GANDHIJI AND SWADESHI

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 the protection of home industry, especially those industries without which India will become pauperised. Swadeshi therefore excludes the use of everything foreign no matter how beneficial it may be and irrespective of the fact that it impoverishes nobody, is a narrow interpretation of Swadeshi.

To reject foreign manufacturers, merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money in the promotion in one's country of manufacturers for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit. A true votary of Swadeshi will not be antagonistic towards anybody. Swadeshism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest Ahinsa i.e. love.

Swadeshi as defined here is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort, it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because they are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things, which today he considers necessary.

Gandhiji's definition of Swadeshi is well known. "I must not serve my distant neighbours at the expense of the nearest." I buy useful healthy literature from every part of the world. I buy surgical instruments from England Pins from Switzerland. But I will not buy an inch of finest cotton fabrics from England or Japan or any other part of the world because it has

2. The mind of Mahatma Gandhi, Pg. 412.
injured and increasingly injures the millions of the inhabitants of India. It would be sinful for me to refuse to buy the cloth spun and woven by the needy millions of India’s paupers and to buy foreign cloth although it may be superior in quality to the Indian hand spun. My Swadeshi is therefore centres round the hand spun “Khaddar” and extends to everything that can be and is produced in India.

The votary of Swadeshi will as a first duty dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. The neighbours will then understand the spirit in which such service is given they will also know that they will be expected to give their services to their neighbours. Thus considered it will then spread encircling the whole earth.

**GANDHI’S ECONOMIC SYSTEM**

Gandhi’s economic ideas were in a sense of logical corollary of his political and moral principles such as Swaraj Sarvodaya, “truth and non-violence” and the like.

The most important principles, which influenced Gandhi and which later, became the guiding spirit behind all his ideas was the principle of Sarvodaya the good of all. It was Gandhiji that the good should percolate even to the last of the socio-economic ladder – the poorest of the poor. It was in the context of what kind of economic system the country should evolve for itself that his social ideas of Swaraj, truth and non-violence inspired him to evolve an economic system which was consistent with his political and moral philosophy.

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3. The mind of Mahatma Gandhi, Pg. 413.
4. 'The mind of Mahatma Gandhi, Pg. 415.
5. Studies on Gandhi by Dr. V.T. Patil, Pg. 86.
From the idea of Swaraj emerged the ideas of “Swadeshi” and self-sufficiency.

Gandhi believed that the economic good of all in adopting the principle of Swadeshi or self-sufficiency.

Though Gandhi used the principle of Swadeshi earlier as a political weapon to boycott the foreign goods, particularly of the British, it actually acquired economic overtones gradually. The concept of Swadeshi inculcated gradually in the minds of the Indians the value for self-sufficiency both at the national and at the local village level. He later used this concept along with other economic ideas i.e. decentralisation, as a technique of building an economic system which was purely Indian and mass based.

His belief that India lived in villages led him to propound the concept of village Swaraj which envisaged village self-sufficiency. Village self-sufficiency not merely meant non-dependence of the village on other villages for its economic needs but it also meant self-sufficiency among households. This meant that each household would produce its own requirements—food, clothing and other things—and never depend on others for its economic deeds. 6

Gandhiji wanted an economic system, which would ensure simultaneous production and distribution. He believes that this condition would eliminate the exploitative mechanics of the capitalistic system. Thus as a means of attaining a process of production which would ensure both production and distribution to take place simultaneously that Gandhi advocated the principle of Swadeshi, which in essence envisaged the

6. Studies on Gandhi by Dr. V.T. Patil, Pg. 87.
indigenisation of not merely methods and patterns of production but also of the market.

The measure suggested by Gandhi for ensuring production and distribution to take place simultaneously was to orient all productive activities to the satisfaction of the masses. This meant that the production pattern should be confined to necessaries only, when the production pattern aimed at meeting the requirements of the masses. It naturally would result in the localisation of production and distribution. Gandhiji argued that if mass production was concentrated in particulars areas was there was every chance of exploitation and fraud.

According to Gandhi production centres should be located at consumption centres to facilitate both production and distribution to take place simultaneously.

To ensure that exploitation did not take place Gandhiji advocated indigenised methods of production. He objected to the use of machines. He objected because of its abuses such as labour displacement and more importantly the possibility of the producers growing into monopolists with control over production and distribution.

Gandhiji’s apprehension is that this may lead either to an unlimited and uninhibited pursuit of material wealth and comfort or to a situation in which few produce all the needs of the society while a large majority is denied to work and earn their daily needs.

It is in this context that he propounded his principles of “bread labour” as a measure of forcing everybody to physically work and earn his livelihood.
To sum up in Gandhi’s economic system one is expected to be self-sufficient procuring one’s own requirements and not in the least dependent on others. The goods to be produced and consumed should be basic necessities and there is hardly any room or justification for the production of more luxuries.

The goods should be produced by traditional method and machine has no place in Gandhi’s economic system.

He was a staunch follower of the principle of Swadeshi, which shunned even inter-village trade, not to speak of international trade. As a matter of fact Gandhi was against foreign trade not because he hated foreign domination but because he thought that foreign trade was responsible for the decline of the flourishing cottage and small-scale industries.

In Gandhi’s system each household produced its own requirements with simple tools and implements and never perhaps thought to exchange as that would bring in possibilities of exploitation.

**ECONOMIC DECENTRALISATION**

Gandhi took the position that concentration of economic power created the capitalist class, which was exploitative of the talent and resources available in the society. Concentration of economic power

7. Studies on Gandhi by Dr. V.T. Patil, Pgs. 88-91.
8. Studies on Gandhi by Dr. V.T. Patil, Pg. 96.
created a gulf between the privileged few and the underprivileged majority. Concentration of economic power goes hand in hand with concentration of political power leading to the development of an authoritarian system.

Gandhi fully believed that decentralisation of economic power could serve the interest of the community by bringing about rapid development of industries.

Gandhiji advocated universal use of Khadi by fostering the patriotic spirit for Swadeshi. Gandhi's concept of village swaraj was co-equal with full self-sufficiency in economic matters of every village. He visualised a communitarian village that would look after food, clothing, shelter and educational needs of every individual in the rural area.

Gandhi gave a very liberal interpretation to the concept of 'Swaraj'. He made it applicable to all spheres of life—religions, spiritual, social, political and economic.

In the economic unit “the broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all home made articles to the exclusion of foreign things. The spirit of Swadeshi is not contrary to anything that is alien. On the contrary a nation could import those goods that are needed for its growth. But such import should not interfere or hinder the growth of a nation.

Gandhi was very eager to preserve and protect cottage and village industries through decentralisation of economic power. Gandhi laid a great emphasis on Khadi. Since khadi is produced by the common man in every village the economic power is distributed to every village and to every man, localised production and consumption helps to relieve the temptation
to merely speed production for the sake of mass production. There would be no accumulation in the pockets of the few.  

Advocating the case for Khadi, Gandhiji says, that it connotes the beginning of the economic freedom and equality of all in the country. It means a wholesale Swadeshi mentality a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that through the labour and intellect of the villages.

Khadi is a symbol of unity of the Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality.  

According to Gandhiji the revival of the cottage industry will remove the growing poverty, when once we have revived one industry all the others industries will follow. “I would make spinning wheel the foundation on which to build a sound village life.

The message of the spinning wheel is one of simplicity, service of mankind, living so as not to hurt others, creating a bond between the rich and the poor, capital and labour.

The message of the spinning wheel is to replace the spirit of exploitation by the spirit of service.  

10. Mahatma by B.D. Tandurkar, Volume 6, Pg. 25.  
Gandhi was not against machines but he was against the use of machines to exploit individuals. Gandhiji did not oppose mass scale production but he disapproved mass scale production by factories, as he wanted mass scale production by the mass that was meant for common use.  

While Khadi is good for the poor, as a honourable occupation for earning bread, it has an additional and greater value as an instrument of winning Swaraj through non-violent means. If India has to be free from the alien yoke then India must learn to look upon the spinning wheel and hand spun yarn as the symbol of freedom.

The masses lost their freedom with the loss of Charkha. The Charkha supplemented the agriculture of the villages and gave it dignity. It kept the villagers from idleness. For the Charkha included all the anterior and posterior industries – ginning carding, warping, sizing, dyeing and weaving. These in turn kept the village carpenter and blacksmith busy.

With the exit of Charkha, went the other industries. Nothing took the place of these industries. Therefore the villages were ruined of their varied occupations and their creative talent.

Every agricultural country requires a supplementary industry to enable the peasants to utilise the spare hours, such industry has always been spinning. Gandhi was not against the mill-industry, but he did not want it to prosper, at the expense of the country.  

In the social sphere Gandhiji’s Swaraj meant Hindu Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability. He succeeded in a considerable measure in his fight against untouchability. However Hindu Muslim unity evaded him throughout his active political life in India except for a brief period during the Khilafat agitation.

Gandhiji worked on the assumption, that if only Hindus and Muslims could be brought together in joint constructive endeavour they would see that unity was in their common interests and learn to live together in peace and harmony. He tried to project universal human values preached by all major religions, including Hinduism and Islam and hope that in the course of time other forces of unity would triumph over those of separatism for true religion could only join, not separate men of different faiths.¹⁴

According to Gandhji, Swaraj is meaningless, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection and deliberately deny them the fruits of national culture.

For reforms of Hinduism and for its real protection, removal of untouchability is the greatest thing. Infact according to Gandhi, removal of untouchability is a spiritual process. If untouchability lives, Hinduism must die.

The moment untouchability goes the caste system itself will be purified. It will resolve itself into true varnadharma, the four divisions of society each contemporary of the other and non-superior or inferior to the other, each as necessary for the whole body of Hinduism as any other.

Gandhiji believed in varna which is based on hereditary occupations, Abuse of varna resulted in innumerable castes with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to inter-marriage and inter-dining.

The law of varna establishes certain spheres of action for certain people with certain tendencies. This avoided all unworthy competition while re-organising limitations. The law of varna admitted of no distinctions of high and low; on the one hand, it guaranteed to each the fruits of his labours an on the other, it prevented him from pressing upon his neighbours. This law has fallen into disrepute. But Gandhiji’s conviction was that an ideal social order would only be evolved when the implications of this law were fully understood.

From the economic point of view, the value of four varnas was very great. It ensured hereditary skill. It limited competition. 15

RASHTRABHASHA

According to Gandhiji our love of the English language in preference to our own mother tongue has caused a deep chasm between the educated and the politically minded classes and the masses. The languages of India, have suffered impoverishment.

According to Gandhiji, the masses make no solid contribution to the construction of Swaraj. It is inherent in Swaraj based on non-violence that every individual makes his own direct contribution to the independence movement. This is impossible unless every step is explained in their own languages.

According to Gandhiji if you kill the vernaculars, then you are not favouring Swadeshi in the right sense of the term.

According to Gandhiji for an all India intercourse we need, from among Indian stock, a language which the largest number of people already know and understand and which the other also can pick easily. This language is indisputably Hindi. It is spoken by both Hindus and Muslims of the north. The congress in its famous resolution passed at Cawnpore session 1925 called this all India speech ‘Hindustani’ and since that time in theory at least, Hindustani has been the ‘Rashtrabhasha’.

No nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages. 16

According to Gandhiji, no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages. They will therefore train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars, and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the Chief Indian Language and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages, they will learn that also. 17

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Gandhiji says that we have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reached the masses. We want to represent the masses but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognize the English officers. If during the last 50 years the education had been given through vernaculars, the discoveries of Bose and Ray would have been household treasures as all Ramayan and the Mahabharata had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars. I make hold to say, that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village Sanitation etc. would have been solved long ago. The village Panchayats would now be a living force in a special way and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirement.

Gandhiji’s concept of Swaraj in political sphere meant complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end, you have political independence, at the other end the economic.

By political independence he did not mean imitation of the British House of Commons. What Gandhiji wanted was he has described it as Ram Rajya that is sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority.

By Swaraj Gandhiji meant freedom for the meanest of our countrymen. By Sawaraj he meant the government of India by the consent of the people.

Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

The Swaraj of Gandhiji’s dream recognises no race or religious distinctions. The Swaraj is to be for all including the maimed, the blind, the starving and the toiling millions.

The Swaraj of Gandhiji’s dream is the poor man’s Swaraj. The necessaries of life should be enjoyed by the common man as those enjoyed by the rich. The common man ought to get all the ordinary amenities of life that a right man enjoys. “I have not the slightest doubt that Swaraj is not “Poorna Swaraj” until these amenities are guaranteed to you under it”.

“What we mean and want through Poorna Swaraj is an awakening among the masses, a knowledge among them of their true interest and ability to serve that interest against the whole world... harmony, freedom from aggression from within or without and a progressive improvement in the economic condition of the masses.”

For Gandhji, Swaraj is the rule of all people is the rule of justice, whether under that rule, the ministers were Hindus or Musalmans or Sikhs, self-discipline or rule over self is that first condition of self rule or Swaraj.

Freedom of speech and pen is the foundation of Swaraj. We must try to understand the opponents view point and if we cannot accept, It, we must respect it as fully as we expect him to respect ours. It is an indispensable test of a healthy public life and therefore fitness for Swaraj.
Swaraj is not something that one nation could gift to another nation. It has to be earned by ourselves. Swaraj will be a fruit of incessant labours.

Good government is no substitute for self-government

The pilgrimage to Swaraj is a painful climb. It means a vast organising ability; it means penetration into the villages solely for the service of the villagers. In other words it means national education i.e. education of the masses. It means our awakening of national consciousness among the masses.

According to Gandhiji Swaraj can be maintained only when there is a majority of loyal and patriotic people to whom the goods of the nation is paramount above all other considerations, including their personal profit.

Without a large, very large army of self-sacrificing and determined worker real progress of the masses is an impossibility and without that progress there is no such thing as Swaraj. 20.

Swaraj, a non-violent state and Ramraj are significant milestones in Gandhi’s concept of decentralisation in its comprehensive form. Village Swaraj is another crucial element of his concept of decentralisation. Village Swaraj means that every village must be an independent and self-contained unit in itself. Gandhi visualised villages to be self contained and autonomous, so that every village is capable of managing its affairs itself.

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By the self-sufficiency of the villages he did not mean that every village lives a life of isolation from the rest of the world. In an age of interdependence no village could cut itself away from the mainstream of national life.

According to Gandhiji — "My idea of village Swaraj is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity.

In Gandhi's concept of village Swaraj every village must have freedom to manage its affairs without external interference. It must have its own organisational structure in the form of Government Gandhiji was of the view that the Government of the villages will be conducted by the Panchayat of five members, annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications.

Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus every village will be a republic or Panchayat having full powers.

In Gandhiji's dream republic, there are no illiterates, in which no one is idle for want of work, in which everyone is usefully occupied and has nourishing food, well-ventilated dwellings and sufficient Khadi for covering their bodies, in which all the villagers know the laws of hygiene and sanitation.

The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own water works ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks. Education will be compulsory. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis.

Once Panchayat Raj is established the power of the Zamidars, capitalists and the rajas will not hold sway. If the people non-cooperate with the evil of zamindari or capitalism, it will die.

It is the function of the Panchayats to revive honesty and industry. The Panchayats should see to cattle improvement. They should show steady increase in milk yield. The Panchayat should also see to an increase in the quantity of foodstuff grown in their village. They should try to eradicate untouchability, if there is any trace of it in your village. The Hindus the Muslims The Sikhs the Parsees and The Christians should all live as brothers and sisters. If this is achieved the villages will demonstrate real independence.

If we would be able to realise our dream of Panchayat Raj i.e. through democracy, then we would regard the humblest and the lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. No one would then harbour any distinction between community and community caste and outcaste. Every one would know how to earn an honest living by the sweat. Everyone would observe ‘Swadeshi’ as the rule of life.

According to Gandhiji India must have system suited to us. This he has described as Ramrajya i.e. sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. Under Ram Rajya there would be total equality of the masses, where everyone respected others religion.

Gandhiji has called his Swadeshi cent per cent Swadeshi. Though Swadeshi is eloquent enough as its own definition Gandhiji has called his cent percent Swadeshi, because Swadeshi is in danger of being watered down. Cent percent Swadeshi gives sufficient scope for the most insatiable ambition for service and can satisfy every kind of talent. ²⁴

Many eminent people held discussion with Gandhiji on the matter. In order to clarify Gandhiji’s stand and views I’ am giving a gist of conservation Gandhiji was asked how is the New Swadeshi different from the old Swadeshi. In the old Swadeshi emphasis was laid on that the goods should be produced in our country. These issues were not considered that how the goods will be made ready. Who will make them and what are the possibilities of its absorption. Gandhiji dismissed the organised and well-developed industries, which are on a strong footing not because they are not Swadeshi but because they do not need our help. They can stand on their feet in the state of present awakening those Swadeshi goods can be absorbed on their own. If we have to give new design to Swadeshi, then according to its new look, I will definitely ask Swadeshi leagues to find out all the village cottage industries and investigate in what condition they are today.

Gandhiji said that they would keep such capable craftsmen and chemical experts, who will be ready to give the benefits of their knowledge to the village. Through these scientists we will get the articles made by the village artisans and craftsmen examined. What improvements

²⁴ Mahatma by B.D. Tendulkar Vol. III Pg. 354.
can be done will be told to them. If these cottage industries will listen to our suggestions then we will even help the sale of their goods.

Gandhiji said that this was not so and he would find each and every village occupation and see what is its place in the economy of the rural life. If he would discover that any of these industries have merit, then he would definitely give encouragement to it for e.g. take the villages broom. Gandhiji said that he would not allow village broom to be replaced by the modern broomstick or brush. Gandhi said that he would ask Kasturba and other ladies, what are the qualities in both the brooms. He said that he would look at the advantages form all aspects and he had firm belief that the traditional broom of the village will be approved because he feels sympathetic towards small creatures. Brush does not have such qualities. It kills the small creatures of the earth. In this way Gandhiji saw a philosophy of life in broom, because he believed that the creator does no partiality between small creatures of the earth and human beings.

In this way Gandhiji would separate all the village occupations that are going to get extinct but being useful they deserve to get our encouragement both because of their intrinsic merit and their other useful aspects and in this way he would go on making other discoveries.25

Take the example of rural tooth sticks. He believed that lakhs of people in Bombay would get teeth problem, if they stop using his tooth stick. People are using toothbrush instead in place of tooth stick. Gandhiji believed that toothbrush was very unhygienic and that it should be thrown away after using it once. No matter how hard you clean it with disinfectants even then the brush cannot be cleaned. Our Neem and

Babool ‘Datoon’ or tooth sticks are more hygienic; they’re thrown after using it once. The gums become strong. The western countries have not discovered anything as hygienic as tooth stick. A doctor in South Africa claimed to have controlled tuberculosis among the Bantu miners by insisting on the regular use of by them of these tooth-sticks. Gandhiji said that even if the toothbrush were made in India he would not advocate it. He had a bias for tooth sticks and he declared that he was going to advocate that only. This in Gandhiji’s opinion was cent percent Swadeshi.

Gandhiji says that - “In the word Swadeshi. Detailed analysis comes. I have called my Swadeshi as cent per cent Swadeshi because I fear disturbance in Swadeshi from other things. People who desire to serve the cause of Swadeshi, there is a lot of scope for them and there is very scope for development. 26

Gandhiji was asked by a critic whether he saw swaraj at the end of it Gandhiji replied - “why not? Once I said in spinning wheel lies Swaraj, next I said in prohibition lies Swaraj. In the same way I would say in cent percent Swadeshi lies swaraj. Of course it is like the blind men describing the elephant. All of them are right and yet not wholly right. If we tap all our resources, I am quite sure we can be again the richest country in the world. All that we need is to be Industrious, not like a machine but like the busy bee.27

In an effort to know the definition of ‘Swadeshi’ and while discussing with his associates in South Africa Gandhiji felt that it was impossible to find a definition of Swadeshi. This is an emotion and a spirit which grows every day and in which there is some development daily.

If we will try to give some definition to swadeshi, then it will not only be useless but the development of the spirit of Swadeshi will also stop. For Akhil Bharatiya Swadeshi Sangh, Swadeshi includes everything that one gets form small, small occupations. For giving encouragement to them it is necessary to educate the people and who will live, within the control of ‘Swadeshi League’ so that they can control the prices of things and can look after the wages of the workers and their well being. Hence Swadeshi does not include those things that one gets form big organised occupations and those who have nothing do with the Akhil Bharatiya Swadeshi Sangh, and those who can get the help of the state”.

This doctrine or theory astonished the workers. The result was that the members of the league discussed the matter with him, whatever Gandhiji said its gist is given below.

“I have clarified that my doctrine or theory about Swadeshi is to guide the path of the “Swadeshi league”. This is my suggestion to the league that they should include in their programme encouragement to small and cottage industries and should boycott big organised business.

The purpose of this suggestion is not to criticize big organised business or industries.

But it is not necessary that the Swadeshi league or any such organisation by advertising about these industries or business should become self-appointed agents, as has happened till now.

These big industries have enough resources and are quite capable of protecting themselves. The spirit of Swadeshi has become awakened
among people and even without the efforts of the Swadeshi organisations. They are getting help from it.

By advertising the production of big industries or business only the prices of the articles will go up.  

Gandhiji ruled out the organised industries not because they are not Swadeshi, but because they do not need any special support. They can stand on their own legs and in the present state of our awakening, can easily command a market. If it is new, I would certainly have our Swadeshi organisations to seek out all the village industries and find out how they are facing. We will have experts and chemists who will be prepared to place their knowledge at the disposal of villagers. We will through our experts offer to test the articles manufactured by village handicraftsmen and make them suggestions to improve their wares and would sell them, if they would accept our conditions.

Gandhiji said that Khadi was not the only industry, which needs protection hence we should concentrate on all small scale and cottage industries, which needs protection. If they are not protected they will die. Some of them are suffering because of these big industries because their products have captured the market.

For example take the sugar industry after cloth industry; it is the second biggest industry. It does not need our help. Sugar industry is growing rapidly.

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Popular agencies are also encouraging them and because of the favourable laws, these industries have expanded. This industry has become so prosperous that nobody wants to make jaggery. From the nutritional point of view jaggery is far superior to sugar. This is one such small-scale industry, which needs your help. We have to find ways and means to keep this industry alive.

Gandhiji further says — “I have no doubt that giving encouragement and a new lease of life to these small and cottage industries is Swadeshi Only through this, help can reach lakhs of poor people and crores of unemployed youth can get employment. The energy that is lying waste can be put to use constructively.”

Gandhiji further said that he did not want people, who were already employed in good occupations should to leave them and start smalls scale cottage industries. Instead people who were suffering from poverty and hunger should pick up one or the other business and should increase their income.

Gandhiji asked the Swadeshi workers to concentrate on small business and let the big business or industries to help themselves. He felt that small businesses couldn’t replace big business; rather they will help the big industries. 30

Gandhiji says that products that don’t need any publicity, we should not go on publicising. It is the result of this that either the prices of these products go up or the prosperous rivals of different products enter into competition.

For example cloth, sugar and rice industries don't need any help from us. But if we will continue giving unasked for help to them then we will destroy Charkha, Kargha, Khadi, Jaggery and hand grinded rice. Therefore, it is our duty to see how we can keep these rural things alive. Hence we should propagate or publicise Charkha. Village mortar we should tell their advantages, we should investigate the conditions in which these people are working. Workers from mills, who are sitting useless, should be absorbed in rural occupations. We should find some measures of improvement in village industries, so that they can stand in competition with big industries.

In keeping the rural industries alive, we have no disagreement with cloth rice or sugar industries. Instead of foreign cloth, foreign sugar or foreign rice, we should use cloth, sugar and rice made in Indian mills. If these big mills are unable to stand in competition with foreign mills, then we should extend all help to them. But today none of the Indian mills need this kind of help. Indian products are competing with foreign products.

Today rural industries need our help. We have to protect a few surviving rural industries from attack both from the Indian as well as foreign mills. It is possible that the product from rural industries is inferior to the mill made products and that is why they are unable to stand in competition with mills.

The real issue is that the amount of research that has been done regarding Khadi industry, that much research has not been done regarding the conditions of the thousand of workers employed in the jaggery and hand grinded rice industry. In this effort we can employ an army of
patriots. This according to Gandhiji is truly and successfully cent percent 'Swadeshi'.

Gandhiji has given an example of 3 big industries and asked the workers to propagate Swadeshi and concentrate only on these rural industries and through their efforts save them from decay and death. Besides these there are many rural and city based industries that need our help to keep them alive. The season for giving help to them is that thousands of poor workers depend upon them for survival. Whatever work will be done in this connection will be insufficient.

It should be understood that whatever time we will give for this work will be spent in keeping alive these workers. It was Gandhiji’s strong belief that if this work were done properly, then they would get the money to run it from them. This endeavour of Swadeshi will not have to depend upon others. Many unemployed men will get work and the wealth of this country, which is on the decline, will get an enhancement of crores.

Gandhiji says that all the energy of the people, which is lying waste, can be fully utilised in running these small industries. 31

Gandhiji wrote in 'Harijan' on 10th Aug. Take the different occupations of Harijans. There are about 2000, sub-castes among Harijans and there is a reason behind it. Most of these castes are related to their professions like making of baskets, making of broom, making of rope, making of mats etc. These different occupations should either be encouraged, and if they are not worth anything, then they should be allowed to die. But are they of any use or not, who will take a decision of

it. If we have a Swadeshi organisation, then it is its duty to find the truth behind the different occupation of Harijans and will take interest in it.

Gandhiji has mentioned ink industry and paper industry as two small industries, which needs attention.

Gandhiji says that the ink industry absorbs twelve workers. This industry is surviving despite difficulties. He says that if we had any Swadeshi organisation, then it would have scientifically examined the inks and would have shown path to them and encouraged the genuinely good ones.

According to Gandhiji the people employed in paper industry earned just enough for survival. And if proper path is not shown to this occupation then it will meet its end.

It is obvious that the hand made paper cannot meet the growing demand for paper. But the 7,00,000 villages and the lovers of handicrafts will always approve of the hand made paper, if it is easily available. People, who make paper by hand, know that it is special and unique in its own way. Who does not know the famous paper of Ahmedabad. In writing and shine, even mill paper cannot compete with it.

If little encouragement is given to them then this industry will never die. If proper care and guidance is shown, then improvements can be provided in the paper making industry and whatever shortcomings are there can be rectified easily.

It is very important to investigate the financial or economic condition of thousand of people involved in these unknown occupations.
These people will quite readily and happily accept any advice given to them and will be quite grateful to those, who will show interest in their work.\textsuperscript{32}

**GRAM UDYOĞ OR VILLAGE INDUSTRY - ITS MEANING**

Gandhiji says that if you ask me, what village industry means. I will say that all the articles that we need in our daily use, we should purchase from villages. It is quite possible that these articles will be below standard. But despite that we should not simply reject them, rather we should give encouragement to them. We should simply not reject them in favour of foreign goods or mill made Indian goods. Only through this we will be able to pay back the debt of the villagers.

Every one will have to have faith in the fact that for national survival or existence, it is very important that we reconstruct our villages.

We should buy articles of daily use from villages. In this way we will be able to provide lakhs of rupees to these villagers.\textsuperscript{33}

If the rural industries disappear then 7.00 lakh villages will be destroyed.

Gandhiji says that the amount of work that 10 labourers do in villages, one labour does in mill. You can say that this one worker has snatched the bread of 10 labourers.

\textsuperscript{32} Khadi aur Gram Udhyog by Gandhi Pgs. 12-14.
\textsuperscript{33} Khadi aur Gram Udhyog by Gandhi Pg. 20.
If cloth mills are rendering many villagers jobless then rice grinding and floor mills are rendering thousands of women jobless. It is a kind of sin to deprive people of the nutritionally superior hand grinded rice and flour.

By giving these examples Gandhiji has drawn the attention of the people towards this that if we want to give something to the villagers then it is not possible through machines.

We can do welfare of the villagers by keeping alive the small and cottage industries. Hence the work of the villages Gram Udyog will be to encourage the small and cottage industries.

According to Gandhiji, villagers may make things by sitting in their huts, but they will divide and share the profits made by selling, these products. Raw materials should be provided from the community stocks. If people are motivated to work jointly then there is lot of time for cooperation.

If other rural cottage industries are not developed, then Khadi industry will also not develop. All the groups, castes, classes will have to work jointly for the financial, economic and moral development of the villages.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{34} Khadi aur Gram Udyog by Gandhi Pgs. 32-37.
GRAM UDYOG SANGH OR VILLAGE INDUSTRY LEAGUE

Akhil Bharatiya Gram Udyog Sangh was opened with a view to give new lease of life and encouragement to small and cottage industries. This would enable the moral and physical upliftment, of the villages. The leagues were given all the rights to make arrangements for themselves to collect money and have all the right to do anything they like for the fulfilment of their duties.

In Khadi alone 2,20,000 women are employed and they have been given 75 lacks rupees 1100 middle class men who are looking after this are also surviving through Khadi. But the employment of country will not vanish just with this effort.

The Sangh will also find out about other small and cottage industries that people can employed into.

The Sangh will try to rejuvenate those industries, which can be rebuilt. They will also try to improve the products that are being made by the cottage industries. They will also investigate what other products can be made. Through these efforts the poor people will get some Crore of rupees.

Gandhi wanted to do this work with a view that poor people earn few rupees through this effort. He wanted to keep this away from politics. The main aim of the Sangh was to provide life to such dead or dying industries.
The aim of the Sangh was not only to provide sources of income to people, but also to protect their character as well e.g., if someone would want to open a liquor business the Udyog Sangh would try to persuade him to pick up other occupations.

Gandhiji wanted to keep this matter away from politics, so that no matter what the political condition this work should go on. Gandhiji says that we should go to the villages. Only with an intention of serving them. We should try to make them healthy, free from diseases, to employ them and to remove their unemployment.

According to Gandhiji Socialism means that people should become self-reliant and self supporting. These workers have to be liberated from slavery and hence we have to make them self-reliant.35

To strengthen Khadi we had boycotted foreign cloth and clothes made from mills. Gandhiji says that this area is so broad, there is so much variety in this industry that whatever entrepreneurial skills, scientific knowledge we have, we have to put it to test. Without hard labour, we cannot strengthen Khadi.

He further clarified that if he was telling villages to eat unpolished rice, and hand grinded flour or to make jaggery out of sugarcane, then he was not going against modern civilisation. He told villagers not just to produce raw materials instead to make articles that can be sold in the market, so that villagers could earn some money.

Gandhiji’s effort were directed towards those profit making industries that need encouragement and rejuvenation.

Giving new lease of life to several cottage industries is only an extension of Khadi industry.

The rejuvenation of rural cottage industries means giving new life to these industries and their destruction means death of the villagers. The machine age no matter how good they are and no matter what they can do, they cannot provide employment to lakhs of people.

Mahatma Gandhi in his book khadi and Gram Udyog has said that bringing industries in cities and making them run means death of villages and villagers. The industries of cities cannot support 90% of its population living in villages. If the industries of villages are destroyed then working in fields and sitting for 4 –6 months in villages will be the only two things left for villagers.

He says that here there is enough work for the lovers of Swadeshi. By encouraging the villages industries, these things are solved. We serve the Harijans secondly we serve the villagers. Thirdly the middle class people who in search of jobs keep roaming about find a respectable means to earn their living.

Gandhiji says that the main reason behind advising people to restart their old occupation of grinding rice and flour by hand is to see to it that the lakhs and crore of people get employment. The real service of the villagers is to advice villagers that they fully utilise their time.
The Gramodyog Sangh will rejuvenate and encourage all those industries whose existence will give moral and economic prosperity to the villagers.

Thousands and crores of people will die of hunger if small and cottage industries are not allowed to grow in villages, big mechanised industries cannot give employment to all.

Gandhiji wanted only moral and economic development of villages and if this ambition is fulfilled then this is real Swadeshi.

People take loans to buy foreign goods but if they start producing things of necessity on their own, there will be no need to take loans.

In the national development of the country we should not forget that villages have a place of importance and pride.36

WHAT IS AN INDIAN INDUSTRY OR HINDUSTANI UDYOG

It is stated that any industry that is running in the country will be called on Indian industry. By this definition even a business run by Europeans was called an Indian business. People were running their business with foreign capital, competent engineers, machines and employees. Even after being proved that these industries were harmful to the country were called Indian Industry.

According to Gandhiji any industry will be called an Indian industry when it is proved, that it is useful to the society. Its finance and machines should be Indian and workers employed there should get enough money to make both ends meet. They should be provided with suitable houses and the owners should give enough facilities for the children of the workers. This is the definition of an ideal Indian industry or Hindustani Udyog.

Only Charkha Sangha and Gram Udyog Sangh can give some consolation to this interpretation of an Indian industry.

It is also emphasised that the big mills and industries are Indian Industries. But according to Gandhiji these big mills and industries have only exploited and increased poverty. I do not consider them even important. Akhil Bharat Charkha Sanghhas proved quite successfully that if the free time of the people is fruitfully used then enough cloth could be produced for the country from these villages.

Khadi is an image of Ahinsa. A genuine understanding person who dons khadi can never tell lies. India wants self-rule or Swarajya only through non-violence or Ahinsa and truth. I cannot compel people to take the path of non-violence and truth.

**TRUE SWADESHI**

Gandhiji by using the word true before Swadeshi implies that there is a fake Swadeshi as well. Gandhiji gave an introduction about both the types of Swadeshi.
Anything which gives benefit to crores of people can be called Swadeshi. Even if the capital or men involved are foreign but if it is in control of competent men then it is Swadeshi.

Therefore according to the description of Cahrkha Sangh Khadi is truly Swadeshi. Even if the capital involved is foreign or whether Khadi production is western though appointed by Indian board.

In contrast, rubber shoes of Bata will be considered foreign even if the capital as well as men involved is Indian. They are not Swadeshi because the control of the company is in foreign hands. How so ever cheap they may be they have rendered the cobblers and the shoemakers of village without work. 37

Harijan was devoted to practical suggestions for helping the village industries. Tanning for instance, Gandhiji wrote an article on the "village tanning and its possibilities.

Village tanning is as ancient as India itself. But we know today that one of the most useful and indispensable industries has consigned probably a million of people to hereditary untouchability. Millions of those who were the salt of the earth came to be regarded as the low class and the microscopic leisureed few became the privileged classes, with the result that India suffered morally and materially.

It is estimated that rupees nine crore worth of rawhide is annually exported from India and that much of it is returned to her in the shape of manufactured articles. We miss the training we should receive in tanning

and preparing innumerable articles of leather we need for our daily use.

Tanning chemists have to discover improved methods of tanning. He has to learn and understand the crude village tanning, which is still in existence but which is fast dying owing to neglect and want of support.

The village tanner has to deal with the carcass only and not the slaughtered animal. He has no means of bringing dead animal in a decent way. He lifts it, drags it and this injures the skin and reduces the value of the hide. If the villagers and the public knew the priceless and noble service the tanner renders, they will provide easy and simple method of carrying it, so as not to injure the skin at all.

The next process is flaying the animal. This requires great skill. The village tanner has no use of the bones. He throws it away. The bones if powdered fine, apart from their other uses make valuable manure. What remains after the dogs have taken away their share is transported to foreign countries and returned to us in the shape of handles, buttons etc.

The second way is urbanisation can do little good to the Harijans much less to the villages. It is a process of double drain from the villages. Urbanisation in India is slow but sure death for her villages. Urbanisation can never supports ninety per cent of India’s population, which is living in the villages.

To remove from these villages tanning and such other industries is to remove what little opportunity there is for making skilled use of the hand and the head.
Here is work for the cent per cent Swadeshi lover and scope for harnessing of technical skill to the solution of a great problem. This work serves the Harijans, serves the villagers and it also means and honourable employment for the middle class intelligentsia who are in search of employment.

His time was mainly devoted to the village industries. According to Gandhiji Khadi is purely an economic proposition. Khadi organisation is more than a business concern. There is no room it for personal ambition. It is the human element on which the entire economics of Khadi rests.

What applies to the production of mill cloth, does not apply to Khaddar. Debasing of the quality adulterating pandering to the basic tastes of humanity has no place in Khadi nor has the principle of highest profit in Khadi. 38

Swadeshi was an important vow and a key concept in Gandhiji’s philosophy.

Swadeshi means belonging to or made in one’s own country. To Gandhiji it is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to the individual

He calls it the sacred law of our being and thinks that the law is ingrained in the basic nature of man.

The object of Swadeshi is not political but spiritual i.e. to enable the individual to realise his spiritual unity with all life. As the body is a

hindrance to the fullest realization of this unity and is not the natural or permanent abode of the soul. Swadeshi, in its ultimate and spiritual sense, stands for the final emancipation of the soul from its earthly homage. So long as this emancipation has not taken place the only way of realizing this unity is the service of God's creation. This is how Gandhiji defines the law.

"Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote". Gandhiji said "I must not serve my distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest.

Swadeshi implies that we must serve the country of our birth in preference to others and that, inside the country, we must serve the immediate neighbourhood in preference to remoter places.

It also demands that we must hold fast to indigenous ideals and institutions.

Gandhiji's insistence that the country and the neighbourhood have the first claim on our service should not be confused with narrow, aggressive nationalism, which thrives on the ruin of others.

Purity of service is of the very essence of Swadeshi. Impurity of means defeats the spiritual objective of Swadeshi.

Swadeshi only requires us to discharge our legitimate obligation to our neighbours and to prepare them to sacrifice.

To quote Gandhiji,
“My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. I do not want India to rise on the ruin of other nations.”

Gandhiji discusses the reason why Swadeshi, which he calls “the acme of universal service.”¹ Implies preference of the nearest and the immediate our capacity for service, he says, is limited to our knowledge of the world in which we live. So we must, as our first duty, dedicate ourselves to the service of our immediate neighbours – the nearest and the best known to us. Pure service of one’s neighbour can never result in disservice of those who are remotely situated.

If on the other hand if one sets out to serve people in a distant place one is doubly guilty. He is guilty of culpable neglect of his neighbours who have a claim on his service. His attempt would also be an unintended disservice to the people of the distant place, for in his ignorance he would very likely disturb the atmosphere of the new place Besides, it is wrong to think of serving distant places when one is hardly able to serve even his immediate neighbours.²

Gandhiji believes that the teaching of Gita. “It is better to die performing ones duty or “Swadharma but paradharmas or another’s duty is fraught with danger applies to Swadeshi also for Swadeshi is sewadharma applied to one’s immediate environment.

The Swadeshi doctrine permeates the whole of Gandhiji’s philosophy – His views on culture, his metaphysical and ethical ideas, his

¹. Yeravda Mandir, Pg. 93.
². Speeches of Gandhi.
social and political theories, his views on education and his economic outlook.

In his views on the rural civilisation of India due to its unerring perception of spiritual and non-violent values. Gandhiji is not an indiscriminate despiser of everything western but he condemns in no uncertain terms the materialism and violence of modern civilization. He distrusts it because he thinks that in its race after power and pleasure it neglects the soul and its perfection. The tremendous development of the art of destruction and the horrors of industrialism. - Greed, competition and exploitation, war and imperialism — these hinder moral development and result in spiritual hardening.

Gandhiji's metaphysical and ethical ideas are firmly rooted in the philosophical tradition of India.

The principle of Swadeshi again explains his attitude towards religion. "As per religion I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion, i.e. the use of immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective I should serve it by purging it of its defects. 39

Gandhiji’s views on this aspect of Swadeshi seem to have undergone an evolution. A study of his famous address on Swadeshi delivered at the Missionary conference (Madras 1916) shows that he then stood for complete self-sufficiency of the country and its economic isolation from the rest of the world. Referring to India’s external trade he said, “If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India she should be today a land flowing with milk and honey she can live for

39. Political philosophy on Mahatma Gandhi by G.N. Dhawan Pgs. 87 -90
herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirement within her own borders.”

In the social and political sphere, be believes in making use of indigenous institutions and curing them of there proved defects. Thus most of his Satyagrahi weapons, non-cooperation, civil disobedience fasting., picketing, etc. are the refined modernised forms of ancient Indian modes of political and social protest. In the social sphere he upholds the Varnashrama Dharma, though not the caste system as it is in existence today.

In the sphere of education, ever since his South Africa days, he has been insisting that education must be in keeping with national traditions and be imparted through vernaculars.

In the economic sphere, Gandhiji stands for self-sufficiency of the country and even of villages except for such foreign things as are needed for the growth of the people.

The quote him – “The broad definition of Swadeshi is the use of all home made articles to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry more specially those industries without which India will become pauperised.” To reject foreign manufacturers merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money in the promotion in one’s country of manufacturers for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of Swadeshi Spirit.”

Thus, he is not against all international trade, though he holds that imports should be limited to things which are necessary for our growth but
which India can not herself produce and export things of real benefit to foreigners.

Swadeshi demand the exclusions of all foreign cloth. India can, as she once did manufacture all the cloth of her requirement. Besides, in an agricultural country like India." Khadi is a universal subsidiary industry on which the semi-starved and semi employed peasants can depend.

But the economic aspect of Swadeshi begins and does not end with 'Khadi'. Swadeshi implies a compressive preference of local manufacture and the boycott of all foreign cloth and articles, which can be manufactured in one's own country, though not of all foreign goods.

India's adoption of Swadeshi through Khadi does not mean harming the British and other foreign mill owners. They have survived on destroying India's principal supplementary industry, upsetting her economic system and bringing poverty and starvation to her doors.

Until 1931, Gandhiji distinguished between the economic aspect of Swadeshi and that of boycott of foreign goods.

Swadeshi is a spiritual discipline and an invigorating and purifying process and a constructive programme. On the other hand until 1931 he considered this economic boycott of foreign goods as a temporary punitive measure a political weapon of expediency, which works as undue influence, exerted to secure one's purpose. It is resorted to, he held, in order to compel the opponent country by deliberately inflicting a loss on them and a spirit of punishment is a sign of weakness and a form of violence.
In the Satyagraha movement in 1931-33, however, Gandhiji acquiesced in the congress vigorously undertaking the boycott of British goods. His views had obviously undergone a change. He now seems to hold that economic boycott need not be indicative and violent and that it can be used as a legitimate non-coercive means of non-cooperation.

Gandhiji also recommends the vow regarding the removal of untouchability, which follows from the principle of spiritual unity of all life. We are all sparks of the same fire, the children of the same God.  

SWARAJ AND SVADESHI

Towards the end of the 19th century even before the term Swaraj, in its new sense, acquired common currency, in the nationalist movement, the Bengali militants sought to justify this doctrine of boycott of British goods in the name of Swadeshi or patriotism.

When Gandhi entered the Indian scene, he was able to reinterpret the term Swadeshi and considerably extend its application, to point out the close connection between Swaraj and Sva deshi. Whereas Swaraj was

40. Political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi by G.N. Dhawan Pgs 90-92
individual self-rule and Swadeshi individual self-reliance, while Swaraj was national self-government and Swadeshi the national self-dependence. Gandhiji showed how the pursuit of Swaraj must necessarily involve the acceptance of Swadeshi and yet the former must be taken as logically and morally prior to the latter. He achieved this result by basing Swaraj upon Satya. i.e. linking the notions of freedom and of truth, secondly, by deriving the doctrine of Swadeshi from his concept of Ahinsa (emphasizing its positive rather than its negative connotation) and thirdly by leasing the connection between Swaraj and Swadeshi upon the relationship between Satya and Ahinsa.

In principle, Satya is prior to Ahinsa. The former maybe regarded as the end and the latter as the only legitimate means, i.e. Swadeshi is the means to Swaraj. In practice, the test and the immediate requirement of the pursuit of Satya is the practice of Ahinsa so that the means becomes even more important than the end at the level of conduct. Analogously, "Swaraj" is theoretically of a higher order of importance than "Swadeshi" though the two are inextricably bound up even conceptually, and yet in practice, Swadeshi has a greater immediacy and significance than Swaraj.

If Swaraj is the end then swadeshi is the only legitimate means.

Gandhiji stressed the sanctity of the notion of freedom, whether real or imaginary, freedom is never dear at any price. It is the breadth of life. He asserted that freedom received through the effort of others, however, benevolent, couldn't be retained when such effort is withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom.

Gandhi argued that freedom is not with baring if it does not connote the freedom to err and even to sin. He regarded this right as innate and
could not comprehend, how human beings can delight in depriving other human beings of that precious right. The implication of this statement is that those who talk of real freedom for the purpose of denying the right to err to others, or of depriving them of their freedom which is real to them, however imaginary it be to others) are, in fact, casting doubt on the sincerity of their belief in the value of freedom or their earnestness in pursuing their non freedom as a value in itself.

"Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. A man will not exit as a man if he has no mind of his own."

The implications of the above passage are:

Gandhi accepted the concept of freedom in the very nature of man. As an autonomic moral agent and at the same time. He argued that for the survival of society, the continuance of community was contingent (dependent) upon the effective freedom the individual.

A more important element in the concept of Swaraj is the corollary that it is (Swaraj) grounded in the very nature of man, it cannot be conferred as a gift, but must be claimed on the basis of self-awareness and earned through self-effort.

Gandhiji put forward the proposition that the outward freedom that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is the correct view of freedom our chief energy must be concentrate on achieving reform from within."
The concept of Swaraj, founded as it is on the moral autonomy of the individual, places the entire burden of responsibility upon Him. Any external threat to our freedom is to be explained, not so much by blaming circumstances outside our control, as by recognizing our own weakness in the first place.

Thus, an integral part of the concept of Swaraj or self-rule is the notion of self-purification, which gives the strength and capacity to make our abstract claim to freedom on moral grounds effective in the practical context of politics and society.

Gandhi declared that a man who is hungry after freedom and a real hunger for freedom is infinitely more painful than hunger for mere bread, - has got to take tremendous risk, to stake everything that he has in order to gain that precious freedom”.

The first step to Swaraj lies in the individual. Gandhiji declared that the ‘Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the Swaraj (self rule) of individuals.”

Gandhiji asserted that self-government depends entirely on our internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds.

Therefore he said that “self government. Which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and to sustain it is not worth the name (i.e. is not worth it). (Therefore, be endeavoured to show that political self government, i.e. self government for a large number of men and women - is no better that individual self - government, and therefore it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required from individual self government or self rule.
Gandhi's reason for stressing the connection between individual and national Swaraj was really to show that the means required for both were similarly and were equally exacting.

Gandhiji said – "that Evolutions is always experimental. All progress is gained through mistakes and their rectification. No good comes fully-fashioned. But has to be carved out through repeated experiments and repeated failures by ourselves this is the law of individual growth. The same law controls social and political evolution also. The right to err which means the freedom to try experiments is the universal condition of all progress."

Similarly, when we are claiming the right to national freedom, we are arguing for our right to make mistakes and to rule ourselves badly against those foreigners who justify alien rule by appealing to their superior capacity for good government.

In such a context we are asserting that self-government is better than good government.

In Gandhi's word we came to see that freedom's battle are not fought without paying heavy price.

Thus, although Gandhi drew a close correspondence between individual and national Swaraj he recognised from the first that the former does not automatically lead to the latter even if there is a necessary relationship between them.
Gandhi went so far as to say “self government means continuous efforts to be independent of government control whether it is foreign Govt. or whether it is national. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life. Further, real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused.

In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. To Gandhi, Swaraj means freedom for the meanest of my countrymen. I am not merely interested on freeing India from the English yolk. Gandhi was bent upon freeing India from any yolk whatsoever.”

Gandhiji said that,” Self-evolution is wholly consistent with a nation’s evolution. “A nation cannot advance without the units of which it is composed advancing and conversely, no individual can advance without the nation of which he is a part advancing.”

An important and old consequence of the idea that our freedom or self rule depends entirely upon our self awareness, our self respect and our self discipline, is the notion that when the masses of a nation are awakened to a serve of their collective an individual claims to freedom, they have already attained Swaraj in a sense. Gandhi said that Swaraj cannot be attained by a nation even in the formal sense unless it is gained as a result of a mass movement throwing the willing and conscious participation by most of the individuals who make up a nation. Purna Swaraj denotes a condition of things when the dumb and lame millions will speak and walk. That Swaraj cannot be achieved by force but by organisation and unity.
Gandhi said that in its true sense, Swaraj couldn’t be identified with majority rule. There could not be a greater mistake than that, said Gandhi. “If it were true, I for one would refuse to call it swaraj and would fight it with all the strength at my common for tome Hind Swaraj is the rule of all people, is the rule of justice. Clearly, in this exalted sense, no community or nation today has attained Swaraj just as no individual could attain complete self-rule with his concepts of Satya, and Ahinsa and Satyagraha. But this did not mean that difference of degree were not important to him.

He made it possible to stress such differences by also giving a minimal, formal meaning to Swaraj. He said on one occasion that ‘there is no substitute for Swaraj, and the only universal definition to give it is that status of India which her people desire at a given moment,”

Thus Swaraj contains a number of meanings. 41

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41. Moral and Political thought of Mahatma Gandhi (Swaraj and Swadeshi) by Raghavan Iyer Pgs.347-356.