CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study undertaken in this work is to examine various conceptual frameworks intimately connected to the Gandhian concept of Swaraj. Swaraj had been the ultimate goal of Gandhi's life. We shall try to find out what was the motivating force behind this great man's thought and actions.

Secondly, the purpose of the present study is to allow the mind to respond critically as well as evaluatively to the conceptual position which has been put forth by Mahatma Gandhi about the problem of Swaraj. The intention here is to comprehend various meanings of the concept of Swaraj and to visualize the divergent relationships emerging in the context of social reality.

The third purpose is to examine the issue from the point of view of the contemporary world situation with the objective of solving the 21st century's problems of the most destructive forms of violence in the life of the individual and in the life of world society as a whole. Life of man and society is affected very badly by the destructive armaments and warfare, extreme centralization, consumerism and moral degeneration as a whole. Materialism has engulfed the modern man and he has become ready to sell his freedom also, just for the sake of few more material comforts. It has resulted in the steep fall in the moral standards of man. Consequently there is a loss of integrity, true bliss and authenticity in his life.
The Gandhian concept of swaraj is completely based on the Indian tradition. So it is quite necessary to explain ‘Swaraj’ as concept before we may try to understand Gandhian concept of Swaraj. We are required to know the meaning of Swaraj, sovereignty and freedom, according to Indian tradition. Gandhian concept of Swaraj is much more comprehensive than the Western concept of freedom. So in order to understand Gandhian concept of swaraj, we shall try to explain the concept of swaraj in Indian tradition in the first half of the introductory chapter and than proceed to the understanding of Gandhian concept of Swaraj.

‘Swaraj’ is the ultimate goal of human life. Man can never be happy if he is governed by others. The purpose of the present study is to find out a solution to the problem of moral degeneration of man’s life so that he may progress spiritually and attain the absolute freedom, which is the highest goal of human life, according to Indian tradition. Present study seeks to put forward the view point that there is a hope for man and the society if life is based on dharma (righteousness) This can solve the problems of modern life. If Swaraj is the goal and dharma is the means, then we are required to understand the meaning of Swaraj as concept.

Sanskrit English Dictionary defines ‘Swaraj’ as independent rule, uncontrolled dominion, sovereignty, Indras heaven, Swaraj also means Indrajya, Swarajam, union with
Brahman. Identification with self refulgent, state of self effulgence, sovereignty or heaven.\textsuperscript{1}

Etymologically ‘Swaraj’ word is made up of two words, ‘Swa’ and ‘Raj’. Accordingly to हिंदी कोश ‘Swa’ means घुटन, आलमोज, आलम, विष्णु, धन सम्पत्ति, धन राशि (विश्व) आलमोज, अपना, स्वभाविक.

The word ‘Raj’ means घुटन, सुन्दर प्रतीत होना, प्रमुख होना, प्रतीत होना, उज्जवल करना.

The joint meaning of ‘Swa’ and ‘Raj’ means self lumined, or the self rule, the meaning of self is soul, so it is a state of being where soul rules (over the body). ‘The self’ may be individual or collective. We may be talking of the individual Swaraj or the Swaraj of the state or society but if it is free and self refulgent, then it is a state of Swaraj. The state of Swaraj is a heaven-like state or like Indra's Rajya. In the case of Individual it is a state of Moksha. The word ‘Swaraj’ and ‘Swarat’ are Vedic words. They appear at many places in Rigveda and Atharvaveda and have the same meaning, i.e. the state of identification with the self refulgent Brahman. Man also becomes self refulgent when he attains freedom. This is an ideal state for the man and in case of society or state, if it is ruled by a self refulgent king, then it is a Swaraj state. We find the following synonyms for ‘घुटन’ and ‘घुटन’ or ‘घुटन’ in the Amarkosh.

घुटनक “धनो, अभंगे कलीबं तु निन्धिबं शाब्दत तिजु।
स्वो स्वाता वामानि स्वं त्रिशालापीये स्वोस्फृतया धने”\textsuperscript{2}
We can discuss the problem of Swaraj under two heads i.e., Swaraj for the self and Swaraj for the society. The two are inter-related in the same way as various organs of human body are interlinked with each other. The study of one depends upon the study of the other. The Swaraj state, both in man as well as in society depends on dharma. The individual Jiva can attain its 'Swaraj' if it leads life according to dharma. The state will also be a Swaraj state if it is functioning according to dharma. So 'dharma' is the foundation for the Swaraj of a single self or the Swaraj of society as a whole.

The attainment of Swaraj is the highest goal of man as well as of society. We can call them inner Swaraj and outer Swaraj, individual Swaraj and collective Swaraj, micro Swaraj and macro Swaraj. Their relation can be explained by the ancient maxim 'यत् मिष्टे तत् ब्रह्मण' i.e. as the man so the world. 'The self' is also a world in itself (micro world).

Almost all the major schools of Indian philosophy have stressed on the Swaraj as the ultimate goal of human life. This is the goal and purpose of human life, according to Vedanta. This involves release from the objective conditions, which are due to personal desires and actions, which in turn are due to possessiveness, likings and dislikings or egoism, all born of ignorance. The knowledge of Brahman liberates man from this disturbing state of mind. The Jiva becomes one with the
universal self. The *jiva* becomes self dependent and all its desires for the objective world come to an end. The *karmik* bondage ceases and rebirths are at an end. It is the knowledge that liberates, releasing the man from his desires. It is not new knowledge, for the truth was present all the time, but attention was turned away from it.

The *Mundaka Upanishad* describes the state of liberation, absolute freedom and *Swaraj* as, the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, losing their name and form, thus a wise man, freed from name and form, goes to the Divine Person who is beyond all.

It means in the highest conditions of disintegration of individuality, there is giving up of selfish isolation but it is not mere nothing or death. The liberated condition must be looked upon as the fullest expression of the self. This is the state of rapture and ecstasy, a condition of ‘*Ananda*’ where the creature as creature is abolished and he becomes one with the creator i.e. he realizes his oneness with Him.

According to *Chandogya upanishad*, immortality is lifting oneself up to the region of the deity.

The liberated self becomes one with all and lives a life in unity with God. He gains a sense of individuality which helps him to act in this world selflessly. It is possible to eliminate the sense of egoism even in this life and he who achieves perfection in this life is called ‘*Jivanmukta*’. He attains joyful state of free movement.
Mahabharata also lays stress on the point that Moksha is the highest goal of man. Man by nature seeks pleasure and avoids pain. The goal of human endeavour is to gain a state where we can accept pleasure and pain with a calm and composure. According to Mahabharata a stable state of mind can be attained by Dharma or righteousness. Such a life gives satisfaction and leads towards salvation, happiness and peace on earth. So it is Dharma or righteousness which leads man towards moksha and the two are distinguished as the means and the ends. Dharma is the bond to keep society together and save it from anarchy and it aims at the welfare of all creation.

According to Mahabharta what ever is not conducive to social welfare or what we are likely to be ashamed of doing, we should never do. Virtue is said to be better than immortality and life. Man has a hunger for the infinite. True joy entails suffering. Mahabharata teaches us a lesson to tame our passions and control our mind. But Mahabharta doesn't prescribe asceticism as the highest goal of man. According to the purushartha theory given in Mahabharata, moksha is the union with God. Man is self-rulled in such a state and he becomes the master of his self as well as the master of the whole world.

Bhagavad Gita, the most important part of Mahabhart from philosophical point of view, describes the state of Swaraj, Moksha and liberation beautifully. Moksha is possible for Jiva, when its mind is purified by destroying egoism, it becomes one with the supreme. Gita gives us three methods to realize this
state of mind, i.e., wisdom, love, and service, i.e., the path of knowledge, the path of Devotion and the path of action. *Gita* is very liberal so far as the means for *swaraj* attainment are concerned. Lord Krishna says to Arjuna in the 12th chapter (9-12) of Bhagavad Gita. He says, try to know Me. If you can’t contemplate Me, practice yoga. If you are unable to practice yoga then try to serve Me. But if even this is difficult to do, then do your duty regardless of consequences, giving up all desire for fruit, you should take refuge in Me. In the concluding *shloka* of this series (12.12), Lord says, that better indeed, is knowledge than (blind) constant practice, meditation (with knowledge) is better than (mere) wisdom knowledge; renouncing the fruit of action is better than meditation and on renunciation follows peace. The ultimate goal or absolute freedom, which we call *Swaraj*, has various names in Indian Philosophy, viz *Moksha* or salvation or *Brahmisthiti*, *naiskarmya* or non-action, *nistraigunya* or the absence of three *gunas*; *Kaivalya* or *Brahman Bhava* or the Being in *Brahman*. In the absolute experience there is a feeling of oneness of all. The *Jiva* realises that the *Atman* is in all beings and all beings are in *Atman*. This state can be realized by the methods given in Bhagavad Gita.

Bhagavad Gita has given beautiful description of the liberated state of *Jiva*. The *Jivanmukta* or the freed soul, possessing the body, reacts on the events of the other world, though he does not get entangled in them. Action is possible even for the freed souls. They follow the supreme Lord and act in
the world. The freed soul is described as a state of blissful
freedom of soul with distinct existence in the presence of God or
the attainment of sameness of the essence with God. Freedom
is the elevation of soul to Godlike existence where material
desires have no power to move the Jiva. Freedom is the
attainment of Sattva quality and constant union with God.

The Sthitprajna (II:55 to 72) describes the true sage as the
one who has attained self control over his senses. The
contentment is the main characteristic of stable man. Pleasure
and pain does not affect him. He is free from affection, fear and
wrath. He is detached to good and evil. He can withdraw his
attention from the material objects like a tortoise and go into
Samadhi. He rises above the attraction of the material objects
but longing still remains which too goes with the grace of God.

Bhagavad Gita cautions man from the effect of senses.
They are so powerful that even a man of knowledge can be
swayed by them and can destroy him completely. The 62-63
shloka of IInd Chapter explains how these senses destroy a
man. Man makes the objects of sense his weakness and
develops attachment to them. The attraction for material objects
results in anger, aggression, violence and delusion. From
delusion occurs loss of memory and this results in the ruin of
discrimination and after this he perished completely. He is
carried away by the senses as the wind takes away a boat in
river.
Opposite to this, there is the self controlled man, moving along the objective world but he is free from its attraction and aversion and attains tranquility. This is to have ones being in Brahman. Such a man is like a lamp in a wilderness place. His thought is controlled and is engaged in Atm-yoga or union with the Real Self.

A self controlled man is a man of Swaraj or self rule or he is self lumined and self refulgent. It is the soul which rules the body or the lower self in such a man, similarly a good state or society is that which is ruled ideally. The ancient Indian maxim says "as the man, so the world" i.e. 'यहू जिंदे तत्त्र ब्रह्मपद्यं' It gives us a holistic world view. It means, what is true in microcosm, is also true in the macrocosm. If the various organs of body are healthy, body as whole cannot be sick. The health of the body depends on the healthy cells, so the part and the whole are organically related with each other.

Manak Hindi Kosh gives the meaning of Swaraj as

(वि) (से) टक जो स्वर्ग प्रकाशमान हो और दूसरों को भी प्रकाशित करता हो।

(पु) ईश्वर, वह राजा जो किसी ऐसे राज्य का स्वामी हो जिसमे स्वाराज्य शासन प्रणाली प्रचलित हो।

The ancient Sanskrit word for king is 'Raja'. In the Nirukta (II,1) it is derived from the root "Raj to be 'luminous'. The Mahabharata on the other hand describes the word 'Raja' from the root 'Ran' 'to please', and hence it means one who makes the people delighted and satisfied. The Swaraj of society will
mean that all its people will be happy, prosperous and fearless. To create such a situation, is the duty of the King. (Swaraj King)

Hindu mythology gives a beautiful picture of golden age where people as a general rule obeyed the laws of reason and nature and respected each others person and property. But there were occasional breaches of the law. To put an end to it, people entered into a covenant or contract, surrendered their rights and organised a government. This fall from the golden age at the premeval period was due to the human greed. The Vedic literature does not specifically discuss the aims or ideas of the state. Incidental observations made there in, however enable us to have an idea that peace, order, security and justice were regarded as the fundamental aim of the state.

"The king or the head of the state was to be like Lord Varuna, the upholder of the law and order. He was to punish the wicked and help the virtuous. Religion was to be promoted, morality was to be encouraged and education was to be patronised. The state however, was to secure not only moral, but also the material well-being of its citizens. the kingdom of the king Parikshit idealized in the Atharvaveda (XX.127) flowed with milk and honey. All round welfare of the public was clearly regarded as the chief aim of the state during the Vedic and Upanishdic ages i.e. down to C. 600. B.C."

" It is further stated that During the Vedic period the promotion of dharma, artha kama and moksha was usually mentioned as the aim of state and 'Sarvabhut-hita' was the ideal
before the state. The state sought to encourage Dharma by promoting piety and righteousness by extending equal patronage to all sects and religions and their establishments by financing works of public utility like tanks, canals, wells and hospitals. Like Veruna, the celestial king, the Vedic Monarch was Dharmapati, the protector and enforcer of law, morality and Dharma.  

The state was tribal and small in the prevedic and Vedic period. Even in Rigveda we have references to Svarats (self-rulers) ekarates (sole rulers) adhirats (great rulers) and Smrats (emperors).  

"The Atharvaveda describes the kind as lord of the riches, the chief of the people and the most prominent among warriors. It also prays that the kind may have power, luster, control over the nation."  

His power gradually increased, with his wrath was felt more dreadful.  

But the ideal king was to be dhritavrata, dedicated to law and piety like the great Varuna. The essence of rulership lies in Dharma, the king should realize that there is nothing higher than Dharma.  

His conduct was exemplary, Unhappiness and misery among the subjects were attributed to failure in duty on the part of the king. Happiness depended upon virtue and piety and these could prosper only if the king set a proper example and standard. Miseries of the subjects were attributed to the failure of the king to dedicate his life to Dharma.
The king was the servant of the people, this was one notion and according to other notion, the kingship was like a trust in ancient India. It was hoped that the king, like a mother will sacrifice his own comforts, conveniences, inclinations and pleasure in order to be of the maximum help and service to his people.

Ancient Indian thinkers regarded the king to be ideal only if his life was dedicated to the welfare and service of the people. But king too was a man and had his own weaknesses. The state had devised certain steps to protect the people from the whims and caprices of the tyrannical king. These were the checks on the royal power if it tended to become unjust or oppressive.

In the Vedic period the Simiti or the popular assembly functioned as a constitutional check upon the king. The king could hardly maintain his position, if this assembly was not in agreement with him. But in post Vedic period, the Simities disappeared, may be perhaps, because the states were becoming larger and the kings were acquiring more power. Ministry provided an efficient check but self willed kings could work against them. But even then, he had great moral pressure to remain loyal to his people and serve them.

Sabhas and Simitis enjoyed a higher prestige in the Vedic period. The Vedic literature makes it quite evident that popular assemblies controlled the kings. A passage in Atharvaveda clearly states that Sabha and Samities were two different bodies and compares them to two daughters of the creator.
To some extent Sabha and Simiti were like the upper house and the lower house of the parliament. The Rigveda refers the true king paying and visit to his Simiti. Simiti exercised a considerable control over the military, executive affairs of the central government.

In ancient India the science of state or polity was known by several terms like the Rajdhama, Rajasastra, Dandaniti, Nitishastra and Arthashastra. Manu says that 'Danda' (punishment) is the real king, the real leader and the protector. The rules about the functions and duties of the king and the welfare of the state were therefore naturally called Dandaniti.

Sukra uses the term Nitishastra for political science. According to this, the aim of the government is to secure all round progress and prosperity of society. The aim of state is to enable man for the realization of the four fold goals connected with dharma, artha, kama and moksha.

Kautilya uses the term Arthasastra for political science. The usual meaning of the term Artha is money or wealth. So the term Arthasastra connotes the science of wealth or economics. But Kautilya contends that the term can also denote the territory where the people live together. Arthasastra, therefore, says Kautilya, is the science which deals with the acquisition and protection or governance of territory. Amarkosh equates Dandaniti with Arthasastra. Arthasastra shows that the polity was obviously monarchical one, so a considerable space is given to...
the discussion of the training of the prince and the qualifications of an ideal ruler. It deals with the civil, criminal and personal law and the seven prakritis of the state, foreign policy is also elaborately discussed and the manner of warfare is also discussed. Arthasastra of Kautilya is a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration.

Mahabharata gives a clear picture of the state or 'Raj' in the ancient times which aimed at the welfare of its people. The first two sections of the shantiparvan, i.e. 'Rajdharma' and 'Apadadharma' contain the largest, the most systematic and profound body of political ideas in our ancient literature. Mahabharata's this section can be said to be the conclusion of the ancient political thought as it is a blending of Manu, Yajnavalkya, old smriti tradition with the details of the technical Arthasastra.

Shantiparvan has an extensive section devoted to the rajdham or the duties of the king and government. It discusses the origin of the state and kingship. The Shantiparvan gives us a detailed picture of an ideal administration.

Protection of the people is the main duty of the king. It is obligatory and it has the moral and spiritual sanctions upon the king. But if he fails to protect them, he goes to hell. A king who is destroyer of righteousness (dharma) deserves to be slain. Bhishma stresses the rule of charity. Mahabharata says that women should be respected in a state. The praja (people) should
arm themselves and kill that king who does not protect them, who plunders their wealth, who is incapable of taking their lead, who is without compassion and who is evil incarnate among kings. When the king fails to protect the people after giving them his word for protection, they should combine together and slay him like a mad dog that is afflicted with rabies. Such is the warning to the unjust king and a real picture of the power and rights of man in our ancient times.

Man is to surrender himself before truth and righteousness only. Our tradition says that he should not be fearful of anything which is untruthful and unjust and lead his life towards the goal of swaraj. Man should accept only that government which is for the all round progress and prosperity of society. This had been the objective of our ancient Nitishastra or Rajdharma. The rule is for the stability and progress of society from all directions and enable the man to realise the four fold goals connected with Dharma, Artha kama and Moksha. The all round progress of man is the goal of individual swaraj or moksha or collective swaraj or the swaraj of the society as a whole. Collective Swaraj demands that the state or the society should be governed by self refulgent or liberated rulers. If the ruler is not like that, then the swaraj of the individuals is not possible. The government or king what so ever may be the case, should work for the Dharma or righteousness. Dharma should be the foundation of his rule and where dharma is lacking, it cannot be
called the *swaraj* of the people and people will react in unrest, and revolution or revolt will be the consequence.

In modern India, Mahatma Gandhi has repeated the lesson of Bhishma, that the *Raj* should be based on dharma, morality and righteousness. Otherwise it is bound to be opposed by its people. Dharma is the foundation of Gandhian concept of *swaraj*, according to Mahatma Gandhi. The word *swaraj* is a sacred word, a *Vedic* word, meaning self rule and self restraint and not freedom from all restraint which independence often means. Thus *swaraj* or self rule meant for Gandhi not only rule of or rule by the self i.e. ones own rule or government, but also rule over the self. It is to keep the senses within legitimate limits, to relinquish selfishness, to sacrifice the self for others, to live a life of interdependence with all fellow-brothers, are some of the marks of true *swaraj*, according to Mahatma Gandhi. Self control, self discipline, self awareness, self respect and fearlessness are some of the marks of *swaraj*. Thus *Swaraj* is basically a spiritual concept which is more related to inner discipline and rule than with outer freedom and outer rule, External freedom is necessary but not a sufficient condition of *swaraj*. He wrote in *Young India*, that government over the self is the truest *swaraj*. It is synonymous with *Moksha* or salvation.

Gandhian concept of *swaraj* can be analysed in the following way. The first point to be considered is his faith in the Absolute Truth. According to him every thing is based on Truth or to be more specific, every thing is Truth itself. Outside the
Truth, nothing is real. He believed that the first verse of *Ishopanishad* explains this ultimate truth very clearly. We can see the first verse of *Ishopanishad* here,

“ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत्।
देन त्यक्ते पुण्योऽया मा गृहः कर्ष विभवः॥”

The first part of this verse gives a holistic world view. It says that what ever exists and where ever it exists, is permeated by some supreme Being or cosmic consciousness. God is present in each and every thing in the nature. He is not present in man only rather in the whole nature. The whole world is the manifestation of God. The second part of the verse gives a direction as to how one should conduct oneself in this holistic system, in order to realize the truth contained in the first part of this verse. The realisation of the first-part of his verse is the attainment of *swaraj*. The means suggested in this verse are not to covet in this world as this rich and splendid world around us is His own manifestation. It does not belong to any single individual, howsoever powerful he may be. Everything belongs to every body and if one has to live in a state of bliss and harmony with oneself and with others, the relationship has to be symbiotic. The *Ishopnishad* says the best way to sustain in the society is to ‘give’ before you ‘take’. This hymn provides us a foundation to understand Gandhian concept of *swaraj*.

Swaraj is to see Him in one’s ownself and in the self of others. This is possible only if we learn to conduct ourselves, i.e., if we learn to control our senses and stop running greedily...
after the material objects of the world. The real element in man is his Self, soul, *atman* or consciousness. If it is free from the material constraints, it is in a state of *swaraj*. The ultimate goal of man's life is to realize this 'Self' as this 'Self' is a part of the universal Self or *Brahman* or Truth. The ultimate goal of man's life is to attain *moksha, swaraj* or self realization. Gandhi Says, "I am a humble seeker after Truth. I am impatient to realize myself to attain *moksha* in this very existence. My national service is a part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh. I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth. I am striving for the kingdom of heaven which is Moksha\(^8\)

Gandhi had an integral approach and there is no dichotomy in his thought about man and society. They are mutually complementary. The goal of man's life is to progress fully and for this purpose the society must create conditions for a balanced progress of all individuals. According to the holistic view there has to be harmony between the 'whole' and the 'parts' as the Indian maxim says, ‘सर्वं सम्बन्धं तत्त्वं ब्रह्ममः’. This harmony comes by *dharma* or righteousness, which sustains all aspects of life, individual and social and ultimately, the whole world. We find the Indian scriptures motivating man for dharma as ‘सर्वं भूतं हितं’. i.e. the welfare of all is prescribed to man at many places in the Bhagavad Gita, as a means for the realization *swaraj*. The service of humanity is for collective *swaraj*. Collective *swaraj* means to see the 'Self' or the 'Soul' in others. It is a means for individual swaraj as Gita says:
It means with the control of senses and evenness of mind, when we engross ourselves in the welfare of all (and not the service of a few or selective service), we reach God or attain moksha. Gita stresses on the service of all and not the service of our own family or caste or religion, as a means of moksha or self rule or swaraj. Here we need to concentrate on the pillars of swaraj given by Gandhi. He has stressed on eleven vows, out of these five are universal and are discussed at length in Indian scriptures. These are truth, nonviolence, celibacy, nonpossession and non stealing. These are given by Pitanjali in yogasutra as the five yamas to discipline minds and body and by Jaina System as the five mahavartas. Gandhi also says that without the practice of these values swaraj is unthinkable. The other six vows are the manifestation of these first five vows.

So we can say that the Gandhian approach to swaraj is integral and comprehensive. He says that there is no difference between the swaraj of one self and the swaraj of society. In both the cases when harmony, stability, self reliance, peace and bliss is attained, it is a state of swaraj. It is the ultimate goal of man as well as of the society, according to ‘यत्तिः पितः तत्त्र भ्रमणे’ principle.

Gandhian idea of swaraj can be understood by finding its roots in the advaita school which says everything is Brahman and Brahman is present in the whole world. The realization of
Brahman in one's own self and the in self of others is, the search for *swaraj*.

Secondly, if everything is Self and Brahman only and nothing else exists except Brahman and Truth, then, the use of brute force can't he suggested as a means for self realization Gandhi has stressed on the use of 'self force', 'soul force', 'Truth force' or 'positive nonviolence', i.e. 'love' as means of self realization, individually and collectively. Gandhian nonviolence is not mere non injury to the 'other self', in the process of self realization, rather it is active love towards the other soul, Gandhian approach is 'inclusive'. The 'other' is a 'loving other' in Gandhian search for *swaraj*.

Thirdly, Gandhian movement towards *swaraj* is a movement of self purification. Self purification demands fearlessness of the self and love for the opponent. Pure love and devotion is a prerequisite of this movement and without faith in Advaita Brahman, we can't move towards *swaraj*. It was his faith in the Absolute Truth which inspired him for Hindu Muslim unity and motivated him for struggle towards the eradication of untouchability in India. It was his faith in advaita Brahman, that he could see Daridranarayana in the poor. He believed in the presence of God in every one, even in the enemy. He believed in the evenness of mind. Gita asked the individual to take the responsibility for a change of attitude by self purification with the practice of vows to solve the problems of Indian society.
The concepts of truth and nonviolence are the basic concepts for swaraj. We can say these are the ends and means of swaraj itself. Satyagraha is an actual movement towards the attainment of swaraj Satyagraha is a way of life of the seeker after swaraj. If we believe in swaraj, we have to move towards swaraj, categorically. There are no 'ifs' and 'thens'. It is a cry for 'do or die'. We may have others to accompany us in this movement but we have to prepare ourselves for our lonely pilgrimage also. A seeker of swaraj is a satyagrahi. The whole world may embrace the falsehood and start singing and shouting in favour of falsehood but a truth seeker has to oppose them like Socrates, may be at the cost of his life itself. So satyagraha is a necessary part of truth seeking and swaraj seeking. Without satyagraha, we cannot think of attainment of swaraj A Satyagraha is the last hope of the victory of truth, soul, spirit, Brahman and Godliness on this earth where everything is God but temporarily covered with the clouds of falsehood or ignorance. A satyagrahi is like a lamp in the world during the dark times. He is self refulgent and ultimately shines like a pole star for ever, because of his inner Swaraj.

In the course of this study, various aspects of Swaraj are discussed. The importance of means and ends relationship and their purity is discussed as an essential part of self realization. Gandhi says means are the most important thing in the hands of man, where as the end is beyond man's reach. So we need to take care of the purity of the means. If we do so, the end is taken
care of itself by itself. As a follower of *advaitism*, Gandhi had to choose the good means only, as he was always facing God, infront of him. Moreover when we perform selfless actions or *nishkarm Karma*, our means automatically become pure. All violence as we have seen emerges out of selfish actions only. The actions towards the realization of *Swaraj* are the selfless actions, are the actions for the welfare of all. These are the actions of *Rta, Dharma* or righteousness. One has to remain careful regarding the choice and use of means while performing the selfness actions. When he succeeds in doing so, he becomes a liberated soul or attains *Swaraj*. There is no place for violence in the state of *Swaraj* as the sage is always facing Brahman. How can he disgrace God by immoral means i.e. violence.
INTRODUCTION

REFERENCES

2. Amarkosh, (Delhi : K.C. Publication, 1900)
3. Ibid
5. Ibid p.53
6. Ibid p.83