CHAPTER IX

GANDHIJI'S ECONOMIC ORDER (A BIRD'S EYE VIEW)

Gandhiji expressed that economic laws are not immutable. However they differ from country to country. Our own geography, cultural heritage, economic background and social conditions all influence our economic planning. India is primarily an agricultural country. Our 82 percent of population live in villages. Each village which was once an independent unit, has now become the living sculpture where life is becoming gradually dull and monotonous. Gandhiji's economic order stands for resuscitating our villages which had a glorious past. It stands for that state to come where all the villages will have plenty of work, enough of balanced diet, cordial relations and peaceful co-existence. Here-in we shall deal with the fundamental issues of Gandhiji's economic order.

1. Man as the basis of economics:

Man should be the end of every economic planning of a society. We should plan for the betterment of each individual in society (i.e., Servodaya or welfare of all). Man faces desperation due to his own ignorance and sliding away from the principles that Nature governs. Nature has endowed human being with two distinctive features:

1. Astral body;
2. Causal body;

Economics (or the material life) is connected with his physical

body and ethics is connected with his causal body. These are generally taken as distinct but from Gandhiji's point of view they are inseparable. The way of life that physical body signifies (i.e., economics) should follow non-violence (the means) as its action for achieving the abode of perpetual peace or happiness (the 'end' or Truth), which is the urge of his causal body. Non-violence and truth are two motivating forces behind the economic order of Gandhiji.

Every action of man reflects on both the physical and the causal domain of his existence, therefore, man has to be very scrupulous in his day to day dealings.

We cannot deny the fact that extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics implied introduction of moral values in daily activities of human being. Herein lies the solution to the much strained internal and international economics.

Gandhiji asserts, "... a reform all over will come with the awakening of the moral consciousness of our people and with the liberation of their thought. So long as our thought and actions are not free, patch work will be more than useless." It does not mean that we should give less importance to the measures of eradicating our poverty. Gandhiji has clearly said that we cannot teach religion to a hungry man. Food is God to him. We have to remember one more fact that along with food, morality is equally a food for his soul which should not be ignored.

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, p. 280
Ignorance of soul and taking physical body as the only part of life has taken the world far away from real happiness for which man is incessantly striving. Physical comforts to a certain extent are a must but they do not confer happiness. Our planning in the direction of providing minimum physical comforts to all along with the measures of developing moral consciousness will be a unique example before the groaning world of to-day.

2. Priority in planning:

God's creation of animate and inanimate objects has its own purpose. God had bestowed on each human being the supreme power to know the purpose of life and to find the best suited measures of tackling the nature. The fact is that we have not explored our own reasoning power independently. Gandhiji's ideas provide us a guide line to think in the right direction. As per Gandhiji's views man man is the basic factor of production. The ecological balance as provided by nature reveals a fact that animal world is a natural sequence and have definite role to play in the universe. The insight of man has revealed to him how he can rear cattle and take their help in production work that man undertakes upon himself. Cattles are therefore subsidiary factors of production which must be properly utilised. Man's own intelligence has invented tools and machinery which again become a subsidiary factor of production. Thus in the field of production there are three factors that complete the work of production:

1. Main factor: Man
2. Subsidiary factors
   a) Animal (a factor with life)
   b) Tools and Machinery (a lifeless factor).

Gandhiji's economic order calls for proper harmonised adjustment in these factors, so that nature is least disturbed and production goes on un-interrupted.

Gandhiji says, "Personally, I think there is no room in true economics which is convertible with religion for the owning of slaves whether they are human beings, cattle or machinery. There is no room for slavery in economics."

Coordination of these three factors is essential in Gandhiji's economics. It only can render the ecological balance in society.

Due to varieties of advantages protection of cow and bullock are of utmost important. Therefore our planning scheme should take care of creating an atmosphere in the society as may develop a taste and provide facilities for rearing cattles.

Labour should, to a great extent work with his tools which employ his hand and mind to full extent. Sophisticated tools which take away the thinking power and skill of hands and replace their labour with idleness are inviduous.

Concentrated planning for villages needs simple and cheap tools. Gandhiji points out "The greater the decentralisation of labour, the simpler and cheaper the tools... I strongly recommend the Dhanush Takly. I have of late been mainly using it. My speed is almost the same as on the wheel. I draw a
finer thread on the Takli, and the strength and evenness of
the yarn are greater than on the wheel." Simple tools
become essential where man power is in abundance. And feels
Gandhiji, "It is time we realised that, where there is
unlimited human power, complicated machinery on large scale
has no place."  

Machines that take away the employment of many human
being as well as our cattle wealth making them idle are in
no way beneficial for the society. Gandhiji was not against
all machines. Charkha, plough, needle, pen etc., are pieces
of machinery. Such small machineries are helpful to employ
more and more human hands in a decentralised way. They
provide constructive energy as they enlarge the employment
potentials. Higher type of machines contract employment
potentials and hence they are called by Gandhiji as providing
destructive energy.

Protection of live-stock is more important than machines
and man's entity is far superior and unique. He is a machless
machine which fact must not to be ignored. Therefore restricted
use of machinery, protective use of cattle with full employment
of human being is the guiding factor in chalking out the plan
for economic development. Here lies the turning point in the
economics of Gandhiji.

3. Begin with the lowest rung:

Economic uplift has to be started with the lowest rung of
the ladder. The most sufferers are in greater need of immediate

1. Nathur, Economic Thought, p.213
2. Ibid., p.148.
attention than those who are conscious of their significant existence in society. Gandhiji once wrote, "Having been immersed in Harijan work, I discovered that if India was not to perish, we had to begin with the lowest rung of the ladder. If that was rotten, all work done at the top or at the intermediate rungs was bound ultimately to fail."^7

2.5 percent of our population live in 5 lac and 62 thousand villages which are mainly rooted in the soil. They lack in educational and technical skill. Their plight is more miserable. Our planning should start with the development of most sufferers. Planning from above is likely to prove a dead weight. Large scale plan can seldom be cooperative and democratic plan. It will remain a centralised plan. It cannot be a representative plan for India.

4. Village-- the Key of Non-violent Economica:

It is only in villages that non-violent economic order of Gandhiji's thinking could be brought about, where there would be no trace of exploitation and where each member of society shall hold economic and political power to control the economy. The real independence can be achieved through the villages of India for herself as well as for the humanity as a whole. Even those men living in towns are expected to become village minded and control their needs.

Society will not be of pyramid type but shall be in a form of sea. Every member of a village will be well prepared  

to die for the protection of his village, each village for her neighbour village. In this way the whole of the society will feel proud of being united. Massive plan that is adopted and carried on large scale will not reach to the poor and most sufferers.

5. Idleness—the root cause of downfall of our economy—must be wiped out:

One of the greatest discovery as revealed by Gandhiji was that the root cause of economic evil is 'idleness'. One who idles away a single minute becomes to that extent a burden upon his neighbour. It is violence. Nature calls for physical labour from each member of society according to his ability which one has to perform in the pursuit of fulfilling one's need. This has been termed as bread-labour by Gandhiji. Our hands and intellect must be employed in productive labour. Our labour should not be a drudgery, it should be a play thing or a charm of life. Intellectual labour should be sacrificial labour which should not demand its payment. Both bread-labour and intellectual labour are complementary; they have their distinct place in life. One is concerned with bodily sustenance while the other with culture of the mind. This law acts as a panacea against overpopulation, inequality, general ill health, hedonism, and frustration of life. The central idea behind bread-labour is that all the graces of life should get preference to come out expressively with the charm of living.

6. Basic needs must employ the most:

The villagers cannot be helped perpetually if they are removed from the soil. The production of basic needs must
employ the most, specially those who are on the lowest rung of society. This is the only way of improving the famished and omnivorous population living like animals in our villages. According to Gandhiji, "There is no other country in the world, with the possible exception of China that is potentially so rich as India, with its inexhaustible untapped reserves of man-power. Tap these reserves and you at once banish poverty from this country; and hand-spinning is the means by which this could be done."

As the agriculture should remain in villagers' hand for the betterment of millions of village folk, so should be the manufacture of cloth.

Each village should plan for providing well ventilated living houses prepared with the resources available locally.

All the persons must be provided with basic necessities, of course, in consideration for certain minimum labour. This is possible only when basic needs are produced on decentralised method and this alone can provide employment to all. In no circumstances the basic needs should be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others. It is always safer and best that each village attains self-sufficiency in their basic needs. It alone can provide a ground for self-generating economy. Thus the basic point in self-sufficient and self-generating economy is that means of production of elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of masses.

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, p.150.
7. Basic Factors of Village Revolution:

Agriculture, cloth and education are the three pillars on which the entire village revolution rests. Gandhiji has presented his own democratic socialist approach with regard to these three basic factors of revolution.

We have not to follow such policy of making the land a conjurer's hat i.e., always trying to get things in plenty by adopting more and more scientific methods without caring about the stuff we get and about the fate of the land. If agriculture is mechanised in our country then we shall forget how to dig the earth and tend the soil, which will mean ruin to our own self. Land should be evenly distributed. The unit of holding should be decided on family basis and sub-division and fragmentation should not be allowed beyond making the land uneconomic. Small irrigation schemes and local manures should be preferred. We must take up such research work in our hands which shall be applicable in the villages with the least involvement of money by small cultivators. Land should belong to those who toil on it.

Hand-spinning is a subsidiary industry to agriculture. It should supplement the income of cultivators utilising their spare time. From cultivation of cotton to manufacture of Khadi and its disposal should commence in the village itself. This self-sufficing khadi differs from production of Khadi for sale, the economic potency of which is far less than the former one. The latter can even be the by-product of the former. Spinning for wage earning will be undertaken, where there is great dearth of employment.
Sacrificial spinning, will be undertaken by intelligenia, to show the lead. Schools and colleges should be the main centres for sacrificial Khadi. Besides this, other social and cultural institutions should also adopt it.

Gandhiji introduced a novel programme of basic education for villages. Our education should not only aim at literacy but more than this, it should impart the training to produce from the moment it begins its training, inculcate morality, simplicity, purity of heart. Gandhiji's education policy is revolution in itself. Gandhiji says, "... I hold that any scheme which is sound from the educative point of view and is efficiently managed, is bound to be sound economically. For instance, we can teach our children to make clay toys that are to be destroyed afterwards. That too will develop their intellect. But it will neglect a very important moral principle, viz., that human labour and material should never be used in a wasteful or unproductive way. The emphasis laid on the principle of spending every minute of one's life usefully is the best education for citizenship and incidentally makes basic education self-sufficient."1 Gandhiji totally rejects such education which would go waste in the end. His education policy reveals an important principle, i.e., 'human labour and material should never be used in a wasteful or unproductive way.'

Productive and beneficial use of labour and wealth has to aim:
(1) to inculcate charm in each human being, because 'Man becomes exactly in the degree in which he works for the welfare of his fellow men.'

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, p. 207
(2) to enrich each individual through saving his labour and material for utilising the same in the pursuit of betterment of society.

6. Nature has made neighbour to be the first care of man:

The substance of whole of non-violent economic order is 'serve thy neighbour'. The whole economic order has to be set up in a manner which shall extend this supreme philosophy of Gandhiji. Our entire economic growth depends solely on this principle. The production and consumption should be directed to this end. This principle is termed as 'Swadeshi'.

The test of Swadeshi spirit lies in the universality of participation in the production of the article we need daily. We have to prefer the articles prepared by our neighbour without minding the cost and quality. Indigenous producers should be trained for better and scientific production of articles.

The main thing in swadeshi is that essential things are produced and consumed with the help of neighbour. It teaches us to non-cooperate with the production and consumption of such articles which are against the welfare of our own immediate neighbour.

There is no ill-will or hatred towards others but there is scientific limitation of man's capacity to serve others. 'As with the individual so with the universe' is the principle working behind swadeshi or 'serve thy neighbour' spirit.
According to Gandhiji's economics, international trade will be there, but that will be carried out as urgent and useful service for supplying peoples needs, otherwise would remain unsatisfied. At present under the scientific pretext, it is doing great disservice to underdeveloped countries. It has become the ground for exploitation of the weaker nations. The whole of Western economy is based on commercial war basis. Gandhiji wanted to replace it with commercial peace, wherein competitive economy gives place to cooperative order and allows no room for exploiting tendency.

Condition for import is that it should not impoverish the importing country. We should avoid export of such raw materials which are available in our country and can be converted into finished goods, thus employing the unemployed human and other resources.

9. We must not go abegging; it demoralizes.

Gandhiji took up the question of foreign aid and categorically rejected its conditional influx in a country. We should not go with a begging bowl in hand. Foreign aid or loan should be accepted to the extent of country's dire need. India was facing food shortage in the year 1947 and Gandhiji did not favour our inclination to go out to foreign countries and beg for food. Regarding foreign aid he said, "The slightest dependance on outside help is likely to deflect us from trying to the fullest extent our immense internal possibilities in the shape of utilising every inch of arable land..."
for growing crops for daily food in place of growing money crops. We must reclaim waste land which is capable of being placed under immediate cultivation." 1 If we want to be independent in the real sense of it we must learn 'the first lesson of self-help and self-reliance'. Our difficulties and calamities should teach us this lesson and bring confidence in our own ability. Foreign aid will only lead to dependency on others. Gandhiji's economics cannot agree with the view that for development or growth, foreign aid is essential. Growth is a factor which depends on how much capacity is being utilised of each individual. When we get a calamity, it is sufficient proof that we have not utilised our own labour and intelligence properly. We should not treat this to be our helplessness and look to other countries for help. This ruins the purpose of life and living.

10. Balance fund theory (just needs and just means):

In the economic order of Gandhiji, 'just needs' and 'just means' which are on a wider sense, consumption and production, occupy a very important place. The principle of just needs which is connected with mind, teaches each individual that our wants should be consciously detached from indulgence. We feel our necessities through our senses which are transmitted through the transmitter of mind. If our mind is not kept under our control, our senses being of fleeting nature will indulge in sense provoking objects, ultimately leading to inequilibrium of mind, spirit and body and creating woes within. We should work

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p.635.
on the principle and should eat for living and not live to
eat, i.e., we should not eat for palate. This is the guiding
factor for each type of consumption. We must not wish for
anything which nearest or lowest human being cannot have with
equal labour. Our expenditure should be according to the
larger interest of our neighbour. We should not be governed
by the fashions of the day.

Such economics strengthens the power of consumer in two
ways: (a) Consumer develops his moral power; (b) Consumer holds
the economic power by consciously adopting the policy of bread-
labour and directing the production according to his just needs.

Just means teaches us the way to help in production.
Under this economics, production is undertaken on need basis
or value basis and not with the sole motto of amassing money.
The more there is cooperation in production, happier is the
society. Human effort or labour is a must for production of
necessaries of life.

In the production function all the local resources are
properly tapped. Such production is done on the basis of
production by the masses instead of mass production on large
scale basis.

People are expected to minimise their wasteful
expenditures. This minimises the chances of exploitation. It
reflects on the market.

It definitely reduces the size of market as each village
is expected to become self-sufficient in their basic requirements.
Gandhiji's economics eliminates the question of cheapness. "The acid test is how much we put into the pockets of the poor." 1

Village should be run on balanced fund theory. It means each village should produce things in surplus of their need so that they may be able to fulfill their requirements of such other articles which they will be required to get from outside of their own village, in exchange of their surplus production.

The more the distance of market of (raw or finished) goods from its production field greater will be the exploitation. The possibilities of exploitation differ from article to article. Exploitation can be greater if the goods for sale at distant market is meant for the basic needs of man.

Basic industries like iron and steel, petroleum etc., should run on centralised basis. Most of such industries should be nationalised. But their place would be quite low when compared to the place of production of articles made in each village. In Gandhiji's economics an attempt is made to bring 'economic freedom' replacing 'economic slavery'.

11. Panchayat Raj plays the key role:

Panchayat Raj is the symbol of true democracy where each individual specially the down trodden gets the chance to participate in administration on equal footing with the rich class, thus, eliminating the distinction between man and man.

To make the village self-sustaining and capable of managing its own affairs, Panchayats (body of five elected persons) had been working since long. In the British regime its sovereignty were purposely smashed. It would certainly be a strenuous task to revive a defunct institution specially when villages are in precarious condition and at a period when moral values (being the base of Panchayat) are going down.

Purity of individual, knitted with love as a binding force is the solid base of Panchayat, being the unique example of democratic socialism. Self-help and mutual-help are the guiding factor and attaining self-sufficiency specially in the basic needs is its motto.

Panchayat begins its planning from the bottom. It stands for making the village a republic. It is the centre of socialism. Gandhiji says, "If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim varily for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or in other words, none is to be the first and none the last." 1

The welfare of village demands that we have to serve the villages in manner acceptable to the villagers. Young men of the nation who are fired with the spirit of service have to settle in villages and try to make the villages 'more livable and lovable.'

Panchayats have certain duties to perform on a common platform for the villagers. It has to arrange for:

1. Gandhi, Panchayat - 9; H.2a-7-'46
1. A grazing ground for village cattles.
2. Drinking water facility.
3. Basic Education.
4. Village theatre and a public hall, playground for children and adult.
5. Growing important money crops in waste land (avoiding intoxicants).
6. Encouragement of kitchen garden.
7. Establishment of cooperative dairies.
8. Planting the trees.

All these works cannot be undertaken together in the beginning. Panchayat should start its function with, 1. village cleanliness and 2. removing illiteracy.

It shall be the duty of Panchayats to advocate 1. untouchability, and 2. non-violence (with its technique of Satyagraha and non-cooperation).

Panchayat will culminate in itself a limited degree of legislature, judiciary and executive powers. It shall introduce a compulsory service of village guards where able villagers will do police duty on rotation basis. Every activity will be done on cooperative basis. True democracy or true Panchayat Raj lies in the wise utilisation of the labour of crores. Wisely utilising the labour of crores means increasing the wealth of crores. Finally the village should become beautiful garden where foundation of contentment, peace and happiness will spring.

We must remember that there must be systematic approach to revive Panchayats. Panchayats will be a failure if there is politics or selfishness at its base.

12. Natural Division of Society:

Human beings possess different natural tendencies and natural limitation. Law of Varna and Ashram are the outcome of this nature of mankind which Hindu Dharma was privileged to discover and follow. Society needs four types of work to fulfil the just needs of its inhabitants. They are related to knowledge, protection, wealth producing and manual labour and the four Varna evolved, were termed as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. They have to work on the principle of co-existence which means 'live and let live.' The important aspect of Varna is, economic balance that it maintains. For earning one's bread one has to inherit his profession and stick to it. But other activities can be performed on intellectual basis without demanding remuneration for the same. All Varnas are equal. With the degradation of humanity and cropping strong ego sense in man, distortion of varna began and castes and sub-castes have come in to prominence which are excrescence on the body of Hindu Dharma.

According to the law of ashrama there are four stages of human life Brahmacarya (continent student), Grihaastha (house holder), Vanprastha (retired) and Sanyasa (renunciator). This law teaches us the lessons of self-control and contentment.

These two laws make us conscious of our duty in life and society and they are safeguard against indulgence.
co-operation, equality, division of labour, democratic socialism and uplift of the downtrodden are different achievements claimed under perfection of these two laws. At present these laws are distorted. To reinforce it, we should treat ourselves as Harijans and try to find some via-media so as to regain its naturality.

13. Place of Trusteeship:

Difference in income and wealth in society will always be there, however we may try unless we are prepared to cramp the skill, initiative tendency and liberty. But wide disparity is pernicious to the welfare of society. In the order of Gandhiji's economics, people shall freely use their capacity to earn righteously. "But bulk of his greater earnings" says Gandhiji, "must be used for the good of the state, just as the income of all earning sons of the father go to the common family fund. They would have their earnings only as trustees."

Trusteeship is the non-violent way to relegate wide unequal distribution of income and wealth in society. Nature does not produce things in surplus. To lead an honourable and noble life, one should share his surplus (meaning possession) within millions of notes. One can not be inordinately rich without the willing or forced cooperation of masses or at times duped means, which means violence. Violence breeds greater violence. Bloody revolution seems to be natural to fight out the capitalist who suppressed the labour class for pretty long time. Such revolution shall not only be against the have-nots but also the society as a whole. Trusteeship demands from have-nots to abdicate their riches
voluntarily in the larger interest of their own self.

Gandhiji preferred voluntary trusteeship than the legalised one as he believed more in man than in state. There is the question of maintaining individuality—the root of all progress of mankind—and the degree of violence. It is change of heart which alone can produce lasting results. Awakening in masses is prerequisite to enactment of law.

A trustee has no heir but the public. Gandhiji despised inheritance of richness.

Gandhiji advocated for beginning the trusteeship from below. Gram Panchayats will lead the banner of trusteeship.

The pity is that not only the poor are discontent but the rich too. The poor would fain become millionaires. Trusteeship, along with upholding individual talent, intelligence, diligence, equality, teaches us contentment the highest virtue of human being.

14. Class-struggle is avoidable:

The conflict between labour and capital is between unintelligence and intelligence. This has been the cause for continued class struggle. The labour class is quite easily instigated because of their being long suppressed and also due to unintelligence prevailing among them. It is a ticklish problem to tackle them. Gandhiji provides a non-violent way for both the classes. The motto is to avoid the coming bloody revolution which is inevitable because the labour force is in over-whelming majority and could not be suppressed by intelligent
and shrewd practices of a few capitalists for a long time. As trusteeship is important for the haves, 'to become intelligent' is the proper way for have-nots to lead a justified and graceful life and help in bringing economic equality.

15. Waste of Defence Expenditure minimised:

Where the society is bound with non-violence and truth, we shall not be required to care much for war preparation. War starts from individual mind. In the non-violent order man is expected to be away from or trying to get rid of the violent tendencies like possessiveness, greed, egoism, selfishness etc., and in return will develop love for labour, service, self-help and mutual-help. Such a society will embrace 'simple living and high thinking' attitude in life. Villages will be in predominance and life will be quite simple to attract the greedy powers. Such people will not be tempted by the glamour of the West. It shall hardly require even policing. Their spiritual power will be the greatest bulwark against modern defence weapons.

16. Saving and Investment on individual basis:

Growth is the gradual process. True economics must care for saving the penny of each and providing every penny on just and equitable basis. True economics will have no glamour of becoming rich overnight. Glamour of high standard of living is possible only through exploitation, but it will hamper the process of equal distribution in society.
Hand-spinning is an example of true economics. When we take up hand pounding in each village, idle man power will be utilised and it will save a few crores of rupees every year, which is being spent for the cost of mill pounding.

Though village sanitation has less economic bearing, but Gandhiji saw its economic benefit also. His views are, "Proper attention to it (sanitation) gives the country two rupees per year per head. That means sixty crores of rupees per annum in addition to better health and greater efficiency."¹

There are many more small instances as cited by Gandhiji which show the ways how to save our income and invest them in a proper way. Under Gandhiji's economic plan, the villagers have to grind their own wheat and eat it whole with nourishing bran. Sugar-cane must be turned into gur for one's own need in the village itself. Idea behind many of such plans is, 'not merely to grow raw produce, but to turn it into marketable products and thereby add a few more pies to their daily income'. Similarly when the skins and horns are removed from the dead animals, we throw away the bones. As Gandhiji points out, "This is a dead loss to the country. The bones, if powdered fine, apart from their other uses, make valuable manure."²

These are the ways to attain fuller utilization of human and other local resources so that there is no idle hour in the life of a member of society. This is what the prime task of a real economic planning is.

¹. Mathur, Economic Thought, p.313.
². Ibid., p.295.
It becomes imperative for such planning that saving and investment function should take place in each village on individual basis. Saving and investment need not only be in terms of money. It can be one of all the three forms: 1. Labour; 2. Kind; 3. Cash. It is possible when we scrupulously stop the drainage of the village fund. There should be equal balance between outlet and inlet of the village fund. When the individual member of the family develops his own skill in producing various articles of his need, raises his own health and spirit (help thy neighbour first), he will be producing out of nothing. This will form the greatest investment (secure edged security), producing varied benefits for the society as a whole.

This alone has the ability to bring self generating economy. The generating force is to make each individual busy consciously in producing the articles according to the circumstances and keeping in view the benefit of their neighbour while exchanging other articles of need. "... if the villagers can reconstruct their home" says Gandhiji, "begin to live again as their forefathers did, if they begin to make good use of their idle hours, all else, all the other industries will revive as a matter of course."

The problem before economic planning is of giving preference to different tasks of village uplift and employment. Attack on India's poverty must therefore be on the idleness of the millions of villagers. This again reminds us of tackling the basic needs first.
Thus, Gandhiji's economic order is non-violent economics. It minimises exploitation at all the stages of economics (viz., production, consumption, distribution and exchange). Gandhiji assures us, "If the whole India accepted non-violence as a creed and a way of life we would be able to establish a republic immediately." At the same time Gandhiji contends, permanent peace is "impossible without great nation ceasing to believe in soul destroying competition and to multiply wants and thereby increase there material possessions." The confidence of Gandhiji in non-violent way declares, "If even one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation many of us would see in our life-time visible peace established on earth."  

2. Ibid, p.509.