THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

(PHL3 C09)

III SEMESTER

CORE COURSE

M.A. PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

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OF MAHATMA GANDHI

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I. Introduction

This paper tries to present the overall socioeconomic thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts seem to be attracting more and more attention nowadays. Gandhi believed that India's socioeconomic construction toward swaraj, i.e. political independence or self-government, depended on freeing itself from modern civilization. Gandhi is a role model and an ideal to billions of people even today, and his enduring legacy of non-violence, dedication, and leadership continues to inspire.

The Social Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi is a radically transformed humanity to reconstruct human society with a positive socio-economic force. It is a new dynamic philosophy seeks to build a society have based on the foundations of old spiritual and moral values of India and attempts to meet the challenge of the contemporary problems. It envisages a well-balanced development of the nation and there will be no difference between privileged and under-privileged. The philosophy of Gandhi which is popularly known as ‘Sarvodaya’ is in its essence; it is compatible with an attempt of the spirit to prevail over matter and to socialize itself. It is a symbol of Gita’s Anasakti. Gandhi found the idea of ‘Sarvodaya’ from the Vedas, Upanishads, the Ramayana, the Gita and Quran and extended its meaning and application. The word ‘Sarvodaya’ appeared in the form of a title of John Ruskin’s book ‘Unto The Last’.

The word ‘Sarvodaya’ was originated from Sanskrit which is composed of ‘Sarva’ means all and ‘Udaya’ means rising. This means welfare of all or the rising of all living beings. Sarvodaya includes all people irrespective of caste, class, creed and religion. According to Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Sarvodaya means making
all people happy by removing poverty and suffering of the people with the help of scientific knowledge. It is a state of order full of with divinity, kindness, and equality. Sarvodaya means welfare and prosperity of all and all must progress without collision of interest. Sarvodaya is a concept which stands on self-sacrifice and selfless service. Gandhi was deeply influenced by Leo Tolstoy’s book ‘The Kingdom of God is within you’ and his essay’ Christianity and Patriotism’. Tolstoy and Gandhi both firmly believed that the force of love is the solution of all human problems. According to them Non-violence could cure all social maladies and establish peace on the earth. The ideology of Sarvodaya has a higher significance as the idea is derived from the ideal of ‘Niskam karma’ of the Bhagavat Gita.

Gandhi was highly influenced by the Buddhist philosophy which preached universal love and the end of all sufferings through the adoption of ‘majjhimpansa’ and in pursuance of eight folded path. Lord Buddha stressed on purity of means and Gandhi constantly maintain a relationship between pure means and noble end. The main principle of Jainism is the welfare of all creatures through the adoption of ‘ahimsha’ Gandhi was influenced by the Jainaphilosophy in establishing sarvodaya. The holy Quran convinced Gandhi and he declares, ‘the point of brotherhood is manifested in no other religion as clearly as in Islam’.

Gandhi attempted to make synthesis of the essence of Vedanta, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity and the teachings of the great prophets and the sarvodaya was the implication of their ideas at more critical and analytical levels. In Sarvodaya society there will be no exploitation, discrimination, inequality and violence. Sarvodaya society is considered by Gandhi to be free from evils like ‘politics without principle’ wealth without work’ ‘knowledge without character’ ‘commerce without morals’ ‘science without mankind’ and service without sacrifice’. A good
social order could be established if every individual is imbued with the spirit of love, tolerance, kindness, fearlessness, non-violence as all these are individual and social virtues. Every individual should follow the principle of giving not taking and should be ready to sacrifice happiness for the sake of others. In this way a new social order based on equality, freedom, justice, fraternity could be established. A sense of social obligation could be developed through proper education.

Gandhi had set up his first Sarvodaya community near Durban and called it Phoenix in 1904 and another in Johannesburg named after Leo Tolstoy. According to Gandhi non-violence is the law of life. Self-sacrifice for the happiness for others is the foundation of an ideal society.

It is generally assumed that Gandhi was solely a politician, philosopher and religious leader and that he did not have any economic goal. But surprisingly all of Gandhi’s socio-political ideals seem to be woven around the economic problems that were then of great public concerns as well. So, one seems to be in a position to state that Gandhian thinking can also be classified as Gandhian economic philosophy.

His economic views were characterized by a simple, humanist approach – to him the sophistication and complexities of statistics mattered far less than the on-ground realities. To some extent, Gandhi did formalize his socio-economic beliefs in several publications. Many of his learned followers did seek to build a branch of economics that would be as established as any other field of study. As a result, there are rules, systems, and various other typical, formal paraphernalia that can be used to define Gandhian economics as an academic subject. But that is one of the reasons why it is a largely understudied and often dismissed subject – because it is inherently different from all other kinds of
economics. Gandhian economics does not follow the assumptions that are characteristic to the subject of economics; its essence lies in Gandhi’s humanism and his many musings that are now construed as a philosophy. Which is why it is important to look at Gandhi’s economics as a guiding set of principles, or a bunch of moral constraints – studying it as one may study indifference curves or marginal revenues and gross domestic products is perhaps practically impossible (and unnecessary). Gandhi himself said that to him ethics and economics were indistinguishable. Gandhian economics is built on an entirely different base: it does not concern itself with rationality, it does not obsess over dynamism or industry – it is instead a philosophy that is focused, above all else – on the achievement of social justice.

To understand correctly how Gandhi’s socio-economic philosophy was molded one has to go back to him to see what ideas and impressions influenced him. Let’s consider those ideals and impressions which influenced him one by one.

I.I Indian Influence

a) Upanishads

Mahatma Gandhi continues to be quoted by people of different political persuasions. He is seen by some as a “friend of capitalists” and by others as a “votary of socialism”. In order to understand Gandhi’s socio-economic position, one needs to understand the sources of Gandhi’s ideas. Who influenced him and how? In the religious field, the influences of the Bhagavad Gita, the Ramcharitmanas, Gujarati Vaishnava hymns and the Sermon on the Mount are well-known. In this topic, we are going to discuss or propose to review the Upanishadic influence that the Isavasya Upanishad had on Gandhi and how it accounts for his
surprisingly unusual and radical views on wealth, capitalism and trusteeship.

The Mahatma was not acquainted with Sanskrit. But we are told that he read not only the Theosophists’ English translation of the Upanishads, but several other variants as well. What is not in question is his saying that if all other Hindu scriptures were lost, and only the opening verses of the Isa Upanishad were preserved, then Hinduism, or at least Hinduism as Gandhi visualized it, would still survive. This is a pretty strong endorsement of the Upanishad and tells us that while the Gita, the Manas and Vaishnava hymns were undoubtedly important in the development of Gandhi’s persona, the Upanishads and this one in particular, need greater attention on the part of Gandhian scholars.

It is quite evident that the Upanishads form the foundation of Gandhi’s philosophy in the 20th century. When he was in Yervada Jail he read not only Max Muller’s translation of the Upanishads but also learnt the Isa Upanishad by heart. Recitation of some of the verses of the Upanishads was part of Gandhi’s daily prayers. A booklet of prayers and songs which recited in Gandhi’s Ashram, quotes some thirty-three exerts under the heading ‘remembering the Upanishads’. These verses are mainly from the Isa, the Brhadaranyaka, the Chandogya, the Taittiriya, the Mundaka, and the Katha Upanishads. All this reveals a great impact of the Upanishads on Gandhi’s philosophy. Gandhi’s philosophy is best understood only with reference to the Upanishads.

Let us now examine the impact of Upanishads on Gandhi’s concepts. Gandhi describes the Ultimate Reality in terms of God and Truth. His concept of the ultimate reality is almost completely derived from the first verse of the Isa Upanishad. The first verse is expressed as follows:

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“(know that) all this, whatever moves in this moving world, is enveloped by God. Therefore, find your enjoyment in renunciation; do not covet what belongs to others”.

Referring to this mantra, Gandhi Wrote, “I have come to the final conclusion that, if all the Upanishads and all other scriptures happened all of a sudden to be reduced to ashes and if only the first verse in the Upanishad were left intact in the memory of Hindus, Hinduism would live forever”. Gandhi finds in the first verse of Isa Upanishad not only a statement of the concept of God, but also some of the most important ethical principles. His belief in the unity of everything and all human can be traced to the first verse of the Isa Upanishad. It is this unity which is the chief search of the Upanishads. Gandhi reechoes it. The Upanishads and Gandhi emphasize the same fundamental doctrine which may be called ‘non-dualistic spirituality’.

Gandhi does not call the ultimate Reality by the name of Brahman. He adopts the description of the ultimate Reality as Truth. Truth, which is the ultimate Reality in Gandhi’s metaphysics, is the law of the universe. He writes: “there is an unalterable law governing everything that exists or lives. It is not a blind law; for no blind law can govern the conduct of living beings. That law, then, which governs all life, is God. Law and the law-giver are one”. This is really Gandhi’s concept of truth or satya. In the Upanishads, the ultimate Reality is often described as Law-giver. Phrases such as sarvasya vasu, the controller of all, the lord of all, and the ruler of all, ekovasisarva-bhutantar-atma, the one, controller (of all), the inner self of all things, and ekovasibahunam, the one controller of the many occur rarely in the Upanishads. The description of the ultimate Reality as Truth is, however, not unknown to the Upanishads. For Instance, in Chandogya Upanishad Reality is identified with Truth; Tat Satyam, ‘that is Truth’. Truth is the ground of all existence and is
also the goal of life. To Gandhi Truth was of paramount importance. He frequently quoted a favorite Sanskrit verse which said: “There is no higher religion than Truth (satyannastiparodharmah)”. It has been the firm belief of the Indian seers that ultimately truth is victorious because it is the basic principle.

Bhedaranyakya Upanishad says: ‘There is nothing higher than Dharma (Law). Verily, that which is dharma is truth. Therefore, they say of a man who speaks the truth, he speaks dharma or of a man who speaks dharma that hespeaks of truth. Verily, both these are the same. Gandhi takes exactly the same viewpoint. He only emphasized the Ultimate Reality as Truth and unalterable Law.

b) Bhagavad-Gita

During his career in England, he got to know two theosophists. They introduced to him the Bhagavad-Gita. They were reading The Song Celestial, Sir Edwin Arnold’s translation. Sir Edwin Arnold had translated the Gita from Sanskrit into English and published it under the title of The Song Celestial in 1885, just a few years before Gandhi met him. Gandhi was asked to read the original with them. He admits it was shameful not to have read it until the age of twenty, for the Gita is as sacred to Hinduism as Koran is to Islam, the Old Testament to Judaism, and The New Testament to Christianity. Subsequently, however, Gandhi read the original Sanskrit of the Gita and many translations. In fact, he himself translated the Gita from Sanskrit which he did not know very well, into Gujarati and annotated it with comments.

The Gita makes a deep impression on Gandhi’s mind. So, the Gita became Gandhi’s spiritual reference book, his daily guide. Gandhi wrote, “To me the Gita became an infallible guide
to conduct. It became my dictionary of daily “reference”. Further, he wrote, “Today the Gita is not only my Bible or my Koran; it is more than that- it is my mother. I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago; but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed; she has never failed me. When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom”. Mahadev Desai declared that “every moment of Gandhi’s life is a conscious effort to live the message of the Gita”.

According to Gandhi, the Gita does not describe a historical event. He observed, “Even in 1888-89, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that, under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind, and that physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of the internal duel more alluring. This preliminary intuition became more confirmed on a closer study of religion and the Gita”. Further he insisted, “Personally, I believe that Duryodhana and his supporters stand for the satanic impulses in us, and Arjuna and others stand for Godward impulses. The battlefield is our body. The poet-seer, who knows from experience the problems of life, has given a faithful account of the conflict which is eternally going on within us. Shri Krishna is the Lord dwelling in everyone’s heart”. There have been several commendatory on the Bhagavad-Gita, and in the modern period in India, the chiefs are, B.G Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, and. Radhakrishnan. Gandhi also wrote a commentary on the Bhagavad-Gita, called Anasakti-yoga. He contended that without non-violence (ahimsa), it is not possible to realize truth (Satya).

Gandhi derived his philosophy and religion from the Bhagavad-Gita. He said, “I must confess to you that when doubts haunt me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to the Bhagavad-Gita and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to
smile in the mist of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of external tragedies and if they have not been any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe to the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gita”. Mahatma Gandhi is the best modern commentary on the Bhagavad-Gita, as he was the embodiment of the ideal *Karma-yogi* described in that scripture. Soon after reading the Gita, Gandhi began his strivings to become a *Karma-yogi*. Later, Gandhi wrote, “he will have no relish for sensual pleasures and will keep himself occupied with such activity as ennobles the soul. That is the path of action. *Karma-yoga* is the yoga (means) which will deliver the self (soul) from the bondage of the body, and in it there is no room for self-indulgence.” The core of the Gita is the description of the man of action who renounces its fruits. So, the Gita was to Gandhi a scripture that contains all the truth and light of

Gandhi says that self-realization is possible only through righteous action or *Ahimsa*. In his autobiography he contends, “This *ahimsa* is the basis of the search for truth. I am realizing every day that the search is vain unless it is founded on ahimsa as the basis”. For Gandhi, the ideal man, is largely drawn from the *sthitaprajna* described in the Gita. The ideal of *sthitaprajna* or stable intellect is meant to provide some guidance for the common man when he is overpowered by emotions and faces a conflict of sentiments and duties which appears insoluble. According to Gandhi *Moksa* is God-realization or realization of truth which is equal to self-realization. Moksha means liberation or final emancipation of the soul. Here the question arises, “what from is liberation or freedom? “All Indian philosophies aim at *moksa* from suffering. But all Indian philosophies have found suffering in different things. In the Gita, it is indecision and inaction. Buddha’s main concern was the liberation of suffering humanity. In Sankara, it is *maya* or *avidya* (ignorance). The individual’s *moksha* is free from ignorance. But in Gandhi, he finds suffering
not so much in inaction or ignorance as in injustice and tyranny. So, he called his new method of fighting tyranny and injustice *satyagraha*. The root-meaning of Gandhi’s new word *satyagraha* is holding (*agraha*) to the truth (*satya*). Hence the doctrine that goes by the name of *satyagraha* is explained by him as vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one’s self”. He coined this word in South Africa when he led a mass movement of his countrymen to resist the injustice of the South African Government.

Gandhi viewed that “*Satyagraha* is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth”. He declared further that “it excludes every form of violence, direct or indirect, veiled or unveiled, and whether in thought, word or deed. It is breech of *Satyagraha* to wish ill to an opponent or to say a harsh word to him or of him with the intention of harming him”. Therefore, *Satyagraha* is, after all, only an application of the Gita doctrine of *Niskamakarma* or *Karma Yoga*.

Gandhi says that the best means of self-realization is to work for the uplift of humanity through service. He believed in *Karma-yoga*, as the best means of self-realization. Gandhi’s concept of *Karma-yoga*, as established on the basis of the teachings of the Gita is *Anasakti-yoga* ---desireless action. It is this concept of *Karma-yoga*as dynamic altruism that Gandhi wanted to make the basis of transformed social and political action. Gandhi contended, “its central message is the message of renunciation of fruit. Gandhi only evolved Ahimsa from Anasakti-yoga. Gandhi thought the ‘skill in action (*karmasukausalam*)’ which he called *Anasakti-yoga*. In order to attain the state of selflessness, one has necessarily to practice Ahimsa. In his autobiography he also observed, “That renunciation was the highest form of religion appealed to me greatly. Gandhi says, “but after forty years ‘unremitting endeavor

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fully to enforce the teaching of the Gita in my life, I have in all humility, felt that perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of *Ahimsa* in every shape and form. The most original and the most revolutionary thing that Gandhi did about the Gita is to deduce non-violence from it. Renunciation in action is the message of Gita. The Gita teaches that the key to self-realization is in the renunciation of the fruit of action. The essence of the renunciation is in the spirit, rather than the act, of renunciation. The Gita gives a description of a holy war. Gandhi observes, “it is possible to say that warfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit.” The Gita exhorts men to fight like a *Karma-yogi*.

c) Ramayana

Even though Gandhiji went through several turning points while becoming a mahatma from an ordinary Mohan, basically his life was like a straight line. The starting-point of the line was the faith in Rama instilled by the mantra of 'Rama Nama' and given to the boy Mohan by Rambha, the maid servant. When the stick of Mir Alam hit his head during his middle age in South Africa, the name of Rama came out of Gandhiji's lips, and when the three bullets pierced his chest years ago, the same word, 'Hey Rama' and no other was uttered by Gandhi. The intense faith in Rama and in Ramayana joined the three crucial points of his life - the beginning, the middle, and the end. This clearly indicates that his life was a straight line like a thread through which the faith passed.

“Though my reason and heart long ago realized the highest attribute and name of God as Truth, I recognize Truth by the name of Rama. In the darkest hour of my trial, that one name has saved me and is still saving me. It may be the association of childhood; it may be the fascination that Tulsidas has wrought on me. But
the potent fact is there, and as I write these lines, my memory revives the scenes of my childhood, when I used daily to visit the Ramji Mandir adjacent to my ancestral home. My Rama then resided there. He saved me from many fears and sins. It was no superstition for me. The custodian of the idol may have been a bad man. I know nothing against him. Misdeeds might have gone on in the temple. Again, I know nothing of them. Therefore, they would not affect me. What was and is true of me is true of millions of Hindus.”

Again, he says that “When a child, my nurse taught me to repeat Rama Nama whenever I felt afraid or miserable, and it has been second nature with me with growing knowledge and advancing years. I may even say that the Word is in my heart, if not actually on my lips, all the twenty-four hours. It has been by savior and I am ever stayed on it. In the spiritual literature of the world, the Ramayana of Tulsidas takes a foremost place. It has charms that I miss in the Mahabharata and even in Valmiki’s Ramayana”.

D) Jainism

Mahatma Gandhi, the great leader of India's freedom movement was influenced by Jain Philosophy. The influence of Jainism on Gandhi was simplicity and the dress code. He did wear only essential clothing that too made from cotton. He did wear white cloths only. A clear indication of influence by Jain ascetic's life. As we know, the Jain monks do not use vehicles and wander everywhere on their bare feet. Although Gandhi used vehicles, he is famous for his long marches on foot. His marches were clearly adopted from the practices of Jain monks. Gandhi’s greatest contribution to Jainism was that he made Jain principles practical. He applied the principles of large-scale involving masses. We can say that he was the first man to apply Jain principles for social and political movements. Gandhi, though a Vaishnava, grew up
in the midst of Jain traditions, Jain monks used to pay visits to his father and talk with him on subjects religious and mundane. They even used to go out of their way to accept food from the non-Jain Vaishnava family. When Gandhi’s father died, his mother took advice on family matters from a Jain monk, Becharji Swami. It was this very monk who, on the eve of Gandhi’s departure to England for studies, administered an oath to him not to touch wine, woman and meat. It was only after those vows were taken that Gandhi’s mother allowed him to go to England. There was this close Jain contact with Gnash’s Vaishnava family.

Ray Chand bhai a Jain reformer and a religious poet, was Gandhi’s acknowledged source of inspiration. He had large shares in shaping Gandhi’s life and thoughts. He was a contemporary of Gandhi, Gandhi’s guide and philosopher. Gandhi has devoted one complete chapter in his autobiography unreservedly expressing his indebtedness to Ray Chand Bhai. He says, “I have tried to meet the heads of various faith, and I must say that no one else has ever made on me the impression that Ray Chand Bhai did. His words went straight home to me. His intellect compelled as great a regard from me as his moral earnestness in my moments of spiritual crisis, therefore, he was my refuge.” Gandhi was primarily attracted towards Ray Chand Bhai’s noble character and ideas rather than towards his Jain philosophy. Nerveless Ray Chand Bhai was regarded essentially as a Jain philosopher who practiced the Jain mode of life. Let’s go through the significance of the Jaina concept of Ahimsa and the influence of the Jaina on Gandhi’s concept of Ahimsa.

The special feature of Jaina ethics is its severely stringent character, because its goal is Moksha which means the acquisition of infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite power and infinite bliss. Moksha is complete liberation of the soul from karmic matters. The Jaina theory of moksha is contained in
triratna concept of samyag darsana or right faith, samyag jnana or right knowledge, and samyag carita or right conduct, consists in adopting practical steps for the attainment of moksha. This can be achieved through pancha-maha-vrata or five great vows. The five great vows are himsa or nonviolence, Satya or truth, Asateya or non-stealing, Aparigraha or non-possession and brahmacarya or celibacy.

Of the five vows, Ahimsa or non-violence is the most important. The Jaina Scholar, Amrita Chandra tries to derive all other virtues from Ahimsa, which is deemed to be the primal virtue. The Jaina philosophy accepts and advocates Ahimsa as the highest ideal of life and as the means of attaining moksha, or liberation. For these reasons Jainism may be regarded as the oldest philosophy based on Ahimsa. Mahâvira established ethical principles based on Ahimsa that are being followed by Jaina ascetics and laity to this day. Ahimsa has both positive and negative connotations. Non-killing is the negative aspect of Ahimsa. The positive aspect of Ahimsa is kindness to all creation.

Nonviolence means refraining from all injury and violence, whether such violence pertains to the subtle invisible living being or to animals or to human. Violence does not mean causing only physical injury, but it also includes mental and verbal injury. When a Jaina ascetic adopts nonviolence, he tries his best to follow it absolutely and not to cause injury to any living being, physically, mentally and verbally. This non-violence requires three principles which are called the three Guptis, in other words following the principles of non-violence through mind, word and deed involves the three guptis, the Guptis of mental non-violence, verbal non-violence and physical non-violence. Jainism, believes that not merely creatures that moves are endowed with souls, but even physical elements like water and fire have souls. In hurting them, therefore, we commit sin.
Gandhi’s concept of ahimsa, however, is of a very different kind. Surely it is impractical to expect man to adopt absolute non-violence. Absolute non-violence means freedom from every ill will against all kinds of living being. Gandhi says that the emphasis laid on the sacredness of the subhuman life in Jainism is understandable. But that can never mean that one is to be kind to this life in preference to human life. It is, of course, presupposed that in recognizing the sacredness of such life, the sacredness of human life has been taken for granted: but Gandhi feels that the principle of Ahimsa with reference to sub human life has been over emphasized in Jainism, and putting it into practice, the idea has undergone distortion.

We can find that Gandhi never loses sight of the human perspective in the practice of Ahimsa, which is so often neglected by the formalists. He is more concerned with the vast amount of human suffering or harm inflicted by economic, social and political exploitation and to him therefore Ahimsa mainly means treating every human being not as a means to the benefit or pleasure of others but always as an end in himself. Gandhi, like the Jains, conceives Ahimsa not only in action but in thought Ahimsa thus must be practiced in Thought, word and deed. Gandhi even raises Ahimsa to a metaphysical status and calls it the law of our being Gandhi, as a matter of fact, was a great genius who picked up the best from the different thoughts. Jainism is the chief source of Gandhi’s concept of Ahimsa.

e) Buddhism

‘The light of Asia’ influenced Mahatma Gandhi a great deal. He writes, “I read it with even greater interest than I did the Bhagavad-Gita. Once I had begun it I could not leave off.” Lord Buddha founded an ethical religion and Mahatma Gandhi adopted a similar approach. Ahimsa is the most important concept of
Buddhist tradition. Buddhism is indeed known to be the religion which regards peace and nonviolence as its cardinal virtues. The Buddha said, “Here is no other happiness greater than peace.” The Buddha found around him cruelty and violence masquerading in the name of religion. The teaching of love and the practice of cruelty did not fit with each other. The Buddha wanted men to purify their hearts and give up violence; he propagated compassion and love; thus, Buddhism arose with its basic principle of well-being of all. It is natural to think that when Buddha thought of eliminating the sufferings of all, he had well wished for all the beings therefore, the very idea of well-being of all gives rises to Ahimsa thus the concept of Ahimsa can be defined as the sublime mental state of well-being of all irrespective of any consideration.

The Buddha revolutionized the concept of Ahimsa by his rational approach. He laid exclusive emphasis on purity of motive. The Buddha insisted upon the necessity of cleansing the mind of base instincts and impulses. He wanted men to be free from greed, anger and self-glorification. He enriched and elevated the concept of Ahimsa by making it the outcome of love and compassion. It became a positive virtue and not a negative attitude." Thus, the Buddha reiterates the principle of *Ahimsa paramo dhammah* in its deepest significance. The Buddhist preaching about *maitri* and *Karuna*, (friendliness and compassion) have a universal appeal. The *Dhammapada* defines nobility as harmless to creatures. It recommends Ahimsa on the basis of self-analogy." The terms *Ahimsa* and *Avihimsa* are only casually referred to in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts. *Mettā* or universal friendliness is of central ethical importance in Pali Buddhism, whereas *Karuna* acquires this position in Sanskrit Buddhism. A Buddhist Sanskrit text even defines *avihimsa* as *Karunā* or compassion." We may say that both *metta* and *karuna* imply *Ahimsā*. 

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Among the positive virtues, friendliness (maître or mettā) and compassion (karunā) are sometimes said to be the most akin to Ahimsa. A Pali Buddhist description of friendliness is given in the Mettarutta: As a mother all her life watches over her only child, so should everyone, cultivate a measureless (appamañña) friendly mind towards all beings. One who cultivates a friendly mind (abyapannacitta) and who is sympathetic to the welfare of all beings (sabba-panabhutakita-anukampa), purifies his mind from the taint of ill-will (byapada). Because Buddhism lays great stress on the activity of the mind—mind being the forerunner of vocal and physical action—it would be inappropriate to confine Ahimsa in Buddhism to pā ātipāṭīveramani (abstention from killing) as representing the essence of the Buddhist Ahimsa. The Pali recordings of some discussions between a Jain disciple and the Buddha give the impression that in Jainism a tendency to regard wrong to the body (kaya-danda) as more blamable than any injurious deed of the mind. In contrast to this the Buddha is said to have emphasized that the deed of mind (mano-kamma) is more blamable.

Sanskrit Buddhism emphasizes the positive social virtues. The siksha Samuccaya desires all beings to be happy with plenty of wealth (dhana) and riches (dhanya) and precious jewels (ratna); no one should suffer and everybody should be full of happiness (saukkya)." Friendliness is that conduct which serves as an antidote to hatred (desa) or aversion (riga). One may accumulate benefit by expanding friendliness first to beloved beings (priya-sattva), then to equals, acquaintances, strangers, neighbors, one’s own village, another village, a whole region and to ten regions).

A Bodhisattva will, by this every bodily, verbal and mental action, regard only his fellow creatures. The mighty compassion (maha-karuna) has as its object the good of all living
beings the mighty compassion is the antidote to himsa. The Bodhisattva helps all living beings to enter the city of nirvana. This can be facilitated by the transference of merit in the sense of eternal happiness radiated by all the Buddha. Compassion is extended to the limits of speculation. Non-violence assimilates and submerges into the notion of compassion. According to a note, by a contemporary Päli scholar Karuna or compassion has as its characteristic the wish to remove the suffering of others. Its direct antidote is himsa, and its indirect enemy is passionate grief (domanassa). Compassion embraces all sorrow-stricken beings and it eliminates cruelty. Ahimsa has also its positive counterpart. It demands not only abstention from injury but also the practice of loving-kindness, mettā, to all.

In the Pali text Ahimsa and Avihimsā are not specifically listed among the described moral habits (sila). They are, however, mentioned in other contexts, though less systematically. The moral habits include, anyway abstention from killing. Ahimsa and non-stealing, sex-control avoidance of intoxicants and lying are the first five precepts applicable to all. It has been the first and foremost among the five-fold virtues, which form the core and essence of Hindu ethics and are known by various names, such as pañcasila, pañcayama or pañca-maha-vrta. One Pali text mentions Ahimsa together with liberality (dana), self-restraint (samyana), control of the senses (dama) and service to one's parents.

It has come once in Dhammapada. This can be sun, for example, in the following quotations. In this world hatred (vera) never ceases by hatred; it ceases by non-hatred (avera) alone." All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Likening others to oneself, one should neither slay. All men tremble at punishment all men love life. Likening others to oneself one should neither slay nor cause to slay. He who seeks his own happiness inflicts pain (strikes with a stick) on beings who like himself) are desirous
of happiness does not obtain happiness after death)." He who seeking his own happiness does not inflict pain (strike with a stick) on beings who (like himself) are desirous of happiness obtains happiness after death.

Let one be watchful of bodily irritation. Let him practice restraint of the body. Having abandoned the sins of the body let him practice virtue with his body. Let one be watchful of speech-irritation. Let him practice restraint of speech. Having abandoned the sins of mind let him practice. virtue with his mind. A man is not noble because he injures living creatures. He is called noble because he does not injure living beings. The sages who injure none, who always control their body, go to the unchangeable place, where, having gone, they do not grieve." So, Buddha preached that in order to achieve the social welfare, one should get rid of the feelings of harming others in anyway-body, speech or even mind. For spiritual upliftment, all the dirty feelings such as harming others, killing, telling lie, taking intoxicating dinks, given to hatred, passions etc. are to be avoided. So, for spiritual upliftment, Ahimsa is the basic thing to be followed. This is the way for a happy social life. Only this path, i.e., the path of Ahimsa leads to social harmony. Thus, Ahimsa is the fountain-head of the social harmony. Without Ahimsa, it is impossible to achieve it. Ahimsa radiates love and compassion towards all the living beings.

Mahatma Gandhi says about lord buddha, ""Look at Gautama's compassion!' said I, 'It was not confined to mankind, it was extended to all living beings. Does not one's heart overflow with love to think of the lamb joyously perched on his shoulders? This shows that the practice of Ahimsa is not limited to human beings only but includes all living beings. When Ahimsa is practiced, one comes to know the true feeling of love and attains happiness,
and the happiness in turn leads to Nibbana. Gandhi's concept of Ahimsa is based on the concept of the unity of existence.

For him, Ahimsa becomes the cardinal ethical principle. Thus, his insistence on Ahimsa can be traced to Buddhism. Like Buddha, Gandhi was above the bounds of creeds, cults, rituals and ceremonies. Gandhi's main objective was to resist injustice. Gandhi's mission in life was also a series of protests against wrong. He revolted, though peacefully, against every variety of injustice, whether in the form of political slavery or economic exploitation, color-bar or untouchability, religious intolerance or degradation of women. He only tried to do it non-violently, for he believed that violence created its own reaction.

1.2 Western influences

We have tried to show, in a brief sketch, the different Indian backgrounds which influenced Gandhi's philosophy. We now proceed to point out how far and to what extent he was influenced by the West. He was very largely influenced by the Western thinkers As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan rightly observes, "If we are to correct the narrowness resulting from a one-sided and exclusive preoccupation with either Eastern or Western thought, if we are to fortify our inner life with the dignity of a more perfect and Universal experience, an understanding of each other's cultures is essential. It is a foolish pride that impels some of us to combat all external influences. Every spiritual or scientific advance which any branch of the human family achieves is achieved not for itself alone, but for all mankind." Gandhiji himself acknowledged his indebtedness to the West. Referring to these influences in his autobiography he said: “Three moderns have left a deep impression on my life and captivated me Ray Chand Bhai by his living contact, Tolstoy by his book, The Kingdom of God is Within You and Ruskin by his Unto This Last. "Rai Chand Bhai,
a saintly Indian merchant, made a deep Impression on him by his ideal Hindu life. Gandhiji said, "In my moments of spiritual crisis, therefore, he was my refuge." Here Ruskin. Tolstoy and Thoreau play a major role.

a) Leo Tolstoy

It was only in prison in 1908 that Gandhi found the time to make a study of the teachings of Tolstoy. In his autobiography Gandhi's graphically says as follows, "Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God in Within You overwhelmed me. It left an abiding impression on me. Before the independent thinking, profound morality, and the truthfulness of this book, all the books given me by Mr. Coates seemed to pale into insignificance." As D.M. Datta contends, "It should be noted that Tolstoy's spiritual interpretation of Christianity' the presence of God within, brought Christianity near to the Vedântic idea of man." Tolstoy observes, "I felt God clearly for the first time... I knew that He existed and that I existed in Him. That outside that there is nothing. I was in Him a limited being in the Illimitable; He is in me the Illimitable within the limited.

As G. Dhawan rightly observes, "Tolstoy's philosophy, which has been called Christian anarchism, is the application of the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount to the solution of modern social and political problems. The core of the Christ's teaching to Tolstoy, love. Love is at the basis of Tolstoy's principles of nonresistance. Love or in other words, the striving of men's souls towards unity." "Love," says Tolstoy, "is the aspiration for communism and solidarity with other souls, and that aspiration always liberates the sources of noble activities. That love is the supreme and unique law of human life, which everyone feels in the depth of one's soul, Gandhi recorded his opinion as follows. "It was forty years back when I was passing through a severe
crisis of skepticism and doubt that I came across his book, "The Kingdom of God is Within You," and was very deeply impressed by it. I was at that time a believer in violence. Its reading cured me of my skepticism and made me a firm believer in Ahimsa. What has appealed to me most in Tolstoy's life is that he practiced what he preached and reckoned no cost too great in his pursuit of truth." Further he said, "He was the greatest apostle of non-violence that the present age has written and spoken on nonviolence so fully or so insistently and with such penetration and insight as he. I would even go further and say that his remarkable development of this doctrine puts to shame the present day narrow and lop-sided interpretation put upon it by the votaries of 'Ahimsa' in this land of ours." As Louis Fisher rightly observed, "The Kingdom of God, Tolstoy wrote, 'is attained by...sacrificing outward circumstances for the sake of truth. Gandhi's path was strewn with the outward possessions and pleasures which he cast off enroute to the Kingdom of God within him.'

Tolstoy rightly estimated the non-violent resistance led by Gandhi. Tolstoy says, "Live as a Christian should. Concretely, a Christian enters into no dispute with his neighbor, he neither attacks nor uses violence; on the contrary, he suffers himself, without resistance, and by his very attitude towards evil not only himself set free, but helps to free the world at large from all outward authority. "In his autobiography Gandhiji graphically expressed his view as follows: "I made too an intensive study of Tolstoy's books. The Gospels in Brief, what to do? and other books made a deep impression on me. I began to realize more and more the infinite possibilities of universal love. “Thus, Gandhi's non-violence has been derived from Tolstoy's teaching. It is true that Mahavira, Buddha and Jesus Christ taught the eternal message of non-violence in ancient times, but Tolstoy may be credited as its best advocate in modern umes,"16
another place Gandhiji presented the message of non-violence as follows, "Ahimsa, truly understood, is in my humble opinion a panacea for all evils mundane and extra mundane...Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only, they saw deeper and truer into their profession and found the secret of a true, happy, honorable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with those teachers, and this land of ours will once more be the abode of gods. ".

Though Gandhi was a disciple of Tolstoy, he excelled his teacher. As Gopinath Dhawan observes, "Gandhiji's conception on non-violence is slightly different from that of Tolstoy. To the latter non-violence means avoidance of force in all its forms, the former lays emphasis on the motive and defines Ahimsa as avoidance of injury or pain to any creature out of anger or from a selfish motive. In certain circumstances, however, even killing may be Ahimsa according to Gandhiji. As life involves some amount of violence, Tolstoy turns away from it; Gandhiji, on the other hand, follows the Gita ideal of action without attachment and eagerly participates in life. Due to this vital difference, Gandhiji excels Tolstoy in working out the non-violent technique and in devising ways to remove social evils." Gandhiji's contribution to Ahimsa consisted in his researches in the possibilities of Ahimsa in all walks of life and its application to large mass movements.

b) Thoreau

Gandhi was imprisoned in Volk rust in South Africa for the Satyagraha campaign. Here he read Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience with great interest. Henry David: Thoreau was a well-known American anarchist who refused to pay his taxes as a protest against slavery in America. Thoreau was the first to use the term 'Civil Disobedience in one of his speeches in 1849,"The reading of the essay provided detailed suggestions for the conduct
of Gandhiji's movements. As Gandhiji said, "Thoreau invented and practiced the idea of civil disobedience in Concord, Massachusetts, by refusing to pay his poll tax as a protest against the United States Government. He went to jail too. There is no doubt that Thoreau's idea greatly influenced my movement in India. As Gopinath Dhawan rightly observed, "Gandhiji, however, did not derive his idea of civil disobedience from the writings of Thoreau. The resistance to authority in South Africa was well advanced before he got the essay of Thoreau on civil disobedience. The movement was then known as Passive Resistance. Gandhiji began to use Thoreau's phrase to explain the struggle to the English readers, but he found that even 'Civil Disobedience' struggle failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. So, he adopted the phrase 'Civil resistance'." Thus, Thoreau's idea of Civil Disobedience revealed to Gandhi the possibility of using non-violence as a technique for solving even the major problems of social and political life. Therefore, Gandhiji heard an echo of his own thought in Thoreau."

We observe that the different scriptures of the major religions of the world influenced Gandhi and molded his course of conduct as briefly sketched above. All these ideas were taken and deliberated upon. In his long-life Gandhi attempted the synthesis of the ideas of Hinduism, the Bhagavad-Gita, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and the teachings of prophets like Ruskin, Tolstoy, Thoreau, and national leaders of modern Indian religious-social movements. It can be said that Gandhi's philosophy points to a cultural synthesis of the East and the West.

This gives us a clue to his doctrines of Truth (Satya) and Non-violence (Ahimsa), the essence of his whole philosophy. In him we see ancient cultural traditions are adopted to the need of the age. He sought, in ancient religious concepts, answers to the prevailing difficulties of his own community. He applied his
ideas, however, in a personal manner and this meant a reinterpretation of values. Tradition and radical change are in him united.

c) **Ruskin**

Ruskin was Professor of Art History at Oxford. He fought for a new ethics in economics. He wanted work to be considered a moral obligation. In 1903, when Gandhi was travelling from Johannesburg to Durban, his colleague, Henry SL Pollak accompanied him the station and gave him the book Unto This Last by John Ruskin, to read on the journey. Gandhi said that, “the train reached there in the evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book”. John Ruskin's *Unto this Last* was one of the transforming influences that shaped Gandhiji's views. He translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it Sarvodaya (the welfare of all). Gandhi wrote his view as follows: “I believed that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life. The teachings of 'Unto This Last' I understood to be: That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. That a life of labor, i.e., the life to the tiller of the soil, and the handicraftsman is the life worth living. The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. 'Unto This Last' made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice”. From Ruskin's *Unto This Last* Gandhi learned the dignity of manual labor and the ideal that action for the good of all is a most virtuous principle. Both Gandhi and Ruskin sought to moralize politics and economics.
II) Gandhian Ideal Society.

II.I Sarvodaya

Twenty first century is the era of globalization. New economic policy of globalization moves on to make the world a global village. New challenges and problems have emerged before the nation. The belief that all emergent problems - ecological, social, economic, political and moral-could be resolved by discoveries and technological innovations persists, filatures in the past notwithstanding. What is happening today is in line with what Gandhi almost predicted in Hind Swaraj as he prepared its manuscript in 1908. Gandhi put forward four main goals before youth for humanity, so as to move towards its destiny. These are Swaraj, Non-violence, Swadeshi and Sarvodaya. These are the main pillars of the thesis he has propounded in the Hind Swaraj. Here, we are going to make an attempt to focus on Sarvodaya as one of the pillars to bring Hind Swaraj.

Sarvodaya is a term meaning 'Universal Uplift' or 'Progress of All'. The term was first coined by Gandhi as the title of his 1908 translation of John Ruskin's tract on political economy, "Unto This Last", and Gandhi came to use the term for the ideal of his own political philosophy. Later Gandhian, like the Indian nonviolence activist Vinoba Bhave, embraced the term as a name for the social movement in post-independence India which strove to ensure that self-determination and equality reached all strata of India society. Gandhi received a copy of Ruskin's "Unto This Last" from a British friend, Mr. Henry Polak, while working as a lawyer in South Africa in 1904. In his
Autobiography, Gandhi remembers the twenty-four-hour train ride to Durban from when he first read the book, being so in the grip of Ruskin's ideas that he could not sleep at all: "I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book." Gandhi advances the concept of Sarvodaya, which were based on three basic principles: That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. That is a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

Mahatma Gandhi was of the firm view that the earth provides enough to satisfy every man's needs, but not for every man's greed. In the Sarvodaya society of his dream, therefore, every member will be free from any greed for limitless acquisition of material wealth and more and more luxurious living and they will follow the motto of simple living and high thinking. Everyone will, thus, get ample opportunity to produce and earn sufficiently through honest work for decent and dignified living. Consequently, there will be no problem of unemployment. Of course, income of different people may be different, depending on their talent, ability and effort. But those who will earn more will use the bulk of their greater earnings for the good of the society as a whole. In such a society, all wealth, including land, will be assumed as common property to be utilized for the welfare of all. If an individual has more than his proportionate portion, he becomes a trustee of the excess wealth for the benefit of the less fortunate members of the society. As regards use of machinery in economic activity, Gandhi said that "If we feel the need of machines, we certainly will have them. But there should be no place for machines that concentrate power in a few hands and turn the masses into mere machine-minders, if, indeed, they do not make them unemployed." In order, therefore, to minimize use of machines in a Sarvodaya society, Gandhi strongly advocated that
everyone should do some productive physical work at least to earn his/her daily bread as was also advocated by Leo Tolstoy – the great Russian thinker and writer and everyone should uphold the dignity of labour irrespective of the type of honest labor performed by an individual.

Sarvodaya Movement has as its target the establishment of a whole network of such self-supporting village communities. The family relationships which are confined at present to the blood group will be extended to cover the whole village where distinctions based on race, creed, caste, language and so forth will completely be eliminated. Agriculture will be so planned that all the people will have enough to consume. Industry will be conducted on a cottage basis till all the people in the village are gainfully employed. The needs of the village will be determined by the people of the village themselves, through Village Council, representative of the whole village.

As per the Principles of the Sarvodaya, there is no centralized authority, and there is political and economic atmosphere in the villages. Politics will not be the instrument of power but an agency of service people will be imbued with the spirit of love, fraternity, truth, non-violence and self-sacrifices. Society will function on the basis on the non-violence. There will be no party system and majority rule and society will be free from the evil of the tyranny of the majority. The Sarvodaya society is socialist in the true sense of the term. All calling will be the same moral, social and economic values. The individual personality has the fullest scope for development. The Sarvodaya society is based on equality and liberty. There is no room in it for unwholesome competition, exploitation and class-hatred.

Sarvodaya stands for the progress of all. All individuals should do individual labor and follow the ideal of non-possession. Then
it will be possible to realize the goal of: from each according to his work and to each according to his needs. There will be no private property, the instrument of exploitation and the source of social distinctions and hatred. Similarly, the profit motive will disappear, rent and interest will go. The Sarvodaya Movement is based on Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial. The Sarvodaya Movement makes a sincere and bold attempt to create the necessary atmosphere to bring together such individuals with an unwavering faith in the Welfare of All. The gain to the individual would be small. The development of each quality depends upon every other. If all the qualities are improved a little, then the individual would gain more.

Gandhi's ideals have lasted well beyond the achievement of one of his chief projects, Indian independence (Swaraj). His followers in India (notably, Vinoba Bhave) continued working to promote the kind of society that he envisioned, and their efforts have come to be known as the Sarvodaya Movement. Sarvodaya is an agency of Service for Common Welfare Sarvodaya sets its face squarely against the politics of power and exploitation. It lays great emphasis on moral and spiritual values. It seeks to create new social and economic values. The concept of possession yields places to the concept of trusteeship. People will work for the good of all and family feeling will animate the entire community. There will be fullest scope for freedom, fellowship and equality. Sarvodaya stands for good of all and not for the good of any particular individual or class.

For Gandhiji, Sarvodaya is the true panacea for all types of social or political problems experienced by Indian society. After the death of Gandhiji, Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan have highlighted the essentials of Sarvodaya in their own light. Vinoba Bhave developed Gandhiji’s concept of Sarvodaya keeping in view changing socio-economic
circumstances. The movement of Bhoodan and Gramdan and his unique method of spreading his message of compassion through padayatra have attracted worldwide attention. J. P. Narayan holds the view that Sarvodaya stands for the sublime goals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and peace. Realization of a rich, total and integrated life is the basic objective of Sarvodaya philosophy. Sarvodaya represents the ideal social order according to Gandhiji. Its basis is all-embracing love. By bringing about a countrywide decentralization of both political and economic powers, Sarvodaya provides opportunity for the all-round development of the individual and the society. Sarvodaya seeks the happiness of each and all.

The main tenets of the Sarvodaya philosophy as propounded by Gandhiji and subsequently explained by the pioneers of this movement are as follows:

1. Sarvodaya reiterates belief in God and, further, it identifies that belief with faith in the goodness of man and with services, of humanity.

2. It attaches importance to the principle of trusteeship as implying the abolition of private ownership and the application of the principle of non-possession to public institutions.

3. Sarvodaya envisages a new humanistic socialist society. Man will be the center of such a society. Unless man cultivates values like love, sincerity, truth, an abiding sympathy etc., the emergence of a new society would only remain a pious dream. In this process of change the State has little role to play. The State, at best, can effect change at the level of the external behavior of man. It fails to influence the
inner springs of life. This mental transformation is only possible through appeal and persuasion.

4. Sarvodaya visualizes a simple, non-violent and decentralized society. In capitalism and state socialism the individual becomes alone and isolated. Sarvodaya is opposed to both. In the scheme of Sarvodaya the people are endowed with real power. Democracy becomes meaningful and assumes significance only when its structure is reared on the foundation of village Panchayats. The Sarvodaya movement inculcates this democratic awareness among the people especially among the uralites. Again, in the scheme of Sarvodaya decentralization of industry takes place through the organization of small-scale, cottage and village industries. The reason is not far to seek. In a country like India where there is acute shortage of capital and abundance of labour, any attempt at industrialization through high technology is doomed to failure. Moreover, the decentralization of production would prevent bureaucratization of the economic system.

5. Sarvodaya idea contains the content of egalitarianism. It rests on the principle of true equality and liberty. It stands opposed to exploitation of any kind.

6. The concept of Sarvodaya views work as an offering to the Lord. Further, the principle of equality of all religions finds better elucidation in some of the thinkers of Sarvodaya philosophy.

7. The Sarvodaya philosophy stands opposed to parliamentary democracy and party system. It is because the party system divides the society into various groups. J. P. Narayan wanted to replace the existing parliamentary system through political
and economic decentralization of powers and functions. Sarvodaya stands for establishment of an integrated cooperative society.

8. Sarvodaya program gives prime place to planning. According to the scheme of Sarvodaya planning must proceed with two objects: removal of natural or man-made impediments in the road to the development of man and provision of means, training and guidance for it.

Sarvodaya movement entails economic, political, philosophical and ethical implications. They are as follows:

**Economic implications**

Gandhiji’s concept of Sarvodaya aims to welfare of all. It is founded on the philosophy of limited wants. According to him, “Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increases capacity for service.” Our economy should be based on ‘simple living, high thinking’. He fought for an economy free from exploitation and corruption, limitation of human wants, equality and basic needs for all. In the words of Prof. V. P. Varma,” If the Bhoodan and Gramdan are techniques of agrarian revolution based on moral force, Sampattidan is a significant path in the transformation of capitalism into the Sarvodaya society. The essential features of the economic philosophy of Sarvodaya as emphasized by Vinoba constitute elimination of poverty, forging bonds of mutual help and fellow-feeling between big landholders and landless uralite’s, revival or furtherance of Indian culture based on yagna, Dana and tapas, giving an opportunity to all political parties to work unitedly in rooting out bitterness and self-aggrandizement and helping world peace.
Philosophical and ethical implications

Sarvodaya aims at the spiritualization of politics. It seeks to replace party strife, jealousies and competition by the sacred law of cooperative mutuality and dominant altruism. According to the concept of Sarvodaya, man is essentially good. Human character can improve either by Tapasya (self-effort) or by appeals made to him by others through such non-violent techniques as Satyagraha, non-cooperation and fasting.

Political implications

Sarvodaya attaches importance to ‘lokniti’. The concept of lokniti signifies self-restraint, self-abnegation, selfless service to the people, discipline, faith in God and performance of duties with benign motive. Sarvodaya condemns the majority rule, elections, political parties and centralization of power. Gandhiji wanted a ‘Stateless democracy’ in which every weakest has the same opportunity as the strongest. The ideal democracy will be a federation of Satyagrahi village communities based on non-violence.

A) Truth

We can learn from his Introduction to *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* that Gandhi's search for Truth was a search for personal liberation. He says that he had not really intended to write an autobiography, but only to tell the story of his numerous experiments with Truth, in fact, 'as my life consists of nothing but those experiments, it is true that the story will take the shape of an autobiography'. That this Truth was and had been his main concern in life he reaffirms later in the Introduction, despite the fact that his account will include experiments with non-violence, celibacy and other principles of conduct believed to be distinct from Truth. But it is clear that, he considered Truth
is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles ... I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found him, but I am seeking after him: It is also evident from this that Truth had for him the kind of ultimacy that can only be ascribed to the ultimate reality, what he also describes in the capitalized' Absolute Truth'. Yet two paragraphs earlier he had depicted his life's struggle in a quite different language, with different implications: 'What I want to achieve - what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years (he was writing in 1925) – is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha., Evidently, his discovery of Truth would involve in some way a liberation from the self, moksha, which was in turn, paradoxically, a realization of the self. On another occasion he put it more succinctly: 'Truth is the same thing as moksha., Following the Gita, which he took as his guide in these profounder matters, he believed the pursuit of Truth required 'selflessness'; he would often interpret the Gita as recommending a life of 'selfless action', that is, action that was indifferent to the personal gain (or pain) that might accrue from it. At the time he was not in the least reluctant to confess a selfish interest in the quest for Truth: 'Quite selfishly, as I wish to live in peace in the midst of a bellowing storm howling round me, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics.,6 The tension between selfish and selfless concerns here is resolved, I believe, by relating them to the overriding Truth which he hoped to realize, and to the two aspects of the self which figure in the Gita and more generally in the philosophical tradition. When he expresses a desire for self-realization, he is thinking of his true self which is ultimately identical with the one true reality of life as a whole, with Truth itself. When he longs to be free of the self, he is thinking of the false self which is identified with the human body and, therefore, cuts him off both from reality in general and from his own deeper
reality. He gives an example of this falsity in an account of one of his experiments, inducing a rare reference to the philosophical doctrine of Maya, illusion.

The face of Truth is hidden behind the golden veil of Maya, says the Upanishad. The quotation was from the Isavasya Upanishad, which became a favorite of Gandhi's and was used regularly in his ashram at morning prayers. The full verse reads, The face of reality is surrounded by the golden veil. 

O Provider of the world, unveil the refulgent face, 

That the Truth seeker can have a glimpse 

Of the light of reality.

The beauty of the golden veil is nothing compared to the beautiful face it conceals, but it is enticing nonetheless. Much of Gandhi's own struggle was against the enticements of natural affection and desire, which, though not evil in themselves, obscured his vision of reality and weakened his resolve to realize the Truth in his life. In all this, Gandhi's search for Truth, and his corresponding concept of Truth, were traditionally Hindu. But the search for Truth took an unusual turn, and the understanding of Truth he acquired as a result was something remarkably fresh and original.

As we know, of all the moral principles, Gandhi placed truth as the first and foremost. He called it “the sovereign principle”. It did not merely imply truthfulness in speech, but in thought also “and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the absolute truth, the eternal principle, that is God”. He equated God with truth. Gandhi’s conception of truth has obviously not the common meaning attributed to it for there were
divine and philosophical dimensions to it. It can perhaps be said that the predominant factor in molding his vision of truth was his deep attachment to the epic, Ramcharitmanas, written by Tulsidas and his faith in the Ramanama. A.L. Basham has offered some very cogent arguments in this regard. “One of the commonest ejaculations of popular north Indian Vaishnavism,” he says, “is Rama naam sach hai (the name of Rama is true, or is truth, since modern Indian sach, like the Sanskrit satya, may be either an adjective or a noun). Here we have already the possible source of the Gandhian emphasis on truth, and of the special and usage of the word in Gandhi’s speeches and writings.

As Gandhi’s interests widened and he became more concerned with the question of truth, gradually, he was able to transcend these early aberrations. His meditations and search led him to one important conclusion. “One thing took deep root in me,” he says, “the conviction that morality is the basis of all things, and that truth is the substance of all morality. Truth became my sole objective. It began to grow in magnitude every day, and my definition of it has been ever widening.” Gandhi’s conception of truth as God and the universal reality stands as a refreshing challenge and alternative before the world.

C. Non-violence

With Gandhi, the notion of nonviolence attained a special status. He not only theorized on it, he adopted nonviolence as a philosophy and an ideal way of life. He made us understand that the philosophy of nonviolence is not a weapon of the weak; it is a weapon, which can be tried by all. Nonviolence was not Gandhi's invention. He is however called the father of nonviolence because according to Mark Shepard, "He raised nonviolent action to a level never before achieved." Kripalani again asserts "Gandhi was the first in Human history to extend the
principle of nonviolence from the individual to social and political plane.

Gandhi saw violence pejoratively and also identified two forms of violence: Passive and Physical, as we saw earlier. The practice of passive violence is a daily affair, consciously and unconsciously. It is again the fuel that ignites the fire of physical violence. Gandhi understands violence from its Sanskrit root, "himsa", meaning injury. In the midst of hyper violence, Gandhi teaches that the one who possesses nonviolence is blessed. Blessed is the man who can perceive the law of ahimsa (nonviolence) in the midst of the raging fire of himsa all around him. We bow in reverence to such a man by his example. The more adverse the circumstances around him, the intense grows his longing for deliverance from the bondage of flesh which is a vehicle of himsa... Gandhi objects to violence because it perpetuates hatred. When it appears to do 'good', the good is only temporary and cannot do any good in the long run. A true nonviolence activist accepts violence on himself without inflicting it on another. When Gandhi says that in the course of fighting for human rights, one should accept violence and self-suffering, he does not applaud cowardice. Cowardice for him is "the greatest violence, certainly, far greater than bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name of violence. For Gandhi, perpetrators of violence (whom he referred to as criminals), are products of social disintegration. Gandhi feels that violence is not a natural tendency of humans. It is a learned experience. There is the need for a perfect weapon to combat violence and this is nonviolence. Gandhi understood nonviolence from its Sanskrit root "Ahimsa". Ahimsa is just translated to mean nonviolence in English, but it implies more than just avoidance of physical violence. Ahimsa implies total nonviolence, no physical violence, and no passive violence. Gandhi translates Ahimsa as love.
For Gandhi, nonviolence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than any weapon of mass destruction. It is superior to brute force. It is a living force of power and no one has been or will ever be able to measure its limits or its extended. Gandhi's nonviolence is the search for truth. Truth is the most fundamental aspect in Gandhi's Philosophy of nonviolence. His whole life has been "experiments of truth". It was in this course of his pursuit of truth that Gandhi discovered nonviolence, which he further explained in his Autobiography thus "Ahimsa is the basis of the search for truth. I am realizing that this search is vain, unless it is founded on ahimsa as the basis." Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills. For nonviolence to be strong and effective, it must begin with the mind, without which it will be nonviolence of the weak and cowardly. A coward is a person who lacks courage when facing a dangerous and unpleasant situation and tries to avoid it. A man cannot practice ahimsa and at the same time be a coward. True nonviolence is dissociated from fear. Gandhi feels that possession of arms is not only cowardice but also lack of fearlessness or courage. Gandhi stressed this when he say; "I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice but true nonviolence is impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness. In the face of violence and injustice, Gandhi considers violent resistance preferable to cowardly submission. There is hope that a violent man may someday be nonviolent, but there is no room for a coward to develop fearlessness.

As the world's pioneer in nonviolent theory and practice, Gandhi unequivocally stated that nonviolence contained a universal applicability. In his letter to Daniel Oliver in Hammana Lebanon on the 11th of 1937 Gandhi used these words: "I have no message to give except this that there is no deliverance for any people on this earth or for all the people of this earth except through truth

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and nonviolence in every walk of life without any exceptions”. In this passage, Gandhi promises "deliverance" through nonviolence for oppressed peoples without exception. Speaking primarily with regards to nonviolence as a liberatory philosophy in this passage, Gandhi emphasizes the power of nonviolence to emancipate spiritually and physically. It is a science and of its own can lead one to pure democracy.

Gandhi gave his own definition and explanation of nonviolence which transcended conventional understanding of the concept. For Gandhi nonviolence was not a negative concept meaning non-injury or non-killing but a positive one which meant love in the sense of selfless service of one’s fellow beings which included the entire creation. According to him one must try to practice nonviolence in thought, word and deed and to organize all life activities on its basis, and that would bring in unprecedented and revolutionary changes in human life.

Gandhi’s nonviolence is the correlation between nonviolence and truth. According to Gandhi’s own admission the jewel of ahimsa was discovered in the search for and contemplation of truth. In order to bring out the complementarity of the two, he compared truth and nonviolence to two sides of an unstamped metallic disc. Here, Gandhi’s logic is very simple but compelling. For Gandhi truth was both absolute and relative. Absolute truth, by its very nature, was beyond human comprehension, though human beings were endowed with the ability to seek and find truth. Truth as individuals comprehended it from moment to moment was what Gandhi meant by relative truths. As each person can have his/her own (relative) truth, what was the way to vindicate one’s truth? It was clear to Gandhi that it was improper and unjustifiable to impose one’s truth on others because what appeared to be true now might be revealed as untrue at a later point of time. Hence imposing or compelling one’s truth on others
was unjustifiable, both epistemologically and ethically. So, Gandhi argued that one must be willing to take all the consequences of bearing witness to one’s truth upon oneself. That is the way of nonviolence. Thus, for Gandhi nonviolence was the only justifiable way to truth; not only to progress towards truth but also to vindicate truth. That was why he gave the dictum: “Truth is the end and ahimsa the means thereto.” It is obvious that for Gandhi nonviolence was not a negative concept; it was pregnant with very positive connotations. He wrote: “Ahimsa is not merely a negative state of harmlessness, but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer.” He hastened to add that doing good to the evil-doer did not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love—the active state of ahimsa—required one to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating oneself from him, even though it might offend him or injure him physically.

Gandhi characterized ahimsa as “soul force”. He wrote: “Nonviolence is soul force or the power of the Godhead within us. We become Godlike to the extent we realize nonviolence.” Because it is soul force it is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. Gandhi added that “it is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man”, and thus, working under the law of nonviolence it was possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire. Gandhi’s penetrating mind discovered the subtle levels and ways through which violence operated and conquered the human mind. So, he tried to confront violence both at the theoretical and practical levels. He argued that, though there is good and evil in human nature (note that ‘the good’ is identified as the capacity for nonviolence and ‘the evil’ as the impulse and willingness for violence) human nature was essentially and basically good. One might be carried away by the death and destruction that one saw all around. But Gandhi argued that he could see life persisting in
the midst of all these destructions. Life as a force, a power, continued to flow, evolve, develop and advance towards its destined goal of divine perfection. Thus, Gandhi comes to the conclusion that “nonviolence or love is the law of our being” and this is the first major postulate of his theory of nonviolence. Subsequent to this Gandhi argued that nonviolence is “the law of our species” as well. The bond that unites human beings is the bond of love and nonviolence, and certainly not that of hate or violence.

Gandhi expresses the view that nonviolence is the law of humanity. Gandhi went further to say that nonviolence was the law that operated through history. It really marked the dynamics of history. He considered human history as a gradual unfolding in ahimsa or nonviolence. History, for Gandhi, marked a conscious attempt to control and regulate the operation of violence with a view to minimize it. Therefore, he considered human history as an expression of progressive nonviolence.

Gandhian nonviolence is premised on certain basic assumptions and convictions. The most fundamental of them is recognition of the oneness of life. All life is one. Everything that exists is intricately and inseparably inter-related. It is, in fact, a living consciousness of this oneness of life that provides the metaphysical and spiritual foundation for the acceptance of positive and active nonviolence as an article of faith. Gandhi described nonviolence as ‘soul force’, a constituent characteristic of the human spirit. Once this is accepted, not merely at the intellectual level but deep at the level of one’s psyche and spirit, the lines that separate persons and things, you and I, would fade away. So, one attains the realization that one cannot harm or injure another without at the same time harming oneself; hurting others is hurting oneself. In order to attain this consciousness, one has to undergo a process of self-purification through an arduous
process of conquering one’s ego and reducing oneself to a cipher. When nonviolence is practiced with as much ‘scientific precision’ as possible, it even tends to develop into an objective force. Such nonviolence transcends time and space and becomes a perennial source of inspiration and a point of reference for the votaries of ahimsa. Also, it becomes a force/power that can move mountains, even the most immovable mountains of human minds. Gandhi believed that nonviolence being soul force or love force, has universal applicability. It could be used for resolving any form of dispute and conflict, removing even a dictatorial regime. Gandhi pointed out that as nonviolence was the law of our being and the cohesive force that held human life together, it was essential to make nonviolence the central organizing principle of all human transactions and activities. Social, political and economic organizations should be made on the basis of the law of nonviolence. He explained that when life came to be organized consciously on the basis of the principle of nonviolence, its results would be unthinkable, probably beyond what humans can visualize.

C. Satyagraha

Gandhian philosophy of satyagraha is a natural outcome of the supreme concept of truth. If truth is the ultimate reality, then it is imperative to safeguard the criteria and foundations of truth. A votary of God which is the highest Truth and the highest Reality must be utterly selfless and gentle. He should have an unconquerable determination to fight for the supremacy of spiritual and moral values. Satyagraha means the exercise of the purest soul-force against all injustice, oppression and exploitation. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul force. The active nonviolent resistance makes an immediate appeal to the heart. It wants not to endanger the opponent but to overwhelm him by the over-flooding power of innocence. Satyagraha or
stupendous effort at conversion can be applied against the Government, the social Czars and leaders of 'orthodoxy'. Satyagraha is an inherent birthright of a person. It is not merely a sacred right but it can also be a sacred duty. If the Government does not represent the will of the people, and if it begins to support dishonesty and terrorism, then it should be disobeyed. But one who wants to vindicate his rights should be prepared to bear all kinds of suffering.

Gandhi referred to the teaching of Thoreau in this connection. However, Gandhi stated that Thoreau was not a complete champion of nonviolence. Probably Thoreau limits his breach of governmental laws to the revenue law, i.e., he refused to pay taxes. The dynamics of Satyagraha as formulated by Gandhi are broader and more universally applicable. From the family to the state— one meets injustice and untruth— one can resort to Satyagraha. In his autobiography, Gandhi has referred to some experiences of Satyagraha practiced in his own family life. He said that the alphabet of ahimsa is learnt in the domestic school and can be extended to national and even international levels. Gandhi felt that the Abyssinians, the Spaniards, the Czechs, the Chinese and the Poles could have offered nonviolent resistance against the aggressors.

There are different techniques of Satyagraha. Fasting can be one form of Satyagraha, but it has to be applied only against those who are bound by ties of close personal affection. Voluntary migration can be another form of Satyagraha. Gandhi would not consider the 'scorched earth' policy to be a form of Satyagraha. He ruled out underground activities, even though entirely innocent, as a part of legitimate fight for freedom based on truth and nonviolence. Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhi is not a formula of social and political disintegration. A Satyagrahi must have first rendered willing obedience to the laws of the state.
Gandhi writes: "a Satyagrahi obeys the laws of the society intelligently and of his own freewill, because he considers it to be his sacred duty to do so. It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously that he is in a position to judge as to which particular rules are good and just and which are unjust and iniquitous and only then does the right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances." Gandhi claimed to have been by nature law-abiding. The capacity for civil resistance comes from the discipline undergone in the process of obeying the civil and moral laws of the state. A Satyagrahi while resisting the laws of the government should see that the social structure is not subverted.

Gandhi laid down strict canons of moral discipline for the Satyagrahi. He must have an unshakeable faith in God; otherwise, he will not be able to bear the physical atrocities perpetrated on his person by the authorities with superior force of violence at the command. He must not hanker after wealth and fame. He must obey the leader of the Satyagraha unit. He should practice Brahmacharya and should be absolutely fearless and firm in his resolve. He must have patience, single-minded purposefulness and must not be swayed from the path of duty by anger or any other passion. Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gains. It is a love process and the appeal is to the heart and not to the sense of fear of the wrong-doer. Thus, Satyagraha is based on personal purification. The Gandhian stress on purity as a criterion for political power is a great contribution to political thought. It is essential to employ pure means for serving a righteous cause.

There are different forms of Satyagraha. Noncooperation with the evil doer is a mild form. Civil disobedience of the laws of the government is a strong and extreme form of Satyagraha. There can be individual as well as mass civil disobedience. The latter means spontaneous action by the masses. In the beginning,
masses will have to be rigorously trained for action. According to Gandhi, complete civil disobedience implying a refusal to render obedience to every single state-made law can be a very powerful movement. It can become more dangerous than an armed rebellion; because the stupendous power of innocent suffering undergone on a great scale has potency. By bringing the scrutinizing glare of public opinion on the evils of an autocratic state, the fall even of a despotic political regime is ensured. It is not correct to say that Gandhi would not sanction Satyagraha in a democratic form of government. He had no special attachment for parliamentary democracy. He did not accept the axiomatic superiority of the majority within parliament. The basic problem, according to him, was life in accordance with the canons of truth. Several times Gandhi opposed a law or system even if he were in a minority of one, because for him noncooperation with evil was a sacred duty. A democracy can be swayed by all types of passions, prejudices and petty considerations, but a devotee of truth would not tamely accept this. He would not be content with merely trying to change the membership of the legislatures after four or five years. He should certainly educate public opinion. According to the political teachings of Gandhi, Satyagraha is a perpetual law against anything repugnant to the soul. Even if alone, a man of truth and conscience will resist the laws and commands issued by a representative legislature if they go against the higher law of the atman. A true satyagrahi will risk all dangers for the sake of truth.

Sometimes Gandhian Satyagraha is confused with the passive resistance. But there are vital differences. To begin with, Satyagraha is a dynamic force because it contemplates action in resistance of injustice. Passive resistance is compatible with internal violence towards the enemy but Satyagraha stresses continuous cleansing of the mind. It emphasizes even inner purity. Passive resistance is mainly contemplated at a political
level. Satyagraha can be practiced at all levels-domestic, social and political. Satyagraha goes beyond passive resistance in its stress on spiritual and moral teleology because the final source of hope and consolation for the Satyagrahi is God. The Gandhian theory of Satyagraha is far more comprehensive than the passive resistance. Gandhi accepted the absolution of ahimsa. The passive resistance was a political technique of limited application. Sometimes it meant only Swadeshi and boycott, while at other times it was extended to cover disobedience of unjust laws and decrees. The Gandhian theory of Satyagraha is a philosophy of life and politics and it contemplates stupendous mass action for paralyzing the total structure of a despotic government.

Satyagraha emphasized more on the means - non-violence - than on the end - attainment of truth. Gandhi’s uncompromising insistence on non-violence in the pursuit of Satyagraha made it a distinctive as well as a controversial technique of social and political change. Satyagraha, when used as a tool for social and political change, aims to win over an opponent. There are three stages in this process: The first stage is that of persuasion through reason. The second stage is characterized by persuasion through suffering. The Satyagrahi, at this stage, dramatizes the issues at stake by willingly undergoing self-suffering instead of inflicting suffering on the opponent as a test for the truth element in his cause. If neither persuasion through reason nor self-suffering does succeed to win over the opponent, the Satyagrahi resorts to non-violent coercion characterized by tools such as non-cooperation or civil disobedience. One of the strong images most people have of Satyagraha is that of civil disobedience. This was because civil disobedience was one of the powerful weapons Gandhi often used in Satyagraha campaigns for social and political change. With Gandhi, Satyagraha became something more than a method of resistance to particular legal norms; it became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change. The
true meaning of Satyagraha cannot be explained without exploring the Gandhian meaning of the concepts of truth, non-violence, and self-suffering.

Satyagraha, characterized by adherence to truth, non-violence, and self-suffering, by operating within a conflict situation, aims at a fundamental social and political change. In order to effect change, it uses soul force against conventional violence. Noncooperation, civil disobedience and fasting are some of the major non-violent means employed by Satyagraha movements. Non-cooperation includes actions such as strike, walk-out, hartal (voluntary closing of shops and businesses) and resignation of offices and titles. Non-cooperation is a refusal to follow a requirement which fundamentally violates truth and is against mass conscience. Civil disobedience is a non-observance of certain specific laws which are dehumanizing, and against one’s conscience. Civil Disobedience includes activities such as non-payment of taxes, jail-going campaign, etc.

Although Gandhi never put down in words the procedure and the process of Satyagraha, observing the innumerable Satyagraha campaigns one could tell them. Bondurant explains in detail about the fundamental rules, code of discipline, and the various steps in a Satyagraha campaign as follows: we can observe it as Fundamental Rules, they are (1) Self-reliance at all times. Outside aid may be accepted, but should never be counted upon. (2) Initiative in the hands of the satyagrahis. Satyagrahis, through the tactics of positive resistance, persuasion, and adjustment, must press the movement ever forward. (3) Propagation of the objectives, strategy and tactics of the campaign. Propaganda must be made an integral part of the movement. Education of the opponent, the public, and participants must continue apace. (4) Reduction of demands to a minimum consistent with truth. Continuing reassessment of the
situation and the objectives with a view to possible adjustment of demands is essential. (5) Progressive advancement of the movement through steps and stages determined to be appropriate within the given situation. Direct action is to be launched only after all other efforts to achieve an honorable settlement have been exhausted. (6) Examination of weakness within the satyagraha group. The morale and discipline of the satyagrahis must be maintained through active awareness of any development of impatience, discouragement, or breakdown of non-violent attitude. (7) Persistent search for avenues of cooperation with the adversary on honorable terms. Every effort should be made to win over the opponent by helping him thereby demonstrating sincerity to achieve an agreement with, rather than a triumph over, the adversary. (8) Refusal to surrender essentials in negotiation. Satyagraha excludes all compromise which affects basic principles or essential portions of valid objectives. (9) Insistence upon full agreement on fundamentals before accepting a settlement.

The following points were laid down by Gandhi as a code for volunteers of satyagraha, they are (1) Harbor no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent. (2) Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying. (3) Refrain from insults and swearing. (4) Protect opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life. (5) Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee. (6) Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life. (7) If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner. (8) As a member of a satyagraha unit, obey the orders of satyagraha leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement. (9) Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.
Some Steps in a Satyagraha Campaign as follows: (1) Negotiation and arbitration. Every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through established channels must be exhausted before the further steps are undertaken. (2) Preparation of the group for direct action. Before any direct action is taken in a conflict situation, motives are to be carefully examined, exercises in self-discipline must be initiated, discussions are to be conducted within the group regarding issues at stake, appropriate procedures to be undertaken, the circumstances of the opponent, the climate of public opinion, etc. (3) Agitation. This step includes an active propaganda campaign together with such demonstrations as mass-meetings, parades, slogan-shouting. (4) Issuing an ultimatum. A final strong appeal to the opponent should be made explaining what further steps will be taken if no agreement can be reached. (5) Economic boycott and forms of strike. Picketing may be widely employed, together with continued demonstrations and education of the public. Sitting dharna (a form of sit-down strike) may be employed, as well as non-violent labor strike, and attempts to organize a general strike. (6) Non-cooperation. Depending upon the nature of the issues at stake, such action as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile may be initiated. (7) Civil disobedience. Great care should be exercised in the selection of laws to be contravened. Such laws should be either central to the grievance, or symbolic. (8) Usurping the functions of government. (9) Parallel government. The establishment of parallel functions should grow out of step (8), and these should be strengthened in such a way that the greatest possible cooperation from the public can be obtained.

Having laid down the basic principles and procedures of a Satyagraha campaign, it must be borne in mind that the actions taken in a Satyagraha campaign, greatly depends on the nature of the issue at stake. Similarly, whether a campaign could be called
Satyagraha or not can be determined by the above-mentioned standards, the success of a Satyagraha campaign depends equally on the opponent as well. However, most of the Satyagraha campaigns initiated by Gandhi in India were successful.

**D. Education**

Education means the process of continuous enrichment and development of human personality by various means. Gaining knowledge is one of the ways to enrich our mind. Gandhi’s concept of education is both practical and dynamic with strong spiritualistic orientation -- a powerful weapon to bring about a silent revolution in mankind. Gandhian philosophy is based on the assumption that there is an element of goodness essentially present in every person. What we need is proper education to bring out this element of goodness. Gandhi says that, the goal of education should be moral education or character-building; and the cultivation of a conviction that one should forget everything selfish in working towards great aims. Therefore, Gandhi defines education in the following way: “By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child, in man – body, mind, and spirit.”

Gandhi’s greatest gift in the sphere of education is known as, ‘The Wardha Scheme of Education’ or ‘Nai Talim’. For Gandhi, education is the means for realizing Sarvodaya, i.e., upliftment of all. Education, for Gandhi, is a method to bring silent and non-violent revolution in society. According to Gandhi, “An education, which does not teach us to discriminate between good and bad, to assimilate the one and eschew the other, is a misnomer”. Gandhi said that education is the potent weapon to liberate human beings from all vices. According to Gandhi, the basic scheme of education has the following important features: Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. There
should be free, compulsory and universal education within the age group 7 to 14. Manual productive skills should be imparted in the children and special emphasis on handicrafts. Fusion of the theory and practical, i.e., learning by doing. Co-education initially. The core aim of basic education is to help students to develop self-sufficiency. Education should develop human values in the child. It is aimed to achieve the harmonious development of the child’s body, mind, heart and soul. It is geared to create useful, responsible and dynamic citizens. Religion should not interfere with education and students should be taught in such a manner that they respect all religions. Gandhi was a protagonist of women’s education. He wanted to free women from social serfdom. He opposed the purdah system and enforced widowhood. According to Gandhi, it is only education can empower a woman in such a manner that she can be able to uphold her natural rights. Education is necessary for enabling women to attain their real position in society.

Aims of education, according to Gandhi, were different from those prevalent during his days. Gandhi disapproved of the then prevalent educational method as defective, and emphasized the need to make crafts and vocations as means of education. He emphasized the importance of the following principles in his methods of teaching. To achieve mental development, training of senses and parts of the body should be given utmost importance. Reading should precede the teaching of writing. Before teaching alphabets, art training should be given. More opportunities should be given to learning by doing. Correlation should be established in the teaching methods and learning experiences. Basic craft at focal point. Teaching through creative and productive activities. Learning by living, service and participation, self-experience. Oral instruction to personal study. All syllabi should be woven around vocational training.
Gandhi has divided educational aims into two categories.

1. Immediate Aims of Education:

   a) Vocational aim: He wanted that each child should earn while engaged in learning and gain some learning while he is busy with earning.

   b) Cultural aim: He considered the cultural aspect of education as more essential than its academic aspect. In the words of Gandhi, “I attach more importance to the cultural factor of education than its literary factor”.

   c) Character building: Core principle behind the Gandhian education system was character building. He said that character is the foundation of any education. Weak moral and ethical person will not be able to take the world to new heights. According to Gandhi, the end of all knowledge should be the building up of character.

   d) Perfect development aim: Gandhi said, “The real education is that which fully develops the body, mind and soul of children”.

   e) Dignity of labor: Gandhi says that after seven years of education (7 to 14 years) the child should be able to earn. The students must learn the dignity of labour; they should not feel shy while doing some work.

   f) Training for leadership: Gandhi believed that for successful democracy, good leaders are needed. Education should imbibe good leadership qualities to the children.

2. Ultimate Aim of Education:

According to Gandhi the ultimate aim of education is to realize God or Self-realization. According to Gandhi “Development of
the moral character, development of the whole, all are directed towards the realization of the ultimate reality, the merger of the finite being into the infinite”. It is realizing Godliness in himself.

Gandhi firmly believed that basic education was an important means to develop the body and the mind. This stood out in sharp contrast to the common understanding of the concept and function of education as knowledge of letters, and of reading, writing and arithmetic as the basic constituents of primary education. For Gandhi, education did not imply spiritual knowledge or spiritual liberation after death. In essence, knowledge consists of all that is imperative for the service of the humankind; and for liberation, which means freedom from enslavement to domination and from the ambit of one’s own created needs. Education, therefore, has to be geared in this direction. According to Gandhi, our ancient system of schooling and the education imparted in those schools was enough because character building was accorded the importance it deserves. For Gandhi, character building was basic in any educational system. The basic objective of meaningful education was to generate the potential in children to create a new world order. This, Gandhi felt, was possible by way of engaging in socially useful labour, i.e., labour in the service of welfare of humankind. The idea formed the basis of his nai-talim, which was conceptualized in a way that would involve a harmonious development of the body, mind and soul. The process incorporated involvement in craft and industry as a medium of education. The hub of his ideas on education rested on the mission to place learning of a craft at the centre of the teaching program whereby, spinning, weaving, leather-work, pottery, metalwork, basket-making, book-binding and other such activities that were often associated with the lower caste people or ‘untouchables’ were performed by upper caste pupils and literacy and acquisition of knowledge which were the prerogative of the upper caste people were available to the ‘untouchables’. He wanted the
schools to be self-supporting or else providing education to all the children would never become a reality. Further, financial independence would bring with it freedom from intervention by politicians and political parties. The issue of adult education was crucial to Gandhi. Through adult education he envisaged to open the minds of the adult pupils to the greatness and the vastness of the country and to generate awareness about the ills of foreign rule by word of mouth. It was widely realized that several villages were ignorant of the evils of foreign rule and of the means to overthrow it. He sought to combine education through word of mouth with literary education.

Gandhi’s contribution to education is unique. He was the first Indian who advocated a scheme of education based upon the essential values of Indian culture and civilization. Gandhi’s philosophy of education is naturalistic in its setting, idealistic in its aim and pragmatic in its method. So, his philosophy of education is a harmonious blending of idealism, naturalism and pragmatism. Gandhi’s idea on education is very innovative. His idea of vocational education was so unique that even now a day it is being promoted by the government of India. Thus, Gandhian education scheme is very relevant today, the only need is to give it more attention and chance.

In the Gandhian constructive program, the most important element is ‘NaiTalim,’ or the new education, which in the words of Acharya Kriplani, “this is the coping stone of Gandhi’s social and political edifice.” Gandhi regarded his scheme of education as spearheading the silent social revolution and expected it to provide a healthy relationship between the city and the village, which would go a long way in eradicating the poisoned relationship between the classes. This view was affirmed by various other scholars and thinkers in the field of education. Gandhiji had said, “by education, I mean an overall all around
drawing out of the best in child and man, in body, mind, and spirit.” This concept of education serves both goals at the same time. The application of Gandhi’s concept of education was first suggested for children between the ages of 7 and 14. This is called basic education. This was later on extended to all the stages. Gandhi felt that it should include the education of everybody, at every stage of life; including the university stage. The Sarvodaya thinkers accepted the whole idea underlying the new educational concept of Gandhi, including its social and individual aims. Gandhi laid the foundation of a scheme of national education that was suited to our needs, requirements, genius, and aspirations for the future. It is left up to us to perfect it and extend it to cover the entire field of education. Education to Gandhi meant inspiring the children with a new ideology based upon personal purity and unselfish service, resulting in the creation of a society based upon truth and love. This is precisely the Buddha’s concept also.

His educational scheme was nationalist in setting, idealist in nature and pragmatic on one hand while social in purpose and spiritual in intent on the other hand. It was also an essential instrument for materializing his dream of Sarvodaya Samaj, in which the vertical and horizontal distance between people is reduced to a minimum. Gandhi formulated his scheme of basic education in the context of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, frustration, and the degeneration of our masses, resulting from the disruption of traditional social institutions and the destruction of the small-scale cottage industry.

He says that we must draw out the best in adult and child, as I mentioned earlier. This radical scheme was geared up, checking the progressive decay of our villages, reviving the village economy, laying the foundations of a just social order, in which there is no unnatural division between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ and everybody is assured of achieving acceptable standards.
The basic educational scheme was an essential ingredient of Gandhi’s plan to eliminate the rural-urban divide and redress the structural and socio-economic imbalances that were abound in Indian society. Gandhi also addressed the issue of free education. By free education, Gandhi did not mean an education fully supported and subsidized by the state or other outside agencies. Instead, he implied a system that had the maximum possible capacity of self-support from the people’s work experience, which is both an instrument of education and a source of income. The Gandhian system was free in another sense also: It did not regard formal, full-time schooling of the pupil as essential. He had very specific views about secondary and higher education. There is a feeling that Gandhi was against research, higher education, etc.

He had very specific ideas about research, higher education and the accumulation of knowledge. In Gandhi’s scheme, higher education performed the essential function of providing training and properly motivating human power for national needs and there was an urgent need for the purposive expansion of such education. Gandhi declared, “... under my scheme, there will be more and better libraries, more and better research institutes. Under it, we should have an army of chemists, engineers, and other experts who will be the real servants of the nation and answer the varied and growing requirements of the people who are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and wants.” Several critics say that Gandhi was only concerned with primary and basic education. This was not true. He had very specific views of higher education also.

E) Untouchability

Gandhi conducted a historic campaign for the removal of Untouchability in all its forms and practices. Between November
1933 and August 1934, for nearly nine months, Gandhi conducted an intensive crusade against untouchability all over the country, including in the Princely States, travelling over 20,000 kilometers by train, car, bullock cart and on foot, collecting money for the recently founded Harijan Sevak Sangh, propagating the removal of untouchability in all its forms and practices, and urging social workers to go to the villages for the social, economic, cultural and political uplift of the ‘Untouchables’. Untouchability was one of Gandhi’s central concerns. In both words and actions, Gandhi attacked untouchability in ways that were radical for a ‘caste Hindu’. Despite being ‘a caste Hindu’ Gandhi identified himself with the ‘Untouchables’.

He said in 1934, “as a savarna Hindu, when I see that there are some Hindus called avarnas, I to offends my sense of justice and truth,” and “if I discover that Hindu shastras really countenanced untouchability as it is seen today, I will renounce and denounce Hinduism.” As early as 1915, he had said, “if it were proved to me that [untouchability] is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself.” “This religion,” he had said in 1917, “if it can be called such, stinks in my nostrils. This certainly cannot be the Hindu religion.” These were strong words, but the passion behind them sprang from Gandhi’s soul’s agony. To live with untouchability, Gandhi said, was “like a cup of poison” to him. Gandhi, in his personal life rejected untouchability from the very beginning and relentlessly made efforts to eradicate it. As early as 1905, Gandhi had held that the Brahmins and the „Untouchables” were equal in his eyes. He would insist on his own family circle that no one should consider work done by a scavenger as “polluting.” In 1909, he was publicly rejecting the notion that there were “high” and “low” castes.
Gandhi worked for the ending of the caste system itself, which was responsible for the caste and other socio-economic disabilities of the „Untouchables“. He looked for the most effective, quickest and the most inoffensive way to destroy caste. In his effort to abolish the caste system, Gandhi followed his usual „strategy“ of looking for the critical and also the weakest link in the chain. Light was thrown on Gandhi’s thinking on caste and untouchability by Jawaharlal Nehru: “I asked [Gandhi] repeatedly: Why don’t you hit out at the caste system directly? He said that he did not believe in the caste system except in some idealized form of occupations and all that; but that the present system was thoroughly bad and must go. I am undermining it completely, he said, by my tackling untouchability. If untouchability goes, the caste system goes. So, I am concentrating on it. So [Gandhi] made untouchability the one thing on which he concentrated, which ultimately affected the whole caste system.” Gandhi’s beliefs on untouchability were backed by the force of a lifetime of action. At the age of twelve, in 1881, Gandhi had disregarded his mother’s warnings to not touch Uka, an ‘Untouchable’, who used to clean latrines in their house. Gandhi had then challenged his mother that Hindu religion did not sanction untouchability. At age eighteen, Gandhi defied caste restrictions to go abroad. Gandhi was ostracized for this act but he refused to perform. This strength of mind remained with Gandhi even in South Africa (1893-1914) where he allowed persons of all communities, religions, races and castes, including the ‘Untouchables’, to stay in his house like members of his family. Once when Kasturba showed reluctance, and was reticent, about cleaning the urine pot of one such member of his ‘family’, Gandhi had threatened to evict her from the house. Gandhi would invariably eat with people of different faiths and castes, including the ‘Untouchables’. Gandhi berated as cowardly the satyagrahis in South African prisons who would not eat food touched by their
‘Untouchable’ brethren or sleep near them in jails. He told the Tamils in a meeting in South Africa that they had come to South Africa in vain if they brought with them the caste divisions from Madras. After returning to India in 1915, Gandhi had an ‘Untouchable’ family reside in his Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad, Gujarat. He immediately faced the anger of the Vaishnavas of Ahmedabad who stopped all monetary help to the ashram. Following this, Gandhi decided to relocate his ashram to the ‘Untouchables’ quarters in Ahmedabad.

Gandhi tried to master many activities that were prohibited for his caste. He himself worked as a scavenger, a barber, a washerman, a cobbler, a tiller and a tailor – all ‘unclean’ works. He even forced his family to break pollution taboos by engaging them in shoemaking, leatherwork, cleaning of toilets – works profoundly ‘polluting’ to the ‘caste Hindus’. In fact, cleaning toilets persisted all his life. None of Gandhi’s ashrams were built on the basic principle of the caste system or varnashrama dharma; and none of the caste restrictions were observed in his ashrams. In Hind Swaraj (1909), Gandhi had argued that Independence, if it was not accompanied by a deep change in social priorities, would be pointless. From the time of his return to India in 1915, Gandhi combined political activity with social reform. He pushed the removal of untouchability to the forefront as early as 1920 at the Nagpur session of the Congress that adopted the non-co-operation resolution. Gandhi declared that the removal of untouchability was an essential condition for his concept of Swaraj. For Gandhi, Swaraj was not only expulsion of the British from India but also the liberation of society from slavery. According to him, attainment of political freedom was inadequate without social freedom for the ‘Untouchables’. Shortly after he returned to India in 1915, Gandhi became conscious of the problem of the colonial state using caste to weaken the national movement. He was also concerned that the orthodox Hindus should not be alienated to a
point where they would break from the nationalist platform. The British criticized Gandhi for pursuing politics to serve narrow interests rather than take to social reform that would benefit millions. They repeatedly warned Gandhi that “even if you succeed in establishing Indian Independence tomorrow,” it would be “wrecked and broken to pieces on the rock of caste.”

At the same time, Gandhi understood that the conservative, but, articulate and powerful section of Hindus, was not yet ready for radical reforms. Gandhi’s realization came close to reality when in 1920, the orthodox Hindus warned him that unless the „Untouchables” were excluded from the national schools they would support the British Raj. According to Gandhi, the participation of the „caste Hindus” was necessary both for the effectiveness of the non-violent mass political movement for freedom from colonial rule and for the success of the movement against untouchability. For him, not keeping in mind the sentiments of the majority of the orthodox Hindus would have been suicidal. To bring about a change among the „caste Hindus” was a critical element of his anti-untouchability program. After all, it was the „caste Hindus” who were practicing untouchability. They had to change themselves. Thus, Gandhi was careful and gradual in what he demanded from the Hindu society. He understood that in his fight against untouchability, he needed to make the ‘caste Hindus’ believe that his movement was not to destroy Hindu religion but to purify it. As a result, in the early years of his initiation into the national movement, Gandhi frequently insisted on being a sanatani Hindu and even seemed to defend both caste and varna. Gandhi would repeatedly assert that he “will sacrifice this life itself to uphold the Sanatana dharma.” But it is important to note that simultaneously, he defined sanatana dharma to be one that did not teach him to disrespect or despise the „Untouchables”. On November 27, 1927, Gandhi openly declared that “if varnashrama goes to the dogs in the
removal of untouchability, I shall not shed a tear.” By April 1933, Gandhi progressed further in his anti-untouchability drive by asserting that “varna could not be perpetuated or determined merely by birth,” because, for him, a combination of natural qualities and natural aptitudes determined one’s caste, not birth or heredity.

Thus, in one stroke Gandhi rejected the essence of the varna or the caste system by asserting that it was not determined by birth or heredity. Gandhi’s final position was that caste had to go. Gandhi gave the title *Caste Has To Go* to his November 16, 1935 article published in *Harijan* was also emphasized that “the sooner public opinion abolishes [caste], the better.” Gandhi became more “sensitive” to the “structural roots” of caste discrimination when he was at the height of his prominence. In 1936, Gandhi reiterated his rejection of caste, and said that it was “harmful both to the spiritual and to the national growth”. Gandhi even openly affirmed his acceptance of, and advocated for, inter-caste dining and marriages. Gandhi’s views, once expressed freely, culminated in the announcement by 1946 that in his Sewagram Ashram, couples could marry only on the condition that one party was a ‘Harijan’. Gandhi, until 1920, tried to destroy the notion that physical contact with the ‘Untouchables’ ‘polluted’ a Hindu from a higher caste. From 1921-27, he began to demand the entry of the ‘Untouchable’ children into public schools. Gandhi’s strong public reputation at the peak of the Civil Disobedience Movement enabled him to demand that the ‘caste Hindus’ must do ‘penance’ and ‘make reparations’ to the ‘untouchables. From 1927 to 1932, he took up evidently the most contentious issue demanding from the ‘caste Hindus’ that the ‘Untouchables’ must have the same rights of entry in all the temples as the other Hindus. In 1925, Gandhi supported it by backing the use of Satyagraha against a denial of the use of public roads adjacent to a temple and Brahmin residences in Vaikom. He personally went
to Vaikom, Kerala, to debate with the orthodox Brahmins against their interpretation of the scriptures, managed to get the road next to the temple opened to all. In 1932, he went to the extent of undertaking a “fast unto death” over the question of opening the Guruvayur Temple, Malabar, for the „Untouchables“. With this, Gandhi moved from being a cautious reformer to attaining a bolder, albeit revolutionary, position on untouchability. Gandhi’s approach and method were brilliantly understood by the atheist Indian social reformer, Ramachandra Rao, popularly known as „Gora“, who dialogued with Gandhi in the 1940s. Gora wrote on Gandhi’s approach thus: “When [Gandhi] first undertook to remove untouchability, the problem of varna dharma was also there. It was easy to see intellectually, even then, that caste ought to go root and branch if untouchability was to be completely eradicated. But as a practical proposition, caste was not the immediate problem then. The problem was only the removal of untouchability. So, he allowed caste to continue, though personally he observed no caste even then.” Gandhi’s goal of equality remained the same throughout, though the manner in which it was sought to be executed differed responding to the changing ‘context’ over time and also of space as seen in the case of South Africa and India.

F) End and Mean

He did not agree with those who said means are after all means. For Gandhi, means are after all everything. The problems with not prioritizing or undervaluing means, in contrast to ends, according to Gandhi, are many. First, a man is always obsessed with anxiety about the result of his action (ends). Gandhi had said, if our means are pure and our course is just and clear, all anxieties are removed. This way a man can also develop an attitude of detachment from ‘fruits and attachment with actions and their consequences. One may think fulfillment of ends is the real
reward. Ends will after all justify means. Gandhi maintained a moral means is almost an end in itself because virtue is its own reward. All focus and energies may get disproportionately concentrated on the ends, which is unforeseeable. Gandhi said means are foreseeable, ends are not. Thus, means can be controlled, managed and guaranteed. “If one takes care of the means the end will take care of itself.” Gandhi says that the ends change in character as a result of the means adopted in its attainment. Gandhi, therefore, lays stress on the “organic connection” between ends and means. Gandhi says there are many worthy and aspirational ends or goals which mankind strives for. Still, there are a few, which are critical to the sustenance and welfare of mankind. These are peace, sustainability and empathy. In all three, we need convergence of ends and means. Unless ends are “mainstreamed” as means, the ends will remain as lofty ideals and their real realizations will either be distant or elusive.

Peace, as an end, is hugely worthy and aspirational. “Emotional disarmament,” as Dalai Lama points out, “is the dire need of the hour to cleanse us from evils of rage, anger, vengeance, and selfishness and foster happiness, harmony and brotherhood.” Yet, we cannot attain peace unless it is reflected in our day-to-day thoughts and actions, public policies and doctrines of sovereign governments. Peace has to be mainstreamed in emotions, actions and mindsets at all levels-home, schools, institutions, and nations. Just having a discourse on peace or setting it as a worthy goal will never bring or ensure peace. Eleanor Roosevelt, a noted human rights advocate, rightly remarked “It isn’t enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn’t enough to believe in it. One must work at it.”

Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship may be put in the form of the following statements, which overlap and yet
express several distinct ideas: "For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life". "We have always control over the means but not over the end". "I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means". "They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end." The closest approximation to Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship is that of Jacques Maritain, who regards the problem of End and Means as the basic problem in political philosophy. There are two opposite ways of understanding the "rationalization of political life". There is the easier way of "technical rationalization" through means external to man, versus the more exacting way of "moral rationalization" through means which are man himself, his freedom and virtue. It is a universal and inviolable axiom for Maritain, an obvious primary principle, that "means must be proportioned and appropriate to the end, since they are ways to the end and, so to speak, the end itself in its very process of coming into existence. So that applying intrinsically evil means to attain an intrinsically good end is simply nonsense and a blunder." If Maritain and Gandhi have no use for the "easier way of technical rationalization" or for piecemeal "social engineering", this is not merely because of their rejection of an utilitarian in favour of an absolutist (or non-naturalistic) ethic, but also because of their daringly unorthodox repudiation of the so-called pragmatist view of politics and the dominant doctrine of "double standards" which requires a sharp separation between the moral consideration applicable to individual conduct and those (if any) regarded as relevant to political action.

Gandhi's view of the morally legitimate means to be exclusively employed in furthering political ends was deeply affected by the doctrine of dispassionate action in the Gita. He was convinced that an intense concentration upon the task at hand
can and must be combined with a degree of detachment, a freedom from anxiety about the future consequences. If we are sure of the "purity" of the means we employ, we shall be led on by faith, before which "all fear and trembling melt away". Unconcern with results does not mean that we need not have a clear conception of the end in view. But while the cause has to be just and clear as well as the means, it is even more important to recognize that "impure" means must result in an "impure" end, that we cannot attain to any truth through untruthful means, that we cannot secure justice through unjust means, or freedom through tyrannical acts, or socialism through enmity and coercion, or enduring peace through war. The man who wields force does not scruple about the means and yet foolishly imagines that this will make no difference to the end he seeks. Gandhi explicitly rejected the doctrine that the end justifies the means, and went so far as to assert that a moral means is almost an end in itself because virtue is its own reward. The doctrine that the end justifies the means goes back to Kautilya in India and to Machiavelli in the West, and is connected with the notions of self-preservation at all costs and of raison d'etre and in more recent times with the attainment of a secular millennium through revolutionary action. The doctrine was implicit in Killing No Murder, Colonel Saxby’s incitement to political assassination published in 1657. This once famous pamphlet argued that tyrants accomplish their end much more by fraud than by force and that if they are not eliminated by force the citizens would be degraded into deceitful, perfidious flatterers. It is not only "lawful" and even glorious to kill a tyrant, but indeed "everything is lawful against him that is lawful against an open enemy, whom every private man has a right to kill". It is no doubt possible to justify tyrannicide without going so far as to say that a worthy end legitimizes any and every means. The difficulty, however, is that few practitioners would admit to holding to this maxim in an
unqualified and unconditional form. It has been argued repeatedly that any means is legitimate that is indispensable at least for internal security or to defend society against its external enemies. The sole reason for restricting the choice of means is expediency rather than principle, prudence rather than (non-utilitarian) morality. It is taken for granted that cunning and force must unite in the exercise of power. Power may be justified as a means to a higher end but in the attempt to employ any and every means to secure and maintain power it becomes an end itself. The idea that one is serving some higher entity which rises far above individual life and that one is no longer serving oneself makes one no less indifferent to the morality of the means employed than the open pursuit of naked self-interest. Alternatively, we have the straightforward Machiavellian notion that the individual agent cannot escape the nature he is born with, that as fortune is malicious so virtue must also be malicious when there is no other way open. If virtue is the vital power in men which creates and maintains States, necessitate is the causal pressure required to bring the sluggish masses into line with virtue. If there is a moral law, it must be flouted in the practice of politics and this infringement can be justified by the plea of unavoidable necessity. This line of reasoning is commoner than we like to think and is sometimes couched in such specious or emotive language that in moments of crisis many people are hardly aware of the wider implications of a doctrine that they invoke for their special pleading in what seem to be exceptional situations. Hume thought that this doctrine was so widely practiced that it is safer in politics to assume that men are scoundrels even if we do not believe that all men are knaves.
III. Gandhian political ideal (Rama Rajya)

The Mahatma envisioned the ideal form of governance as Ramarajya. By Ramarajya, Gandhi meant a form of government which involves the empowerment of people at grassroots, equality of opportunity, decentralization of administration, cooperative participation of people, and democratic self-governance. By Ramarajya he does not mean Hindu Raj, he meant by Ramarajya as Divine Raj, the Kingdom of God. For him Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. He acknowledges no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness. He said that, Whether Rama of his imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of Ramarajya is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under Ramarajya. Ramarajya of his dream ensures equal rights are alike of prince and pauper. He described Ramarajya as sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. Gandhi says that independence of my dream means Ramarajya i.e., the Kingdom of God on earth. His conception of Ramarajya excludes the replacement of the British army by a national army of occupation. A country that is governed by even its national army can never be morally free and, therefore, its so-called weakest member can never rise to his fullest moral height. He says, he was taught by Hinduism to respect all religions. In this lies the secret of Ramarajya.

Gandhi dreamt of seeing post-independence India as Ramarajya. According to Gandhi, Ramarajya is the kingdom of God on earth. This god is an abstract form, and he is both Rama as well as Rahim. Gandhi firmly believed that this ideal state is possible not just in our imaginary paradise, but also in the
contemporary world of injustice and inequality. The fundamental principles of Gandhi’s Ramrajya are truth, non-violence, virtue and equality. Justice is fair and quick with simplified procedures. The lifeline of this Ramrajya is secularism and there is no scope for any religious politics.

a). Decentralization of power

Gandhi’s greatest contribution to the social thought of this century is perhaps his insistence on decentralization of the means of production (i.e., say economic power). There are many who are ready to give thoughtful consideration to his theory because it is the only way out of the problem of unemployment in this country. They argue that it is desirable to go in for decentralization because huge capital accumulation is needed to industrialize the country through large-scale industries. They also contend that because large scale industrialization presupposes the existence of foreign markets which this country cannot have, decentralization is the only cherishable goal. In other words, large-scale industrialization will be preferable in case the problems of capital formation and foreign market are solved. This line of reasoning constitutes a danger to the whole theory of decentralization as put forward by Gandhi. It would be wrong to presume that Gandhi propounded his theory only to suit Indian conditions. On the other hand, Gandhi’s theory of decentralization was the result of his keen and almost prophetic insight into the numerous political, social and cultural ills which the age of large-scale industrialization has brought in its wake.

Large-scale industrialism is at the base of the centralization of political power in few hands. It is in the very nature of large-scale industries to centralize economic power in the hands of a few individuals. Under capitalism this power comes to be concentrated in the hands of individual capitalists and under
socialism it is arrogated by managers, technocrats and bureaucrats. Thus, the centralization of power in the State negates the very conception of democracy. This is why Gandhi did not favour the so-called democracy in the West. In his view, Western democracy was only formal. In reality it was totalitarian in so far as only a few could enjoy the political power in this system. Since industrialization is based on the division of labor, it limits man's self-expression. The famous illustration of Adam Smith that a pin has to pass through ninety hands before it is completely manufactured only reaffirms the above charge. Hence the work loses its variety, initiative and color. No doubt such a division increases productivity. But it obstructs the full foliation of man's natural skill.

Not only this, industrialization does not cater to the biological needs of man. Man as a biological being requires "a specific temperature, a specific quality of climate, air, light, humidity and food." It is by working in such conditions that man maintains his bodily equilibrium. Industrialization usurps these organic needs of man. Moreover, industrialization tends to gather man in the collective. This inevitably fosters the growth of totalitarian impulse in man. Man becomes oblivious of his own sovereignty. He merges his personality in the collective with the result that ultimately, he is accustomed to tolerate every form of tyranny and cruelty in the name of the collective wellbeing of the society.

There are some of the most eloquent ills which result from an unchecked pursuit of industrialism. As a matter of fact, many thinkers and social reformers, Wen, Simon, Fouriser and especially Marx tried to go into the causes of these ills. According to them, the root of the malady lay in the system of ownership; all social, political and cultural ills were due to private ownership of the means of production. Once this private system of ownership
was removed and instruments of production socialized, they thought the malady would disappear, rather melt as if into thin air.

Where lay then the root of the disease, the fallacy in the whole approach? Undoubtedly much of the evil originated from the system of ownership. Gandhi accepted Marx in this respect. But he went a step further and delved deeper. According to him both the system of ownership and the technique of production were the real cause of the malady. Marx attacked the system of ownership in his humanistic zeal. But he left the technique of production altogether untouched. Gandhi focused his attention on the technique also. He suggested that large-scale technique should give way to small-scale technique. This, therefore, forms the core of his decentralization theory.

Does this mean that Gandhi was against the application of science to the instruments of production, i.e., machinery? To this he replied, "What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such". Indeed, he favored the application of science towards developing the small-scale technique: "I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine", he wrote in Young India. Replying to a suggestion whether he was against all machinery he said, "My answer is emphatically no. But I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. But simple tools and implements and such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of millions of cottages, I should welcome."

We see therefore, that Gandhi was not against machinery as such. His whole approach to machinery and the use of science was radically different, deeply revolutionary and humanly conscious. A technique which tends to make man a robot, robs him of his perennial urge to freedom and makes an all-out
invasion on his political, economic and social liberties is not acceptable to Gandhi.

The structure of an economy is shaped by the organization of production and distribution. The organization of production may be centralized in few large-scale industries catering to the domestic as well as international markets in the form of big corporations or multinational companies. It is also possible to organize production in a decentralized structure in the form of small and scattered production units owned by masses. The production structures have far reached influence on the distribution of income and economic power. A society that intends to establish an egalitarian socio-economic set up has to establish a decentralized polity and economy prior to it.

Decentralization is a system in which the basic activities are carried out at various levels giving adequate scope for all the partners to participate in these activities. Decentralization involves a systematic distribution of powers and functions across different political and economic agents in a society. Decentralization has both political and economic dimensions. Political decentralization involves different levels of government and distribution of powers and functions at various levels of government such as national, state and local levels. Decentralization in an economic system implies decentralization of various economic activities concerned with production, distribution and exchange. It implies organization of production in Production units of different sizes- small, medium and large-owned by a large group of people and distribution of production through various channels. In a mixed economy plans for such a system are prepared at national, state and local levels to meet the local needs and enable the people to participate in development activities. Planning and implementation of economic activities is appropriately distributed at various levels. The empowerment of
village panchayat i.e., the village local self-government is an essential requirement for building-up an effective decentralized politico-economic structure.

Gandhi’s concept of decentralization is to build up a socio-political and economic order is based on an egalitarian framework. The four elements of decentralization observed are:

Decentralization in decision-making: Gandhi’s system is based on village republic or village panchayat. Here the people of the village participate in the decision-making process. All economic, political and social decisions related to the life of the people are taken by the people. Decentralization thus implies giving power to the people to take decisions that affect their lives.

Decentralization of ownership of means of production: Economic decentralization implies ownership of means of production by the masses. Gandhi’s model of rural industrialization based on khadi and village industries promotes decentralization in ownership of means of production. The village is a production unit. The production is organized in small and cottage industries, spread over different sectors operating with labor-intensive technology. It is therefore production by masses. The means of production are thus owned and controlled by masses. Gandhi did not favour privilege and monopoly and opposed concentration of production and distribution in few hands. “I hate privilege and monopoly, whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me”.

Decentralization of structure of production: Decentralization of production structure implies production in a large number of small and cottage industries. Gandhi wanted to establish khadi production centers in each of the 7,00,000 villages in India. The structure of production is thus broad-based and the production is planned according to the local needs and requirements. There is no risk of over-production. Thus, Gandhi advocated production
by masses in the place of mass production by large scale modern industries. The capitalist production on a mass scale was responsible for the crisis caused by concentration of political and economic power. Large-scale industry leads to greed, exploitation, inequality and unemployment. He observed that, most of the farmers in the country could not maintain a minimum level of subsistence, unless there was supplementary employment. Hand-spinning, hand-weaving and other industries could create employment and make a visible dent on the poverty of the people. The spinning-wheel is a symbol of village and small industries and emancipation of the rural masses. It encourages and sustains many other village industries. Khadi is the sun of the village system. When demand for khadi increases, the demand for spinning-wheel also increases leading to more business for carpenters and blacksmiths. This will be followed by increased demand for dyeing and printing business and other village industries. These industries in turn will support khadi (hand-made cloth). Thus, there is interdependence between khadi and other village industries. Decentralization of location of production: Centralized production structure leads to localization of industries at few places, giving rise to urban agglomerates like Bombay, Calcutta etc. This also creates difficulties in distribution. Therefore, the plan of rural industrialization involves organization of production in small units spread over the rural areas in the country. The distribution is thus equalized when production is spread over geographical area in local units. The concept of decentralization thus covers different dimensions of decentralization from the process of decision making to distribution.
Objectives of Decentralization are as follows.

a. Generation of full employment and sustainable livelihood for the rural masses and promotion of full utilization of local resources.

b. Production of goods to meet the basic needs of the people and their equitable distribution

c. To promote mass ownership of means of production and attain equitable distribution of income.

d. To control exploitation of villages by cities and towns.

e. To promote ideals of bread-labour, simple living and self-sufficiency of villages.

f. To promote balanced regional development and balance between production and consumption.

g. To strengthen democracy through decentralization of political and economic powers and empowerment of village panchayat.

h. To promote skill development and capacity-building among the poor.

b). Panchayat raj

Gandhi advocated panchayat raj as the foundation of India's political system. It would have been a decentralized form of government, where each village would be responsible for its own affairs. The term for such a vision was Gram Swaraj ("village self-governance"). Instead, India developed a highly centralized system of government. However, this has been moderated by the delegation of several administrative functions to the local level,
empowering elected gram panchayats. There are significant differences between the traditional Panchayati Raj system, the system envisioned by Gandhi, and the system formalized in India in 1992.

Gandhi expresses the view that 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 the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend 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 neighbors 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. This society must naturally be based on truth and non-violence which, in his opinion, are not possible without a living belief in God, meaning a self-existent, All-knowing living Force which inheres every other force known to the world and which depends on none and which will live when all other forces may conceivably perish or cease to act.

Gandhi says that it is the function of the Panchayat to revive honesty and industry…. It is the function of the Panchayats to teach the villagers to avoid disputes, if they have to settle them. This will ensure speedy justice without any expenditure. You will need neither the police nor the military… Then the Panchayat should see to cattle improvement. They should show a steady increase in the mild yield…. the Panchayat should also see to an increase in the quantity of foodstuff grown in their village. This is to be accomplished by properly maturing the soil. You have
your indigenous games. You should banish intoxicating drinks and drugs from your midst. I hope you will eradicate untouchability if there is any trace of it still in your village. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsees and the Christians should all live as brothers and sisters.

He says that if we would see our dream of Panchayat Raj, i.e., true democracy realized, we would regard the humblest and lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. This presupposes that all are pure or will become pure if they are not. And purity must go hand-in-hand with wisdom. No one would then harbour any distinction between community, caste and out-caste. Everybody would regard all as equal with oneself and hold them together in the silken net of love. No one would regard another as untouchable. We would hold as equal the toiling labourer and the rich capitalist. Everybody would know how to earn an honest living by the sweat of one's brow and make no distinction between intellectual and physical labour. To hasten this consummation, we would voluntarily turn ourselves into scavengers. No one who has wisdom will ever touch opium, liquor or any intoxicants. Everybody would observe Swadeshi as the rule of life and man would regard every woman, not being his wife, as his mother, sister or daughter according to her age, never lust after her in his heart. He would be ready to lay down his life when occasion demands it, never want to take another's life

c). Self-rule

Gandhi’s notion of “self-rule” (swaraj), a notion that—far removed from autocracy—implies the ability to rule over oneself, thus making room for the practice of relational care and respect. This practice was also the cornerstone of two other key notions of Gandhi’s work: nonviolence (ahimsa) and striving for justice (satyagraha). Mahatma Gandhi considered politics as a method
for social change. He had a vision of Swaraj and his concept of Swaraj was just like Rama Rajya or kingdom of God on the earth. During the period when Gandhi’s freedom movement acquired its mass base, he again and again defined and explained the concept of Swaraj as the goal of freedom struggle, in terms of political, economic, social and moral rights of the downtrodden and exploited Indian masses. By Swaraj, he meant freedom and self-rule which should be practiced at three levels, in case of individual Swaraj, it is self-control or Swaraj of the self. In the case of the country, it is the freedom of India from the British clutch, and in case of community level, it is Gram Swaraj or freedom of village. The twentieth century is marked with widespread national movement. It has been featured as a century of widespread democratic upsurge. The first half of the century have started a movement to overthrow the colonialism in Afro-Asian countries due to liberation struggles. By that time, India witnessed a freedom movement. In that Mahatma Gandhi had a pivotal role.

Mahatma Gandhi was a unique freedom fighter. The anti-colonial freedom struggle launched by Gandhi for the liberation of India was unique from many points of views. That it was predominantly non-violent and his struggle for the liberation of India was based on non-violence. Gandhiji’s role in freedom movement was multi-dimensional. He was not limited with one aim only to end the British rule in India. Of course, ending of the British domination was his important agenda. His goals were greater and more ambitious. One of his important goals was to achieve Swaraj, Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

The word Swaraj means self-rule. However, for Gandhi, Swaraj is the content of an integral revolution that encompasses all spheres of life. At the individual level Swaraj is vitally connected with the capacity for dispassionate self-assessment,
ceaseless self-purification and growing swadeshi or self-reliance’. From the political point of view Swaraj is self-government and not a good government. For Gandhi, good government is no substitute for self-government. Swaraj means continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Furthermore, it is the sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. From the economic point of view Purna Swaraj is full economic freedom for the toiling millions. According to Gandhi, "Swaraj of the people meant the sum total of the Swaraj (self-rule) of individuals and so he clarified that for him Swaraj meant freedom for the meanest of his countrymen. And in its fullest sense, Swaraj is much more than freedom from all restraints, it is self-rule, self-restraint and could be equated with moksha or salvation.´

Gandhiji had serious attention on how to realize Swaraj. He has pointed out that Swaraj will not drop from the cloud and it would be the fruit of patience, perseverance, ceaseless toil, courage and intelligent appreciation of the environment’. He also observed that Swaraj means vast organizing ability, penetration into the villages solely for the services of the villagers, into her words, it means national education i.e., education of the masses’. In the Gandhian discourse, mass education is conscientization, mobilization and empowerment, which makes people capable and determines their power to stand up. He pointed out that, ³Real Swaraj will come, not by the acquisition of authority but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority´. Political liberty was an essential precondition of the Swaraj. It is the first step to realize the goal of Swaraj. Gandhiji visualized a model of Swaraj and that model was developed and enunciated in his Hind
Swaraj. It was his manifesto. But his strategy of Swaraj was unacceptable to Nehru and other Congress leaders. They dismissed it as completely unreal. But his vision presented in Hind Swaraj was ideal for the realization of self-rule and political independence. Even he had devoted his life for that. He wanted to reconstruct India which was more essential to end the British Colonial Rule in India. Swaraj of his dream was to be built from grassroots level. For Gandhi it meant the elimination of all forms of domination, oppression, segregation and discrimination. The Swaraj could eliminate the active use of nonviolence. It could be achieved through the economic regeneration of rural India through programmers like the revival and propagation of khadi and other programs related villages industries. Gandhiji wanted to transfer the Congress from the political organization to a constructive work organization. He proposed to rename the Congress as Lok Sewak Sangh to mobilize the people to work and struggle for Swaraj. Gandhi’s idea of Swaraj will show that it can provide a more passable theoretical device to find and assess the fights of the burdened populaces. As pointed out previous Gandhi’s idea of Swaraj is a complete one and summarizes the separate human person and life in an all-inclusive outline. It visualizes the liberal deliverance of all from all cruel structures and so can be equated with redemption.

Swaraj is understood in individual terms as sovereignty over oneself. In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi envisages swaraj as “self-rule”. Self-rule is a political and psychological byproduct of the spiritual practice of selfless service to the community. Gandhi and Rabindranath are unique in having both understood that freedom is, at once, a spiritual and an ecological potential of humanity, unlike liberty which is a political phenomenon. Swaraj (self-rule) which according to Gandhi was more than simply removing the British from Indian soil. Gandhi blamed Indians for allowing the British to dominate the subcontinent as Indians had become
hypnotized by the comforts of modern (western) civilization. Only by learning how to exercise the power of self-control could Indians (or anyone else) learn the true meaning of freedom according to Gandhi. Gandhi's critique of modern civilization as well as the practical possibility of moral swaraj basically point out that Gandhi used swaraj to address British colonialism, untouchability, violence, and modernization. Dallmar examines the compatibility/incompatibility of Gandhi's swaraj with western ethical and political thought (via Kant and Hanna Arendt) while emphasizing the Indian foundation of Gandhi's ideas by placing Gandhi's thought into the context of the Bhagavad Gita.

"Gandhian Freedoms and Self-Rule," offers a four-pronged typology of Gandhi's understanding of freedom: national independence, political freedom of individuals, economic freedom of individuals, and self-rule. In "Gandhian Autonomy in the Late Modern World," Tercheck explores Gandhi's notion of individual autonomy expressed in Hind Swaraj. Gandhi understood modern civilization as focused on comforting the body at the expense of the soul. One's bodily well-being was often derived from the domination of other people, not only in the form of world-wide colonialism, but also in the form of our everyday activities. Gandhi did not accept comfort and security as legitimate goals for any civilization if they were achieved through violent means. According to Tercheck, "Gandhi's expansive view of swaraj is meant to cover everyone; that is, no one is to be the object of domination." According to Gandhi each one of us must take personal responsibility for those less fortunate and not only refuse to participate in oppressive practices, but to fight domination whenever we see it; Gandhi's was a moral path of action.

For Gandhi Swaraj meant self-rule based on self-restraint and non-violent persuasion of others so that the group-living also
becomes self-rulled and self-sufficient. The establishment of Swaraj shall be done the way that is most naturally suited to the ethos, the potentialities and the inclinations of the people. The human and material resources have to be properly utilized. When the establishment of Swaraj becomes a matter of people conducting them in the required way, the domination of others, individuals or groups, will soon come to an end. The import of Gandhi's Hind Swaraj is that the question of changing or rejecting the undesirable institution or system depends upon the strength of creating a self-governing and self-sufficient institution or system. In so doing, the starting and the end-point in the process of achieving self-rule (Swaraj) shall be the individual, his spirit and his freedom.

Gandhi’s aim of totally implementing the concepts of Swaraj in India was not achieved. The voluntary work organizations which he founded for this purpose did serve as precursors and role models for people’s movements, voluntary organizations, and some of the nongovernmental organizations that were subsequently launched in various parts of India. Although the word Swaraj means self-rule, Gandhi gave it the content of an integral revolution that encompasses all spheres of life, at the individual level Swaraj is vitally connected with the capacity for dispassionate self-assessment, ceaseless self-purification and growing self-reliance. Gandhi was undaunted by the task of implementing such a utopian vision in India. He believed that by transforming enough individuals and communities, society at large would change.

d). Swadeshi

Gandhi’s concept of “Swadeshi” connotes belonging to one’s own country. In his wide conceptual framework Swadeshi has a special significance. He always laid emphasis on the value of
Swadeshi. He used it comprehensively and constantly endeavored to apply it to all spheres, like, social, political, economic, and cultural. Swadeshi is neither a negative nor a parochial concept. However, ordinarily or generally, it has a political connotation and is also considered as a viable vehicle for the promotion of Nationalism and is also reflective of one’s patriotism. It is not only a theoretical concept but has innumerable inalienable practical aspects. The inculcation and adoption of the concept of Swadeshi ideal encourages an individual to keep one’s own country interest’s paramount regardless of its impact on other foreign countries. Swadeshi is fundamental in Gandhi's philosophy of life. According to Gandhi, the whole gamut of man's activities constitutes an indivisible whole. Life cannot be segregated into watertight compartments like social, economic, political, and religious and so on. The concept of swadeshi was not an exception. It was not merely an economic doctrine. In fact, the concept of swadeshi covered all aspects of human life. Gandhi's vision of swadeshi is a universal concept even though he propounded it in the context of India's struggle for freedom. He used swadeshi as a means to achieve India's swaraj. India's struggle for freedom was a source of inspiration for many non-violent struggles indifferent parts of the globe. Swaraj through swadeshi is a principle of universal application and it can be emulated by people in their struggle for freedom. It was one of the eleven vows Gandhi prescribed for a satyagraha way of life. Swadeshi as a generic concept covers almost every aspect of human life, all his ideas, concepts, methods and programs.

According to Gandhiji Swadeshi is supreme universal law that is law of laws. Like nature's law it needs no enacting. It is self-acting one. When one neglects or disobeys it due to ignorance or other reasons, the law takes its own course to restore to the original position like the laws of nature. The necessity for the inclusion of swadeshi as a vow is due to the fact that the
people have forgotten this law; to use Gandhi's own words, the law is sunk into oblivion. A person by temperament following this law need not follow it as a vow, that is, a rare thing. According to Gandhi swadeshi in its ultimate and spiritual sense stands for the final emancipation of the soul from her earthly bondage. Therefore, a votary of swadeshi has to identify oneself with the entire creation in the ultimate quest to emancipate the soul from the physical body, as it stands in the way of realizing oneness with all life. This identification is possible only by performing the primary duty, that is, the service of one's immediate neighbor. In outward appearance, it may look as exclusion or disservice to others, i.e., the rest of humanity. Pure service can never result in disservice to the far away person. In swadeshi there is no distinction between one's own and other people. With the temptation of serving the whole world, if one fails to perform the duty towards the immediate neighbors, it is a clear violation of the very principle of swadeshi. The very first step of serving the world starts with the immediate neighbour. Service to the nearest individual is service to the Universe.

According to Gandhi, swadharma in Gita interpreted in terms of one's physical environment gives us the Law of Swadeshi. Gandhi quotes Gita "It is best to die performing one's own duty or Swadharma. Paradharma, or another's duty, is fraught with danger. Further Gandhi explains: "What the Gita says with regard to swadharma equally applies to swadeshi also, for swadeshi is swadharma applied to one's immediate environment." The law of swadeshi demands that one should not take more than required to discharge the legitimate obligations towards the family. In swadeshi there is no space for selfishness and hatred. It is the highest form of altruism and acme of universal service in the Gandhian scheme. In the light of the above understanding and after much thinking and reflection, Gandhi defined swadeshi as the "spirit in us which restricts us to the use
Gandhi was convinced that the deep poverty prevailing among masses was mainly due to the ruinous departure from the path of swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. Gandhi advocated that one who follows the spirit of swadeshi should use only things that are produced by our immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient, and strengthen them in areas where they are found deficient. During the time of India's struggle for independence Gandhi realized that the economic salvation of India consists in encouraging and reviving indigenous industries. Gandhi found khadi as the necessary and most important corollary of the principle of swadeshi in its practical application to society. Khadi fulfills the kind of service envisaged in swadeshi. He thought universalizing khadi or spinning wheel will improve these conditions. For him, khadi is the Sun of the village solar system. The various industries are the planets which can support khadi. Khadi mentality means decentralization of production and distribution of the necessities of life.

Gandhi advocated the concept of swadeshi in the spirit of universal love and service. A votary of swadeshi will give preference to local products even if they are of inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere and try to remedy the defects of local manufacturers. However, Gandhi warned the votary of swadeshi against making it a fetish. "To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign, and to go on wasting national time and money in the promotion in one's country of manufactures for which it is not suited, would be criminal folly, and a negation of the swadeshi spirit. A true votary of swadeshi will never harbour ill-will towards the foreigner. Gandhiji preached that Swadeshism is not a cult of hatred. It is a
doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e., Love. In the swadeshi economic order there will be healthy exchange of products and not cutthroat competition through the play of market forces with other villages where they are not locally producible. In such an economic system there will be an organic relationship between production, distribution and consumption. The application of swadeshi in politics calls for the revival of the indigenous institutions and strengthening them to overcome some of its defects. Gandhi pleaded the need for internal governance (swaraj) as early as 1909 in his noted booklet Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. He wanted to empower the people through political self-governance. His vision of the decentralized political system was Panchayati Raj by which the innumerable villages of India were governed.

In the social realm, embracing Swadeshi reconciled Gandhiji to the institution of varna system initially. He followed the four-fold division of the society purely based on duties performed by different sections of people. He made an earnest attempt to overcome the defects of the caste system. He vehemently opposed the prevailing caste system based on birth and the social status attached to it. He launched one of the most relentless battles against the curse of untouchability which was a part and parcel of the caste system in India. Gandhi looked at the scourge of untouchability as a blot on Hinduism. To follow the spirit of Gandhi's swadeshi in the field of religion one has to restrict to the ancestral religion. It calls for the use of one's immediate religious surroundings. It is the duty of a person to serve one's own religion by purging its defects. Gandhiji unambiguously opposed and rejected the modern medical system. He thought it to be curative and not preventive. It is also very expensive and out of reach from the hands of the poor population of this country. He prescribed living according to the laws of nature. Gandhi’s Swadeshi doctrine is not an isolated concept and
claims for kindred with the ideals of Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Truth and Non-violence. The doctrine of Swadeshi is employed for the protection of home industry.

Gandhi defines swadeshi as that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surroundings. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics, I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that economics, I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

4). Economical ideal of Gandhi

M. K. Gandhi did not believe in any definite scheme of economic thought. His economic ideas are found scattered all over his writings and speeches. To him, economics was a part of a way of life and hence his economic ideas are part of his general philosophy of life. It has rightly been said that “One has to interpret Gandhiji’s economic ideas and build up what may be described as Gandhian Economic Thought from what he did and said in this connection.” Gandhian economics does not draw a distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral well-being of an individual or a nation is immoral, and therefore sinful. Gandhiji himself was not a professional
Gandhian economics is a school of economic thought based on the spiritual and socio-economic principles expounded by Gandhi. Gandhi’s economic philosophy was mainly concerned with individual dignity and the welfare of the poor people. Gandhi’s stress on individual’s liberty includes a sense of responsibility towards oneself, to others, to society and perhaps to the world beyond. Thus, individuals would have more choices of enterprises and prospects. This type of arrangements would ensure a smooth relationship between the labour and entrepreneur which may enhance efficiency with increased labour welfare. Gandhi’s main idea aims at the socio-economic reconstruction of society.

Gandhian economics is largely characterized by rejection of the concept of the human being as a rational actor always seeking to maximize material self-interest that underlies classical economic thinking. Where Western economic systems were (and are) based on what he called the “multiplication of wants,” Gandhi felt that this was both unsustainable and devastating to the human spirit. His model, by contrast, aimed at the fulfillment of needs – including the need for meaning and community. As a school of economics, the resulting model contained elements of protectionism, nationalism, adherence to the principles and objectives of nonviolence and a rejection of class war in favor of socio-economic harmony. Gandhi’s economic ideas also aim to promote spiritual development and harmony with a rejection of materialism. The term "Gandhian economics" was coined by J. C. Kumararappa, a close supporter of Gandhi.

Gandhi's thinking on what we would consider socio-secular issues (he himself saw little distinction between the sacred and its expression in the social world) was influenced by John Ruskin and the American writer Henry David Thoreau. Throughout his life, Gandhi sought to develop ways to fight India's extreme
poverty, backwardness, and socio-economic challenges as a part of his wider involvement in the Indian independence movement. Gandhi's championing of Swadeshi and non-cooperation were centered on the principles of economic self-sufficiency. Gandhi sought to target European-made clothing and other products as not only a symbol of British colonialism but also the source of mass unemployment and poverty, as European industrial goods had left many millions of India's workers, craftsmen and women without a livelihood.

By championing homespun khadi clothing and Indian-made goods, Gandhi sought to incorporate peaceful civil resistance as a means of promoting national self-sufficiency. Gandhi led farmers of Champaran and Kheda in a satyagraha (civil disobedience and tax resistance) against the mill owners and landlords supported by the British government in an effort to end oppressive taxation and other policies that forced the farmers and workers into poverty and defend their economic rights. A major part of this rebellion was a commitment from the farmers to end caste discrimination and oppressive social practices against women while launching a co-operative effort to promote education, health care and self-sufficiency by producing their own clothes and food. Gandhi and his followers also founded numerous ashrams in India. The concept of an ashram has been compared with the commune, where its inhabitants would seek to produce their own food, clothing and means of living, while promoting a lifestyle of self-sufficiency, personal and spiritual development and working for wider social development. The ashrams included small farms and houses constructed by the inhabitants themselves. All inhabitants were expected to help in any task necessary, promoting the values of equality. Gandhi also espoused the notion of "trusteeship," which centered on denying material pursuits and coveting of wealth, with practitioners acting as "trustees" of other individuals
and the community in their management of economic resources and property.

a) Trusteeship

Gandhi is also known as the apostle of peace and non-violence. He was not only famous for his political or social works but also known for his unique but practical economic thought. The background of the Gandhian economy is very strong. Gandhi was influenced by the writings of Karl Marx, Adam smith, Tolstoy, Ruskin bond, R.C. Dutta and many others and he examine their writings in the context of India and started to think about various economic problem and adopted various action plan for solving those problems Gandhi was fighting against the extreme poverty, backwardness and socio–economic challenges as a part of his independence movement, of that time. Gandhi thought that economic self-sufficiency is very much essential for an individual and nation. He thought that the important economic wealth of the nation is human being so throughout his life he was working for the overall development of the individual and also for the economic equality. To build the economic foundation of the nation and individual strong and make the country economically self-sufficient he used many non-violent Means, trusteeship one of them of them. To abolish the distinction between poor and rich and to establish permanent peace in society he introduced the concept of trusteeship. It is a concept where one voluntarily gives up one’s right on wealth earned by him and dedicates it to the welfare of the weaker section of the society. The idea of trusteeship is based on the notion that nobody can be the permanent owner of property. Everything belongs to God. We can only hold the thing or property as a benevolent custodian.

According to Gandhi the economic basis of a society should not be separated from morality and spirituality. Gandhi believed
that to establish peace and harmony in society the economic basis of society should be based on love and trust. He never separated his economics from ethics. He said that economics that hurt the moral wellbeing of an individual or a nation are immoral and sinful. Gandhi was always working for establishing economic equality in society. But to establish equality he never used external force but use only soul force. He believed that if people develop the quality of sympathy, kindness, benevolence and the feeling of oneness then voluntarily they will think about the weaker section of the society. Gandhi said a good individual would love to share his things with others because for such people life is not meant for enjoyment only but it is meant to help other. Trusteeship is a Socio-economic Philosophy which was developed by Mahatma Gandhi as a part of his non-violent revolution. It is a concept where one voluntarily gives up or relinquishes one’s right on wealth earned by him and dedicates it to the welfare of the poorer section of the society. Gandhi had a firm belief that every capitalist being a human, have in them the element of goodness which every individual necessarily possesses. So, if they realize that without the labour of the poor it would not be possible for those to acquire wealth, then the capitalist would function only as trustee for the poor. They would then keep all the surplus money or wealth in trust for the welfare of the poor which would establish economic equality in society. Gandhi described trusteeship very simply by the following words “Supposing I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy or by means of trade and industry. I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me. What of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community”.

Mahatma Gandhi used it as a powerful tool for removing economic and social disparity and ultimately establishing peace in the society. Gandhi had no doubt about its abiding value. He
said, “My theory of Trusteeship is no makeshift, certainly no Camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of Philosophy and religion behind it……. No other theory is compatible with non-violence.”

He used trusteeship as an instrument for establishing economic and social equality. In fact, Gandhi said that his trusteeship is a gift from India to the world. Mahatma Gandhi himself was an example of this idea as his worldly possessions were just a pair of clothes, watch, stick and few utensils. Gandhi was not an arm-chair philosopher. He never believed in theory only. He believed in experimenting his own theory and he made a first test on him.

A Trustee is one who holds property in trust for the benefit of others. A trustee is legally and morally bound to manage the trust properly in responsible and productive manners for the benefit of the trust’s beneficiaries. A trustee may have a share of the benefit of the trust like the other beneficiaries. A trustee cannot leave his property to his children as an heir except the public. Gandhi thought that the very idea of ownership is at root a form of violence. So, if the capitalist or the rich people realize that their surplus property is actually not their property and if they willingly keep their surplus money in trust then it will definitely guarantee social and economic equality. Gandhi desired the capitalist to become trustees of the nation by running their business with integrity for the welfare of the people.

The concept of trusteeship comes from the ideas of Ahimsa and Aparigraha. For Gandhi, Ahimsa is the greatest virtue. Ahimsa generally means non-killing. Gandhi gave a new dimension to the highest human value in theory and practice. The usual meaning of Ahimsa is not merely refraining from causing injuries to a creature, it stands for certain positive attitudes towards other
living beings that one must cultivate. In fact, in its positive aspect Ahimsa is nothing but love. This positive attitude inspired Gandhi to think about the concept of trusteeship. It is true that one cannot acquire excess wealth without exploiting the labors of others. Exploitation is one kind of violence. A true believer of non-violence can never exploit the labour of others for having excess wealth. A votary of non-violence then can hold anything in excess of what he needs only as a trustee for others. Gandhi believed that at its very root the concept of ownership or capitalism involves the form of violence. Centralization of power creates social and economic inequalities in society. But Gandhi did not believe that, the evil could be removed from the society by transferring the concentrated ownership from the individual to the state. So, he offered trusteeship as an alternative. Trusteeship which is based on non-violence is nothing but only the qualitative transformation of the attributes and meaning of ownership. Aparigraha is the ethical ideas of non-possession of the renunciation of ownership. It also means non-attachment of worldly objects and things. It simply means honest living and avoidance of avarice. Gandhi was very deeply influenced by this ethical idea and so he developed the concept of trusteeship. Gandhi thought that absolute non-possession is impossible since one possesses the body. But one should distinguish between needs and wants, reduce one’s wants to the barest minimum. Gandhi believed that God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment. So, acquire things more which what we need is against the fundamental law of nature.

The following are the salient features of trusteeship:

1. Trusteeship is a socio-economic philosophy, which provides a means by which the wealthy people would be the trustee of trust that look after the welfare of the people in general.
Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an equalitarian one.

2. Gandhi used trusteeship as a powerful tool to establish permanent peace in society by removing economic and social inequalities. Gandhi did not believe in capture of power, but accumulation of power to the many. He believed that the very concept of ownership or capitalism involves at its root the form of violence. He believed in the equal distribution of wealth. So, he used trusteeship as an instrument to remove social and economic disparities from society.

3. Trusteeship tries to reduce the gap between rich and the poor. Economic equality is

the master key to non-violent movement. So, Gandhi wants to abolish capitalism not capitalist. He invites capitalist to become a trustee.

4. It tries to change the attitude of the capitalist. Because without the labour and the co-operation of the poorer section of the society it would be not possible for the capitalist to accumulate wealth. So, they should voluntarily surrender their excess wealth and keep that in trust for the welfare of the working and the poorer section.

5. Gandhi’s trusteeship covered not merely a material source of wealth and power but also non-material possessions such as special talents that some individuals have possessed. Gandhi believed that every individual has got some talents or ability. But we exploit that talent or ability for personal gain in the beliefs that we own the talent. But Gandhi said that we do not own the talent but we are appointed as trustee by
God and so we should use the talent to help others who are less fortunate or talented.

6. The idea of trusteeship is inherent in the idea of non-violence. Gandhi believed that the economic basis of society must be based on love and trust. A non-violent society is always non-exploitative society. One who believes in non-violence cannot therefore believe in inevitability of class war. Trusteeship then has to be understood as a part of the scenario of a non-violent revolution, as an instrument in the Satyagrahi’s struggle for economic equality. Gandhi was also highly influenced by the moral concept “Aparigraha” of Bhagavat Gita, the Hindu scripture. Aparigraha means non-attachment for worldly objects or non-possession. Gandhi felt that the tendency to possess things is at once the cause of all evils. Therefore, one must cultivate the discipline of living with that amount of minimum wealth with which one can live a happy and comfortable life.

7. Gandhi’s trusteeship is not Philanthropy. Gandhi himself said, “if trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it will disappear”. Distribution of wealth is not about charity but about ensuring basic human dignity. Gandhi believed that giving charity to healthy person is shameful acts. The core of trusteeship is the protection of human dignity not mere materialistic prosperity.

8. Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship gives more importance to socialism. But his socialism is something different from Karl Marx. In Gandhi’s social order the individuals will be at the center and the state has to promote his welfare. But, under Marxism individual will be subordinate to the state. Again, while Marx considered force and violence as inevitable in the
birth of a new order, Gandhian Socialism is based on non-violence.

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

10. Trusteeship should be regulated by the Government. No individual should be allowed to use his wealth for his own interest.

Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship has been criticized for some of its limitations. Some critics opine that it wants to destroy capitalism and support socialism. But nowadays instead of socialism capital is improving very successful all over the world. Some wants to blame that it will take away the working spirit of the businessman which will slow down the economic development of a society. Again, in today’s competitive world every businessman tries to accumulate more wealth. So, such an attitude never let them to accepts easily the concept of trusteeship. But in spite of all these we cannot consider trusteeship as an impractical and imaginary theory of Gandhi. It is true that not all of Gandhi’s theories are relevant in the modern-day context but some of them are relevant. Trusteeship is one of them. If we go deep into the corporate world then we will come across the concept of the corporate social responsibility. The welfare activities undertaken by the corporate world are known as corporate social responsibility (CSR). The root of corporate social responsibility lies in Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship. This CSR connect to the corporate sector to the social sector. Every company draws its resources from society so they must have some responsibilities towards society. It has seen that, nowadays every company expenses a huge amount in the name of social service. Many of them have their own NGOs, some companies
involve themselves in doing charity works etc. Ratan tata, the founder of TATA Group was highly influenced by the trusteeship of Gandhi and he developed his life based on this idea. So, if CSR activities are backed by Trusteeship, they can bring real prosperity and permanent peace to our life.

Trusteeship is a unique concept advocated by Gandhi in order to establish social and economic inequality. It is a concept with its origin in spirituality wherein one voluntarily surrenders one’s excess wealth, and keep that in trust for the welfare of the poorer section of society. The concept of trusteeship flows from the ideas of Ahimsa and Aparigraha. Positively Ahimsa stands for love and negatively it means non-killing. The very concept of trusteeship is inherent in the concept of Ahimsa. Because a true believer of non-violence can feel the actual meaning of trusteeship, a votary of non-violence cannot hunger for possessions. With the help of trusteeship Gandhi tried to establish permanent peace in society by removing economic and social disparity. Protection of human dignity and enrichment of human life is the core of trusteeship.

b) Private property and exploitation

Gandhi praised Christ's advocacy of subsistence-living without hoarding for tomorrow, and required these for a non-violent attitude. Even one's body was not one's own property. Reinterpreting Ruskin, he paraphrased him in support of his vision of a future India of villages, without wealth-producing cities or factories. To avoid violence, he would not expropriate wealth, so long as the wealthy acted as trustees for the poor.

For Gandhi private property was subversive of the social order because it conflicted with the fundamental principles underlying and sustaining it. The customs, values, traditions, ways of life and thought, habits, language and educational, and other institutions constituting a social order were created by the quiet co-operation
and the anonymous sacrifices of countless men and women over several generations, none of whom asked for or could ever receive reward for all their efforts. And their integrity was preserved by every citizen using them in a morally responsible manner. Every social order was thus of necessity a co-operative enterprise created and sustained by the spirit of sharing, mutual concern, self-sacrifice and yajna [‘sacrifice’ generally]. And its moral and cultural capital, available by its very nature to all its members as freely as the air they breathed, constituted their collective and common heritage to be lovingly cherished and enriched. The institution of private property rested on the opposite principles and breathed a very different spirit. It stressed selfishness, aggression, exclusive ownership, narrow individualism, a reward for every effort made, possessiveness and a right to do what one liked with one’s property. It was hardly surprising, Gandhi argued, that its domination in the modern age should have atomized and culturally impoverished society and undermined the basic conditions of human development.”

c) **Socialism and economic equality**

Mahatma Gandhi wrote, “Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. According to Gandhi the essential difference between man and brute is that the former can respond to the call of spirit in him and can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and therefore superior to selfishness and violence which belong to brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. That is the fundamental conception of Hinduism, which has years of penance and austerity at the back of the discovery of their truth. That is why whilst we had saints who have burnt out their bodies and laid down their lives in order to explore the secrets of the soul, we
have none as in the West who have laid down their lives in exploring the remotest or highest regions of earth. Our socialism or communism should therefore be based on non-violence and on the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital and the landlord and the tenant.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote, “My concept of socialism implies that people should be self-reliant. That is the only way they can be prevented from being exploited. I have been trying to persuade the workers that if the capitalists have their gold and silver, we have our hands and feet. These too are assets. A capitalist will never be able to carry on without labour. Let no one misunderstand that the Sangh is going to serve the purpose of the capitalists, thereby making the workers slaves. On the contrary it proposes to release them from slavery, by making them self-reliant. He says “My opposition is to socialism as it is interpreted here in its official program. I can have nothing to say against the theory or the philosophy of socialism. The program as it is put here cannot be achieved without violence. The socialists here do not exclude violence under all circumstances whatsoever. They would take to arms openly if they saw there was a chance to usurp power by it. There are in the program, some details into which I need not enter. I wonder if this reply will answer your difficulties. However, you must write about your difficulties more concretely.”

d) Village and cottage industry

Mahatma Gandhi held the view that since Indians live in villages, any idea of building up the nation as the constructive aspect of the national movement had to begin from the bottom at the village level. He also stressed categorically that the Indian freedom movement might not produce any resounding impact without the involvement of villages. Subsequently, he paid
significant attention to economic development of the villages and villagers. But he realized that villages might not be adequately uplifted economically without reviving the traditional village Industries. At this critical juncture, the handloom industry in the villages was adversely affected by the influx of cheap machine-made cloth of the British which ultimately resulted in the rapid decline of traditional Indian handloom industry. As Gandhi pointed out rightly emphasized the development of village industry as a remedial measure for upliftment of villages, the All-India Village Industries Association was organized on his initiative. Moreover, Gandhi’s economic program was based on the ideal of self-sufficiency and he found that the village industry is the best available alternative for economic self-sufficiency of the villages.

Khadi was a popularly used terminology of Mahatma Gandhi for politically and economically awakening the Indian masses during the freedom movement. Moreover, he could shrewdly expedite the national movement of Indian elites into an effective mass movement, rocking the mighty British Empire only by his thoughtful trait of articulated campaign on khadi. Thus, the concept of khadi for Gandhiji was very wide and all embracing. Gandhi commented about khadi. “It cannot be the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country.” Gandhi implicitly expounded that khadi meant upliftment of villages which would be largely self-contained and would contribute to the welfare of our cities as well as the outside world on the basis of mutual benefit and co-operation. He also elucidated that the promotion of khadi envisages encouragement of cotton growing, picking, ginning, cleaning, carding, slivering, spinning, sizing, dyeing, preparing the wrap and the woof, weaving and washing. It is worth noting that the though expounded by Mahatma Gandhi on various aspects of life are related in one way or the other. Consequently, the conceptual
framework of khadi may lack the desired clarity without retrospection of the meaning and the nature of Swadeshi. Swadeshi literally means love for one’s country but Gandhi applied the concept to various spheres such as religious, economic and political aspects. And his application of Swadeshi in the economic sphere, signified the use of only those goods which are produced by one’s immediate neighbor and helping them in various ways. So, he prescribed the habitual weaving of khadi as an indispensable qualification for a Satyagrahi. Over and above these, the Khadi campaign of Gandhi was successful because he voluntarily shunned the western dresses in lieu of khadi cloth. Indeed, it was a marvelous example and challenging feat for the Indian masses to see that a western educated elite had shunned suit and tie for want of khadi cloth. Due to his extreme liking for khadi, he (Gandhi) had also been disgustinglly lampooned at as “a half-naked Fakir” by Winston Churchill.

It is not an exaggeration to state that Mahatma Gandhi was one of the greatest personalities of the twentieth century. It is an undeniable fact to admit that the acme of Indian National Movement was achieved in the Gandhian era due to the involvement of rural mass in the freedom struggle. In the Pre-Gandhian era, the national movement was led in random by some leaders without involving the common people. Therefore, Gandhi thoughtfully provided a fillip to the movement by involving the masses at such a critical juncture. It should be recollected that Gandhi emerged as a cynosure figure in the freedom movement because he vigorously campaigned for economic self-sufficiency through Khadi and Village Industries in the course of his campaign for Indian political freedom. The difference between Gandhian technique of social revolution and that of French and Russian pattern is cleared by the symbol of spinning wheel which Gandhi considered to have represented the
new social order. As Gandhi strongly emphasized on the development of self-reliant village industries with his heart and soul, he broke the salt law at Dandi on 6th April, 1930. In fact, his breaking of the salt law was also a significant outcome of his desire for promotion of indigenous industries at a large scale. He also advocated the use of Swadeshi goods to eliminate our dependence on foreign import and to provide employment to unemployed millions. Khadi as a popular political and economic usage was successfully utilized to the maximum extent by Gandhi during the freedom struggle. The very word “Khadi, khadi industries and Khadi cloth” sored the British authority which made them (British authority) allergic towards the word ‘khadi’ and its very concept. Hereafter, any volunteer weaving khadi or campaigning for khadi were humiliated by the British authority in the severest term. It was evident that the presence of khadi – capped congress volunteers and villagers was not tolerated within planters’ jurisdiction in Assam during the non-cooperation movement.20 As villagers were virile base for successful freedom movement in Pre-independence era, Gandhi prepared a scheme for village economic revival through the spinning wheel and hand woven cloth (Charkha and Khadi), Panchayat, National school, campaign for Hindu – Muslim unity and to create an awareness among the common people against the evil of liquor and untouchability.21 Of the above stated factors, Charkha and Khadi created the most resounding impact among the people. Other factors such as Panchayat, National school, campaign for Hindu – Muslim unity and awareness campaign against the evil of liquor and untouchability were also successful to some extent but they were not creating impact as that of the Charkha and Khadi. Therefore, Khadi and Village Industry can be termed as the backbone of the strength of the freedom movement. On the eve of India’s Independence in 1946 Mahatma Gandhi said “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 defending its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world.”

Gandhi conceived of free India as a republic of self-sufficient autonomous village communities under a panchayat. Gandhi’s conceptualization of village republic is also based on the following ideas such as unity and harmony of village communities and village autonomy and self–sufficiency. He also further elaborated that self-sufficiency of the village denotes self–sufficiency of each of the household within the village and each household can only be self-sufficient if each adult member of the family can earn his or her livelihood. Here in lies the essential role of each citizen for economic self-sufficiency of the country as a whole and self-sufficiency of such a target can only be adequately attained by the successful promotion of Khadi and village Industry. Following the wishes of Gandhiji, village panchayat was enshrined in Article 40 and cottage industry was incorporated in Article 43 of the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution. The enshrinement of these two provisions in the constitution also enable the development of village panchayat and village industry with constitutional safeguard from stage to stage. As a result, Panchayati Raj was enacted by the 73rd Amendment Act of the constitution, 1992 and powers, authority and responsibility of the panchayat are contained in Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution of India. The significance of the Panchayati Raj Act is that certain subjects including Khadi, village and cottage industries are listed within the jurisdictional purview of the Panchayat.
e) Against over industrialization

Gandhi feels that the growth of a moral society is prevented by an overemphasis on industrialization. Gandhi has been able to perceive that such an attitude has given rise to many kinds of ills and evils both at the social level and at the political level. It is on account of an excess of industrialization that such international evils like exploitation of the undeveloped countries, colonial expansion, war among nations etc. make their appearance. Smaller countries are exploited for procuring raw-materials and stronger countries get involved in repeated wars just in order to maintain industrial superiority. Then, even on the national level too much of the industrialization leads to many kinds of unrest and disruptions. It is on account of industrialization that a permanent rift between capital and labour is created. Moreover, by substituting machines for human labour industrialization creates problems of unemployment also.

But, the strongest reason why Gandhi is against too much of the industrialization is the fact that it poisons the very spirit of man. It makes life mechanical and artificial and seeks to reduce even man to the status of a machine. It lets loose a process of dehumanization. The result is that man loses the zest for life. He seeks an escape by indulging in purely sensuous pursuits like drinking, gambling and the like. Consequently, he loses his moral sense, and, in fact, his soul itself. Gandhi reflects with horror on the possible consequences of such a process and therefore recommends a life that would make human existence meaningful and would give to man real happiness and peace.