is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials through out the whole world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies”. Gandhi was equally sensitised about the expansion of capitalism. He argued that if India has to grow on the path of industrialism, she had to find races and places for exploitation

(Gandhi, 1926, p.348). Gandhi was not against globalisation *per se* but his concept of global village reflects altogether an alternative paradigm of development with self-contented villages, still interdependent on each other with harmonious relations and away from the exploitative globalisation of industrialism, capital and finance. Therefore it will be an erroneous, to link the Gandhian concept of global village, as many policy makers do, and find similarity and derive strength for the present globalisation. The leading role in development of modern industrialism in the world was played by Europe, which basically focused on the development of physical force in order to exercise control over non-renewable resources and market which in turn led to competing conflict. Clash of interest among the capitalist forces led to two World Wars and losses of lives and property of the people.

The consequences of the First World War in 1914 followed by cut throat competition and cheap prices, the Great Depression of 1929 and later the Second World War resulted in a series of mechanisms of the World Governance. Emergence of welfare state was a logical culmination and it was found necessary to counter the evils of growing unemployment. Emergence of United Nations and international financial institutions – International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) popularly known as the World Bank and International Monetary Funds (IMF), United Nations Council for Trade and Development (UNCTAD), General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), World Trade Organisation (WTO) and many such international institutions are the examples of new mechanisms of control and governance in the hands of dominant players of the world. These institutions are cartels of developed nations in order to operate in the global market and particularly for sharing developing world market and gain control over non-renewable natural resources. However, the international welfare agencies (for example, WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF, etc.,) are the by-products to project and cover welfare posture of the capital from uninterrupted expansion and growth in the global market. Therefore, globalisation of market and control is the culmination of the politics of control initially through war technology and later through welfare mechanism, policies and development loans.

Analytical framework was even sharper when Gandhi emphasised that development of modern industrialism requires exploitation of races and places. He says: “Industrialism is, I am afraid, going to be curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another nation can not go for all times ... And if the future of industrialism is dark for the west would it not be darker for India?” (Gandhi, 1931). He further added: “In fact, India when it begins to exploit other nations-as it must if it becomes industrialised, will be a curse for other nations and menace to the world”. Despite having altogether different worldview, the Gandhian critique on industrialism comes closer to Bolshevik colonial thesis conceptualising imperialism as a necessary development stage of capitalism. Further elaboration and refinement of this concept can be seen in the analysis of development of the centre at the cost of periphery (Frank, 1967, p.313) and imperialism as permanent phase of capitalism (Ado, 1986). Thus, regional disparity and unequal development is inevitable in the capitalist approach of development in which industrialism necessarily means exploitation of one region and people by another. The advantages of accumulation have historically been in favour of the developed countries.

1.3 DECELERATING GLOBAL ECONOMY AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS

In order to generate employment and income for the workforce, growing economy is one of the essential conditions. Therefore, growth scenario of the world economy may provide basis to understand world employment and their regional distribution. Long-term view of real growth rates of the world economy suggests that global economy has been growing with declining rates except in 1940s and 1960s as shown in table 1. The world economy, which grew by 1.3 per cent in 1930s, was rescued through government initiatives enunciated by Keynes in his General Theory. The world economy grew by 5.8 per cent in 1940s, which was highest and considered as golden age of capitalism. But this could not be maintained later and in 1950s growth rates declined to 4.1 per cent which witnessed marginal recovery to 4.4 per cent in 1960s.

Table 1: Growth in Real GDP during 1930 - 2007

Decade	Average Annual (%)
1930s	1.3
1940s	5.9
1950s	4.1
1960s	4.4
1970s	3.3
1980s	3.1
1990s	3.1
2000-07	2.6

Source: Foster and Magdoff (2008, p.16)

There had been consecutive decline in growth rates of 1970s at 3.3 per cent and 3.1 per cent in 1980s, which, in 2007, came down to 2.6 per cent.

Regional disparity in growth is also very sharp. A quick look at the balance sheet of market driven reforms and development in the last one decade suggests that most of the developed nations could not exceed annual growth rates of GDP more than 2.5 per cent (Table 2). According to the data available from International Labour Organisation (ILO), the annual growth rate during 1993-2003 suggests that the world has grown by 3.5 per cent. Highest growth rate was registered by East Asia (8.5 per cent) followed by South Asia (5.5 per cent). South-East Asia registered growth rate above the world average rate of growth i.e., to the tune of 4.4 per cent. Middle East and North Africa is exactly at par with world (3.5 per cent). Growth rates of Sub-Saharan Africa (2.9 per cent) and Latin America and the Caribbean (2.6 per cent) are although much lower than that of the world, they are still above than that of the industrialised economies (2.5 per cent). The transition economies have registered almost stagnating growth rate of 0.2 per cent. This shows unevenness of distribution of growth in the world as Dr. Diwakar says. The declining growth rates have necessary implications as lower resources at the disposal of humanity potentially results in lower investment and lower employment, lower demand, further aggravating crises of industrial development leading to a syndrome of structural violence (Diwakar, 2007).

Table 2: Region Wise Growth, Employment and Productivity in the World (1993-2003)

Region	Annual Growth Rate of GDP	Change in Employment Population Ratio	Annual Growth Rate of Labour Force	Labour Productivity	
				Annual Growth Rate	Percentage Change
World	3.5	-1.06	1.8	1.0	10.9
Latin America and the Caribbean	2.6	0.0	2.3	0.1	1.2
East Asia	8.3	-1.92	1.3	5.8	75.0
South East Asia	4.4	-1.32	2.4	2.0	21.6
South Asia	5.5	0.0	2.3	3.3	37.9
Middle East and North Africa	3.5	2.20	3.3	0.1	0.9
Sub- Saharan Africa	2.9	0.61	2.8	-0.2	-1.5
Transition Economies	0.2	-9.01	-0.1	2.3	25.4
Industrialised Economies	2.5	1.26	0.8	1.4	14.9

Source: World Employment Report, 2004-05, p.27.

Scenario of employment too is not encouraging as the employment population ratio of the world has declined by 1.26 per cent (i.e., from 63.3 per cent in 1993 to 62.5% in 2003). Annual growth rate of labour force has increased by 1.8% and labour productivity by 1%. Exceptions apart, most of the economies have witnessed either declining rate of change in employment population ratio or remained stagnant. Even East Asian countries with robust growth rate of 8.3% have registered declining rate of change in employment population ratio. Although, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and industrialised economies have registered positive rate of change in employment population ratio, scenario of labour productivity is very disappointing. Growth rate and rate of change in labour productivity remained negative in case of Sub-Saharan Africa, possibly because of highest growth rate of labour force. Declining rate of change in employment population ratio is sharpest in case of Transition economies. On the whole the world is heading towards a syndrome of jobless growth.

Despite 3.5% growth of GDP of the world, data also suggest that there has been addition in unemployed lot. Rate of unemployment has increased from 5.6% in 1993 to 6.2% in

2003 (Table 3), even after addition in people in work and employment. Unemployment rate is highest in the Middle East and North Africa (12.2%) followed by Sub-Saharan Africa (10.9 per cent) and Latin America and the Caribbean registered 8%. Exceptions apart, unemployment has been rising. Unemployment rate even in the industrialised countries is 6.8%. Although unemployment rate in South Asia remained stagnant, most of the regions of the world witnessed rising unemployment in the 1990s. Out of 2.85 billion people in work at the end of 2005, 1.4 billion people still do not earn above the US\$2 a day poverty line – just as many as ten years ago. Among these, 520 million lived with their families in extreme poverty on less than US\$1 a day. Nearly every fifth worker of this world has to face the most impossible situation of surviving with less than US\$1 a day in 21st century of acclaimed progress of industrialism.

Table 3: Region Wise Distribution of Unemployment Rate and Poverty in the World during

Region	Unemployment Rate		Working Poverty Share					
			US\$ 1 per day			US\$ 2 per day		
	1993	2003	1980	1990	2003	1980	1990	2003
World	5.6	6.2	40.3	27.5	19.7	59.8	57.2	49.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	6.9	8.0	15.6	16.1	13.5	41.2	39.3	33.1
East Asia	2.4	3.3	71.1	35.9	17.0	92.0	79.1	49.2
South East Asia	3.9	6.3	37.6	19.9	11.3	73.4	69.1	58.8
South Asia	4.8	4.8	64.7	53.0	38.1	95.5	93.1	87.5
Middle East and North Africa	12.1	12.2	5.0	3.9	2.9	40.3	33.9	30.4
Sub- Saharan Africa	11.0	10.9	53.4	55.8	55.8	85.5	89.1	89.0
Transition Economies	6.3	9.2	1.6	1.7	5.2	1.7	5.0	23.6
Industrialised Economies	8.0	6.8	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: World Employment Report 2004-05, p.24 and 27.

Working condition of the workers even in the industrialised countries remained inhuman added with long hours and one third of minimum wages (Yates, 2006). Cross country analysis suggests that unemployment has direct relation with poverty (Hansda and Ray, 2006). Table 2 suggests that the world constitutes 19.7 per cent of working people in extreme poverty at US\$ 1 day. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest concentration of poverty (55.8%) among working people, followed by South Asia (38.1%) in terms of extreme poverty line of US\$ 1 a day. Taking US\$ 2 a day for international poverty about 49.7% among the working people are poor. About 89% of Sub-Saharan Africa and 87.5%

working people are poor. The proportion of working poor in Sub-Saharan Africa remained almost unchanged during the last thirteen years (1990-2003). Spread of poverty among working poor in South East Asia and East Asia was to the tune of 58.8 and 49.2% respectively. Although the chances are bleak, if the volume of poor are reduced to the halves by 2015 as per United Nations Declaration, there will still be 900 millions people living in extreme poverty, 826 million people undernourished and nearly one billion people will still lack access to improved water resources (Human Development Report 2001, p.22). FAO reveals that about 850 millions are malnourished, 9 million human being die because of hunger, out of which 5 millions are children, loss of 220 million human years of productive lives, out of 850 million undernourished, 815 are from developing countries, 28 millions in transition states and 9 millions in industrialised states (FAO, 2005).

Around 2.5 billion people of the world are living on less than \$2 a day and process of reduction in poverty has slowed down in recent years particularly in 1990s. In such a situation, possibility of coming out of poverty syndrome with the present development paradigm and growth structure, need to be examined. ILO considered IMF estimated average GDP growth rates for last one decade (1995-2005) and projection thereof for required growth rates to meet MDG targets. Projection suggests that the world, except the industrialised economies, has a possibility to achieve halving US \$1 a day working poverty but there is remote chance to achieve halving US \$ 2 a day working poverty (Table 4). Region-wise analysis suggests that East Asia has fair chance to achieve targets and South Asia has although potential to achieve halving US \$1 a day working poverty target, there is no possibility to cross US \$2 a day target.

Table 4: GDP Growth Rates Required to Halve Working Poverty (MDG) by 2015

Region	IMF Average GDP Growth Rate (%)	Growth Rate Required to Halve working poverty/day	
		US \$1	US\$2
1. World except: (a) Industrialized economies	5.0	4.7	10+
(b) East Asia and industrialized economies	3.8	5.3	10+
2. Transition Economies	3.3	4-5	8-10
3. East Asia	7.9	3-4	6-8
4. South East Asia	4.1	4-5	10+
5. South Asia	5.8	5-6	10+
6. Latin America and the Caribbean	2.4	3-4	4-6
7. Middle East and North Africa	4.0	4-5	8-10
8. Sub-Saharan Africa	3.7	8+	10+

Source: World Employment Report 2004-05, p.27

Thus, MDG is not going to be achieved with this jobless growth syndrome (ILO, 2005). However, these projections have subjective elements of present intensity of poverty reduction with 1 per cent growth rate, which implies that policy changes may have significant impacts on results. If the trend is any indicative, the result may lead towards worst kind of structural violence.

Foster and Magdoff (2008), analysing the US economy, suggested that there was falling tendencies in ratio of wage and salaries to national income and rise of profit and inequality. Wage of non-agriculture worker per 8 hours was \$71.92 in 1972 which came down to \$65.92 in 2006. Household consumption expenditure increased from 60% of GDP in 1960s to 70% of GDP in 2007. There was decline in saving and investment and increase in credit economy delinked with real economy. Household debt increased from 40% of GDP in 1960 to 100% of GDP in 2007. Household private debt GDP ratio has gone up in USA - in 1959 it was 151% and in 2007 it became 373%. Household debt servicing has increased. Net investment in the economy declined from 3% to 2%. Retrenchment and downsizing remunerations have become the order of the day for any

and every country. In order to save industries, industrially advanced nations started bailing-out packages to rescue their economy from financial crises, which is inconsistent with the logic of market reform. When market needed open space free from state regulation the argument forwarded that state should not intervene and let the market forces decide.

Table 5: Bail Out Package in a Few Select Countries

Country	Bail Out Package	Country	Bail Out Package
USA bn dollar	\$700	Germany	50 bn Euro
Japan	\$716	EU	\$260 bn
China	\$586	Canada	\$30 bn
Australia	\$28 bn	France	\$18 bn

Source: Financial Express dated 11.02.2009.

The tax payers' money is being given as bail-out package to rescue the corporate world from financial crises as shown in table 5. Developing nations have also not been spared from the heat of global meltdown. For the developing nations, bailing-out has been difficult and impacts negatively on the living conditions.

1.4 GLOBALISATION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In the stage of primitive social formation, the human being was completely subordinated to nature in absence of development of productive forces, i.e., technology and skills. With little scope for wider interaction and therefore technological and geographical limited knowledge, the isolated society remained almost insurmountable stumbling block until human being could learn to make pointed tools of stone, to use fire and melt metal particularly iron. The accumulation of material resources for livelihood paved the way for inventing tools and arms for hunting and wars in order to control over means of production. Invention of compass was perhaps the most significant scientific breakthrough of the time to expand geographical knowledge and access to and control over resources.

History suggests that a society could achieve a higher level of consciousness and comfort through practice and accumulation of knowledge. Subject to natural and uninterrupted flow and transmission from one region to another, this accumulated knowledge has

always contributed to reduce hardships of society. The unfolding laws of nature by various scholars provided scientific flow to progress. For example, discovery of counting of one to nine by the Arab and Zero by the Aryabhatt in India made the counting easier not only for the world of Mathematics but also for the daily life of the human society. Discovery of the Law of Gravitation by Newton, Theory of Density by Archimedes, Theory of Relativity by Einstein, discovery of dialectical materialism and class struggle as the laws of nature by Marx and numerous such discoveries and inventions revolutionised the society and the world of Science and Technologies and contributed enormously to ease the hardships of society. Development of handicrafts with science and technology resulted in Industrial Revolution. Invention of steam engine by James Watt, steam locomotives by George Stephenson and aeroplane by Wright brothers revolutionised transport. Development of machinery and technology empowered human beings to subordinate nature to greater extent. Medical Science and Technology has increased life expectancy and quality of life. Space Research Satellites have made revolution in the world of Information Technology and stretched human limbs from one part of the globe to another. Since the days of the introduction of iron, agriculture was revolutionised for minimising the risk of the vagaries of monsoon, quality of seeds, fertiliser and pesticides, mechanisation, storage, marketing, etc., and world production in agriculture has scaled an appreciable heights. The question of food insecurity has been addressed in a better way. However, there is a long way to go. Thus, globalisation of knowledge and technology has made the life easier and comfortable subject to equity and access towards serving humanity.

Gardner (2002) observed that Transfer of technology on an international basis is critical for sustainable development in the twenty first century, and requires a techno-cultural shift from the current models for technology transfer that are driven almost entirely by the domestic economy. The twenty-first century model for technology transfer must incorporate the latest in information technology and utilise the global marketplace. He argued that under an open exchange of technology knowledge: i) efficient technologies will benefit both industrialising and industrialised economies, ii) an open approach to technology commercialisation will benefit emerging and existing technology-based

economies. Mayer (2000), investigating Central Europe and East Asian countries, found that an important determinant of the benefits which low-income countries can reap from globalisation is that they can ignite a simultaneous increase of technology imports and the skill level of the domestic labour force. He further emphasised that the coordination of such efforts is crucial because investment in human capital alone will lead to diminishing returns of skill accumulation, while increased technology transfer alone is unlikely to be enduring and might have negative developmental effects from rising income inequality. Lessons from the East Asian development experience suggested that rapid industrialisation and skill accumulation were achieved by the expansion of the education system in conjunction with a step-by-step upgrading of the skill intensity of economic activities. Doing so not only reduced the technology gap with advanced countries and raised the demand for educated labour, but also provided the training and experience needed to realise the economic potential of educated workers. The difference is that in low-income countries this upward spiral does not necessarily need to occur in skill-intensive manufacturing activities but depending on the specific sectors in which a country has a competitive edge might need to be based in primary sectors, unskilled labour-intensive manufacturing, or services where this diversity reflects the heterogeneity within the group of low-income countries, to the extent that these efforts imply increased budgetary spending. The low-income countries are at a disadvantage because the problem of mobilising additional government revenue is likely to be most acute in the poorest countries and especially difficult without external sources of finance.

Moreover, these developments of productive forces could hardly remain class neutral and away from the diplomacy of hegemony and control and hence restricted to the benefit of dominant stakeholders. However, many civilisations could grow and flourish across the globe with remarkable achievements, a parallel world of deprived paid their cost and could hardly taste the fruits of development and modernity, as beneficiary of scientific and technological control emerged powerful to enslave, colonise and exploit them. Thus, the world has been divided between the developed and otherwise. Colonisation and subordination of territory, society and economy are another process of globalisation of power and control of the dominant players. Moreover, hazards of technology have also

been globalised. Nuclear power has posed a global threat which devastated Nagasaki and Hiroshima of Japan. Fast communication of dreaded diseases like AIDS reached developing nations and drug addiction has been swallowing youths.

Gandhi had an alternative framework of science and technology which was essentially people-centric and problem resolving. He rejected an uncritical application of big machines where small machines could serve the purpose and also improve the efficiency of labour. He was in favour of technology for need-based production for masses instead of mass production for competition, marketing and profits through industrialism. Gandhi warned against the fall out of industrialism. He was, however, not sure about the appropriate technology but he had in his mind a framework of technology like sewing machine which could make an individual efficient without aggravating unemployment. Symbolic evidence was his advocacy for *Charkha*, for which wood, carpenter, cotton, weavers, end users, etc., all are available from the surroundings of villages. He was not against the use of technology as such but vehemently opposed to such technology which could deprive workforce from employment. Uncritical development of technology and gaps in its access and application has posed serious challenges and consequences also. Globalisation of war industry and completion of acquiring war technology to the extent of atomic weapon has brought the world to the verge of destruction. There is massive malnourished population who are unattended but billions of dollars are spent on the defence and war technology. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimated that global military expenditure was to the tune of \$950 billion in 2003, which was an increase of 11%, out of which high-income countries account 75% with merely 16% of population. The combined military spending of these countries was slightly higher than the aggregate foreign debt of all low-income countries and 10 times higher than their combined levels of official development assistance in 2001. On the one hand, there is a large gap between the allocation for military means to provide security and maintain their global and regional power status and on the other, to alleviate poverty and promote economic development. The US tops the list of countries with significant military spending.

Carbon emissions have precariously disturbed the ozone equilibrium and resulted in the growing global warming. Globalisation and technology are two prime drivers of the global economy. High rates of innovations, globalisation of research and development, and the emerging markets are becoming source of low-cost research and development initiatives. These markets need technology for maximising profit, which is necessarily labour saving. Thus, technology developed for industrialism and market can hardly meet the challenges of unemployment and poverty. This demands an alternative techno-cultural development paradigm to address this challenge where Gandhi needs to be recalled and suitable technology is to be reinvented to make the lives of society comfortable with sustainability.

1.5 SUMMARY

Globalisation is coterminous with human history but now it is referred to in terms of trade and commerce. However, the current phase of globalisation is different free trade and free markets have become prominent factors. Globalising industrialism has brought the world economy to the syndrome of recession and has become further vulnerable after global meltdown. The world is fast heading towards jobless growth, as distribution of growth rates and employment has not been able to address the question of rising unemployment and poverty. Development of technology did reduce the hardships by increasing production but has been slow in generating employment to masses which have definite implications on demand and ensuring access of technology to common masses. Gandhi warned humanity long ago about the underlining fall out of industrialism. The need of the hour is to work out an alternative development paradigm and consistent labour intensive eco-friendly technology for sustainable development of global society for peace.

1.6 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by globalisation? Trace the origins of economic Globalisation.
2. What are the ill-effects of economic Globalisation?
3. 'Globalisation of science and technology has brought about progress and development'. Discuss with relevant arguments.

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THE PEOPLE'S
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UNIT 2 UNDERSTANDING GLOBALISATION AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS-II (SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL)

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
 - Aims and Objectives
- 2.2 Understanding Social and Cultural Globalisation
 - 2.2.1 Socio-Cultural Ramifications of Globalisation
- 2.3 Understanding Political Globalisation
 - 2.3.1 Political Ramifications of Globalisation
- 2.4 Introspective Reflection from Indian Realities
- 2.5 Implications of Globalisation
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Terminal Questions
 - Suggested Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation, in general parlance, is defined as the process of integrating society, economy, polity and technology through time and space and widening horizons towards getting global. Understanding globalisation and its ramifications through social, political and cultural lenses is equally important as dealing with economic and technological dimensions. Generally, it is difficult to dissect each one of these dimensions as they are closely interconnected. Moreover, they have interactive correspondence amongst themselves in which every component has its contribution in reinforcing or determining other's contribution. Therefore, even if one considers trade/commerce and wars as important dimensions for geographical expansions and control, globalisation has various implications on day-to-day lives of society, culture and polity. History is full of factual evidences which suggest that productive organisations determine social, cultural and political forms of the world society.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- The meaning of socio-cultural Globalisation.
- The concept of political Globalisation.
- The ramifications of the globalisation in socio-cultural and political perspectives.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL GLOBALISATION

There are two categorical streams of thought towards understanding globalisation. One deals with the institutional dimensions in which gradual expansions of social, political and cultural interactions from local to global are reckoned with. Giddens defines globalisation as an “intensification of world wide social relations which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.” This concept, of globalisation may be traced back from the primitive interactions of the society till date. Explaining his concept, Adam has provided many examples of expanding social relations across the globe such as mission related activities, conversion of religion since Middle Ages and later by Christians, wars, colonisation, etc. Under this framework, globalisation is not a new phenomenon. Religious influences of various sects and religions also come in the purview of globalisation. However, it is very difficult to isolate economic influences on starving communities in the garb of illiteracy and their unhygienic conditions. Besides institutional dimensions, there has been another stream of understanding globalisation with contemporary personal experiences. Defining cultural globalisation, Adam writes: “we can speak of a globalizing culture when people as private citizens are tied into global process and consequently have the potential to be concerned about global issues and the capacity to get personally involved in social, cultural and ecological matters from across our earth.” Socio-cultural exchange and interaction has been revolutionised by technology and created a faster pace of globalisation process.

2.2.1 Socio-Cultural Ramifications of Globalisation

Isolated society has its own speed of development, but connected with other social and cultural formations either in terms of institutional arrangements or subjective contemporary experiences, has its compounding effects. In a globalising world, it has created many spaces for social and cultural expansion. Sharing information has become the strength of information technology but has created market also which recognises capital intensity. Capital has found space in the patenting of culture. This has direct bearing over shaping social and cultural-present and future. Universalisation of culture and social customs has electrifying effect in this integrated world. Development of technology and integration of Media played an important role in the globalisation of culture. Visual Media travelled fast in the arena of socio-cultural ambiance.

Magnetic Compass revolutionised geographical expansion of trade and commerce. While analysing impacts of trade relations on social and cultural lives, there are many assertions of social and cultural dimensions that have imposed significant bearing on daily life of the colonial history. In India, for example, when Portuguese came for trade they brought papaya, potato, cauliflower, tomato, tobacco and host of other things, which is now integral part of Indian society and we think them indigenous. As Amiya says however these have originations in America (Bagchi, 2004, p.5). The industrial revolution in England was a great breakthrough towards technological development which has brought revolutionary change in people's social lives particularly in terms of clothing, health, hygiene, sanitation, housing, transport and communication, etc., subject to the level of access to such development and modernisation. This development and integration have broadly two streams. One side represents those who could participate (target groups of affluent minority) and included with varying degrees of those who have been excluded (deprived majority) in this process.

Gupta has presented an exclusive account of inclusion and exclusion contextualising global culture (Gupta, 2004) where she has brought Martin Barbero (1993) and Morley and Robbins (1995) in the discussion to buttress her argument that globalisation of culture has forced the excluded towards going back to cultural roots. Globalising media has contributed in promoting the capitalist consumerism and distorted cultural balance. But understanding the ramifications of the current phase of globalisation routed through freedom of capital has many undesirable social and cultural bearings also. Mitra points out increasing cases of AIDS have been a matter of concern for the culturally sensitive people and society (Mitra, 2004, pp.16-17). Human Development Report (HDR) 2001 confesses: "Globalisation has created many opportunities for cross border crime and the rise of multinational crime syndicates and networks" (HDR, 2001, p.13). Global financial crises led to the retrenchment and the resulting growing marginalisation has compounded the possibilities of electrifying multiplier effects of the expansion of crimes.

There is stark inequality across the globe. A quick look at the balance sheet of human development suggests that about 24 per cent of the population in the developing countries are living below the poverty line. If they are reduced to the halves by 2015, as per United Nations Declaration, there will still be 900 millions people living in extreme poverty, 826 million people undernourished and nearly one billion people will still lack access to improved water resources (HDR, 2001, p.22). However, region-wise poverty suggests that 1199 millions people are below

the income of less than US\$ 1 per day. In the preceding Unit, sufficient evidence has been provided regarding the poverty levels in different regions. The World Employment Report of the International Labour Office provides alarming picture of increasing unemployment rate of selected countries of the world economy.

Addressing the delegates of World Economic Forum, the then Secretary general, Mr. Kofi Annan warned a note of caution to the world citizens: "None of us, I suggest, can afford to ignore the condition of our fellow passengers on this little boat. If they are sick, all of us risk infection. If they are angry, all of us easily get hurt." There is general view among the development experts that globalisation has bypassed the poor. As the Human Development Report (2000) indicates, "many of the poorest countries are marginalised from the growing global opportunities. The income gap between the poorest and the richest countries are widening" (HDP, 2000, p.82). The hard realisation resulted into a resolute goal and declaration by UNO toward reduction in poverty: "The leaders of the summit adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration recognising their collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at global level." The declaration envisaged to reduce the poverty levels by half by 2015 (HDR, 2001, p.21). Mr Annan also echoed "The general perception among many is that this is the fault of globalisation and that globalisation is driven by global elite, composed of at least represented by, the people who attend this gathering." (Krishnaswamy, February 5, 2002). Thus, the fruits of globalisation are shared by the elite and the expectations of sharing universal social and cultural values have been raised through demonstration effects amidst poverty and inequality. This penetrated a dent into harmonious relations and privacy and threatened local socio-cultural ambience.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL GLOBALISATION

Politics and its transforming superstructures have created significant divide across the time and space. Transformation of power structure leading to the emergence and globalisation of the modern state is a landmark development in the area of political power and authority. According to Paritch, in the institutional framework analysis, discourse of political globalisation can be traced to the emergence of so-called laissez-faire state during the rise of industrial capitalism. Now it has attained the status of monopoly capital state. Patnaik suggests that with the changing nature of capital the nature of state changes and in turn changes the relationship among the states which decide the patterns of international politics (Patnaik, 2003, p.89). The collapse of the USSR led to unipolar world power and the consolidation of international finance. Policies imposed on the

Third World have accentuated their poverty and dependence towards the rolling back of their sovereignty and independence. Resistance to this imperial masters sometimes took extreme forms which, the super state powers, most of the times, handled authoritatively (ibid, pp.102-3).

Another dimension of politics has contributed in reshaping the state and authority even more significantly. Three great revolutions – French, Russian and Chinese- contributed enormously in reshaping and globalising politics. Interestingly, France could strike balance between two contradictory propositions, i.e, equality and liberty but in America inequality has been tolerated with liberty (Amin, 2005, pp.56-58). Industrial revolution could bring technological breakthrough and emergence of welfare state was a logical culmination of bourgeois capitalist development to contend the resentments of the people of the home country and colonial expansion as hinterland. Competition for hegemony and relocation of capital created global conflict for acquiring control over non-renewable resources, trade and commerce among the capitalist forces, which led to the World Wars, losses of lives and property of the people. The leadership mantle of the capitalist government after the Second World War was taken by the US. A cartel of capitalist countries was formed in the Bretton Woods Conference, which laid the foundation of International Financial Institutions – International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), popularly known as The World Bank as a platform to pursue the agenda of capitalist power. While these two institutions regulated politics through finance, the United Nations emerged with global platform for world communities for policy interaction and democratic development of polity. Concerted mobilisations against colonial exploitation resulted in gradual liberation of the countries followed by installation of democratic governments, which could create more space for public sphere. Thus, people's movements could achieve a certain degree of civil rights through legislation, parts of which were implemented and others were kept on the backseat. With the gradual development of capital, the nation-state provided space for market and friendly institutions through various legislations; the capitalist agenda got a dominant space, mostly at the costs of people's interest. Gradually the role of state, as a welfare state, has minimised. Finance Capital came in a big way through globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. New cartel emerged out of GATT as World Trade Organisation (WTO) to care for Multinationals and Trans National Capital in the name of providing level playing fields.

It is argued that deeper international economic integration and globalisation of finance has reduced significantly the capacity of national governments to manage their economies through

fiscal and monetary policies, labour and welfare legislation, and variegated regulatory regime for business which included extensive public ownership (Radice, 2006, pp.157-8). Further, “It is precisely in conforming to the agenda of business – transmitted through markets as well as political processes – that states have restructured themselves away from their Keynesian and welfarist goals” (Ibid, p.167). It may be worth mentioning here that the creation of political structures, broadly under the US hegemony, brought many transnational inter-state governments mostly through bilateral trade and finance. The Washington Consensus brought almost an end of protectionism in the world markets through states. Interestingly the developed nations brought markets of developing nations in their free trade regime. Undoubtedly national economies have been significantly integrated but in this process national governments have lost their autonomy. Even the interest group politics encountered rough weather. Trade unions in the organised sectors have lost their edges in the process of labour reforms what they enjoyed after acquiring through struggle. Contractual labour, hire and fire, golden handshake, exit policy, etc., were introduced which have hardly any consequential resistance. Therefore, the globalisation of politics empowered industrially advanced nations through which they could cope with their deepening crises and impose their interest as universal forms of governance and development. Developing nations were subjugated through new imperial politics clubbed with conditional development aid in the dependence syndrome of economic and political controls.

2.3.1 Political Ramification of Globalisation

The spill over effects of development in general and technological development in particular played an important role in reducing the hardships of society. However, it has created challenges before the humanity as well, because the technology has never been class neutral in history. In the process of development of authority, power structure and State, development and use of technology have been biased towards the ruling class. When the society was ruled by the feudal state, the technological development was mainly towards making warriors efficient. If the society is governed by the bourgeois democracy initially through welfare state, and later through Trans National Capital, the benefit of technology is generally harvested by the capitalist agencies and society. Competition to harvest profit has been undermining the interest of the common masses of the world and resulted in the development of unequal world with wider unemployment, poverty and misery of the humanity. Labour-saving technologies and jobless growth dominated the society of the world at large irrespective of region-specific requirements and transitory exceptions.

Access to democratic institutions to certain extent could be possible for the common people. Many constitutional provisions were achieved for their welfare and parts of them were implemented also. However, democracy is still functioning as an oligarchic institution and yet to become meaningfully participatory. Therefore universal independence is yet to be attained. Gandhi wrote about the idea of universal independence as early as in 1940s: "Isolated independence is not the goal of the world States. It is voluntary interdependence. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent States. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our readiness for universal independence" (Narayanan, 2003, p.23). Moreover, the use of the word 'participatory democracy' emerged as an efficient sailing coin suggested from every nook and corner of the political sphere. Participation has been co-opted by the capital controlled states and their agencies. Therefore, there is an imperative need to take care of the state sponsored slogans of participation.

Ideological resistance has contributed in incorporating values of liberty, equality and fraternity as emerged from the French Revolution. Mobilisation of people against colonial exploitation resulted in a gradual liberation of the countries followed by the installation of democratic governments. But History suggests that democratic institutions have also been ignored if they did not serve the purpose of capitalist expansion. Reducing the subsidies and opening of the markets of developed nations for the developing countries and the recent attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, inconsistent with international laws, serve as prime examples. Thus, one ought to be careful while forwarding arguments in favour of democratic human face of globalisation. However, globalising dissent is another dimension of globalisation of politics. Seattle and Hong Kong Rounds of WTO have ample evidence of global resistance of civil society organisation.

The speech of the then Secretary General of the United Nations- Mr. Kofi Annan- in a summit of the World Economic Forum in 2002, reflected the realisation of the "The reality is that power and wealth in this world are very unequally shared and that far too many people are condemned to lives of extreme poverty and degradation." (Krishnaswamy, February 5, 2002). Though the upward mobility and expansion have created many avenues, it is also found that they are not free from demerits. Therefore, the challenges before the world in general need to be comprehended carefully in view of the history of progress that the world has witnessed.

2.4 INTROSPECTIVE REFLECTION FROM INDIAN REALITIES

Modern India has been very much the part of global trade, commerce and politics – initially under the colonial power and later in the cartel of democratic global governance through the Commonwealth Nations network. Integration of India with global politics of finance capital became faster after adopting ‘New Economic Policies’ in 1991. The ruling class was toeing the line of the World Bank despite resistance from different corners of the academics, politics and civil society. The developed world, under the hegemonic role of the USA, could successfully transfer their crises to developing nations through these policies. India suffered on many counts – for example, growing unemployment, inequality, dictates and political subordination because of development approach that it adopted. Moreover, farmers’ suicides, workers’ retrenchments, and free lunch for Special Economic Zones, financial institutions, etc., occurred simultaneously. Even the global recession has affected it in some way. These events have compounding effects on socio-cultural dimensions of Indian society. Development of information technology brought significant changes in educational orientation, art and culture and political arena. Electronic media penetrated into rural areas which greatly disturbed the rural theatre culture. However, this dependence syndrome did not emerge only in a few years.

Before independence India was subordinated and deprived through colonial exploitation leading to transfer of resources from India to Britain. After independence, it has been analysing the hangover of the colonial rule and persistence of its policies; therefore, exploitative resource transfer mechanism continues in a sophisticated policy framework. This hypothesis has been debated at length and became sharper with the emergence of neo-colonial strategies and institutions pursuing liberalisation and market-oriented development strategies as solutions to all forms of deprivations. Now, the results are coming up in clearer terms that the poor has been bypassed in this process of development. “The blame for the poor performance on the employment front is usually apportioned on our choice of technique of production which has been failing to take into account the nature of resource endowment in the country. This is partly correct and may not be the whole truth. Our slow but steady movement toward dependence paradigm which is reflected in increasing foreign collaboration not only seriously undermined our self reliant growth strategy but is also to be squarely blamed for increasing unemployment in recent past” (Prasad, 1991).

Since Independence, the country has been making various efforts towards development to improve situation of employment and eradicate poverty for better quality of life. The mixed economy model with coexistence of public and private sectors was accepted for development. Planned and community development were initiated, and the main concern of the policy makers remained infrastructure building as facilitator of development through public sector, keeping it away from the purview of profit motives. With a higher GDP there has been substantial improvement in the infrastructure and decline in Poverty ratio. The percentage of per annum growth of employment has declined (Government of India, 2002, pp.158-60) and the incidence of rural unemployment has been increasing in the 1990s (Government of India, 2002, pp.161-63). Rural employment programmes have almost failed to create sustainable opportunities of rural employment for absorption of labour (Radhakrishna, 2002, p.245). Official documents also suggest that income gap between urban and rural has widened from 1:2 to 1:6 (Government of India, 2000). The rate of decline in rural poverty, which was 2.75 per cent in 1970s and 1980s has decreased to merely 0.73 per cent and hence rate of decrease in poverty is lower than the rate of increase in rural population (Radhakrishna, 2002). Despite all these depressing indications, the official data claimed a sharp decline during poverty in 1999-2000. The methodology adopted for this calculation remained controversial (Vaidyanathan, 2001; Sundaram and Tendulkar, 2001; Sen, 2001). The official documents of the Planning Commission of India have also acknowledged, “it has yet to meet the challenge of generating sufficient employment opportunities to ensure that all its people have the purchasing power to obtain the food they require. Gainful employment is one of the most essential for food security and economic security” (GOI, 2003, p.57).

As early as in 1925, Gandhi wrote that “Idleness is the great cause, the root of all evils, and if that root can be destroyed, most of the evils can be removed without further effort” (Gandhi, 1947, p.463). He further emphasised that “Unless poverty and unemployment are wiped out from India, I would not agree that we have attained freedom” (ibid). These statements reflect deep rooted vision and the meaning of freedom towards which India was to move with a comprehensive package of initiatives. Thus, political freedom in Gandhian framework was not away from economic and cultural freedom. Increasing number of farmers committing suicide speaks volumes of untold misery of the farmers. Today the state is shying away with its responsibilities and gradually adopting contradictory market-oriented policies, which have narrowed the base of employment opportunities; with the current global financial crises it has aggravated further.

At the outset of planning just after independence, India set a goal for reconstruction of the economy, polity and society with the basic objectives of growth with social justice through a combination of planning and community development strategies. As the First Five Year Plan document clearly emphasised, “It is no longer possible to think of development as a process merely of increasing available supplies of material goods, it is necessary to ensure that simultaneously a steady advance is made towards the realisation of wider objectives such as full employment and removal of economic inequalities. Maximum production, full employment, the attainment of economic equality and social justice, which constitute the accepted objectives of planning under present day conditions are not really so many different ideas but a series of selected aims which the country must work for ... even the limited objectives of increased production cannot be achieved unless the wider objectives of social policy are constantly kept in mind and steadily pursued” (GOI, 1960, Ch.ii, p.25). This spirit was lost in due course. During 1990s the economic liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation emerged as dominant policies to address the problems of unemployment and poverty. The results have never been encouraging but are contrary, in terms of employment. The state has been withdrawing from the responsibilities of providing employment contrary to the commitment of our national leaders who had a dream of self-reliant development and growth with distributive justice. The Socialist approach to growth has been replaced by market-oriented growth. The world market has been in the trap of financial crises and mass scale retrenchment from jobs in the world could not leave India isolated. The tall claims of post modernism have failed to bring about positive developments.

2.5 IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALISATION

Globalisation has definite implications and the international community has accepted its potential threats on national and local identities and emphasised on diversity and pluralism through multicultural policies. One of the Human Development Reports indicates that “Globalisation can threaten national and local identities. The solution is not to retreat to conservatism and isolationist nationalism – it is to design multicultural policies to promote diversity and pluralism.” (UNDP, HDR, 2004, p.10). But the question arises as to how this can be achieved with the same policy and polity which have destroyed them. One has to look into an alternative development paradigm potentially destined to such goals. Globalisation has mainly been universalising the values of capital and creating uniform structure of polity which necessarily need social and cultural backup to sustain such polity.

Broadly there are two dominant streams of development practices in the world- one, capitalist path of development, which includes liberal reformist also and the other is communist experiment. The former, despite its tall claims, is breathing its last amidst internal contradictions of stagnations, deflation, unemployment, poverty and now global financial crises; and the latter, Communist practices, which collapsed in USSR after catering almost full employment for nearly seven decades which itself is a record and still exists in many countries with higher growth rates. China and Vietnam could be a few examples among others. In India there has been mixed economy with a hangover of Gandhian overtone and socialist touch, which has now lost its nominal current. The market oriented development has been gradually replacing all the egalitarian overtones in development processes of India. Interestingly United Nations has recognised Non-Violence amidst globalisation as a safety valve.

Gandhi had an entirely different world view of polity like oceanic circle, mutually interdependent yet independent. In his world view, “Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or Panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against any onslaught from without. Thus, ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world. It will be free and voluntary play of mutual forces. Such a society is necessarily highly cultured, in which every man and woman knows what he or she wants, and what is more, knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour.

“In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an **oceanic circle** whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at the last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units. Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but give strength to all within and derive its own from the centre” (Harijan, 28-7-1946).

2.6 SUMMARY

The adverse effects of globalisation, in all its forms, can be effectively countered. There is a silver lining, which has emerged through the 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution of India. Panchayat Raj Institution (PRI) is coming up with a new sense of assertions. Particularly, the dalit and women participation in PRI extends hope for better rural leadership and change. Initially there might be some inconsistencies but in the long run this may result in an effective participation of rural poor in development process. No policy has been the result of the benevolent behaviour of the ruling class. For every initiative, mass resistance through different forms and contents have forced them to legislate and implement those policies. It is also worth mentioning here that wherever, resistance has been stronger, the implementation of programmes has been qualitatively different and better. People's resistance enables them to check exclusion and work out new institutions and strategies to address the issues. The consolidation of politically conscious organised democratic forces and their uncompromising resistance help in reducing the ill-effects of market-oriented policies. Ultimately the questions of basic issues of livelihood, deprivation and discrimination cannot be left unaddressed for long time if the society has to progress and live in peace and harmony.

2.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by socio-cultural globalisation? What are its ramifications?
2. Discuss the meaning and essence of political globalisation. Examine its ill-effects.
3. What are the effects of globalisation in the context of India?

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UNIT 3 LIVELIHOOD/CULTURE/LIFESTYLE AND ENVIRONMENT

Structure

3.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

3.2 Indian Culture and Environmental Values

3.3 Debate on Lifestyle vs Environment

3.3.1 Social, Economic and Cultural Dimensions

3.4 Impact on Environment

3.5 Is Sustainable Consumption Possible?

3.6 Gandhian Alternative

3.6.1 Voluntary Reduction of Wants

3.6.2 For the Greatest Good of All (Sarvodaya)

3.7 Summary

3.8 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The modern economics is based on the models of consumption and on the concept of economic globalisation that introduced many a nation to the neo-liberal economic patterns. The concept of globalisation encompasses the exchange of ideas, thoughts, processes, people, transfer of technology and knowledge across the boundaries of a state. Unfortunately, the liberalisation policies in developing countries, including India, have led to the glaring inequalities between nations and people, their consumption and livelihood patterns. Taking into consideration India's growing demands in consumption levels, requirements and patterns, there is an imminent need to review and develop sustainable consumption methods and alternatives. It is pertinent to note that the liberalisation of the economy is solely not responsible for the already reigning inequalities; the most alarming component has been the change in the perception and adoption of a consumerist lifestyle that directly

reflects on the over-use of the existing resources. Taking into consideration the current trends adopted and pursued by the world in general, and India in particular, introspection is necessary as to why the humankind chose to stay away from the logical and ecological way to sustainability. Almost all the nations on this earth are confronting new form of western thrust on the world, with high consumption levels, encouraged not only by the multinational companies (MNCs) but also the national governments themselves. This Unit deals with the livelihood, culture, lifestyle and environment that are undergoing change primarily due to consumption patterns and change in values. It has kept these two factors in view in order to interpret the current mode of life all over the world.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The globalisation and its effects on culture, lifestyle and livelihood
- Impact of unsustainable consumption on environment
- Gandhian alternative to the above-mentioned trend.

3.2 INDIAN CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES

Paul Harris rightly argues that ‘environmental values are seldom divorced from other values. While we can philosophise and contemplate the wonders and beauty of the natural environment per se, nature almost always suffers when there is conflict between it and other values... many people may want to live in harmony with nature, but almost nobody does’ (Harris, 2004, p.146). While the pro-development proponents do believe that natural capital could be retrieved and revived, there are contrasting opinions regarding the reverse. Further, it has also led to a contradiction between the developmental and environmental values, especially in the developing world.

The ancient Indian civilisation greatly propounded the dictum ‘live in harmony with nature’. The Vedic texts like *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Manusmriti*, *Shastras* and *Dharmas* have categorically prescribed a life free of wants and desires, and perpetuated the doctrines of compassion and love towards other

living beings. The worship of earth, water, sky, air, sky, plants and animals were regarded as sacred and any harm to these was considered as a sinful act. The natural calamities like drought, floods, lightning and earthquake were taken as violent forms of anger manifested by the gods and goddesses (Shastri, 2005, p.2). *Vasudaiva Kutumbakam* (All the creatures of earth are one family), *Ahimsa Paramo Dharma* (non-violence is the best form of duty) and *vriksho rakshati rakshitah* (save trees, the trees will save you) are some of the preachings that demonstrate the ancient values towards environment. The Vedic texts have also condemned and prohibited the cutting of trees, polluting water, air and land as acts of impurity and dreadful sins.

The religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism have greatly propounded the environmental values through non-violence and love to other beings. Many of the values like tolerance, equity and compassion towards other beings were intricately combined with religion and rituals that had profound impact on the people and their livelihood mode. These values greatly determined their behaviour towards other living beings with utmost reverence to nature.

The legacy of these values continued to dominate the way of life even in the early 19th and 20th centuries till industrialisation and mechanisation made inroads into the life and activities of people. The *Chipko* (Hugging the trees) movement of the 1970s by the women in the higher ranges of Uttarakhand state (Himalayan region) in India speaks volumes of the prevalence of the environmental values. One can find an echo in similar sacrifices made by the Bishnoi Community (of Rajasthan state in the western part of India) in protecting trees and animal species. Devoid of these strong environmental ethical values, the contemporary political and economic factors, including state and non-state actors, have been explicitly promoting a non-negotiable consumerist lifestyle that have placed enormous stress on the natural resources.

3.3 DEBATE ON LIFESTYLE VS ENVIRONMENT

Consumption based on the western values promotes materialism, acquisition and promotion of consumerism. Free trade or neo-liberal economics is the theoretical base of this policy and involves the role of the state in promoting consumerism for obvious economic reasons, while at the same time talking of sustainable consumption alternatives. Taking a cue from the Gandhian philosophy in this context, it is worth remembering what he pointed out, “God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the west. If an entire nation of 300 million took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts” (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, CWMG, vol.38, p.243). Gandhi detested the classical economic model that promoted the faulty logic of resource exploitation and resource intensive technologies. Bahro remarked that ‘We are eating up what other nations and future generations need to live upon’ (Bahro, 1984, p.184). Gandhi further added that the distinguishing characteristic of modern civilization is an indefinite multiplicity of wants, negating the spirit of restriction or regulating of these wants (CWMG, vol.38, pp.417-18).

The process of development in India is characterised by major income inequalities that is reflected in the lifestyle of its people. More than the growth of its population, it is the adoption of consumerist lifestyle based on western model that has raised alarming concerns. Ramachandra Guha, India’s leading environmental historian and writer, remarks that “India is in many ways an ecological disaster zone, marked by high rates of deforestation, species loss, land degradation, air and water pollution” (Guha, 2006, p. 232). He elaborates further that for over the past few decades, the men who ruled India have attempted precisely to make India look like England and America. The creation of a western lifestyle would automatically lead to a quantum leap in the per capita consumption of resources like water, electricity, greater usage of electronic gadgets like refrigerators and microwaves. According to some estimates, ‘the per capita cost of creating westernized urban infrastructure is \$ 1200-1,500; pollution of air and water, unscientific techniques of garbage disposal, overuse of groundwater cause huge economic and environmental damage and loss. The slow moving vehicles and traffic bottlenecks alone result in a wastage of 10-

15% of our petroleum fuels and the losses even run into not less than Rs. 10, 000 crores a year' (Pandit, P.N., 2005. see URL).

This consumerist culture is further reinforced by the presence of multinational corporations and their wide range of products that often lure the consumers into further spree of acquisition. The MNCs 'use the media to manipulate people into being merely their employees or consumers of their unnecessary products and they create a sense of lack in people who no longer interact nor live in natural surroundings but instead, are conditioned to their meaningless jobs, just to be paid, conditioned by television boxes or computer screens to live in the unreal world of consumption' (Sivaraksa, 2002, p.3). The advertising for a consumerist product also erodes ethos and values that exist in a culture. Harsh elaborates that 'consumer culture is not just a phenomenon by which we all buy more than we ought to. It is a specific mentality and a way of thinking that invades life at nearly all levels. It is a national creed and condition of all living. Its detrimental effects must be viewed in terms of possible alternatives so that we can have a better idea of whether the creed of consumerism warrants change' (Harsch, p.593).

Harsch argues that while consumption for the basic needs makes it necessary and inevitable, consumption beyond the basic needs to fulfill psychological yearnings has a negative impact on the ecological resource management. If consumer behaviour is the result of our need to create a comfortable existence for ourselves, or of our need to be happy through fulfilling psychological longings, then a discussion of reducing overall consumption for the sake of the environment must take into account the disbenefits that would result from such a reduction in human comfort and happiness. He further argues that those in consumer culture utilize goods and services for a number of reasons unconnected with need, comfort or even the improvement of a psychological state (Harsch, 1999, pp.556-557).

3.3.1 Social, Economic and Cultural Dimensions

India's economic policy was a mixed one and for long, it remained closeted, content with whatever results it had produced. The domestic economic crisis that sprung in the early 1990s led to the opening up of its economy and ever

since, it has been undertaking reforms in various sectors at a much faster pace. The globalisation process opened up new vistas and India was exposed to a variety of goods and products, services and technologies at an unprecedented level, never witnessed before. The setting up of business and manufacturing units by the multinational companies also led to its economic boom. India's success in Information Technology (IT) has inspired it to offer its services in other sectors and areas too. Employment opportunities in the IT sector, MNCs and other private and business houses led to a higher per capita income and offered a better standard of living that eluded the previous generation. Along with the economic growth, grew India's consumption needs -both national as well as household. Within a decade and half, the globalisation process has changed the face of India to a great extent. So much so that today's younger generation of the nation has grown up along with the globalisation phase, oblivious to the demerits of excessive consumption. This is not to blame the younger generation alone, but the active pursuit of a luxurious lifestyle of different sections of society. Added to these are the government policies that had greatly facilitated modernisation of various sectors, increasing foreign direct investment, mushrooming of shopping complexes in every nook and corner at the expense of environmental degradation. Interestingly, this new culture simultaneously co-exists with the millions of people who continue to cope up with bare necessities. Their per capita consumption patterns do not exceed more than two dollars a day. Therefore, the process, which was to facilitate an overall growth and well being of the nation, has thus failed to mitigate the poverty levels and has in turn, given way to gross inequalities.

Consumerism, of late, has acquired an extensive social dimension in India. The emergence of a consumerist society, encompassing the possession of products from all over the world, has reached higher proportions. At a social level, it has come to signify an individual's better purchasing capacity, lifestyle and new prosperity. Consumption has enormously changed the livelihood patterns of people around the world. While the developing nations- though slow on economic growth and providing adequate human development needs, are enjoying the prosperity bestowed on them by free market economies, the developed nations self-sufficient in their basic

requirements continue to reach higher levels of consumption index. It is rightly pointed out that 'the population in these societies had for the most part been adequately housed, clothed and fed; now they expressed a desire for more elegant cars, more exotic food, more erotic clothing, more elaborate entertainment' (Guha, 2006, p.220).

India too is facing an enormous population growth. According to the official figures, 300 million people in India are below the poverty line. But, are these people, in anyway, benefited by the process of globalisation and consuming a large amount of resources? While the answer is emphatically in negative, the current trends of higher consumption are witnessed more in the middle class of the nation. For, the populations below poverty line can ill afford this new prosperity. Infact, the UN Reports have put the region as scoring higher on maternal and infant mortality rates. India scores a dismal 127 in the UN Human Development Index. Inspite of this bleak representation, the consumption levels are high.

Though the population having access to the above-mentioned items continue to be a minority till date, the easily available credits and loans from the commercialised private banks with a minimum rate of interest, increasing per capita income and the urge to possess the products have brought about significant changes in the consumers' mindsets.

Corresponding with this, India's decade and half old liberalisation process had definitely witnessed a sweeping change in the consumption patterns. With the higher per capita income, consumption levels continue to rise, despite certain sections of society being excluded from the maddening pattern of consumerism. But on an average, the middle class now has a higher income and a higher standard of living and has unlimited access to products from world over, ranging from cosmetics to cars. Along with this, there was a rise in the nuclear families, disproportionate with higher consumption of energy and water. More per capita waste is also being generated with unhygienic methods of disposal, thus leading to adverse impact on the environment. Increasing number of telephone connections, cell phone subscriptions, Internet users and use of other electronic gadgets

are now becoming the yardsticks to measure the development patterns leaving behind the utmost necessities like health, education and hygienic sanitary conditions. The ownership of as many electronic gadgets as possible like I-pods and digital cameras is not only leading to the individual's expression of the self in terms of social status but also a personal freedom and choice regarding the lifestyle. Some of the factors that contributed to this culture include the economic liberalisation, prosperity of the middle-class, eroding ethical values of the new generation, increasing urban settlements, revolution in retailing sector, promoting affluent culture and thoughts.

3.4 IMPACT ON ENVIRONMENT

Few questions posed by Guha ascertain to a great extent the impact of consumerism on the environment and relegating to the background some of the environmental values. He queries, 'can the world as a whole achieve American levels of car ownership? Can there be a world with four billion cars, a China with 700 million cars, an India with 600 million cars? Where will the oil and gas to run them come from? The metals to build them with? The tar to drive them on? I take the car here as merely indexical of a certain style of consumption' (Guha, 2006, p.237). Global estimates suggest that current levels of consumption and production are 25% higher than the earth's ecological capacity with the richest 15% of the world population accounting for 56% of the world's total consumption, whilst the poorest 40% account for only 11% (Report of the European Commission, 2002, p.1). The European Commission's statement as given above bails out the developing nations. Assuming it so, if a minuscule proportion can wreak much damage on the environment, what would be the impact if, for example, 600 million Indians start pursuing a higher standard of livelihood? The impact is obvious. By increasing the per capita consumption, there is not only an enormous waste that is being generated but also indirectly contributing to the increasing environmental problems such as pollution of air, land and water. The dependence on the automobiles/personal cars is leading to increasing air pollution, congestion on the roads and extensive

energy use. The absence of responsibility in giving due respect to the environment by littering of waste, even by the educated citizens is leading to worsening environmental conditions. Increase in the usage of washing machines, refrigerators, freezers etc. for a comfortable spell of life is also increasing the undue usage of energy resources and pollutant effects in the domestic vicinity. The unsafe disposal methods of domestic waste via drains are leading to clogging of the drainage system. The promotion of mindless consumerism is also leading to glaring inequalities between those who can enjoy the material comforts and those who can ill afford them.

There is also a wide gap in the development of rural and urban areas with the latter getting undivided attention in development projects and the former getting perennially neglected. The lack of a low cost modern infrastructure that can minimise the problems related to urban slums has rendered the areas ineffective for further development initiatives. Lack of sense of hygiene in addition to the lack of proper sanitation system has not only led to the environmental degradation but also imposed on the slum dwellers various health hazards. The felling of trees and other green areas for enhancing real estate business has resulted in the lack of open spaces, increase in the climate variations, destruction of natural landscape and setting up of industrial units that emit toxic materials that are harmful to health. The generation of e-waste caused by frequent disposal of electronic waste, floppy disks and compact discs and other electronic gadgets that are unusable cause environmental hazards. These are non-recyclable and their dumping in the open sites is producing damaging effects on human health and environment.

3.5 IS SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION POSSIBLE?

‘Sustainable Consumption’, as defined by the Norwegian Ministry of Environment, ‘is the use of goods and services that respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimising the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardize the needs of future generations’.

It is ironic that along with the environmental awareness, the urge to consume more has also witnessed a relative growth. The spreading of awareness of environmental degradation and how to use our available resources judiciously by minimum levels of consumption has made little impact on the public, especially in the developing countries. One can witness an inherent contradiction where the state speaks voluminously on its commitment to saving the environment on one hand and on the other, encourages investments and allows the industrial and business groups in promoting consumption as a source of economic growth and revenue generation. For obvious reasons, it is clear in the Indian context that years of self-denial due to a rather closed economy has not exposed the consumer to the worldwide range of products. The barrier that was broken with the opening up of the economy has resulted in massive indulgence and consumption, which seems rather highly irreversible. The fifteen years of reforms have already displayed negative effects and the consequences of current rate of consumption without sustainable means needs no special analysis. For sustainable consumption to be effective there should be coherence between sustainable development policies and a market economy management. India needs to implement stringent measures to avoid further damage to its natural wealth. In spite of higher levels of knowledge about the debilitating effects of environmental damage, there have been few attempts by the state to translate into practical methods. For example, the government of Delhi initiated the method of household waste disposal for the purpose of recycling and reuse but failed to garner enough public knowledge and support to implement the same. The contradictory policies create confusion among the public and thus fail to achieve desirable results. The use of energy effective electricity gadgets that involve a minimum level of energy consumption is yet to gain publicity. It is only in recent times that the government official complexes are setting an example by introducing such cost and energy effective devices but they are yet to find place in a massive way.

The technical improvements in the energy saving options may be considered for household gadgets like refrigerators that consume minimum energy levels. The promotion of effective means of transport in place of personal cars/vehicles would help in the decongestion process. Restricting the

ownership of automobiles/private cars, a stringent system of permits for parking for avoiding the inconveniences caused to the residents are some of the methods that are unlikely to work in India unless the government deems it necessary. It is least likely to do so considering the backlash from the consumers as well as the manufacturers who are mostly MNCs. A moratorium on the sale of the automobiles for a time limit may yield positive result but the chances are rather bleak to take up such measures. Nonetheless an attempt to move in this direction may prove to be beneficial.

One important measure would be to give due powers and finances to the local agencies/ associations to develop solid waste management, energy effective devices and instruments that help in managing the environmental decay and urban woes. At an individual level, measures could be taken to ensure a cordial co-existence between the nature and man. These include using:

- (1) recycled wastewater for non-potable use;
- (2) the paper judiciously as the use of more quantity of paper means more felling of trees, and also using recycled paper;
- (3) disposable waste for recycling purpose;
- (4) organic food for improved health
- (5) public transport instead of private vehicle or car pooling, which is much more cost-effective and, which also ensures less congestion and pollution on the roads;
- (6) sustainable energy resources

3.6 GANDHIAN ALTERNATIVES

Keeping the fact that this course pertains to Gandhi in the 21st century, it is necessary to interpret the above-mentioned issues in the context of Gandhian alternatives and whether re-interpreting Gandhi would find for us answers to some of these most important issues. It is necessary to note that the long-term consequences of consumerism are bound to push us on the verge of utter dissatisfaction and as Sivaraksa pointed out, ‘no amount of intellectualism and social engineering can liberate us from suffering’

(Sivaraksa, 2002, p.11). What we need today is an alternative strategy of long-term socio-economic well-being keeping in view the welfare of human beings and environment. If Gandhi could visualise this alternative almost a century ago, it would definitely not be an uphill task for the ruling regimes of today to adopt this approach. Economic decentralisation through sustained agro-industrial units reconstructed on a permanent basis would meet the local, rural and national requirements to a large extent, thus fulfilling developmental as well as environmental needs. Guha aptly remarks that, 'governments are compelled to pursue policies which are popular enough to win or retain office. The social needs and demands of the economy have to be made consistent with the natural constraints of ecology and both have to be harmonized with the political imperatives of democracy. To effectively and sustainably resolve these conflicts require us to truly think through the environment: think through it morally and politically, historically and sociologically, and not least economically and technologically' (Guha, 2006, p.249).

To this we can add a 'spiritually too' dimension taking a morally predominating stance in order to prevent further damage to the survival system of the mankind and the planet. We have a feasible solution in front of us i.e. to reduce our wants voluntarily. Voluntary reduction of wants, as propounded by Gandhi, may not be acceptable or seem impractical to the present and future generations, but the reduction of wants would definitely yield positive results in promoting sustainable patterns of consumption, without which we might be engulfed by the moral, social, economic and ecological tribulations. Consumption is not an end in itself, but the values associated with its promotion have deemed it to the present status. Since consumption is promoted on the premise that it leads to a better and happy life, the social and cultural values that are typical of particular cultures have taken a retreat in the process.

3.6.1 Voluntary Reduction of Wants

The voluntary reduction of wants requires each and every one of us to voluntarily curtail our endless wants and desires. This serves two purposes. While on one hand, it leaves much of the resources at the disposal of others

for their consumption, on the other hand it leads to the awareness of spirituality and to view with equanimity the necessities of other living creatures of this earth. Many argue as to the need for withholding one's own wants and desires for the good of the humanity as most of the time the world operates on the dictum of 'survival of the fittest'. Gandhi's advocacy towards voluntary poverty is often a much debated and discussed topic and many often its practicality especially in today's world where affluence means everything towards individual progress and development.

3.6.2 For the Greatest Good of All (Sarvodaya)

Gandhi did not subscribe to the view of 'greatest good of greatest numbers.' Rather, he firmly propounded the good of all (Sarvodaya) and progress of the man, till the last man (Antyodaya). To him that progress did not appeal which catered only to the welfare of a few. Gandhi's concept of Sarvodaya has already been familiarised to the learners, hence we would not delve deep into the subject in this Unit. Gandhi also advocated trusteeship and decentralisation to realise the goal of Sarvodaya. Only when one thinks of contributing to the society, one's own wealth would be put to use for a noble or collective societal cause. Decentralisation would enable the equitable distribution of the resources as everyone thinks of the welfare of the others. This would lead to the realisation of the goal of Sarvodaya as envisioned by Gandhi.

3.7 SUMMARY

Harsch attaches secondary value to the consumption and appends a superior position to a morally worthwhile life characterised by 'the ability to relax, and enjoy friendships and family relations, to engage in hobbies or to appreciate nature, and to find stimulation in things that challenge one, are all elements contributing to a happy life without making the consumption of goods a central feature of activity' (Harsch, 1999, p.598). If the present consumption levels and patterns dominate the lifestyles in India, the effects on healthy human and ecological life are bound to be detrimental. Though much of the onus lies on the government to regulate economic policies in tandem with ecological sustainability, it is preferable that people arrive at

that conclusion on their own and adjust their behaviour accordingly (Harsch, 1999, p.579). How the government and the public in India respond to the emerging environmental concerns and help mitigate the problems is indeed a contentious issue but a conscious move towards inculcating the environmental values would help in addressing many of the above concerns and in promoting a healthy and sustainable lifestyle. It is in this context that the views of Gandhi hold much relevance and show us answers to many pertinent issues confronting the world in this 21st century.

3.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What are the values appended to the environment in the Indian culture?
2. What are the implications of globalisation on the socio, economic and cultural milieu of a society?
3. Write in your own words the debate related to environment vs lifestyle choices.
4. What are the alternatives shown by Gandhi to mitigate the ill-effects of greed and excessive consumption patterns?

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Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
 - Aims and Objectives
- 4.2 The Treaty of Westphalia: Reasons and Ramifications
- 4.3 State Sovereignty and Global Order
- 4.4 The Call for a Global Order
- 4.5 Global Order and Gandhi
- 4.6 Gandhi's prescription for Order in the Globe
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Terminal questions
 - Suggested readings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

... [I]n all times, kings and Persons of sovereign authority, because of their Independency, are in continual jealousies, and in the state and postures of gladiators....

----Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 105

There are no common rules..., if such rules exist, they are not significant factors in international relations because they give way as soon as vital interests appear to be threatened, and therefore govern activities of marginal importance in the pursuit of security and power.

----Terry Nardin, *Law, Morality and Relations of States*

The quotations above refer at once to (a) the perilous order in the world, (b) the principal factors responsible for it, and (c) the major factors resisting its overhauling. The rise of the modern state system that evolved after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 grants sovereignty to every state. However, two factors impede the development and effectiveness of a global order, the state of anarchy in the international domain and the centrality of the pursuit of national interest not simply in terms of security but also in terms of access to resources vital for development and for ensuring people's well-being. States enjoy equality of status, but they are unequal in wealth and power. They exist within a shared environment without the benefit of either a common government or a commonly agreed upon set of rules. To consolidate of their sovereignty and to strengthen their power base, states have often resorted to armed conflict thus disturbing a peaceful order.

Though attempts have been made to install some kind of global peace and order, the instituted mechanisms have not succeeded in keeping peace mainly for two reasons. The collapse of Christian universalism in the sixteenth century resulted in the loss of a shareable commonality; which reinforced the state's predisposition to seek power and pelf. This does not allow any institutional mechanism for keeping peace and order in the world a chance to work effectively for long. Also the denial of authority and power to such a mechanism for settling differences between states peacefully proves highly debilitating. Therefore the setting up of a world government is proposed, based on the model of nation-state. Since nation-states, time and again, have created the problems facing the world, the prospects of a world government appear bleak. It is in this context that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's vision of global order assumes importance.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- The factors leading to the Treaty of Westphalia;
- The rise of the modern state system;
- Search for world order and its futility; and
- Salience of Gandhi's vision of order.

4.2 THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA: REASONS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The falling apart of Christian universalism snapped man's connection with God. This meant the inflexible insistence on sovereign rights and pursuit of individual and group interests without regard to the possibility of the destruction of order. It saw the rise of a new man, a self-defining subject, who finds his fulfillment in the satisfaction of his ordinary life needs involved with the acquisition of wealth, power and prestige. It also divided the population of several European monarchies into antagonistic religious camps. Lack of religious tolerance led to the outbreak of the Thirty-year Religious Wars and restoration of peace after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

This Treaty also confirmed the fact of the rise of modern states intimating the beginning of an entirely new pattern of inter-state relations confined, for a long time, to Europe. This pattern speeded up the process of globalisation, which subsequently promoted interconnectedness of states and threw up forces that have proven inhospitable to the solution of the problems created

by it. The vigorous pursuit of national interest tends to disturb peace, which, in turn, necessitates the creation of a trans-state mechanism for maintaining peace. Towards this, the Treaty treated European nation-states as the “society of states,” and the nation-state as “the supreme principle of the ‘political organization’ of human kind”. The ‘society of states’ recognised equality of status to states even while they were unequal in wealth and power.

A set of rules was formulated to curb the self-aggrandising tendency of nation-states. These rules stipulated legitimate use of forces by a nation-state when it faced external aggression to promote national security and development, and to facilitate cooperation between states. Agreements between states for mutual advantage were to be treated sacrosanct and the promotion of cooperation between states to facilitate political, strategic, and social and economic domains was felt necessary. These rules were expected to make the society of states a self-regulating system.

4.2.1 Dynamics of Change in Inter-state Relations

The society of states as a self-regulating system proved unworkable mainly for two reasons. One was the unbridled pursuit of national interest backed by force, if necessary, which was encouraged by the existence of small states. Inequality of power reinforced the tendency towards self-aggrandisement by powerful states. Two, there was the recurrence of spiritual and ideological movements in different parts of Europe, which frequently proved destabilising. Threat to stability resulted in the mobilisation of traditional forces in opposition. Thus the way for wars was paved. When the warring forces exhausted themselves, peace was restored.

This is exemplified by a series of treaties, such as Westphalia (1648), Pyreness (1659), Oliva (1660), Utrecht (1710), and Restatt (1714). Once the situation stabilised, the other factors came into operation with vengeance. Spiritual and ideological movements disturbed peace, prompted war, and exhausted themselves in peace. Every such cycle was paralleled by attempts to forge some kind of world order that could prevent war. Both these tendencies operated together to make the society of states extremely volatile. With every outburst of such movements and restoration of peace, the political situation grew more complicated because none of the universalisms represented by each of these movements could triumph and mould the structure of

world politics in the way it envisioned. Also, sentiments aroused by succeeding conflicts and institutions created in their wake became additional factors in the situation to cope with.

The recurrent cycle is clearly exemplified by (a) the French Revolution followed by Napoleonic wars and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 giving rise to the idea of the Concert of Europe and alliance system; (b) the Marxist movement after the termination of World War I as well as the creation of the League of Nations; and (c) Fascist and Nazi movements spearheaded by the rise of lower middle class leading to World War II and the establishment of the United Nations organization (UNO). Two other factors were added to complicate the situation: colonisation of non-European parts of the world and the expansion of economic activities across state borders that gradually assumed a planetary scope.

Colonisation meant exploitation of natural resources of the colonies for raw materials and for opening new markets for finished goods. It also concealed a civilising mission aimed at civilising colonial populations whom the colonial masters considered primitives; to civilise them, the colonial people had to be made worthy of establishing and administering a republic that is legitimate by “human and civil” standards. For this, “primitive” men in the colonies were to be cast in the image of Western, Christian man as the model of humanity. It underlined that it is the self of the Western, Christian man that constituted the centre of experience. As such “every one, every where ought to believe in the same scientific truths, follow the same moral guidelines, endorse the same god or gods.” Also, all societies should entrance liberal institutions of economic and political life and relations, as they exist in the West.

The phenomenon of the economy of planetary scope is consequent upon the rise of *economic man*, making reliance on technologically induced economic growth for satisfying the ever proliferating material needs of the people inescapable. This pushed up the requirements of raw materials and markets. The resulting colonisation extended modern economic activities to countries where the availability of required raw materials was high and cost of production low. Trade and commerce boosted the expansion of economic activities across national borders. This, in turn, was instrumental in intensifying inter-connectedness between states.

Operation of these factors impacted inter-state relations and the possibility of a durable global order deeply. Innovations in the socio-economic and political domains, underpinning the long historical process since 1648, affected world politics deeply; they also subtly changed the tenor of inter-state relations. Also, they created new problem for the establishment of an effective instrument of global order. In Europe, for example, states notably absolutist to begin with later turned democratic, witnessed significant changes in class composition and in the pattern of the distribution of power and paved the way for mass politics. Add to it the increasing salience of market economy and inter-penetration of national economies. Resultantly, the distance between domestic and external affairs was vastly reduced making it possible for developments in one part of the world to affect other parts.

Complex changes, both within and without European states, involving religion, philosophy, population growth, demands for self-rule followed later by the termination of colonialism transformed inter-state relations into inter-civilisational relations, creating new problems for global order. However, a period of comparative peace and stability prevailed in Europe between 1815-1914 due to the persistence of the Euro-centric order buttressed by European hegemony under British leadership. The large degree of consensus among European powers, based on the norms of respect for territorial balance of power, the principle of self-restraint and mutual consultation in the event of possible conflict, made stability possible. What cemented this consensus was the understanding among major powers to carve out zones of influence and actual control in the non-European part of the world. This was necessary for them to facilitate the process of modernisation in their societies; this required natural and other resources from elsewhere to keep them moving on the path of progress.

In the crisis-prone post-Westphalia, Euro-centric order stability was supposed to be maintained by the fragile principle of balance-of-power. It signifies a process marked by the natural tendency of states to mobilise a counter-balancing force to checkmate the possibility of aggression of any power. This process is set in motion by the unintended consequences of actions of states aimed at ensuring their security by enhancing their power through augmenting their arsenal of war, conquest or alliance. Once set in motion, it is expected to produce both order and change. However, once the balance is upset, war may ensue. But it proves brittle when a

state treads the path of aggression threatening the security of other states. It forces the states to strengthen their ramparts and marshal their military might. “This is exemplified by Napoleonic wars which disturbed the balance of forces, led to war and culminated in the birth of the Concert of Europe initiating a new pattern of inter-state relations of alliance and counter-alliance”.

4.3 STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND GLOBAL ORDER

The state system has undoubtedly proved a limiting factor for the emergence of a global order. It puts hurdles in the path of orderly conduct of inter-state relations in a manner that transcends the politics of sovereign states. The society of states, tolerating as it did, inequality of power, induced “great powers” to use and sacrifice smaller states for promoting their own objectives. Consequently, these changes led to nationalism, raising demands for redrawing state-boundaries to open the way for self-rule. The Balkan crises and the breaking apart of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires exemplify this.

At the root of the destabilisation lies, as Held notes, two features of the way modern nation-states have been consolidated- hierarchy and unevenness. Hierarchy stands for the structure of political and economic globalisation in which a constellation of nation-states is concentrated in the West. Here lies the seed of North-South contentions later. Unevenness denotes the asymmetrical effects of political and economic globalisation upon the life chances and well-being of peoples, classes, ethnic groups etc., especially in the countries of the South. It is correlated with poverty and deprivation. These two features greatly affect the capacity of states to mobilise necessary resources for security and development. It is the position of a state in the hierarchy of states that determines its place in international division of power and labour; it also determines the support the state can muster from a world body divided into competing nations committed to protect and promote their own separate interests.

The role of nationalism and economic universalism can be better appreciated against the background of these two features. The latter was counterpoised to the former as well as state intervention for correcting the anomalies thrown up by the working of free market and for reasons of national security, economic rivalry and the pacification of domestic unrest. In short, the dynamics as well as the limitations of the nineteenth century system in Europe was that

Interdependent markets were created for each, and these were formally (although artificially) separated from political authority. The national capitals of the rival imperialist states competed with each other. Thus military-industrial competition (partly due to the attempt to build strategic industries for national security reasons) was a key driving force in developing the productive powers of the system, as well as its horrific destructive capacity for total war.”(.....)

Interplay among these dynamic factors created the conditions for World War II; the world after the World War II was bedeviled by the Cold War due to its division in two warring camps, one led by the United States and the other by the Soviet Union. It also saw the birth of a new global order under the auspices of the United Nations Organization and other Bretton Woods institutions. The emergent global order evolved from and built upon different variants of what Robert Cox calls the “welfare-nationalist” form of order. The motivating force behind them was the internationalisation of the New Deal. In contrast, the Soviet Union sought to paint the whole world in Marxist hue. With the collapse of the Soviet system, the heat of the cold war subsided. Also, pan- Americana received severe jolts because of the humiliation it experienced in Vietnam and elsewhere. Retreat from economic universalism reflected in the narrow view of its national interest made these jolts more severe. Add to it the finance-oriented American economic policies with a view to shifting the costs of war to others. Also, the efforts by Nixon to build regional power centres harmed the American claim to world leadership.

These developments adversely affected the laboriously established balance between different dynamic forces acting on the world scene. This produced a crisis in leadership deepened by the emergence of two other factors. One, the attenuation of state sovereignty under the press of the globalisation of economic activity intensified global interconnectedness. This went a long way to erode the autonomy of the state in policy formulation, on the one hand, and democratic accountability, on the other. The proliferation of transnational and global functions and organisations, inter-governmental agreements, and cooperation in cultural economic and political affairs have the effect of eroding the distinction between internal and external affairs, and between domestic and international policy. As such, the state has become a fragmented arena for policy making. As policy formulation goes beyond the reach of the state government, democratic accountability is eclipsed. Consequently, the idea of a “national community of fate,” a

community that rightly governs itself and determines its own future—an idea that lies at the heart of modern liberal state—is today deeply problematic.

The end of the Eurocentric global order and colonialism added to the diversity of the world community, now characterised by a plurality of ethnic groups, differences of economic growth, and variegated forms of political functioning. The expected integration of different people and culture through globalisation has been frustrated. Instead, it has engendered the awareness of vital difference in life-styles, belief systems, value orientation, and socio-economic status. A plurality of frames of cultural and political history in the making has become manifest. Political conflicts fostered by ethnic, cultural, economic and political differences and claims are symptomatic of deep-lying civilisational malaise. It is widely felt that something is wrong with the world as it is socio-culturally, economically and politically constituted.

4.4 THE CALL FOR A GLOBAL ORDER

Can the ills of the world be cured by installing a world state? It is argued that when the world is moving towards integration and the idea of the global village seems eminently realisable, the division of the world into nation-states, with their particularistic and divisive concerns, nation-states poses a serious barrier to the emergence of a unified, cohesive world community. With economic activities assuming planetary scope, regional and global functions and organisations having proliferated, nation-states make for inefficiency and delay in the performance of these functions. Nation-states show hesitation in cooperating when the performance of these functions vitally affects their national interest.

The proliferation of transnational and global functions and organisation has created necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of a global order backed by a world state. The process of globalisation can neither be halted nor reversed now. The conversion of the society of means-into the society of ends requires the subjugation of the pursuit of national-interest to the common interest of all the states. It is supposed that the world state modeled on the nation-state can achieve this conversion. It is assumed that globalisation creates the necessary condition for a world state and the modern nation-state offers an appropriate model for it. However, globalisation does not necessarily lead to global integration. The globe has truly shrunk, but it

has also magnified the awareness of differences. The nation-state, as a model of world state, is questionable as it is at the root of the problems facing world order. It is the depredations of the nation-state that make a world state necessary. Moreover, the argument that the world state would engender the necessary normative compulsions is dubious. The instrument of the state is law and law does not assure the triumph of justice.

The jealously protected sovereignty of the nation-state hampers the installment of a world state that would further curtail the autonomy of the nation-state to formulate policies. In such a situation, a global order, as Waltz argues, has only two guises: US hegemony, that is, pan-Americana, working through a revitalized United Nations to promote justice and well-being and a system of collective security or the emergence of global order through the redistribution of power across states. However, the likelihood of any of these guises becoming real is doubtful and if one of these becomes real, it will prove detrimental to global order. In the meantime, the world sees no let up in dissatisfaction, unrest and turmoil caused by separatism and terrorism adding to the prevalent civilisational crisis. This is evidenced by the fact that more than 166 local and regional wars have been fought since 1948.

4.5 GLOBAL ORDER AND GANDHI

World state may be necessary for global order but Gandhi did not see any merit in it. He favoured order in the world. The modern nation-state consist of the natural man who finds his fulfillment in what Gandhi calls “bodily comfort.” For such a man, society and nature constitute the potential means for realising his self-determined purposes. Avarice becomes the pivot of his life activities. In consequence, conflict becomes endemic and the divine in man is totally eclipsed. Man loses “the faith in his own value when no infinitely invaluable works through him.” Since divine connection is cut off, man experiences several splits: split in his interior, between man and man, between man and society, and man and nature.

The split between soul and body is reflected in the reduction of man’s being into a life of passion alone, taken over by calculative reasoning, which becomes the handmaiden of his passions. Devoid of spirituality, man suffers psychological malaise and manifests anomie and alienation.

Commitment to the pursuit of interest puts one individual against all individuals because they all compete for an access to societal resources for realising the dream of the good life of modern conception. And men fight not because they are different, but because they are the same. This introduces mismatch between the good of one individual and the good of all individuals endangering cooperation and harmony.

When man seeks felicity, or bodily comfort, the process of objectification takes over. Both society and nature become objects to be exploited for realising man's purposes. This turns society into a mechanical aggregate of self-defining subjects, further meaning that society has lost its educative and prescriptive role and is no more capable of turning the natural man into a social man with the capacity to rise above his own interest and serve the common good. Nature too is objectified leading to its unbridled manipulation inviting the danger of eco-disaster and destruction of man's natural habitat.

These splits signify the lifting of all controls, both internal and external, that curb man's tendency towards being on the right path. Discrimination between what is good and bad, and right and wrong is lost; needs begin to proliferate and man becomes the slave of many mad masters, that is, passions. The effort to satisfy proliferating needs in a situation of scarcity breeds intense competition; and competition in the absence of moral sensibility is invitation to social conflict. With endemic competition and conflict, the individual experiences powerlessness; this restricts his freedom of action since he has to act in a situation not of his own making, a situation that is the outcome of many persons acting for themselves.

Man's helplessness congeals in his dependence on the state. The primary role of the state is to stimulate and speed up the role of economic development as a necessary condition of man's well-being; this has adversely affected his freedom and has institutionalised "a new type of state despotism" which is popularly elected, as Alexis de Tocqueville notes. The steep rise in the people's aspiration fed upon the promise of plenty for all and the tendency to emulate affluent life-styles have set into motion what Tocqueville calls "permanent social revolution" signifying that all section of society seek to have more than they have. When success eludes, they turn to the state to get their aspirations satisfied. This is especially true of democratic political systems

where the arithmetic of votes requires the government to please and appease the people. As a result, the ideal of freedom is replaced by the goal of government-assured well-being.

Thus the state intrudes into different areas of people's life and rules over the destiny of the people. It perfects its techniques of control, makes itself less odious and loathsome in the eyes of the people. It transforms citizens into passive subjects, who invest their trust in its "benevolent" power and busy themselves with the chores of their humdrum life, the life of everydayness. This results in the inability of people to resist injustice, exploitation and oppression and encourages and helps achieve a greater degree of concentration of power at the apex of the political system. The local communities lose the capacity of self-rule and prevented from emerging as the "community of fate."

All these factors have, in their dynamic interaction, rendered man a "broken totality." The state is the natural outcome of the single-minded pursuit of interest and is a natural outcome of this pursuit. To install a world government as the nation-state writ large is to replicate a similar situation at the level of inter-state relations and give a fillip to power drives of powerful states frustrating the hope of harmony and peace in the world and reinforcing the ineffectiveness of any institutional device for maintaining global order. The UNO illustrates this well.

4.6 GANDHI'S PRESCRIPTION FOR ORDER IN THE WORLD

The point of departure for Gandhi's prescription for order in the world is the demonic industrial civilization "which has grown as possible as a world through its hunger for wealth and its greedy pursuit of worldly pleasures." It saps all vital energy out of man's body and soul. The concern for bodily comfort, Gandhi notes, "takes note neither of morality nor of religion". Discipline of morality or religion wilts; violence becomes an easy option and the maxims of "might is right" and "the survival of the fittest" come into operation. Gandhi would prefer peace and harmony instead of discord.

The discontent, the unrest and the violence pervading the world have helped the monolithic state to rise and reinforce the claim for a world government. The causes for this, Gandhi insists, must be uprooted, if mankind is to enjoy peace, harmony and benevolent order. This cannot be

assured by changing the institutional arrangement of society insofar as it is the neglect of the spiritual or moral dimension that is the source of the problem. This neglect causes disorder in the soul; soul's disorder spreads out and reappears as social disorder. At the root of it is the loss of shareable commonality. The only foundation of order can be found in the aggregation of private valuations of the individuals who compose it.

True well-being of man needs to be grounded in the feeling of brotherhood, which is assured by pulling down the props of the industrial civilisation to facilitate the advent of a new age in the world marked by a propitious order. Towards this, the tendency of drift must be reversed. Gandhi calls for the restoration of the divine connection snapped by the loss of shareable communality that is God. This requires the attunement of the soul to the divine ground of being signifying the acceptance of the suzerainty of the in-dwelling God and become what *Chhandogya Upanishad* calls swarat, that is, a self-governing person. As a swarat, he rises above moral conflicts and is able to link himself with the larger order that envelops him.

To link with the larger order is to have *samatva* (sameness), an active consciousness of oneness of life. It also engenders a firm commitment to truth and non-violence. Coupled with the awareness of the plurality of perspectives from which reality can be viewed helps develop the attitude of refraining from imposing one's own vision of truth on others. *Samatva* is the foundation of non-violence, *ahimsa* and a central value in life for Gandhi. "The principle of *ahimsa* is violated by hurt, by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill of anybody. It is also violated by our holding on to what the world needs." For Gandhi, the knowledge of the highest truth is the aim of self-development. Gandhi does not deny the reality of the world here and now; what he rejects is immersion in the phenomenal world, the life of everydayness. He disfavours losing the sense of reality and finds it intolerable. Nor does Gandhi tolerate the development of individuality through willful conquest of others. He underlines the necessity of harmonising oneself with an ever-enlarging network of relationships that makes society a network of extended selves. Consequently, humanity comes to be located in a highly complex need of inter-dependency, cooperation and harmony. To be an active member of this network is to treat the world as a family (*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*).

For Gandhi, truth and non-violence are the necessary foundations of a “global village.” Selfless action especially to those who are depressed and deprived nourishes this value. It instills in man the awareness that one should not have what the poor do not or cannot have. This helps in the minimisation of wants and the acceptance of a simple life style that obviates the need for big machines for producing goods and services cutting at the root of industrialisation.

Instead of the present system of mass production, it would promote production by masses reflecting a heavy reliance on simple technology as well as locally and nationally available resources. Gandhi does not prefer equalisation of possession; instead, he calls for curbing the tendency towards possessiveness, which trusteeship can promote. A social order based on truth and non-violence must reflect interdependence informed by the principle of *swadeshi*. That is, that the most effective organisation of social, economic, and political institutions and functions must follow the natural contours of the neighbourhood.

These are the props that sustain the search for *satya* and *ahimsa* as well as the foundation of self-governance. Unless humans are essentially self-governing beings, there can be no case for self-governing societies. The institutional structure of a self-governing society, for Gandhi, must be the local community comprising one or a group of villages that is self-governing democratic republic endowed with necessary powers and authority to manage its own affairs. The village republic must reflect individual freedom informed by social responsibility. Complete decentralisation not only in the economic field but also in the political realm must be the basis of village republic, the locus of real democracy.

The village republic, replacing formal, representative democracy, will reflect the ideas of micro-variability and micro-vitality of local communities thus combining information with power, power with responsibility, and responsibility with sympathy. Gandhi envisages a democracy where the village community provides the primary building blocks of self-reliance and self-sufficiency and the higher tiers of the system will be entrusted with functions that cannot be performed by the lower tiers. In the village republic, every individual will have the inner strength to resist tyranny and oppression. The socio-political organisation that Gandhi visualises will represent an oceanic circle signifying a particular structure, where life will not be a pyramid with

apex sustained by the bottom but will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of the villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units. Therefore the *outer circumference* will not wield the power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it....No one... (will) be the first and none the last.

The syndrome of ideas advanced by Gandhi is constitutive of *swaraj*, that is, self-rule based on self-control, a necessary condition for spiritualising politics. This *swaraj* is what Gandhi calls the “square of swaraj” characterised by political independence, infused by morality and sociality. Gandhi thus assigns the utmost importance to the spiritual renovation of man and to the reversal of power to the base; this allows self-governing local communities to flourish. For Gandhi, self-governing communities, at whose heart stands the spiritually awakened individual, will safeguard order in the world. This necessitates reorganisation of the political order in a way that, moving from the bottom travels through various intermediate levels to the national level, with each subsequent level enjoying only residuary power and responsibility depending on the substantive areas of functions it is concerned with. With local communities managing their own affairs, the overriding importance of national government will be greatly reduced.

4.7 SUMMARY

As Gandhi said, a dynamic democracy can grow only out of meaningful relations and spontaneous organization that springs among people, when they come together at the local level to solve their basic problems by cooperation among themselves. In such a community, achievement of self-sufficiency and security by neighbourly cooperation engenders a strong scene of local strength and solidarity and the individual’s sense of responsibility to the community and concern for its welfare at their highest. The question of world government is, for Gandhi, of only secondary importance and relevant only to the extent that the emergence of certain global functions would require coordination and management at the international level. If a world government is needed, it must be constituted by fully independent nations and be more than a voluntary organisation eschewing the distinction of small and big nations. It must stand for common good and achieve general disarmament; disputes must be settled peacefully; and it

may have a small international police force to maintain order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence. It is this perspective that becomes constitutive of a real tradition, the tradition that gives a particular meaning to political action. It finds expression in elaborate symbols that communicate the fundamental consensus of society and shapes the institutional life and public and personal lives of the people. It forms the belief structure, which is the distinctive foundation of association in society, and also shapes the essential humanity of the individual members of the society by supplying meaning in their existence as participants in a reality, which they experience as transcending merely private existence. This is the foundation of order in the world according to Gandhi.

4.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. With the background of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), point out the essential features of the emergent modern state system.
2. Describe the factors that prevented the “Society of States” from keeping peace and order in the world.
3. “World government modeled after the modern state is anathema to Mahatma Gandhi”. Give reasons for or against this statement.
4. What does Mahatma Gandhi prescribe for creating and maintaining order in the world?

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