CHAPTER - VI

SUADESHI AND INTERNATIONAL RELATION

The whole scheme of production in Gandhiji's economic thought is based on the spirit of 'Swadeshi'. Swadeshi was the first message of Gandhiji to India and not the non-violent direct action. Swadeshi spirit has greater economic bearing. The more goods we manufacture in the country with direct human labour and skill more do we uphold Swadeshi. The Swadeshi vow has been framed in order to serve as an incentive to manufacture for more production, and advancing human ingenuity instead of machines.

Definition of Swadeshi: Gandhiji has evolved his own definition of Swadeshi. He says, "The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for protection of home-industry, more specially those industries without which India will become pauperished."

Though this definition gives a broad outline of Swadeshi, yet it makes clear the field of Swadeshi with its priorities and preferences. The fundamental rule of Swadeshi is that basic necessities must employ the most. Each unit of society should attain self-sufficiency in their basic needs. There is no rigidity for inclusion or exclusion of articles covered under Swadeshi. It must change according to nature and condition of the society. At one time Gandhiji said, "Swadeshi

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1. At the first Gujrat Provincial Political Conference at Loughra in October, 1917.
2. Rathur, Economic Thought, p.69
is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote."¹ He further adds, "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 of 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."²

Looking to the definition and its explanation of high morale, one need not be afraid or try to find an excuse. One must keep the highest ideals before him which alone is to lead him to happiness. "... Swadeshi is swadharma applied to one's immediate environment."³ It behoves each individual to look to his own family and fulfill all the obligations by just means. Each family should care for their neighbours. It is only when one understands the underlying principle behind 'serve thy neighbour', they can realise what the universal law is.

"Swadeshi is the spirit which dictates man to serve his next-door neighbour to the exclusion of any other. The

¹ Chandra, Teaching, p. 537
² Ibid., p. 537
neighbour thus served had in his turn to serve his own neighbour. In this sense Swadeshi is never exclusive. It recognizes the scientific limitation of human capacity for service.\textsuperscript{1}

Gandhiji feels that to do good to others is the very law of our human being.\textsuperscript{2}

Swadeshi articles: Gandhiji opines, "Any article is Swadeshi if it suberves the interest of the millions, even though the capital and talent are foreign but under effective Indian control."\textsuperscript{3} Further Gandhiji gave two partly imaginary examples of true and false Swadeshi:

1. Khadi - It is true Swadeshi and shall remain so even if Indian Board employ foreign capital and specialists as per the need. It serves our immediate neighbour.

2. Bata Shoe - It is an example of foreign goods thought the labour and capital may belong to India. It harms our immediate neighbour and has its base in selfishness.

Gandhiji says, "(Bata Shoe) Manufactures will be doubly foreign because the control will be in foreign hands and the article, no matter how cheap it is, will oust the village tanner mostly and the village mochi always."\textsuperscript{4}

Swadeshi & Production: Swadeshi spirit can be adopted by all covering the humblest citizen and the biggest personality

\textsuperscript{1} Khor, op. cit., p. I xiii
\textsuperscript{2} Ethical Religion, p.59
\textsuperscript{3} Mathur, Economic Thought, p.593
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid. (In the year 1939 when Gandhiji made this statement, shoemakers of Bihar were severely affected due to competition on large scale basis by the Bata Shoe Co., which was under the control of foreigners.)
of the land. It is a way of making idle hours gainful, easy, substantial in millions of hands. Swadeshi spirit in turn will solve the highest economic economic problem of the country i.e., enforced idleness and its resultant disguised unemployment. It develops in each individual a right way of thinking. He begins to think over each action of his and of its impact on his fellow beings. If the spirit of Swadeshi is rightly imbued, even the advanced nations who have to maintain their higher standard of living by finding new avenues of market in the world, will not be required to exploit other weaker nations. They will then serve the weaker nations earnestly. The law of Swadeshi is a universal law equally applicable in each country for its continued growth. Gandhiji says, "The law of each country’s progress demands on the part of its inhabitants preference for their own products and manufactures." 1

Swadeshi has to change the face of the present commercial world. The present day commerce is not life giving but ruinous. Here one wishes to establish himself over the world market to earn more and more. This gives rise to many a hardship, ill-will and malice. Gandhiji opined, "Extension of Japan’s hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India’s degradation or a bloody war." 2 Swadeshi will eliminate all such interest of Westerners from each nation.

2. Ibid., p.5
Production under Swadeshi vow will save the 'honour of woman'. Swadeshi spirit will give them (the women of the land) opportunity for taking up honourable jobs, suited to their natural temperament and keep up their rightful and respectable place in society, instead of making them do the mason work or the work of reja etc., on road and building work. It is degrading them as well as the humanity.

Test of Swadeshi: The test of Swadeshi is not the universality of the use of an article, which goes under the name of Swadeshi, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such article. The most remarkable point, put by Gandhiji on swadeshi, is 'the universality of participation in production, or manufacture of articles' which are universally used. It means our basic needs must employ most of the hands so as to remove idleness and provide full employment to all.

It keeps up the ideal of Sarvodaya - welfare of all, in preference to the utilitarian view.

Love is the force behind swadeshi. People must forego their selfish interest. Each will get the chance to produce or manufacture not for self alone but for others too. Knowledge of manufacture of articles, instead of clogging in lifeless machines, will diffuse in millions of hands. The psychological effect of utilising one's hands will be development of his intellect. Reducing the chances of hands to work will mean deteriorating health and intellect both. It means rusting the man (a machine) itself which is a priceless gift of nature.

Swadeshi in its turn will demand its own tools and machines. Protective use of human labour and restrictive use of machines is the guideline for Swadeshi.

Balanced Regional Development:

The problem of balanced regional development is solved to a great extent if swadeshi spirit is properly upheld. For the proper balanced regional development, the basis or unit should be each community. Looking to the geography of India the unit of regional planning should be the village and panchayat should act as a responsible regional planning authority. Each panchayat will make its own plan for village production. Each hut of a village will be a unit of production. Pondering over Gandhiji's thought, it may be deduced that the highest degree of regional planning calls for taking each individual a unit for balanced production.

The essence of balanced regional development is that each individual should actively follow the theory of 'bread-labour'. At the same his economic activity will be governed by 'the law of varnashram'. In the initial stage it shall be hard to allocate a job to each as we have quite distracted from Varnashram Dharma.

The planning authority will be required to see that basic needs of the village community is produced in the village itself with the largest participation of the villagers. It shall care to see that idle hours of each human being is properly utilised for the up-keep of his body, his intellect.
and spirit as well. It shall be the duty of the regional planning authority to plan for maintaining cooperation in production function of the region. It shall take care of the required restrictions in the use of machinery. Locally available resources have to be tapped in preference to other resources.

It will be the responsibility of the regional planning authority to maintain the village fund equally balanced. Things that are required from outside of their region should be equal to the things sent out from the region. This means that inter-region exchange should be balanced or the surplus products of the villages should be used for external needs. This shall provide the basis for balanced growth.

Precondition for this state to come is swaraj.

Swadeshi and Swaraj: Swadeshi as defined by Gandhiji "means the creation of the most perfect organisation in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other. If we succeed in bringing into being such an organisation, not only is the success of Swadeshi assured, but real Swaraj comes to us a matter of course."

His real swaraj implies, 'freedom for the meanest of our countrymen'. This is based on justice. Justice lies in spreading peace to the down trodden people of the country. Gandhiji says, "I am not interested in freeing India from

1. Nathur, Economic Thought, p. 9, 10
merely the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke what-so-ever. I have no desire to exchange 'King log for King stork'. Hence for me the movement of Swaraj is a movement of self-purification."\(^1\) His whole concept of Swaraj lies in the self-purification of each individual.

To quote Gandhiji again, Swaraj is "complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence, at the other the economic. It has other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, i.e. religion in the highest sense of the term."\(^2\)

There is a 'square of Swaraj' with four equal lines and having the same angle connecting one another.

1. Political independence,
2. Economic independence,
3. Moral and Social (Non-violence) independence,
4. Dharma (Truth).

**Political Independence:** Gandhiji's political independence meant 'Ramraj' i.e. sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority! It is a type of its own having our own background.

**Economic Independence:** As Gandhiji puts its "Indian economic independence means to me the economic uplift of every individual male and female by his or her own conscious effort."\(^3\) Each

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2. Ibid, p. 504 - 05
3. Ibid.
one will be benefited by self-help and mutual-help schemes. Again Economic Independence means, "... the humblest must feel equal to the tallest. This can take place only by capital or capitalists sharing their skill and capital with the lowliest and the least." All will get the necessities of life with due labour.

Moral and Social Independence: This independence has been termed as non-violence. It is, in short, independence or protection from any type of violence, in 'thought, word or deed'.

Dharma Independence: Dharma is religion of the highest order or we may call it 'the Truth'. The truth of Gandhiji is immortal which knows no birth or death.

Swaraj, when analysed, gives a clear meaning of it. 'Swa' means self 'raj' means rule. A man is independent or he attains Swaraj only when he is in a position to have control over his self. It calls for full control over his senses and mind. The intrinsic meaning therefore is very deep. Gandhiji says, that the word Swaraj is a sacred word. It is a sacred word meaning self-rule, self restraint and not freedom from all restraint which independence often means.

Gandhiji felt that no sooner the spirit of swaraj has really permeated the society, there shall be activity in every walk of life, each servant of society will honestly engage himself according to his own ability in a variety of public activities.

The majority in Indian community consists of villagers who are bound to do manual work. Our civilisation has so much changed that these people feel they are separated from the general amenities of life enjoyed by the common people living in towns who form the intelligentsia and also the Government. These people living in cities have not to do manual work and they are in no way connected with bread-labour. They get the power, money and status from their literacy and property in the present set up of society. Gandhi was against such power and felt that it is manual work which purifies the action and thought of each individual whereas literacy and property alone may lead to his degradation specially in the absence of manual work.

Gandhi warned that economic independence and capitalism cannot go together. If Suaraj means economic independence, the evil of exploitation must go. "If the same process of capitalist exploitation of the Indian masses is to continue under Indian Suaraj as under any other system, there is no virtue in Suaraj as against foreign rule, so far as at any rate masses are concerned... Suaraj for India means above all things a free economic life for the Indian masses."¹

Under the Suaraj scheme of Gandhi "The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work."² He was of the opinion that government should be formed with the consent of the largest number of adults ascertained by their votes.

². Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 533.
It is rather difficult to disintegrate Gandhiji's ideas on swadeshi and swaraj. Swadeshi is mainly concerned with economic independence. The following statement deals with swaraj and economic independence. "Swaraj means at least the power to conserve Indian industries that are vital to the economic existence of the nation, and to prohibit such imports as may interfere with such existence. Agriculture and hand-spinning are two lungs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at any cost."1

Swaraj must protect the Swadeshi spirit and Swadeshi in turn will protect the Swaraj. The first and foremost requisite of Swaraj (as of Swadeshi) is the inner conviction (self-purification). Everything else will be set right.

Swaraj calls for real representative to be selected to form the government who should have in their heart the spirit of service to the down-trodden. This will bring its own legislation, executive orders and necessary instructions—all these having a living concern for the village.

Power to retain Swaraj: Gandhiji said that full Swaraj is attainable where full Khaddar scheme is followed. Full Khaddar is nothing but adopting the constructive programme of Gandhiji. Without constructive work in our hand we have no strength to run our country. Gandhiji once remarked that government may abdicate in our favour and if we have no constructive work to our credit, we shall find ourselves

1. Kethur, Economic Thought., p. 27
crippled. He says, "I often wonder whether it is sufficiently realised that our movement is not one for mere change of personnel but for change of the system and the methods. Full Khaddar programme is, therefore, to me full Swaraj." Therefore we must possess power before we take the burden of Swaraj on our shoulders. This power cannot be attained without constructive programmes in our hands.

Gandhiji believed that when we adopt this programme, foreigners will come to us only with the motive of service. There shall be no ground to fulfil their greed in our country. Their enactment of customs will not be of any gain to them. "Progress towards Swaraj" declares Gandhiji, "will be in exact proportion to the increase in the number of workers who will dare to sacrifice their all for the cause of the poor." A Silent Revolution : "Just imagine what this silent revolution means and there would be no difficulty in sharing my belief" says Gandhiji, "that Swadeshi means Swaraj and Swacharana."

The silent revolution is to adopt the Swadeshi. Main thing in Swadeshi is Khadi. Therefore silent revolution means gradually and willfully bringing a state where spinning wheel revolves round in each home of India and each member of the family takes pleasure in wearing hand spun and hand woven cloth. Gandhiji visualised, "when the Swadeshi

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 44
2. Ibid, p. 461,
mantra resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India.  

Swaraj has to give a new life, a new hope to our villagers.

Our attitude must be changed. Gandhiji remarked, "If India wants the fineries of Europe, whether made in the mills of Manchester or Bombay, she must cease to think of Swaraj in terms of the millions of her sons and daughters."

Economic aspect of Swadeshi begins with Khadi. Khadi is the corollary of Swadeshi, hence need for universalisation of Khadi or the spinning wheel. "Immediately after my return to India in 1915" contended Gandhiji, "I discovered that the centre of Swadeshi lay in Khadi. If Khadi goes, there is no swadeshi, I have shown that the manufactures in Indian mills do not constitute Swadeshi. To that belief I cling even to-day (1947)."

Again, "Swadeshi without Khaddar is like the body without life, fit only to receive a decent burial or cremation."

Khadi is the substantial essence of Swadeshi without which Swadeshi will die. Other goods manufactured in India cannot be placed in juxtaposition with Khadi. Gandhiji says, "India can live, even if we do not use brass buttons or tooth-picks made in India. But India cannot live if we refuse to manufacture and wear Khaddar. Khaddar will cease to have this paramount importance when a more profitable employment is

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 46
3. Ibid., p. 263-64
4. Ibid., p. 68.
discovered for the idle hours of India's millions.1

Khadi industry is based on local raw material, local labour, and local market.

Some people take it that if we adopt Khadi we have followed the Swadeshi as a whole. This had been the tendency long back. This is wrong. Khadi is an obligation, no doubt, for all time in India if we want to build a non-violent economic order in future. Charkha is the economic necessity and should be applied on national scale. "Without the Charkha and all it implies" says Gandhiji, "there is no swaraj, and therefore a wise economist will concentrate his attention upon the Charkha alone, knowing that the rest will follow."2 Charkha and Khadi provide vigour to a nation. This was proved by Gandhiji in his life time by his boycott movement. Knowing it well that Britishers were intelligent and shrewd and also respectful to patience, perseverance and determination, Gandhiji felt that we have to be very careful in our approach to free our nation from British Yoke. Britishers had mainly economic interest in maintaining their dominance over India. Gandhiji's studies revealed to him that, "Cloth represents the biggest item of their (Britishers) trade. The accomplishment of its boycott by us would awaken them to a sense of our strength. They are not holding India merely to feed their pride; nor is it by mere force of arms, but it is by tact and cunning that their rule over us is maintained. When their trade is made to rest on our untrammelled, free will, their rule also will

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 68.
2. Ibid., p. 395.
undergo a similar transformation. If we just tackle the trade we shall be able to meet our own challenge. We must take a note of it in our future dealings.

Gandhiji felt that boycott of foreign cloth is 'as necessary for national existence as breath is for life.' He poses a question to be judged by us, 'Will it not be a sin for a man with a very delicate digestive apparatus to eat rich foods?' Further he deplored 'Destruction is the quickest method of stimulating production. By one supreme effort and swift destruction, India has to be awakened from her torpor and enforced idleness.' This statement is the guide-line to be adopted in the economy of our own nation. Gandhiji favoured economic boycott, of aggressor nations. This may be a form of non-cooperation. But he stressed that 'Economic boycott need not be vindicative and violent and that it can be used as a legitimate non-violent, non-coercive means of non-cooperation.'

The boycott movement of Gandhiji was on the ground of uplifting his immediate neighbours who were sinning unknowingly by using foreign made cheap and attractive articles, bringing laziness to themselves and loosing self-confidence by that act. Gandhiji's boycott movement has no connection with ill-will and hatred towards others and putting others to loss for self-gain. Rather it fights with wrong economic principles which have the seed of exploitation. The boycott movement does not harm others. One has to boycott one's own article

2. Ibid, p.30
if it has the infectious disease of exploitation and part with it for ever.

Swadeshi when adopted in full, brings in its train three major achievements for the society. Gandhiji says, "The work falls three apples with one throw. It serves the Harijans, it serves the villagers and it means honourable employment for the middle class intelligentsia who are in search of employment. Add to this the fact that the intelligents have a proper opportunity of coming in direct touch with the villagers." 1 Our villagers have been thoughtlessly and cruelly despised by the civilised class. The untouchables and the landless are the biggest sufferers Gandhiji says, "Millions of those who were the salt of the earth, on whose industry this country depended for its very existence, came to be regarded as low class and the microscopic leisured few became the privileged classes, with the tragic result that India suffered morally and materially. Which was the greater of the two losses it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate. But the criminal neglect of the peasants and the artisans has reduced us to pauperism, dullness and habitual idleness." 2

As far as our resources are concerned, we do not lack in natural resources. Our dullness, idleness and attitude of despising labour, our poverty and decay of village handicrafts have been so dangerous to us that we have neglected our own welfare.

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 296
Swadeshi is the way to wipe out the vices of our life, and make proper use of our resources for the benefit of mankind. Gandhiji enjoins, "with her magnificent climate, lofty mountains, mighty rivers and an extensive sea-board, India has limitless resources, whose full exploitation in her villages should have prevented poverty and disease. But the divorce of the intellect from body-labour has made of us perhaps the shortest-lived, most resourceless and most exploited nation on earth."¹ Thus swadeshi integrates labour and intelligentsia. "It is the skill" pointed out Gandhiji, "that has been banished from the land or left undeveloped owing to the absence of the Swadeshi spirit. A country remains poor in wealth, both material and intellectual, if it does not develop its handicrafts and its industries and lives a lazy parasitic life by importing all the manufactured articles from outside."¹ Swadeshi has the quality of increasing material and intellectual strength of a nation and also of the universe because, it is an attempt to raise the wealth of each individual.

The latent ideal of 'Swadeshi spirit is that it has to fulfil the code of life. It has to create condition whereby man finds ways to utilise his faculties of life in a better and easier way. It has to bring about a state where there is self generating progress of the humanity as a whole.

¹. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 294
². Ibid, p. 562
Suadeshi spirit serves the whole of humanity without any limitation. It eliminates competition and exploitation. "The law of Suadeshi" says Gandhiji, "is ingrained in the basic nature of man but it has to-day sunk into oblivion. Hence the necessity for the vow of Suadeshi. In its ultimate and spiritual sense Suadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its earthly bondage."¹

During the time of need we first remember our own dear and near ones. Our near and dear are always incumbent on us for help as we do on them. If we fail in our attempt of getting help from them no one can serve us and a feeling of hatred is developed. This creates disturbance in our mind. If leaving them we go to a far off place to serve, it shall again create a chaos there. Gandhiji says that such action "could throw my little world of neighbours and dependents out of gear while my gratuitous knight-errantry would more likely than not disturb the atmosphere in the new place. Thus a culpable neglect of my immediate neighbours and an unintended disservice to the people whom I wish to serve would be the first fruits of my violation of the principles of Suadeshi."²

The test of Suadeshi is that it does not harm others. Harm can be there only when it is mixed with it a tint of

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¹ Mathur, Economic Thought, p.138.
² Ibid.
egoism. "Suadeshi in its purest form is the smce of universal service."¹

Gandhiji quotes from the divine song 'the multitude will copy the actions of the enlightened'² Success in any endeavour depends on the sacrifice behind it. Sacrifice on the part of the enlightened class will give impetus to the mass. Mass follows the class."³

International Set-up:

A nation can not prepare all the things she needs by itself. Just as a village must depend on its neighbouring villages for the articles it needs which cannot be prepared by it. So shall a nation looks to his neighbour country for her requirements. As clarified by Gandhiji in his own words, "In my opinion... Suadeshi which excludes the use of every-things foreign, because its foreign, no matter how beneficial it may be, and irrespective of the fact that it impoverishes nobody, is a narrow interpretation of Suadeshi."⁴ There are two conditions attached to it. First is that the article must be beneficial and second is that import of such articles should not impoverish the importing country.

Man needs variety of things and it is blasphemy to think that he should be able to manufacture all the things.

¹ Mathur, Economic Thought,p.139.
² Ibid.,p.2
³ Ibid.,
⁴ Ibid.,p.69.
he needs. He has to look to his environments and keep in
view that his actions serve his neighbours first.

Gandhiji says, "We do not want to follow the frog-in
well policy, nor, in seeming to be international, lose
our roots. We cannot be international, if we lose our
individuality, i.e., nationality." Thus, Individuality-
Internationality. Individuality is based on individual
freedom. "Individual freedom" opines Gandhiji, "alone can
make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the
service of the society. If it is wrested from him, he
becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can
possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom." Giving
preference to villages and there too to individual
employment and self-sufficiency under the spirit of Swadeshi
definitely means providing him the liberty, the key of
economic emancipation. This will in its turn revolutionise
the society where real arts, skills and crafts will develop,
on decentralised scale and thus make each individual
industrious instead of adopting industrialisation.

Export Trade: Gandhiji was against exporting raw materials
like leather, oil seeds, cotton until we have made proper
use of them for our own needs. It is a folly to send them
out and accept their products from outside. It shall be
and has been ruinous from many points. It is a sort of

1 Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 569
2 Ibid., p.
We shall be parting with our employment potentials as well as skill in contriving. There is a two-way drain: one of our money and the other of our own intellect. Moreover it breeds hatred with soul-killing competition attached to the increase of exchange economy.

We cannot frame any rigid rule for imports and exports. It depends upon the conditions prevailing in the country at the particular time to decide the articles and amount of export and import. 1

Once Gandhiji remarked, "India will for a long time to come, if not always, need certain things from foreign countries. To-day the settlement is provisional. Suppose there is lasting settlement and an honourable partnership between England and India, will not the trade with England in other articles that India may need to import more than compensate for the loss of the piece-goods and yarn custom which England must forego in every case?" 2 Gandhiji maintained interest in international economics of India too. To quote an example.

Gandhiji studied our external trade position (of the year 1927-30) and after going into its details with its statistics pointed out that we were exporting principally raw materials e.g., cotton, foodgrains, oilseeds, hides and skins, metals and ores. His remarks was, "These could have remained in India if we had skill and capital enough to put

2. Ibid, p. 131.
into them or if we had a government that would regard it as its bounden duty to give us the necessary skill and to find the necessary capital. The story of India's export is a story of our importance and the criminal indifference of the government to the well-being of the people.\(^1\)

Import: Studying our import figures (of 1927-28) Gandhiji pointed out that out of the total imports of 231 crores, Rs. 65 crores constituted of cotton manufactures and Rs. 4 crores silk. We also imported sugar, metals and their manufactured articles, motor vehicles, liquors, cigarettes etc. To this he remarks, "These imports too tell the same tale of our imprudence where it is not worse. The imports of a country in a healthy state of progress should be such as the country may need for its growth."\(^2\) Gandhi felt that our import articles have no relation with the growth factor. Some of the articles like liquor and cigarettes are bringing the evils of other societies to our country. This should be strongly discouraged. Cotton goods 'discover our shame and wretchedness'. This had made India poorer and duller.

Foreign Trade: The greatest danger to Swadeshi as revealed by Gandhiji himself is when it is made 'fetish'.\(^3\) He says, "To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit."\(^4\)

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.140
4. Ibid.
Foreign goods must be treated on certain grounds:
"Experience shows" reveals Gandhi, "that the richest gifts must be destroyed without compensation and hesitation if they hinder one's moral progress. Will it not be held a sacred duty to consign to the flames most precious heirlooms, if they are plague infected."\(^1\) It is clear that Gandhi was not against all the foreign goods. Rather he took such feelings as racial, parochial and wicked. He remarks, "I do not want to shut out English lever watches or the beautiful Japanese lacquer work. But I must destroy all the choicest wines of Europe."\(^2\) Our methods of production and policy of foreign trade mainly determine our economy. It is foreign trade that had been the via-mea dia for our drain and exploitation.

We must refuse to send our raw materials outside our country till we have unemployment and we find out ways to turn it to manufactured goods. For example we should not be very particular to send iron ore to other countries which involves us in a very great burden on the foreign exchange indirectly. We never care to see how much burden we put on our shoulders by installing machinery for its erection, transporting facilities, management, training and control and other indirect expenses (social costs).

Foreign trade is useful only when it does not promote competition and hinders the internal economy. Its motive

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1. Ibid, p. 29
2. Ibid, p. 29
should be to serve as a 'fill up the gap' where there is necessity and its procurement from internal sources is not possible.

Gandhiji preferred selective prohibition and protection of some internal trade. He says, "I have never been an advocate of prohibition of all things foreign because they are foreign. My economic creed is a complete taboo in respect of all foreign commodities, whose importation is likely to prove harmful to our indigenous interests." Further he explains, "I would regard it a sin to import Australian wheat on the score of its better quality but I would not have the slightest hesitation in importing oatmeal from Scotland, if an absolute necessity for it is made out because we do not grow oats in India."¹

Growing poverty under favourable balance of trade:

Gandhiji was asked to reconcile on his statement 'amidst favourable balance of its foreign trade, poverty in India is still growing. Agreeing with the view of late Dadabhai Naoroji he opined, The favourable balance of India represents the continual bleeding process to which she is subjected in order to sustain a rule which is based not upon the good-will of the people but upon a show of force which is kept up at an extraordinary expense of which a large part goes out of India."²

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2. Ibid., p. 456 - 457.
Favourable balance has little correlation with equality of income. Gandhiji has contended that with favourable balance at our credit India was still growing poorer as millions who actually were the chief factor of production were becoming poor specially with the gradual introduction of machinery replacing the millions of hands. Poverty also depends on the goods that we export and import. If we become exporter of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods, this shall mean hollowing the economy of the country from inside or exhausting the vitality of the society. Our vitality rests in our villages. Gandhiji remarks, "I therefore argue that in order accurately to understand the hidden meaning of the recurring favourable balances it was necessary to study the conditions of certain typical villages in India and to see also the villagers face to face. Of what use... could an all-India favourable balance be to the villagers, if they did not reap the fruits thereof and if villagers betrayed, as I held they did, process of continuing exhaustion."\(^1\)

Both the import and the export policy should respect the growth factor. Our skill, our human, animal, material and other natural resources must get preference in the production and consumption policy. We must become a careful surgeon in operating upon the traditional weaknesses of our foreign trade.

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Foreign loan and capital: Gandhiji was not against taking foreign loan for our development. But the debt should be remunerative.\(^1\) Long back (in 1924) Gandhiji opined, "I do not dread foreign capital or foreigners coming to India if they do not as now receive favoured treatment in a variety of ways. We are well able to hold our own in fair and equal competition."\(^2\)

We have to earn foreign capital whenever we feel the necessity of the same. Gandhiji remarks, "Then money is given it can only do harm. It has got to be earned when it is required."\(^3\)

We have to remove the feeling that without foreign assistance a country cannot develop. Instead of dependency on foreign assistance we have to develop confidence in our own resources for our growth. Gandhiji's economic order does not stand on external assistance. Its primary need is wider utilisation of internal resources with specific priority to human hand and skill. It avoids centralised way of production of the basic needs. Hence loss of capital is required in the field of production of basic needs and therefore no such importance is to be given to foreign aid as is now felt by under developed or developing country.

Future of foreign trade: Gandhiji had not the least idea of making India clogged and isolated. There is some naturality in foreign trade even at a state where Gandhiji's

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, p. 130
2. Ibid., p. 49
3. Ibid., p. 503
ideals come in the forefront. He expresses, "I would not
wish India to live a life of complete isolation whereby it
would live in water-tight compartments and allow nobody to
enter her borders or to trade within her borders."¹ We
must consider it our duty to help ourselves first before
we could get others help. We had been under the foreign
yoke for quite a long period. This is the reason that it
shall be hard upon us to evolve our own policy. We shall
have to give special favour to the poor class and free the
knot of the shackles with strenuous effort which had been
tied to us by the privileged class of our society.

The following statement of Gandhiji is the guideline
for adopting protective trade policy. He says, "What is
equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf? Before
one can think of equality between unequals, the dwarf must
be raised to the height of the giant."²

Too much of competition is harmful. Our relations
with other countries should be such as we wish to be
treated by others. A country who has developed her skill and
technology should not employ it for her selfish gains putting
others in distress. We should share our knowledge with
others. One's superior knowledge in technology should not
be applied for exploitation of others. Once Gandhiji
remarked to a foreigner, "And here let me say a word about
your missionaries. You send them here for nothing but that
also is part of imperialist exploitation. For they would

¹. Mathur, Economic Thought, p.437.
². Ibid. p.
like to make us like you, better buyer of your goods, and unable to do without your cars and luxuries. So the Christianity that you send us is adulterated. If you established your schools, colleges, hospitals without the object of adding the number of the so-called Christian population, your philanthropy would be untainted." To work for change of civilisation and culture is more harmful to a society than directly exporting goods connected with one's culture to another nation. Again to quote him, "I am convinced that the American and British money which has been voted for missionary societies has done more harm than good. You cannot serve God and Mammon both. And my fear is that Mammon has been sent to serve India and God has remained behind, with the result that He will one day have His Vengeance." Further he asks foreigners, "Send us your engineers not to earn money but to give us the benefit of their scientific knowledge."^2

Internationalism:

Swadeshi spirit of Gandhi reveals a fact that Gandhi was a great internationalist. He believed in the spiritual unification of oneness of mankind. Swadeshi means service of neighbour. It also means spread of humanity. There is no fencing wall as far as humanity is concerned. Gandhi says, "If individual sacrifice is a living sacrifice it will grow snowball wise gathering strength and momentum in geometrical progression till it encircles the whole earth."^3

2. Ibid., p. 503.
We can not achieve internationalism till we could achieve real national feeling, and real national feeling is impossible if we have no love for our neighbour. Thoreuith expresses Gandhiji, "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e., when peoples belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act as one men."¹

Gandhiji never believed in 'my country right or wrong' The wrong must be gradually weaned from the society. His contention of non-violent state was 'to live on the friendliest terms with its neighbour, whether they be great powers or small nation, and shall covet no foreign territory'. He clearly points out, that the non-violent state will share its material and moral sources with people across its boundaries. The non-violent state will be strong enough to resist the internal and external disturbances due to its unity and patriotism. Exploitation shall have no chance to creep in. Gandhiji says, "My ideal of nationalism is that my country may die so that the human race may live. There is no room for race hatred here."² Gandhiji wanted to raise India to that level of sacrifice. He believed that India has a mission for the world, to take active part in maintaining peace in the world. Just as a drowning man can not save others, India has to learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity.

Suedeshi spirit of Gandhiji depends on social interdependence. Gandhiji declares, "If man were so placed

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¹. Kriiplani, Brothers, p. 119.
or would so place himself as to be absolutely above all
dependence on his fellow beings, he would become so
proud and arrogant as to be a veritable burden and
nuisance to the world."1

Gandhiji believed in the spiritual unity of all men
of the universe, irrespective of their caste, creed or
nationality. He enjoins, "I believe in the essential
unity of man and for that matter of all that lives.
Therefore I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the
whole world gains with him and, if one man falls, the whole
world falls to that extent."2 As family stands on mutual
love, so also does the nation and the world. The whole
world is one large family. Not only human beings but all
the living creatures are his family members who have got
their lives from one creator i.e., God. Gandhiji asserts,
"I want to realise brotherhood or identity not merely
with the beings called human, but I want to realize identity
with all life, even with such things as crawl upon earth.
I want, if I don't give you a shock, to realise identity
with even the crawling things upon earth, because we claim
descent from the same God and that being so, all life in
whatever form it appears must be essentially one."3 Thus
Gandhiji was a universal man. He was even prepared for a
world organisation of course based on truth and non-violence.
He claims, "I would not like to live in this world if it
is not to be one world."4

1. Gandhi, Highlights of the Diamond, p. 26
2. Kriplani, urothers, p. 118
3. Ibid. p. 119
4. Ibid., p. 121.
War :

Gandhiji feels that war is an unmitigated evil, 'a crime against God and humanity' or 'mass murder' in its naked terms. Therefore the solution of war is a universal problem. War (or peace) has direct connection with the economics of a nation. If a country's economy stands on sound footing, then she need not even think of war preparations. It is the exploiting tendency of a nation that compels her to become war minded.

War preparation on massive scale is going on in each country at the plea of either bringing peace in the world by maintaining balance of power or for self protection. It is infectious which knows no receding or contraction. It only knows ever expanding putting greater burden on the financial aspect of economy. It is a problem concerning each country and has its connection with each individual. It needs all out strenuous effort to wipe it out from the society.

"All activity" says Gandhiji, "for stopping war must prove fruitless so long as the causes of war are not understood and radically dealt with." The root cause of war, as Gandhiji discovered, is that man is not non-violent. No sooner man understands this and tries to channelise his activities on the path of non-violence, peace will automatically come. The more the violent tendencies like possessiveness, greed, egoism and self-gain are the more

1. Dossi, Non-violence in Peace and War, p. 46.
furious will be the war. Therefore says Gandhiji, "To banish war we have to eradicate possessiveness and greed and lust and egoism from our own hearts. We have to carry war within our-selves to banish it from society."¹

Our present day economics is greatly responsible for spreading war preparations. It has already been discussed how industrialism with its four phased cycle breeds war.² It has nurtured widely the craving for wealth and power. Gandhiji says, "We have become atheists for all practical purposes. And therefore we believe that in the long run we must rely upon physical force for our protection."³

The tendency of exploiting others (for amassing wealth) and imposing our ideas on others (to demonstrate our power) saturated with our atheism develop into war. Hence feels Gandhiji that permanent peace is not possible until "The great powers of the earth renounce their imperialistic designs and cease to believe in soul destroying competition and to desire to multiply wants and, therefore, increase their material possessions."⁴

Peace through war is an impossibility motivated by the exploiting tendencies of the developed nations. There must be some ellipsis in the vicious circle of industrialism (i.e. industrialism exploitation - craving for market - war).
And the remedy presented by Gandhiji was to inculcate the feeling of 'serve thy neighbour' and the economic circle

¹. Myarsel, Last Phase.
². Refer Chapter III
³. Young India, P.920
⁴. Refer Chapter III
will be changed (i.e., to decentralised industrialisation—self help and mutual help—self reliance economy—peace). Example is better than precept.' One of the great powers shall have to disarm oneself with the greatest risk involved in it especially at a critical period of the present day. Ganchiji opined, "... some nation will have to dare to disarm herself and take large risks. The level of non-violence in that nation ... will naturally have risen so high as to command universal respect. Her judgements will be unerring, her decisions will be firm, her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great and she will want to live as much for other nations as for herself."^2

In the present era the best way before peace lovers is to adopt the method of non-cooperation. The non-cooperation should be with the material civilisation and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Ganchiji says, "My goal is friendship with the whole world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong."^3

Gandhi enjins, "Peace is unattainable by part performance of conditions, even as a chemical combination is impossible without complete fulfilment of the conditions of attainment thereof. If the recognised leaders of mankind who have control over the engines of destructions were wholly to renounce their use, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained. We know it well that the great powers of the world are after materialistic craze.

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1. Refer Chapter III
2. Chavan, Political Philosophy.
3. Kriplani, Brothers, p. 121.
They can bring peace only when they wipe out the materialistic race of the severe nature, realising its impact on the world. They have to realise that their materialism was the main cause for two world wars. Gandhiji's remark on world war was, "It was a war of aggrandizement, as I have understood on either part. It was a war for dividing the spoils of the exploitation of weaker races otherwise euphemistically called the world commerce."¹

Gandhiji feels, "Immediately the spirit of exploitation is gone, armaments will be felt as a positive unbearable burden. Real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another."²

In short, the problem of peace is to detach the greed and replace it with real love. Real service to one's society or nation will bring peace in the world and the people will become mutually dependant taking the advantage of others as per their own need.

Swadeshi spirit has a vital part to play in our economy as well as in our world relations. This swadeshi spirit of ours will give practical lesson to each individual of non-violent way where there would be no exploiting tendency, no greed and where contentment, love and peace shall sprout, which in its turn will bring international cooperation and world peace.

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¹. Kripalani, Brothers, p. 123
². Ibid.
Gandhiji says, "Pure service of one's neighbours can never, from its very nature, result in disservice to those who are remotely situated, rather the contrary. 'As with the individual so with the universe', is an unfailing principle which we would do well to lay to heart. On the other hand, a man who allows himself to be lured by 'the distant scene' and runs to the ends of the earth for service, is not only failed in his ambition but fails in his duty towards his neighbours also."

Swadeshi is a universal way of life which leads us towards our final emancipation gradually. It is the code of life. In the words of Gandhiji, "Swadeshi is to the nation what personal purity is to the individual." It is the non-violent way to a well ordered economy. The all round economic progress of each individual of a society on just and equitable basis calls for Swadeshi vou from him. Swadeshi spirit tackles three basic problems of our economy, viz. distribution of wealth, disguised unemployment, and poverty. It solves the problem of idleness the greatest enemy of economic development. Therefore Swadeshi had been placed as a veritable 'Kamadhenu'.

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 148