In this chapter we shall see the distinction among the different theories of social philosophy, namely, capitalism, communism, socialism and Sarvodaya along with some related topics— the Ethics of Khadder, the ethical basis and significance of the social institutions, purity of means as important as the great end in view, how the means influence and affect the end, and ethics of self-purification. Let us take these one by one.

1. **Distinction Among the Different Theories of Social Philosophy**

   To know the distinction among the different theories of social philosophy, we should know about (i) Capitalism, (ii) the ethics of Khadder, (iii) socialism, (iv) communism and (v) Sarvodaya.

   (i) **Capitalism**

   Capitalism is a system which tries to perpetuate the colossal difference between capital and labour in order to maintain its position and status. 1 Gandhi was questioned whether cooperation between the exploited and the exploiters was at all possible to
to attain the ideals he stood for. People in frenzy, due to disappointment, thought that the riddle between the capital and the labour could not be solved. So they wanted that the exploited classes, labour and tenants, should array themselves against the capitalists and the landlords and that the interested classes must perish for the sake of a greater humanity. Gandhi, by giving answer to the people who thought that a class-struggle was inevitable, silenced them by saying 'All exploitation is based on cooperation, willing or forced, of the exploited.' Here we get a clue to solve the riddle between the exploiters and the exploited that if the cooperation is willing by being unintelligent and subservient to the exploiters, the ignorance of the exploited, whether they may be labourers or tenants, should be removed by giving him the knowledge of the situation in which they are. The other thing is that if the exploitation is enforced, the exploiters should be saved by cooperation among themselves and they should fight for their rights collectively. Gandhi said to labourers that 'labour was priceless, not gold.' He wanted marriage between capital and labour. He reiterated that before we talk of the capitalists to reform themselves, we should see how far we have done to identify ourselves with the masses. He wants that we should question ourselves whether we have bridged the gulf between the surging millions and us. Thus, he lays stress that reform should begin at home before we preach it to our neighbours. He says that it is no use of killing the capitalists or destroying the capital of the capitalists. That way does not lie the solution of the riddle but it lies only on the path of non-violence. To know the evils of capitalism in depth, we should know (a) Marx's
Marx's view of capitalism is quite extreme as he wants the rule of the proletarian class. He possess the proletarian class as against the capitalist one. He involves himself into the class-war and perpetuates it, only to undermine the capitalist class totally. Marx exhorts machine as he wants to abolish the labouring hand, for, according to him, dependence upon manual labour is the symbol and root cause of the destitution and slavery of the workers. Marx showers praises on the machine as it is the function of the machine to emancipate the labourer from the state of his enslavement.

Marx lays stress on the economic environment as he firmly believes that man's ideologies, institutions, ethical standards, literature, art, customs, even religion depend on our economic environment. Gandhi does not agree with Marx in that case. Gandhi firmly believes that our ideologies, ethical standards and values are not conditioned by our material environment without any absolute basis outside it. He, on the contrary, says,' as we are, so our environment.'

Marx believes that the capitalist class has taken the advantage of the industrial revolution as a lion's share and spared the labour class only to embrace slow death. So he wants the rule of the proletarian class. From his idealism, communism sprouts forth and it makes the man subordinate to the whole class, in the manner of the cell of body within the body. The cell of the body lives totally for the life of the body. J.B.Kripalani criticizes marxism in the way emphatic way. 'For the Marxist,' says he, 'the individual is but
an ENSEMBLE of social relations. The remedy proposed is thus in a most important respect worse than the disease. It wants to do away with the patient along with the malady. In marxism, the greatest loop-hole is that man is not considered as a spiritual entity, an end in himself, but man is considered only as a material man, the product of the economic environment.

(b) The Evils of Industrialism

We have seen above that the industrial revolution has changed the social order in a great deal. Due to it, the capitalist and the proletarian classes came into existence. In other words the haves and the havenots came into existence, with their perpetual fight with each other. This is the evil of industrialism.

A query drops up in our mind: how does industrialism become evil? Gandhi firmly believes when the problems of competition and marketing arise, industrialism on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers. As village is the unit of our whole country, the village should be self-contained manufacturing mainly for use. If this condition is fulfilled, Gandhi sees nothing wrong in the use of modern machines and tools.

In this vast country, when millions of men do not get employment and suffer from enforced leisure in case of agriculturists, there is no question of making our work done by machine as machine replaces men in a great number. Pandit Nehru wants industrialism as against Gandhi's view, as Nehru thinks that if industrialization is socialized, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. Gandhi rejoins him by saying that the evils are inherent in indus-
trialism and no amount of socialization can eradicate them.

Industrialism wants a big market to flourish. The imperialist countries, e.g. England, France, etc. have the problem of unemployment as the countries under their yoke become free. The unemployment in such countries mounts up higher and higher as they have to encounter their competitors. Their cut throat competition involves them into world-wars.

However sound a planned economy may an industrialist country affect, it suffers from poverty and unemployment. J.B. Kripalani gravely observes: 'But even in the industrialised countries, has the problem of poverty of the masses been solved? ..... To-day there is no industrial capitalist country that does not suffer from unemployment, which threatens to be pretty permanent and chronic.'

Gandhi firmly believes that if India follows industrialism, it will be a curse for mankind as India with its vast resources will be able to exploit the whole world. It will happen as it India would send locusts to the whole world. Briefly Gandhi points out the fact that industrial civilization is a disease because it is all evil.

Let us now see how far a machine has its place in Gandhian thought.

(c) The Place of Machinery -

When Gandhi was asked whether he was against all machinery, he emphatically replied that he was not against it. He added that he was against its indiscriminate multiplication. He further added that simple tools, such as Singer Sewing Machine, which save individual labour and lighten the burden of the millions of cottages were wel-
Gandhi welcomes every improvement in the cottage machine but it should not displace the hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles, unless one is ready to give some other occupation in the homes of the millions of villagers.

Gandhi is not against machinery or this machine age when he says that he would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided. He has suggested hand spinning as the only ready means to drive out penury and to make famine of work and wealth impossible.

Gandhi says that if one introduces machine in the cottage industry with a view of honest humanitarian consideration, one is welcome to do it. He enjoins us to replace greed by love and everything will come right. J.B.Kripalani in union with Gandhi's ideas with reference to this topic suggests that electric power may be used to increase the output of KHADI in every cottage of the village.

Thus, to say that Gandhi is against this machine age or the use of the machines is nothing but to caricature his views. He does not want that machine should master the man but he does want that man should master the machine. That is, in short, he is against the indiscriminate use of the machine.

Briefly capitalism, flourished by industrialism, throws millions of men out of employment and nurtures imperialistic attitude and nurtures imperialistic attitude and thus finally invokes war. We
should not be blind to the defects of the industrial revolution.
We should use machinery with a view to serving man. If we do not
master the machine, the machine will master us. Gandhi has showed
us the panacea, for the ills of the enforced leisure, in the use of
the charkha to remove the penury of the villagers.

(ii) Communism

In discussion of capitalism, we have referred to communism.
Let us now go into its details to know its limitations.

The earlier form of communism is Bolshevism. Bolshevism
is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization which
has strands in Marxism. So Marxism, through Bolshevism, is deve­
loped into communism. Due to Bolshevism, the insensate worship
of matter has given rise to a school of thought which looks on material
advancement as the goal which has lost all touch with the finer
things of life. 14

With reference to Bolshevism, the earlier form of communism,
Gandhi asserts that he is yet ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is.
He emphatically asserts that in so far as it is based on violence
and denial of God, it repels him, and he adds that he does not be
believe in short violent-cuts to success. 16

Gandhi partly stands for communism, if it means a classless society
an ideal that is worth striving for. He parts with communism when
force is called to aid for achieving that goal of classless society.
Gandhi asserts that the idea of 'high and low', the idea of inequality
is an evil, but he does not want to eradicate it at the point of
bayonet. 16 Gandhi believes in non-violent communism.
Gandhi was retorted by his friends that though he claimed to be a
Communist, he did not seem to live the life of Communism. To this he
replied that he was trying his best to live up to the ideal of
Communism in the best sense of the term. He retorted to them that
Communism does not exclude courtesy and they lacked ordinary
courtesy and they did not talk coherently. 17

The Communists of India look towards either to Soviet Russia
or to China, for their policy. They are the puppets either of
China or Soviet Russia. Gandhi is not against the foreign ideologies
but the wants to make it adaptable to the soil of India. I would,
Gandhi observes, accept them only to the extent that I can assimi­
late them and adapt them to the Indian scene. But I must refuse to
go under them. 18

As a glaring contrast between the method of the communists and
that of Gandhi, his words express his indomitable faith in his method.
My formula for the Communists, therefore, is that I would prefer to
die at their hands but I will not retaliate. 19

Communists make a show that they use reason in preaching their
ideology but when they fail, they give vent to their poisonous
elements in their natures. Ultimately, they are wedded to non­
violence. In Communism, the man has no life or will of his own.
He is like a cell in the body politic. Communism is at one with
Naziism in the sense that in both the individual loses its individuali­
ty and is forced to live only in the interests of the body politic.
'Till the world proletariat, observes J. B. Kripalani, 'gets united
and comes to its own, the individual in Russia is as much a cell in
Though Communism aims at the ideal of the classless society, it in reality wants that the power of the State should be in the hands of the proletariat class and wants to undermine the capitalist one. This shows that it does not aim at the good of all the persons of the State. It wants to usurp the power by non-violent methods, by taking the direct action. Communism, ideally, does not stand for any centralized industry, as it wants to remove the State. If they fulfil their dream, they will bring chaos in the State. Communism, as an international theory, has failed in practice. So there is no communism at the international level. Russia has changed her outlook of communism and so changed her international policy to square with her imperialist ambitions and to effect national solidarity and thus nationalized communism recently. Communism, when becomes nationalized, loses much of its strength in its very Ideology.

(iii) Socialism -

This theory of social philosophy has a close relation with communism as if they are the twins! People do not draw sharp contrast between them. They believe that if we go deeper into socialism, we touch communism. They make a mess of what they understand with reference to these two theories of social philosophy. In talking of one, they talk of the other. The difference between Communism and Socialism can be stated broadly that while in communism, as it aims at the nullification of the state, the good of the individual is aimed at exclusively and the state becomes nil, in socialism, the good of
the individual becomes identical with the good of the state and the former's interest is merged into the latter's one.

Gandhi says that socialism is a beautiful word and so far he is aware, in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body, the head is not high because it is top of the body and soles of the feet not low as they touch the ground. As members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism from the point of Gandhi.21

The basis of socialism is economic equality. In the present state of iniquitas inequalities, there can be no RAMARAJYA (the kingdom of God). There is a glaring contrast in the present state of society as some roll in riches while others are on the brink of starvation. To remove this state of social order and to establish the even order in society, Gandhi does not think that violence will be a means for effecting any lasting reform.22

To bring this ideal of economic equality into being, Gandhi believes, the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. But this should be achieved non violently. A society based on nonviolence cannot nurture any other ideal. He says that we may not be able to realize the goal but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To achieve this goal, the individual, says Gandhi has not to wait for others to do so.23

Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, one can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for ten and in this way the number will increase. But without changing our life, we may go on giving addresses to the public in an eloquent
manner and seize the game in a hawk-like manner. This is no socialism. The more we treat it as the game, the further does it recede.24

Gandhi says that socialism, even communism, dates from the date of the Isopanishad Upanishad. The first verse of Isopanishad contains socialism. When some people lost faith in the method of conversion, scientific socialism was born. Gandhi says that he is engaged to solve the same problem which faces the scientific socialists but his approach is through unadulterated non-violence. He says that due to his ignorance of the technique of non-violence, he may fail. Even though, his faith in that doctrine of non-violence is ever increasing.25

The basis of socialism, Gandhi says, is not only non-violence but also truth, and both are linked to God within. If there is no faith in God within, the faith in those two doctrines will be of no use, when there will be a crucial test. Gandhi further says that in the pursuit of that search for God within, there lies the discovery of Satyagraha. And Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral. He says that his socialism was not adopted from books. It was natural to him. It came from his unshakable belief in non-violence.26

Gandhi's ideal of socialism is that every one should get the same wage. He thought that a physician, a teacher, a labourer or a sweeper—all should get equal wages. But today there is a great wild difference among their incomes. A lawyer might get a thousand rupees per day, while a sweeper might not get even eight annas a day.27

Gandhi says while we lay stress on the means and do not know what
the end will be as the end or result is not in our hands, but the socialists look to the end and are prepared to take any means, they like. If they get the power, Gandhi says, they will resort to confiscation of property, repudiation of debts and other extreme methods.28

In the past, the Congress under Gandhi, advocated some of the concrete proposals and reforms that had come to be called socialistic but it had nothing to do with socialism and Marxism as such, where these are taken as two interchangeable terms.29

J.B. Kripalani refers to the definition of socialism given in the article by Jawaharlal Nehru: 'Socialism, as every schoolboy ought to know, is an economic theory which endeavours to understand and solve the problems that afflict the world.'30 Kripalani analyses this definition of socialism in this way: 'The definition means one of two things: (i) all problems that afflict this little world of ours are economic and arise purely out of economic relations, or (2) there are human problems which, though more or less affected by our economic relations, transcend these and stand comparatively apart and demand other than purely economic treatment to understand and solve them.'31 Then he remarks that in the first case, all human relations are, directly or indirectly the result of the economic structure of society. He continues that all values, physical, intellectual and artistic, including the moral and spiritual ones, are determined by economic forces. If this is so, socialism ceases to be a purely economic theory but becomes a philosophic system of thought and action, concerned with the life as a whole. As such, it must seek to revalue fundamental values established by civilized
society. In the other case, wherein it is considered that the problems afflicting the world are neither purely nor predominantly economic, socialism becomes an economic theory. It concerns itself with a part of human life and activity having repercussions in other allied social fields. 'It cannot claim,' Kripalani emphatically states, 'to be a philosophy of life, nor can it remedy all the ills that afflict the world. Fundamental values need not in that case change or be appreciably affected except by a reformatory and evolutionary process. There need be no total or totalitarian revolution.'

Morarji Desai interlinks socialism with democracy and says that both develop constantly and simultaneously. They have to be achieved not all at once but in degrees by persistent improvement of the individual and his social attitudes. 'This is what Gandhiji sought to achieve by his constructive programme.' Morarji wants that there should be a self-reliant socialist democracy. It is contended that the Congress has not offered a precise definition of the term, socialism. Socialism and Democracy, being dynamic concepts, cannot be defined as their horizons expand and take on greater meaning as the social conscience develops. At the same time, one cannot say that they are vague terms. Morarji remarks shrewdly that socialist democracy has to be translated into a living reality in every sphere of the nation's life. That calls for several progressive steps and he narrates them briefly.

A self-reliant socialist democracy requires democratic methods. Education, being a potent instrument for the elimination of inequalities, should be imparted to every child and the Government should be
helpful to those who are without means to prosecute the studies further. Thus the foundation will be laid for achieving equality of opportunity for all. Morarji further suggests that our agriculture and our industry should be built up as rapidly as possible to enable socialist democracy to become a dynamic reality in India.\textsuperscript{35}

The upshot of this discussion is that socialism being an economic theory cannot touch all the aspects of life. Only it can touch the economic aspect of life. Democracy and Socialism are inter-linked concepts which have the greater meaning as the social life of the individual develops. So we should aim at the progress of the individual and his social life around it. Socialism should be established by non-violent methods. As to the philosophy of socialism, there cannot be so much difference in the contents of socialism, as a socialistic theory, as there is in its methods. Implementation of methods requires a penetration into the problem that it should not involve violence and if there cannot be absolute non-violence, the least violence is preferred, keeping the non-violent method as our aim.

Let us now see the remaining theory of social philosophy, Sarvodaya (the good of all).

(iv) \textbf{Sarvodaya -}

Sarvodaya means the welfare of all, excluding none, neither the class nor the individual. It aims at not only the good of all aspects of individuals but also the development of all the all individuals.

Gandhi gets the main points of Sarvodaya from Ruskin's book,
Unto This Last. The main points are -

(i) That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

(ii) That a lawyer's work has the value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

(iii) That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

The first of these Gandhi knew. The second he dimly realized. The third had never secured to him. Unto This Last made it clear to Gandhi that the second and the third were contained in the first. He decided to put these main points into his life.

Vinoda Bhave gets the concept of Sarvodaya from the Gita. He says that the idea of Sarvodaya, as preached by the Gita is to merge oneself in the good of all. This cannot be practised if we have no absolute faith in truth and non-violence. He exhorts us that we should never resort to untruth in our private or public life, nor in our business or other occupations.

Gandhi is against the utilitarian view in the maxim of the greatest good of the greatest number. He says that in that case the good of 49 per cent is overlooked and is sacrificed for the welfare of the remaining ones. He says that it is a heartless doctrine. Gandhi stands for the greatest good of all and may die in the attempt to realize it. The utilitarian to be logical, Gandhi asserts, will never sacrifice himself while the absolutist will even sacrifice himself.
Gandhi says that if we would see our dream of Panchayat Raj (Connotating Sarvodaya) i.e. true democracy realized, we would regard the lowest and humblest equal with the tallest in the land. This presupposes purity coupled with wisdom in us. There will be then no distinction between the one community and the other, and between caste and outcaste. There will be no distinction between the intellectual and physical labour. To bring this consummation we would consider ourselves in the line of the scavengers. He would then be able to sacrifice his own life but would not take another's life.

Morarji Desai observes that we should establish such conditions all around us so that they will minimize the destructive urges for power and self. These urges lead to untruth, jealousy, hatred and such other vices which foster the greatest destructive forces and suppress the inherent good qualities in us. These destructive forces are so rooted in us that persistent efforts are required to uproot them.

When Gandhi presented the ideal of Sarvodaya before us, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, one of Gandhi's chief lieutenants, had a different outlook on life, even though he agreed with the goal of life for human society which Gandhi presented to us. This shows that the ideal of doing human good is limited to one's own limitations. If the ideal is kept high and the action is not done in union with it, the ideal then remains unworked as if hanging in the dreamland. This does not mean that Gandhi's ideal is not practical, but it requires some steps to reach it. These steps make us practical. Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla holds a challenge to Sarvodaya philosophy. He said: "It was only through the modern machine that fullemployment
and prosperity could be created. Of course the Charkha and the Sarvodaya philosophy could also create full employment, but what would be the standard of wages if the people took to the charkha? Not more than four annas a day and even that was VERY DOUBTFUL!\[42\]

Vinoba Bhave remarks upon Birla’s refutation of the Sarvodaya Philosophy that Birla refuted it only in a few words, cleverly. If the judgment Birla has passed were right, the Sarvodaya philosophy would create the condition for earning the nation’s death. Birlaji at least admits that Sarvodaya Philosophy possesses the capacity of creating full employment.\[43\]

Let us now integrate all the theories of social philosophy we have treated.

(v) Integration -

Gandhi stands against the excess of the capitalist, communist and socialist order. The Industrial revolution has brought into the existence the capitalist order. As against the capitalist order came into the existence of the communist order. By being practical, i.e. by infusing the national view in the communist order, the communist order was changed into the socialist order. The two moments of the social order, the one being the capitalist and the other being the communist or the socialist, stand in contrast with each other and they are on the extremes. There can never be the truth in the extreme positions. So Gandhi wants to remove the EXCESS of the capitalist, communist or socialist order. He is against the class hatred. So he brings in the idea of trusteeship and asks the capitalists to be honor
trustees. He says to the labourer that by cutting the head of the prince or of the zamindar or of any wealthy man, he cannot solve the riddle between the haves and the have-nots. Only by non-violence, truth, justice, fair play and faith in God, the riddle between the haves and the have-nots can be solved. This requires patience on the part of the men who want to make a change in the social order. "Patience and perseverance will overcome mountains." To bring a change in the social order as desired by Gandhi requires patience enough on the part of men who want to effect that change in the social order. By rosy pictures of the communists that everybody will get according to his need, Gandhi is not lured. He does not want bread at the cost of the moral and spiritual principles, as man does not live by bread alone. So Gandhi stands for SARVODAYA which means not only the good of all individuals but the development of all the aspects of the individuals. He wants to effect this by advocacy of cottage and village industry, along with decentralized commerce and agriculture.

This integral aim constitutes Gandhi's philosophy of life. He believes in the moral origin and destiny of man. Everybody can work out his destiny in a moral society. So everybody has the duty to help that social order, namely SARVODAYA which may come into existence by the collective efforts of the individuals. So, first the individuals has to reform himself, that he should subordinate self and power to the higher values of life. India enjoys this kind of tradition from a very long time. So the individual and the social, the internal and the external life, should be guided and informed by the higher values of life and the principles of non-violence, truth, justice and fairplay should be practised both individually and socially.
Such a state of society as envisaged above may come into existence and nourished by the ethics of Khadder (the home spun or hand spun cloth).

2. The Ethics of Khadder

In the social order based on Sarvodaya, the ethics of Khadder plays the important role, as Khadi (the handspun cloth) has not only the ethical aspect of life but also the economical aspect. In a singular way, the three principles of Swadeshi, Khadder and Ahimsa combine in one and offer the practical remedy for the suffering of the millions of village people, living on the border-line of famine and starvation.

To know the ethics of Khadder, we should go into its details, we will know (i) decentralized economy and (ii) fallacies about Khadi and (iii) Khadi and the living wage, one by one.

(i) Fallacies about Khadi

The first objection is that Khadi is not an economic proposition. The persons who argue in this way, mingle the personal or household economy with the wealth of nations, otherwise called political economy. They are not able to detect the fallacy in their reasoning when they say that a yard of khadi is dearer than a yard of the same sort of the foreign or Indian Mill cloth. But their proposition has nothing to do with the science of economics. The science of economics deals with the wealth of nations. Is the production of khadi not done at the expense of time and energy with which greater units of wealth could be produced? Not at all. The whole
argument for khadi is based on the undeniable fact of the enforced leisure, for a peasant, which is called unemployment, which lasts at least for three months in a year. Economists think that the standard of living in India cannot possibly rise unless there is increased production. Khadi increases this production. It has not stopped Indian mills. Khadi does not want to replace Indian mills. Some may think that khadi cannot increase the purchasing power of the nation. "Purchasing power is a recognised measure for assessing national wealth." When the villager plies charkha and has khad for his own use, he spends less on cloth. Thus he saves the money for he has not to spend money for his cloth.45

J.B. Kripalani maintains: 'From the point of view, of (i) the diminution of unemployment (2) increase in national production (3) the purchasing power of the poor and (4) the collective wealth of the nation, the charkha and khadi are sound propositions in economics.46

(ii) Decentralized Economy

In the case of khadi, there is decentralized economy. We should not use the uncertified khadi because it is not sold through the associations. As the certified khadi is sold through the associations, there is decentralized economy; over and above, the quality of khadi is maintained. Khadi maintains rural economy. Gandhi says: 'Rural economy as I have conceived it eschews exploitation altogether, and exploitation is the essence of violence.47

The end to be sought by us is human happiness. It cannot be without mental and moral or spiritual growth. This end is achieved under decentralization. Centralization is inconsistent with the non-
violent but structure of society.\textsuperscript{48}

To-day, economics cannot be isolated from politics, national and international, from sociology and above all moral values. It is absurd to think that economics refer only to production, distribution exchange and consumption of material goods only. These processes affect the lives of men and women, and their ideas and activities that build the social and political order.\textsuperscript{49}

The handicraft or industry of khadi propounded by Gandhi in terms of economics is not benefit of the human considerations of politics, sociology and morals. Khadi, a predominantly decentralized industry, is designed to be the characteristic feature of a new democratic and egalitarian social order. The Charkha and Khadi have no value if they are divorced from such a conception of the life of the nation. If this conception is lost with reference to the khadi industry, all other values woven round about it will shatter to pieces, and evaporate as fast as possible.\textsuperscript{50}

Briefly, decentralization in industry and devolution of power in politics are the only means by which humanity can be saved from the economic and political exploitation. If the rulers of our country connive at this fact, they will merely produce a formal democracy which cannot be spared from the onslaughts of the dictatorship either of the Right or the Left. This is true not only for India but for the whole world, too.

(iii) \textit{Khadi and the living wage} -

An objection is raised that khadi does not give a living economic wage to the worker. The question is: what is a living economic wage?
It has no fixed connotation. Instead of a living economic wage, we should consider a customary wage. And a customary wage is changing after a long interval. It gave a customary wage when J.B. Kripalani wrote his book, Gandhian Thought. He observes: 'the average weaver earns from Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 per month, the washer-woman from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15/- the carpenter from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 30'.

These figures show that the average weaver in the past could earn the customary wage. As there is the introduction of 'Amber Charkha' one can spin more with it than one can do with an ordinary charkha (a spinning wheel). As the village now-a-days gets the electricity, the villager can make the use of the electricity plying the charkha. Such a change in the machinery of the charkha can be thought of. Thus there will be then more production, in every home of the villager.

Upto-now, we have thought of the village. What about the city? If somebody gets a more remunerative occupation, no one argues with him that he should drop it and instead he should ply the charkha. To ply the charkha is a supplementary occupation and not the main one. It does not supplant the main occupation but supplements it by giving in additional income. Those who have the forced leisure or unemployment should make the most of the spinning wheel (charkha) to get at least the NEAR customary wage and it is the duty of all persons who take the problem of the unemployment of millions to their hearts to make the situation better and not to worsen it.

Briefly, the ethics of Khadder has not only the moral base or
side namely of non-violence, truth and Satyagraha, but it has the economical aspect too that helps to establish the egalitarian social order in which the idea of Sarvodaya flourishes easily.

The most salutary theory of social philosophy, namely, Sarvodaya requires the various social institutions to practise it.

3. The Ethical Basis and Significance of the Social Institutions

Among the social institutions for putting the theory of Sarvodaya into practice, the chief ones are (i) family (ii) society (iii) law and (iv) religion. Let us take them one by one and go into the details of each for our purpose.

(i) Family

Of all the social institutions, family is the basic one. Gandhi considered family ties as sacred ones. He considered family as a 'Good ordained institution.' The relationship between the husband and the wife should not be that of master and the servant but it should be that of true friends. He expected from the children devotion to the parents and the practice of truth. Gandhi disowned his son Harilal not because he embraced Islam but he did not practice truth. The parents says Gandhi, should do their duties to their children, especially they should train them in such a way that they become self-reliant in future and earn their bread honestly. Gandhi is against the ancestral property as it makes the children idle, kills the enterprise in them and feeds the passions which accompany idleness and luxury. Gandhi treats both son and daughter equally. He is against discrimination between son and daughter
in the matter of inheritance. 52

If the families have a certain ideal to live, they will in aggregate bring the tone of the particular society high.

(ii) Society

There is no society as such but there are particular societies. The particular societies are influenced by a number of good families. As the families help to build the tone of the particular society, the particular society also helps in building the character of families. Both condition each other mutually. But the aggregate of the families that make the society has the higher whole, so it shares the unity comparatively in a greater degree. It has the greater strength too. If the particular family is not conscious of its bond to the particular society, it becomes isolated and thus suffers a good deal in its development.

With reference to the Indian society, Gandhi's pleas was to build India through her villages. He wanted that each village of India should be a republic within the Greater Republic of India. So long there were princely states in India, it was a hindrance in building up of the Greater Republic of India. But, it is now made easy due to the implementation of the political integration of India into one unit. This political integration is the landmark in the history of India.

Gandhi wanted to disband the congress after its achievement of the political freedom of the country and to install a new institution namely Lok Sevak Sangh, a society for the service of the
mankind. He wanted that the new organization should train the workers in the Gandhian thought and principles, viz. truth, non-violence and toleration. These workers should first reform themselves, as they will be models, before they go to work in villages. But this dream of Gandhi did not take its form.

To remove the communal wrangle from the Indian society, which seems apparently an impossible task, the reformers should lay stress on the practical day-to-day life of the Hindus and the Muslims, irrespective to their religions. So, it would not be inaccurate for a sociological study of the Indian society as a whole, instead of going piecemeal into a Hindu, or a Muslim or a Christian society. The village Muslims share the social attitudes of the Hindus. The Muslims, with conversion to Islam, have changed their religious faith, but in the sociocultural spheres of life they are not apart from the Hindu mode of life. They still continue to have more or less the basic attitudes of the Hindus.

Gandhian contributions to reform the Indian society loom large. He influenced the Indian society directly and indirectly through the Government and the people. Dr. T.K.N.Unnithan observes: 'the extent of this contribution is visible in the granting of rights to all the members of the Hindu Community to enter places of worship in the states where such discriminations were practised, in the insertion of adequate provisions in the constitution for the abolition of untouchability and for safeguarding the rights of depressed communities, in the legislative measures undertaken especially in the enactment of the Untouchability Offences Act, in the working of the various welfare organizations set up specifically for
the uplift of Harijans and in the policy of the Central and State Governments for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the scheduled castes and tribes.53

Resistance to reforms introduced by Gandhi particularly in the field of untouchability, caste-system and communal unity is offered by the orthodox and illiterate people. Gandhi and his followers had to fight hard to overcome the superstitions of the orthodox people. Instead of fighting against untouchability, if the root of untouchability, namely, caste-system is attacked the evil of untouchability would be easily effaced from the Indian society. For this, the inter-caste and inter-communal marriage to establish the communal unity, should be introduced and the Government of India should help vocationally and economically in this direction.

(iii) Law -

There are laws spiritual, moral and political. There are also laws about hygiene and sanitation. But, the root of all laws are the spiritual laws. They are sometimes called the laws of Nature. It is said that the laws of Nature cannot be broken. The laws of Nature are placed against the man made laws which are contingent, so sometimes they are overlooked.

Gandhi says that he does not believe that the spiritual law works only on its own field. The spiritual law expresses through the ordinary activities of life. So it affects not only the spiritual sphere, but also the economic, the social and the political spheres or fields.54
Gandhi desired that Independent India should make effort to secure the ideal state of perfect harmony. As this ideal is to be reached by men who are not perfect, there is the need of administration and laws. So for Gandhi, legislation imposed by people of a free country is not violent to the extent that it is possible in society. That is, democratic legislation is not incompatible with a view to envolving the non-violent state.

Morarji firmly believes that a society which is not developed as a perfect human society is helped to shed its defects of character, inherited in its past, by means of education and obedience of the common laws.

Morarji also believes that it is the duty of government to be helpful to the society in reaching to its highest aspirations by means of education and laws which become a guide to the good persons to improve themselves and to deter the selfish persons who want to benefit themselves at the cost of their obligations to the society. So any attempt done to break or to connive at the laws directly or indirectly should be discouraged by the saner elements in the society.

Gandhi believes that sometimes a necessity arises to break the law if it does not work in the interest of the public at large. In short, a law is made for the man and not the man for the law. That State is better which requires legislation less as far as possible but the undeveloped democracy requires the sufficient laws to guide it to reach the particular ideal or aspiration of the society.

(iv) Religion-

The institution of religion plays an important role in helping
the man to reach his particular ideal as it fosters a great courage in the man. It infuses in him a great enthusiasm to work the ideal in his life. It leads him from strength to strength, onward and onward and thus the man is able to sacrifice his life ultimately. Gandhi sacrificed his life in the cause of the communal unity as he firmly believed in religion.

The institution of religion makes the intellect pure and broadens the heart of the man who embraces religion. But, in the name of religion, there is superstitution. The simple persons are cheated by the hypocrites, so there are bogus religious institutions. Gandhi is very stern to these institutions and discards them in a severe tone. He observes: 'The hoards rotting in the name of religion in the various parts of India have made many of these religious institutions a sham, where they have not become hot-beds of corruption.'

Gandhi is deadly against the SADAVRATA, where free meals are given. He says that his Ahimsa would not tolerate the idea of giving a free meal to the one who has not worked honestly. He emphatically says that the institution of Sadvratahas degraded the nation and has fostered idleness, laziness, hypocrisy and even crime.

Briefly the social institutions of Family, of Society, of Law and of Religion have the ethical basis and are significant for putting the ideal of our lives into practice. The ideal may be high, the institutions for putting the ideal into practice may be adequate and appropriate, but if the means are not pure and sound, we may not reach our ideal.
4. Purity of Means as Important as the Great End in View

Some persons think that to achieve a great end, the means may be pure or may not be pure. They do the bungling in the means. They say "all's well that ends well." They say means are after all means. But Gandhi retorts to them by saying means are after all everything. In this way, persons, having no scruples, minimise the importance of the purity of means. Any how they want to achieve their end. In this way, they are after short cuts. These short cuts, says Gandhi, are the violent cuts. The communists use these short cuts. They do not feel any shock in resorting to the violent means.

Some say 'As is the God, so is the votary.' This maxim is worth considering. Gandhi says that its meaning has been distorted and men have gone astray. He warns us by saying that the means should be likened to a seed and the end to a tree. If the seed is not pure or an unadulterated one, the tree will not be pure. Thus Gandhi establishes the uninviolable connection between the seed and the tree and emphasises upon the purity of means.

Impure means result in an impure end. No one can reach Truth by untruthfulness. Gandhi says, 'Are not Non-violence and Truth twins?' The answer is an emphatic 'NO.' So, non-violence is embedded in Truth and vice versa. They are the faces of the same coin. Only the spelling of the words are different, the value is the same. If we harbour the impurity of mind or body, we cannot reach the blessed state and we will have only untruth and
Though Gandhi sympathizes with and admire motives, he is an uncompromising opponent of violent methods. These methods may be used for the noble ends. Gandhi emphatically says that no permanent good can be realized by untruth and violence. It may be his fond delusion, but he sticks to it unto his last breath. If it is a delusion, he says that it is 'a fascinating delusion.'

5. How the Means influence and affect the End

Gandhi not only says of the purification of the means, but also he traces as to how means influence and affect the end. He says that there is no wall of separation between means and end. The creator has given us the control and that too only in a very limited way over the means but none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means.

"To work thou has the right, never to the fruit thereof" is the golden precept of the Gita. It is stated also in the Gita that there are some factors that intervene the fruit and the effort, so none can be sure of the fruit of one's efforts. But Gandhi advises us that if we take care of the means, the ends will take care of themselves. He also observes that means to be means must be within our reach while the end is not within our reach. If we take care of the means sooner or later we are bound to reach the goal. If we grasp this point, the final victory is beyond question.

Aldous Huxley endorses Gandhi's view by observing: 'Good ends,
as I have frequently to point out, can be achieved only by the employmen of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means, for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced.\textsuperscript{65}

Gandhi says that we are merely the instruments of the Almighty Will and are often ignorant as to what helps us to go forward or what recedes us and acts as an impediment in our progress. We must rest satisfied if we have the knowledge of the means. Success or failure is not in our hands. It is enough if we act our part well. Ours is but to strive for the end. In the end, it will be as He wishes. And the He will not wish otherwise for our evolution.\textsuperscript{66}

6. \textit{Ethics of Self-Purification -}

The purification of means and the connection of means with the end to achieve the ideal require self-purification. The purification of means presupposes and conditions self-purification.

Many hold the view that a man can do what he pleases when he is not in the society. He who holds this view does not know what he says. None can, with impunity, act in this world as he pleases.\textsuperscript{67}

Let us first see what our duty is to ourselves. If we penetrate our private habits, we can know where we are. We are responsible for them not only from our personal point of view, they affect others also. A great man says, "Tell me what a man's private habits are and I will tell you what he is or will be." So we should control our appetites, desires and instincts, otherwise we shall lose our good name and fame. We can't have the worldly success if we run
after the worldly pleasures and do not save our body, mind, intellect and soul. After controlling the instincts, one should put them to one's use. One should have a fixed aim in one's life. If there is no aim in one's life and takes the life as it is, one is drifted like a rudderless ship on the high seas. Man's highest duty in life is to serve the mankind and take his share in bettering its condition. He should contribute according to his might to an ideal order of human life. Such a man in pursuing his ideal of bettering the mankind cannot deviate from the path of morality otherwise he cannot reach his ideal. The man should constantly examine his way of life as to whether his way of life tends to better the human life or worsens it. The merchant, the doctor, the lawyer should see whether he pays more attention in getting money or in serving his customers or clients. It is no matter whether the man is in the higher or lower status of life. What matters is how he does his duty. The man cannot be judged by his outward actions but can be judged only by his inner leanings.

There cannot be self-purification without the observance of the law of Ahimsa. God can never be realized by the one who is not pure at his heart. Self-purification should be not only in one particular walk of life but it should be in all the walks of life. If we are pure, our neighbours do not remain unaffected by our purity. Our purity conditions our surroundings and environments.

Gandhi feels humiliated when he knows his limitations in circumventing the dormant passions lying in him. He says that
that he is sustained by his experiences and experiments in following the path of truth. He says unless a man reduces himself to zero, there is no salvation for him. Only then he has humility. Ahimsa is the farthest limit of humility.71

To sum up, he alone is religious and moral who bears no malice, exploits none and always acts with a pure heart. Such a man alone can serve the mankind truly and raises no question as to how to serve the world for he has unlimited faith in Truth and non-violence.

In conclusion, Capitalism has both strength and limitation as Gandhi says without capital we cannot do. He also points out how to remove the limitations or evils of capitalism. He suggests the capitalists by being honorary trustees of that wealth which is more than he needs to satisfy his basic needs. He admonishes the labour that by cutting off the head of the capitalist or by breaking the machinery, the evils of capitalism will not be removed. Labour does need capital. So Gandhi wants that the capitalists and the labour should live in harmony, and they should have the good relations based on non-violence, truth and justice with each other.

Gandhi is not against Communism. He has his own view of communism. He has communism bereft of violence. He wants to make the best use of communism and has friends among the communists. He praises the self-sacrifice of persons like Marx and Lenin, and considers them as great personalities.

Gandhi is not against socialism. He himself is the best socialist. He says that only some industries should be socialized
by the State. So Gandhi stands for centralization of some industries, in a sense as well as for decentralization, in another sense. Thus, in him, he has established the harmony between centralization and decentralization. He is not extreme in this case.

Gandhi has given us the most salutary theory of social philosophy, viz. Sarvodaya, which aims at not only the good of all individuals, but also the development of all aspects of the individuals. Really, the theory of Sarvodaya has the strength of all the remaining theories, shorn off their limitations. In sarvodaya, there is integration of all the theories of the social philosophy and they live in harmony with one another. Sarvodaya is based on the principles of Ahimsa, Truth, Justice and Equality.

If we want to put the theory of Sarvodaya into practice, the Ethics of Khadder is of great help to us as it aims at decentralized economy. Men who speak ill of Khadi commit fallacies about it. Through the use of khadi there is the uplift of the village and of village industries as khadi is the sun round which all industries revolve like planets. Khadi can give the customary wage if we have the idea to improve the charkha and bring the Amber Charkha in its place and use the electric power supplied now to almost every village.

We may have the best doctrines, principles and social theories, but if we do not practise them, they are of no avail. To put them into practice, we require social Institutions, namely, family, society, las and religion.

We may have the great end or ideal but if we do not think of the
purification of means and of the relation of means to end, we cannot progress in the direction of our great ends or ideals but divert from them. Nothing lasts longer if it is not based on non-violence and Truth.

Without Self purification we cannot think about the purity of the means. Self-purification influences not only the individual, but affects the outer environment also and improves the tone of the society. If we do nothing to better the humanity at large, we cannot better ourselves and control the instincts in us. Those who allow the free play of instincts cannot have their energy right channelled.

Self purification helps us a good deal to have self realization.