CHAPTER VI

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M.K. Gandhi, a great constructive thinker of the twentieth century wanted to establish a new thought before the modern Indian society by introducing reforms. He was interested in the reformation of society. Before his own eyes he saw many social evils in the Indian society and tried to establish a society free from all forms of exploitation through peace, happiness and real prosperity on the earth. In this chapter, it is proposed to discuss Gandhi's concept of 'welfare of all' named as Sarvodaya.

Gandhi was not only a devoted worker, he tried to understand the nature of man, society, civilization, religion and tried very hard throughout his life to put into practice the ideals which he deemed to be the highest. His attempt was to make a fruitful combination of theory and practice. For him an integrated community could be built only through the integration of its individuals. Louis Fischer holds that Gandhi was primarily a social reformer, may be, a social revolutionist, as he once called himself.¹

¹. Young India, 29-1-1925
Before discussion of Gandhi as a social reconstructor it is necessary to point out the main views of some sociologists on social reconstruction.

August Comte (1798-1857) wanted that state should play positive role in the development of new industrial society guided only by social scientists and was opposed to the form of government which should govern. He believed that the metaphysical and critical spirit of the scientific age had destroyed the traditional universal religious beliefs. It was impossible to reconstruct them in their older form. But it was essential to recreate a system of beliefs which was to serve as the basis of the new order.

Herbert Spencer accepted the role of voluntary organisations, because he believed that democracy was a rule of the majority over the minority. The Government should make least interference in public affairs except maintaining law and order and protection from foreign invasion.

According to Karl Marx, due to change in the modes of production the people will be divided into two classes. There will be struggle between the haves and the have-nots leading to dictatorship of the proletariat for some time and then ultimately a classless society will be formed with no function for a government to perform.
Max Weber supported the idea of parliamentary type of government instead of a dictatorship and placed the glory of nation and power of the state above all else. Neither he believed in the general will (good of all), nor in the rights of people to self-determination nor in the democratic ideology. He wanted parliamentarization of German Government and recruit of better leaders.

**Gandhi's Concept of Sarvodaya:**

Gandhi's philosophy and ideas are deep rooted in the Sarvodaya Samaj or society, which will be established by bringing about changes in the concept of property and mutual relationship of man with man by peaceful means and free from exploitation. Sarvodaya philosophy lays stress on village uplift and also on village economy.

The word Sarvodaya was used in the Jaina Scripture by the Jaina saint Samantabhadra for the first time hundreds of years before Gandhi, yet the word Sarvodaya when used by Gandhi was completely his own. In praising the spiritual leader of the Jainas he wrote "Sarvapadam, Antakaram, Nirantam, Sarvodayam, Tirthamidam, Tavaiva." In other words "yours are the sacred waters, of the well-being of all that ends the miseries for all times."

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When Gandhi used the term Sarvodaya he was clear in his mind about the meaning of the term. Hence as he has written in his autobiography in connection with his translation of Ruskin's Unto This Last; "I translated it later into Gujrati, entiteling it Sarvodaya (the welfare of all)."³

Ruskin's work challenged the classical political economy and exerted a tremendous influence on Gandhi. Since all men are brothers and no human being should be a stranger to another, Gandhi aimed at the welfare of all. His concept of socialism is an extension and application of the economic aspect of his Sarvodaya philosophy. In his concept of socialism, all the members of the society are equal. It will provide equal opportunity for the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee, the strong and the weak, and all are treated on the same level. Thus Gandhi's concept of sarvodaya is distinguished from and superior to the utilitarian doctrine which aims at the greatest good or happiness of the greatest number and the Marxian socialism which aims at the 'welfare of proletariat class only'. Hence the real dignified human doctrine, for Gandhi, is the greatest good of all.

The Isopanishad had a distinct and definite influence of Gandhi. Once Gandhi observed,"......if all the Upanishads and all the other scriptures happened all of a sudden to be reduced to ashes, and if

only the first verse in the Isopanishad were left intact in the memory of the Hindus, Hinduism would live for ever."

The mantra reads:

"All this that we see in this great universe is pervaded by God. Renounce and enjoy it

Do not covet anybody's wealth or possession."\(^5\)

Gandhi deduced his concept of socialism from this upanisadic verse. The seeming contradiction between the two ideas- 'Renounce it' and 'Enjoy it'- is very nicely reconciled into the Gandhian concept of socialism. The answer to the question-why should one renounce and enjoy these worldly things at the same time?- is that they are in God's possession. They are no one's possession. So one should renounce these worldly things for the common welfare in the society and enjoy them at the same time in common. Again, the valuable idea of the clause 'covet not anybody's possession' is an antidote to the present materialistic and selfish society. This is the source of Gandhi's economic doctrine of Trusteeship and Non-possession. Gandhi said,"It seems to me to satisfy the cravings of the socialist and the communist, of the philosopher and the economist. I venture to suggest to all who do not belong to the Hindu faith that it satisfies their cravings also."\(^6\) This means that the abolition of private property envisaged by the socialist and the communist can be achieved if the idea conceived in the verse is translated into action.

\(^4\) M.K.Gandhi, the gospel of renunciation, P.4
\(^5\) M.K.Gandhi, Hindu Ddharma, P.37
\(^6\) Ibid.
Thus "welfare of all" forms the core of the Gandhian concept of Sarvodaya. Literally speaking Sarvodaya is derived from two Sanskrit words. Sarva meaning all and Udaya meaning awakening or development. Thus Sarvodaya as such means literally the awakening, upliftment or emancipation of all, or Universal Dawn.

As Vinoba Bhave has interpreted it: "By the term Sarvodaya is meant arising of all but not the arising of some and decline of other......The concept of welfare of all creatures is contained in the term."

As Dada Dharmadhikari has interpreted the Gandhian concept of Sarvodaya: "It connotes simultaneous blossoming of the life of all individuals. Life itself signifies growth, awakening and upliftment. Hence simultaneous growth of all is the very essence of sarvodaya."

The philosophy initiated by Gandhi was seriously studied by Jay Prakash narayan who came out of the influence of European socialism. According to him in a Sarvodayer society mutual relationship between man and man will be appreciated, equality and brotherhood will be appreciated. There will be no desire for exploitation. The individual will be asked to live a simple life. This society will be based on cottage industries and the production will be according to the needs and

7. V.P.Verma : Mahatma Gandhi and Sarvodaya, P.357
8. V.Bhave : Sarvodaya Vichar Aru Swarajya sastra, P.48
9. D.Dharmadhikari : Sarvodaya Darshan, P.16
requirements of the people. "Sarvodaya implies the greatest good of all as against the greatest good of the greatest number. It stands for a society which would strive for the good of all and which everybody would be happy. In such a society there would be no distinction of high and low." 10

Gandhi on Social Reforms:

Gandhi started the task of reformation from the individual. According to him due to performance of duties by all individuals, there will be peace in society. Marx laid stress only on the reformation of the economic foundations of society but he entirely forgot that without the reformation of individuals, the reformation of society is unthinkable. Gandhi realised this defect of Marxian thought and started social reformation from the individual. He was trying to remove various social and economic obstacles which stood in the way of their progress.

The social goal of Gandhi was the establishment of all kinds of exploitation-free society. He was a great fighter for social reforms but he believed that social reforms would become effective only when the individual reforms himself. Gandhi was influenced by Tolstoy and Thoreau who gave importance to individual and his capability of changing society. His idea about the concept of 'good society' is that he formed his ideas mostly on the basis of conditions prevalent in his own country, where population pressure on the land was too much and he wanted to

10. J.P. Narayan: A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order, P.51
have freedom and employment for all. God created man to work for his good. Those who enjoy without work are thieves. Service is not possible unless it is rooted in love or ahimsa.\footnote{Young India, October B, 1921}

Gandhi's attempt to formulate an ideal-typical social order in which violence, exploitation, discrimination and oppression would have no place which can be summed up in one word, 'Sarvodaya'. Gandhi's aim of the Sarvodaya is not to establish a new pattern of state. It aims at the establishment of a society where there will be no oppression of one class by another class. Gandhi had definite approach to the problems which faced India of his time. He wanted the structure of the Samaj to be built upon moral principles, humanitarianism and equality. Gandhi saw that Indian society had completely degenerated itself and there were many social evils-- like child marriage and untouchability, poverty and low morals of people with ever increasing corruption in our social structure. In these circumstances, as a Karma-Yogi and practical politician Gandhi tried to pin-point our social evils and reform our society. He gave importance to social problems rather than to political ones. Gandhi's Sarvodaya is a many-sided programme or 'welfare of all'. It means all-round development of all people irrespective of class creed, religion or caste. Gandhi's Sarvodaya is a many sided programme which envisages restructuring the villages through his programme such as Prohibition, Removal of Untouchability, Emancipation of women, communal harmony, Khadi and Village industries, Cow Protection, Harmony
between Capital and labour, Widow re-marriage, Child marriage, Basic Education and Welfare of Students, Panchayat Raj etc. for the upliflment and welfare of the community as a whole.

Gandhi's views on Untouchability:

The removal of Untouchability becomes one of the most important missions of Gandhi's life. He was against untouchability. At the age of twelve he came to understand that the concept of untouchability was against the real spirit of Hindu religion and was a sin. During his stay in South Africa he found distinctions on the basis of colour. After thorough study of the Hindu scriptures he came to the conclusion regarding certain people as untouchables was not only against reason but also against the real spirit of Hindu religion. He considered it as something against the instinct of mercy, pity and love. He fought successfully to remove this dark blot of untouchability for Hinduism. This system was an evil and against the spirit of our society, the symbol of our degeneration. It is a partial superstition of the Hindu people which created cracks in our society and weakened it. The untouchables, whom Gandhi named Harijans may be purified souls, but they are always treated contemptuously by the traditional Hindus. Gandhi elevated the position of the untouchables by calling them Harijan- 'Men of God'. All human beings are alike under the same sky, so they must not be treated as untouchables from their birth. He says that all human beings are the creatures of God, and so all are equal. No one can be treated on this earth
as an untouchable. It is a sin to treat some people as inferior to ourselves in order to claim our superiority. There is no high and low among the people. Gandhi put it, "there is no warrant for untouchability by birth in Hinduism." In order to remove this great barrier the Hindus must first purify their own souls. Gandhi invites every Hindu to obliterate this prejudice through love or ahimsa. For it is only through such obliteration that proper justice can be done to Hinduism, as "Hinduism teaches us to regard the whole of humanity as one indivisible and undivided family and holds each one of us responsible for the misdeeds of all." this custom of untouchability was immoral, barbarous and cruel which had crept into Hindu society could be eradicated when people made consolidation and concentrated efforts against it. He said, "I believe that if untouchability is really rooted out, it will not only purge Hinduism of a terrible both but its repercussions will be worldwide. My fight against untouchability is a fight against the impure of humanity." At the same line he considered it the sacred duty of every Hindu to eradicate it. He said, "the Hindu religion is replete with illustrations of great men lifting their unfortunate brethren from their miseries. Will not the modern Hindus copy their own great men, and once for all rub out the blot of untouchability that so defiles Hinduism?"

12. M.K.Gandhi, My Philosophy of Life, P.162
13. Ibid. P.165
14. D.G.Tandulkar, Mahatma, Vol. II. P.168
In his opinion social reformers should take bold steps to end this evil because God cannot be partial to any class or caste. Therefore, the untouchables should be allowed to enter the temples and worship there, highly placed people should adopt sons and daughters of the untouchables as their own children. Similarly inter-class and inter-caste marriages should be encouraged.

Gandhi's views on Caste, Varna and Communal Unity:

Gandhi's views on caste system was as much critical as his view on untouchability. According to Gandhi there was clear distinction between caste system and varna and that both were opposed to each other. Since caste system was based on birth it had no moral justification to claim the support of society. It was an excrescence and handicap on progress. It prompted inequality and assumption of superiority of one man over the other which was a sin against man and God. According to Gandhi caste system was perverted and a degenerated form of Varnadharma which preserved energies and was essential for perfection and growth of our society. In caste system there are restrictions, whereas in Varnadharma there can be no restrictions and people of different Varnas can inter-marry each other which is not permissible under the caste system, whereas under caste system such marriages were considered a social offence, but in Varna system there was no such offence.
In ancient India, for the well-maintenance of society, labour was distributed into four classes or varnas. But in later days many sub-castes grew up with innumerable prejudices and evil motives which created barriers among these classes. Gandhi finds himself unable to tolerate these evils and clarifies the meaning of the varna-system of ancient India in order to reform the caste-evils. There are also conflicts between the Hindus and the Muslims. Gandhi strove till the end of his life, for the upliftment of human society from their narrow prejudices. He says, ".........my service is not only for you or India; it extends to the world for I know barriers of race or creed."16

Gandhi's views about the Status of Women:

Gandhi had paid special attention to the emancipation of women in India and tried to remove various social and economic obstacles which stood in the way of their progress. He suggested that women should be given a very high and suitable status in the society and should not be treated as playthings. Gandhi's view was that Hindu society always assigned a very high and significant place to women. For him degeneration of women was degeneration of society as a whole. He suggested to the women that they should try to acquire qualities and should create a place for themselves in the society. In 1921, Gandhi wrote in Young India "The future of India lies on your knees." A woman was an incarnation of Ahimsa and personification of self sacrifice. Gandhi had

advocated the abolition of all economic and legal disabilities from which women in India suffered. He observed that man, has always desired power, and ownership of property gives that power. Gandhi, therefore, desired that "the daughters and son should be treated on a footing of perfect equality."\textsuperscript{17} Woman who knows and fulfils her duty realises her dignified status. She is the queen, not the slave, of the household, over which she resides.\textsuperscript{18}

**Gandhi on Widow re-marriage:**

Gandhi felt that restriction on widow was peculiar to India and an indication of our narrowness, unnatural arrangement and the cause of many social evils which could be removed by encouraging widow re-marriage. In his opinion a widow should have as much right to re-marry as widower and there could be no distinction between the two about marriage. With the ending of this evil institution the society will be rid of many allied social evils.

**Gandhi on Child Marriage:**

According to Gandhi Child marriage was most responsible for our social, physical and moral degeneration. Gandhi himself was a victim of this social evil and repented throughout his life for marrying at

\textsuperscript{17} Young India, 17-10-1929
\textsuperscript{18} Harijan, 12-10-1934
an early age. Child marriage resulted in poor health of the couple and excess child production and one of the causes of having many child widows in India. Infact, Gandhi had altogether different views about marriage. In his opinion, the aim of marriage was something nobler than merely satisfying passions. He wanted radical reform of the system of marriage in India and also favoured inter-caste and inter communal marriages. Gandhi wanted to have a very limited family and condemned dowry system being followed in many parts of India. Under special and peculiar circumstances he even favoured divorce.

**Gandhi's views about rights and duties:**

According to Gandhi rights and duties are essential for a civilized society and every social being has some basic rights and duties. One should be ready to struggle for getting rights. In his opinion negligence in the performance of our duties was bound to hinder our social progress. In his philosophy Gandhi more stressed on duties rather than on rights. Everyone was at liberty to give up rights but not duty. He was pained to see that most of the people did not perform their duties even though reminded several times. In 1929, Gandhi wrote in Young India "Every duty performed confers upon one certain rights, whilst the exercise of every right carries with it certain corresponding obligations. And so the never ending cycle of duty and right goes ceaselessly on." Therefore, according to Gandhi duties should be performed without any obligation.
and those who failed to do so or did so with some indifference failed to get their expected rights sometimes.

**Gandhi's views about Cow Protection:**

Gandhi was in favour of cow protection which established brotherhood between man and beast. It was the dearest possession of Hindu heart. It meant not merely the animal, the giver of milk and innumerable other things to India, but meant also the helpless the downtrodden and the poor. In his opinion, cow worship was a unique contribution of Hinduism to the evolution of humanitarianism. Gandhi felt that complete cow protection in India was only with the willing cooperation of minorities and all sections of society living in India. He felt that Islam in India could not give a better gift to the Hindus than this voluntary self-denial. In his philosophy cow has a more significant and important place than even the mother, because our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grew up, but mother cow expects from us nothing but grass and grain. Our mother when she falls ill expects service from us but mother cow rarely falls ill.

**Gandhi's views on Education:**

Gandhi emphasises freedom of the individual and reform and progress in Indian education. His concept of basic education aims at the all round development of human personality, linked with the socio-
economic development of the nation. In his scheme of basic education, vocational training or work experience is of the utmost importance and can be classified as practical method. Gandhi stressed on the need and necessity of proper education as a medium through which the character of a nation could be built. He disliked the present system of education which was imposed by a foreigner on Indians. Real education was impossible through the medium of a foreign language. In his system of education there was implicitly nationalistic spirit. In this regard, Gandhi stressed on the role of teacher. In his opinion, those Indian parents who brought up their children in English style simply betrayed them and their country. He believed that though English was an international language and contained many rich treasures of literature and knowledge but at the same time we should not sacrifice our literature for its sake. The students in India should be taught through their own medium of instruction. According to him, students must not take part in party politics, because they are students, searchers, not politicians.19

Gandhi's basic education scheme at the primary level visualises craft-centred education to make a student self-supporting and lay stress on the dignity of manual labour which should become the symbol of honour. Student must be trained to become an earning unit after the completion of his studies, so that the problem of unemployment could be eradicated at the earliest opportunity. Basic education or 'Nai Talim' is based on the fundamental principle of 'learning by doing'.

emphasis", said Bapu, "laid on the principle of spending every minute of one's life usefully is the best education for citizenship and incidentally makes education self-sufficient." Gandhi had prescribed a constructive programme for students, including Swadeshi, through the use of Khadi and village industries, learning the national language, promotion of national unity, first-aid to the injured and sanitation work in the neighbouring villages.

In his education system, Gandhi wanted to give place to religion and ethics. Education should enable a man to control his senses and train his heart in the proper direction in the formation of character and enlightenment of mind. Gandhi had enunciated the principle of Basic education in which academic subjects were to be taught through the medium of productive activity, cottage industries and the like. Students should learn the principles of self-help, self-reliance and dignity of manual labour along with their academic pursuits. Gandhi had made clear from the very beginning that the aim of Basic education was to teach a craft not merely "mechanically, as generally done today, but scientifically," in order to develop the physical as well as intellectual potentialities of the child. Gandhi's basic objective was to impart an allround and integrated type of education to children. "The new education scheme" (Nai Talim) stated Gandhi, "is not a little of literary education

20. Harijan, 6-4-1940
and a little of craft. It is full education through the medium of a craft."\textsuperscript{22}

The education commission has now, recommended a system of 'work experience'. It is only an apology for Basic education. The Kothari Commission gives a new interpretation to the concept of basic education. But today a number of educationists in the country believe the concept of basic education suffers from a number of defects and hence is of little relevance to the problems of modern India. It is argued that basic education is craft centred rather than individual centred. However, Gandhi's ideas on basic education prescribe new methods and technique of education and a new way of life based on the study of psychological, sociological and economic principles. Gandhi's concept of basic education must be put into practice so that human spirit flourishes in its highest manifestation.

**Gandhi on Economic Order:**

Gandhi was also trying to remove various economic obstacles which stood in the way of Indian progress. The economic thought of Gandhi was actively concerned with making a new India. He tried to serve the poor Indians through upliftment of villages from different angles. Gandhi's economic idea is built on the principle of "Simple Living, High Thinking".

\footnote{22. M.K.Gandhi, Basic Education. P.97}
According to Gandhi, the villages are the central places of any economic programme, hence, man should go back to village and think about their fellow brothers. Service to man was service to God to him.

The unemployment and population problem have been giving a fatal blow to the economic growth of India and the country is considered to be a over-populated one. Gandhi suggested some remedies in order to overcome them to a great extent. To him also proper use of human resources, raising products to a maximum level etc. were vital factors to enrich the rural economy and minimising the burden of overpopulation.23

Unemployment problem among different categories of workers becomes a chronic disease at present in Indian societies. The government adopts so many measures to lessen this problem, one of which is the development of labour intensive industries, cottage and small scale industries, mechanised agriculture etc. In this respect Gandhi also said, "the remedy is to identify ourselves with the poor villager and to help him make the land to yield its plenity, help him produce what we need, and confine ourselves to use what he produces, live as he lives, and persuade him to take to more rational ways of diet and living."24 To those who accept "Simple living" or subsistence living, as the highest Value, what Gandhi says is certainly relevant. But is it possible in today's

23. Harijan, 29-6-33
competitive world to live and the run a subsistence economy when other nations are constantly raising their standards of living and increasing production? Again, not everyone would accept the Gandhian contention that high thinking is possible only in the context of simple living.

Gandhi's views about Industrialisation:

In the present society, the rich people hold the reins of society and poor people left behind. The development of the latter class is ignored. Gandhi was against such treatment of a group of people at subhuman level. His dream was a society in which all individuals are held in the same esteem irrespective of their caste, colour or creed.

Gandhi was opposed to industrialization, production through machinery and production on a large scale in giant plants which leads to exploitation of man by man. Industrialization is the outcome of man's greed for more and more profits. But behind his opposition to large-scale mechanised industries and his advocacy for small-scale and village industries, was a far nobler objective of welfare of all. In his opinion, industrialism exploited not only the workers within national boundaries but people beyond the national borders. "Industrialism is, I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for all time. Industrialism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit, on foreign markets being open to you and on the absense of
competitors." Gandhi wrote, "Pandit Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that if it is socialised, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialization and no amount of socialization can eradicate them." To Gandhi present industrialization and use of large-scale machinery were not very healthy and resulted in serious economic dislocation. Introduction of machines resulted in employment of a few but unemployment of many. Large scale production always resulted in exploitation and many other evils.

Gandhi's views on industrialization were shaped under the influence of his religious beliefs as well as thinkers like Ruskin and Tolstoy. In his book "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule" Gandhi condemned machinery and modern civilization. He described modern civilization as Satanic because the machine had crushed man. His opposition to machine was the direct impact of British colonial rule in India, which impoverished and demoralised the Indian masses and threw them in grinding poverty, Gandhi sharply reacted to the sub-human condition of work in the factories and degrading conditions of life in congested slums, which demoralised the workers and deadened their sense of self-respect as human beings. Gandhi used to judge every institution on the basis of its contribution to the well-being of poor and needy masses. He felt that industrialization would lead to concentration of wealth in the hands of some minority rich instead of saving the labour of the individual.

25. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. XLVIII, P.224
26. Harijan, 29-2-40
'and improving the conditions of social life. It also would cause exploitation of one nation by another nation. As he observed, "My fundamental objection to machinery rests on the fact that it is machinery that has enabled these nations to exploit others." Gandhi's hatred to machinery is nothing but a reflection of his hatred to inhuman consequences of capitalist economy, such as concentration of wealth in the hands of a few capitalists, miserable conditions of the workers and above all its imperialistic tendency. This humanistic urge of Gandhi impelled him to advocate cottage industries where each man would work in his own place and become master of the machine and not the product.

Gandhi was opposed to centralisation in industry or production which led to the exploitation of the village by the city or urban centres. Mass production was exploitation of nature as well as of man and against world peace, because it would subsist only on the control of large markets. Mass production would degrade workers and deprive them of their individual dignity and worth. It would mean large capital accumulation which would increase unemployment on economic ground. According to Gandhi industrialism is a curse for mankind and an evil, a disease. In national affairs also the large scale industry was against the spirit of democracy. Hence according to Gandhi decentralised small-scale economic organisation was superior to large-scale production in all these respects. The ideal system of production was a decentralised one in which the emphasis would be on the village being self-sufficient and

27. Young India, 22-10-1931
manufacturing only for use and not for trade. The village could use machines which should not displace labour nor reduce man to an automation.

But how far are Gandhi's views on production relevant? The small or village industries may provide more immediate employment and goods, but only a moderate increase in the standard of living. On the other hand centralised or big industries provide a higher standard of living which in turn leads to more demand for goods. This requires still more increased production which in turn generates employment, but one would want large industries only if he wanted an even increasing standard of living.

To conclude, if industrialization and mechanization degrade man to the level of an automation, reduce work to a drudgery and exploit man, then these evils are more due to the socio-economic environment which favours laissez-faire and unregulated capitalism. We must guard against crediting to mechanization the incidental products of its abuse or its use under a policy of drift. Therefore, Gandhi emphasised industrialization in the country which may be mechanised, but should not exploit the labourers. He tried to develop Khadi mentality which means decentralisation of production and distribution of necessaries of life; while, growth of heavy industries means concentration and

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rationalisation. Gandhi, therefore, stood for small scale cottage industries which preserved harmony and naturalness.

Gandhi was striking at the roots of economic imperialism by utilization of locally produced raw materials in the village itself by the local industries. He expected that with the development of village industries connected interests would grow which would be able to protect themselves against the bureaucracy on the hand and the urban capitalists on the other. This precious Gandhian insight was thrown to the winds after independence when the government tried to bring about development of village through Community development and Panchayati Raj, and the Gandhian fear becomes true.

Khaddar and spinning industries throughout India provided employment to thousands of people and also helped in national income in ancient period. Gandhi's views was that, through Khaddar alone employment was provided to millions of our workers on the field who were without any work for four months during a year. Spinning provided them proper utilization of time and additional income which helped their families in leading a better and happier life. He felt that Khaddar helped both the poor and rich in establishing a close link between various Indian communities and living in harmony and co-operation with each other.

It would be wrong to say that Gandhi was against large-scale or mass production. What he denied was not the development of science and technology but the inequality and exploitation of the masses produced by it in the present social system. He was not against big machines per se, but he was against the use of machines to exploit individuals. Modern industrialization is the outcome of man's greed for more and more profits. Gandhi wanted to remove its drawbacks as much as possible. In this connection Mahadev Desai observed, "the factory civilization of today has made machine the master of man not only because it is based on exploitation but because of the inherent limitations of the factory itself." The hideous face of modern industrialism becomes a menace instead of a help to human existence. But it does not mean that industrialization is unnecessary. Its limitations must be removed. Gandhi was opposed to centralized production. It led to the exploitation of the village by the city. Gandhi wrote, "I would categorically state my conviction that the mania for mass-production is responsible for the world-crisis. Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go about in a round about way to regulate distribution, whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud....." The notion of development that underlies Gandhi's economic model is intensely humanist, oriented towards the needs of the community.

30. N.K.Bose (ed) Selections from Gandhi, P.70
as a whole. He laid emphasis on labour-intensive technology rather than on capital intensive technology in production since our country was a labour-surplus and capital-deficit country.

**Gandhi's views about Trusteeship:**

Gandhi had the dream of giving an ideal shape to each and every Indian villages on the basis of his ethical and trusteeship principles. To remove the exploitation of one class by another, Gandhi stressed on the theory of trusteeship, which provides a permanent solution to class conflict in a very humane, non-violent and peaceful manner. It changes the whole economic conflicts between the capital and the labour, -'haves' and 'have-nots' and avoids all bloody revolutions. The objective of the trusteeship theory was to destroy capitalism and not the capitalists.  

31. It is based on an ideal view of man and society: we are born equal and have right to equal opportunity. The unbridgeable gulf between the peasants and the landlords the workers and mill-owners, the people of the states and the Indian princes the classes and the masses deeply exercised Gandhi's mind.  

32. Gandhi emphasised the concept of absolute equality by following Ruskin's book Sarvodaya (Gujrati translation of Unto This Last) and claimed that no work or profession is superior or inferior to any other. All works are equally necessary for the maintenance of society, hence all workers should receive equal payment, whether lawyers or scavengers.

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31. Young India, 26-3-1931  
32. V.T.Patil (ed) : Studies on Gandhi P.101
Gandhi's concept of equality could be compared to Marxian concept of "from each according to his ability to each according to his need". He followed the teaching of the Isopanishad: "Enjoy thy wealth by renouncing it". Explaining it further Gandhi observed it means, "I am your crores by all means but understand that your wealth is not yours, it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs and use the remainder for society." Gandhi writes, "the rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for the personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed." For the success of this system, a trustee should reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty in India. The desire for speculation must be renounced. There should be self-restraint exercised in every sphere in his life. Unlike the Marxists, Gandhi believed that the labourers and the capitalists could work together in harmony like a great family, with each functioning for mutual good and mutual advancement.

A thorough reconstruction of village life is possible only when the present property relations change by Trusteeship. As trustees, said Gandhi, "the owners would be allowed to retain a reasonable commission for themselves in recognition of their service or usefulness to
society. In case the owners proved impervious to the appeal to reason, the weapons of non-violent non-co-operation would be brought into play.\textsuperscript{37}

Though the trusteeship theory was an intrinsic part of Gandhi's over all scheme of peaceful transformation of the society, but this is not supported by the contemporary world. It must be said that absolute trusteeship is unattainable since it was abstract and utopian in its thrust and significance.

As a practical idealist Gandhi was fully aware that the ideal of Trusteeship may be difficult to realize fully but as a principle, it can be a gift from India to the world. When it is applied in the context of international problems it would minimise tension, eradicate exploitations and remove the threat of war. Nevertheless, Gandhi would not allow the trusteeship doctrine to become a cloak for colonialism, whereby rich nations may claim to be the trustee for the poor nations.

In Gandhi's view, capital and labour need not be antagonistic to each other. But economic inequality and exploitation of the poor are social facts. In the Marxian approach a violent step is to be taken to end this economic inequality. Gandhi made an appeal to the good conscience of the capitalists to abdicate their riches voluntarily for the benefit of the poor. If they do not respond to this call of humane spirit, Gandhi would

\textsuperscript{37} Ramashray Ray, Contemporary Crisis and Gandhi. Gandhian Perspective on the Reconstruction of Indian Polity, P.152
have recourse to his infallible means of the non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience. This most powerful course of action of the poor labourers, Gandhi believed, would force the capitalists to open their eyes so that the latter would realize the actual strength of the former in their productive system of relation. Gandhi issued a warning to the capitalists, "A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good." 38

Unlike Marx Gandhi ruled out the existence of class conflict in general and particularly in the Indian context. The nature of inequality and exploitation found in society is due to ignorance of the true relationship between capital and labour. When proper education of the relationship is imparted to the minds, co-operation and mutual understanding will certainly influence the productive and distributive system of economics. So class war or class conflict is not an inevitable thing in society. Gandhi therefore declared, "The idea of class war does not appeal to one. In India a class war is not only not inevitable but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence." 39

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38. M.K. Gandhi, Economic and Industrial Life and Relations. Vol. 1, P. 146
Gandhi's views on Bread Labour:

Gandhi wants every man to be treated as equal and always shouted for upliftment of Indian Rural community and suggested various ways and means for earning their livings. For preventing and eradicating social inequality Gandhi interpreted 'Bread Labour' from different angles in Indian atmosphere, suggested by the writings of Tolstoy and Ruskin along with the suggestions made in the Bible and the Gita. Ruskin's ideal of simple life in which manual work should be the joy of existence and the concept of the dignity of labour influenced Gandhi most. He also claimed that the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita, where we are told that "He who eats without offering sacrifice, eats stolen food."40 Here the word 'sacrifice' was interpreted by Gandhi to mean 'bread-labour.' This doctrine, according to him, had not only religious sanctions, but reason and social practice also led to the same conclusion. He argued, "How can a man who does not do body labour, have the right to eat."41 In support of his argument he quoted the famous Biblical Saying, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread."42 By 'Bread Labour' Gandhi means that in order to live man must work. It is essential for every man to realise the dignity of labour and to think that at least for earning his own bread one must do some manual work. Gandhi insists that the eight hours of work must include physical labour and

40. M.K.Gandhi, My Socialism, P.60
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
advocates that everyone must do agricultured work. In "Ycrwada Mandir" Gandhi even desired every man to do his own scavenging.43

The Law of Bread Labour must not be superimposed, but adhered to voluntarily Agriculture is the ideal form of bread labour. But, failing that, one can take to carpentry, smithery, spinning, weaving and scavenging. Gandhi recomends specially spinning and scavenging of these. According to him, "There is no easier and better productive work for millions than spinning."44

Bread labour is a kind of social service. A person who labours for the general good of all serve the society well. Such Bread labour is not different from social service.45 Every man must be his own scavenger and he should dispose of his own waste. He should cultivate the ideas of scavenging in our mind from our childhood which becomes a concern of separate class in the society now-a-days. Due to our negligence, insincerity, ignorance etc. poverty and unemployment have been increasing in the country and destroying peace and tranquillity amongst the Indians. The people do not like to take hard labour. The number of parasitic class and exploiters have been increasing day by day and as a result the mass people in the society are deprived of their right and enjoyment in life. Hence, it is truly the duty of a government to

43. From Ycrwada mandir, P.15
44. Harijan, 2-12-39
45. Ibid, 1-6-35
ensure bread labour for all unemployed man and woman.  

Though Gandhi recognized the necessity of mental or intellectual labour in life, he thought that the needs of the body must be supplied by the body itself. Mental labour is for the soul and for its satisfaction. It is superior to body labour, but it can never be a substitute for the physical labour. Gandhi, therefore, insisted on the necessity of physical labour. He argued that "without the products of the earth, those of the intellect would be an impossibility." Moreover the body labour would serve to improve the quality of intellectual output. Hence Gandhi wanted to break down the aristocracy of the brain. He considered the law of bread-labour as the first moral law of human life. If all men turn voluntarily themselves into manual labourers, the distinctions of rank in society would be abolished and there will be "no rich and no poor, none high and none low." Gandhi wanted to make the law of bread-labour obligatory to all the varnas of the Hindu society. The introduction of this law, in a hierarchical authoritarian and closed Hindu society is undoubtedly a progressive step as it cuts at the root of social inequality which is institutionalized through the age-old caste system.

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46. Ibid, 11-1-48
47. Young India, 15-10-1925
48. M.K.Gandhi, My Socialism, P.65
49. Ibid., P.61
Gandhi on Political Order:

Gandhi's whole life is directed towards the welfare of mankind. His main ideal during his struggle against the British rulers was political freedom for India.

He felt that without freedom nothing was possible. He had a wider humanistic goal, in his fight for Indian's freedom. Gandhi considered freedom of self-expression as the birth right of human beings for Indians. His aim was to liberate ordinary human beings from external restrictions so that they could develop fully. He had faith that free India could help the world, could help humanity groaning under the weight of conflicting interests. He cherished the dream of free India as the model of civilized living where men could live with good will towards one another.\textsuperscript{50}

Gandhi had tremendous faith in the principle of non-violence and for the first time used it as a weapon in South Africa for saving the political rights of the Asiatics living there. As a Gandhian method he coined the term Satyagraha (soul force) through which non-violence was to be applied in politics which was better appreciation outside India.

The imperfections of the existing social order have led many philosophers to ideal social order of their own conception, wherein man

\textsuperscript{50} Young India, 17-9-1925
can realize all his potentialities and lead a happy life. Marx and Gandhi visualized an exploitation-free society of their own conception. According to Marx, the necessity of state arises with the social division of classes. So the state is bound to disappear with the elimination of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat not only abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, but also abolishes the state as state. Once the classes are abolished, there is no need of the state and it gradually withers away, which finally leads to a classless and stateless society. The interference of the state in social relations becomes gradually superfluous, and the state dies out of itself.  

Like Marx, Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist who repudiated the state as such in all its forms. He opposed the state on moral grounds because the compulsive nature of state authority damages the moral value of the individual's action. As he wrote, "If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state, every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. But the ideal is never fully realized in life." As anarchists Gandhi and Marx in their political views have conceived the ideal of a classless society, devoid of any state.

52. Young India, 2-7-1931 See also Gopinath Dhawan, The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, P.282
apparatus, free from all kinds of exploitation. But in the case of Gandhi, a society organised and run on the basis of complete non-violence would be the purest anarchy.

Gandhi's ideal of Ram Rajya is a society where each individual follows the dictates of truth and is characterised by the principles of non-violence, mutual love and social harmony. The ideal of Ram Rajya means rule of righteousness and it may be called as Dharma Rajya..... the rules of virtue, the ideal society, there would be no external restraints whatsoever and the individual would lead free and happy lives.

Gandhi had strongly advocated the decentralisation of political and economic power in favour of more or less self-sufficient and self-governing village panchayats which are regarded as the models of non-violent organisation. Gandhi was anxious to incorporate the Panchayat system in the Indian constitution.

Gandhi's ultimate aim was the regeneration of society through non-violent means and creation of a decentralised economic structure and social equality based on the right kind of education. Gandhi wanted to build a new cultural inheritance of man, based on psycho-social equality. The pillars of this sociocultural reconstruction are : non-violence, equality, truth and morality. Through transformation of the individual, in the light of these principles, man would free himself from
the negative aspects which had appeared throughout the history. And it is the freedom and freeman that can usher in a just, society.\textsuperscript{53}

Indian society is badly divided into castes and the ideal of social equality is yet to be realised in practice. Now a days it is a common feature for the public to destroy national property to fulfil their demands. There is corruption in the political circles as well as domination by vested interests. The rapid industrialization has vitiated the economic atmosphere, resulting in the rapid growth of unemployment among the educated youth of the country.

Gandhi's Sarvodaya is not a theoretical concept. He wanted to secure equality in India by peaceful means. The chief characteristics of his Sarvodaya Samaj are Love, Non-Violence, Truth and Justice. 'Service to all' is the ideal of his Sarvodaya Samaj. There will be no domination and exploitation in Sarvodaya Samaj. Sarvodaya ideology aims at the mental, moral and economic uplift of the people of India. It is a great effort to revolutionise the country's thought and recognise the forces of love and co-operation as the basis of life.

Though Gandhi's total vision of Indian society was much idealistic and Utopian and had no relation to the hard realities of contemporary life in India and the world, however, the country is in need of a leader like Gandhi to fight against those forces which have enslaved

\textsuperscript{53} Uvalic Raioj : In Truth and Non-Violence. P.87
the society internally. If the people of India are sincerely willing to uproot all social anomalies. Gandhi's idea of Sarvodaya can succeed. Hence the people should understand the defects of their social order and remove the same in a righteous way.