Gandhi represented his views on existing social, cultural, economic and political problems of the society along with the possible solutions. Gandhi identified individual as the most important element of the society. Society and world is summation of individuals. Therefore his vision emphasises on the change in individual, instead of the organisations or institutions developed by the individuals. Hence he preferred the transformation of individual rather than of society or world. He initiated eleven commandments for complete transformation of individual and international system, satyagraha for political transformation and constructive programme for social and economic transformation of society. These Gandhian ideas represent the functional and operational aspects of his vision to change the existing world order into desired just, equitable and peaceful world order.

**GANDHIAN COMMANDMENTS OF TRANSFORMATION**

The eleven commandments or vows, as envisaged by Gandhi for a satyagrahi, are the basic principles to guide the world towards the establishment of Gandhian vision of world order. The density of commitment of a satyagrahi determines the feasibility of establishing a ‘peaceful and just world order’. World is unique amalgam of individuals. Therefore individuals can alone constitute the equitable and just world order by having deep conviction, peace, love, mutual acceptance and harmony towards others. But for that one has to be free from passions and be pure in thought, speech and action. Thus if eleven commandments or ekadash vratas, is followed by the individuals of nation-states in its real sense, can prove to be the core values of new world order.

Based on ancient Indian cultural and developed by his
innovative thinking, eleven commandments pave the way for the transformation of individual, nation-states and world. According to Gandhi, these are (1) satya (truth); (2) ahimsa (non-violence); (3) asteya (non-stealing); (4) aparigraha (non-possession); (5) brahmacharya (celibacy, self-restraint, chastity); (6) sharir-shrama (physical or manual work, or bread-labour); (7) aswadya (control of the palate); (8) abhaya (fearlessness); (9) sarvadharma sambhaava (tolerance and love for all religions); (10) swadeshi (love for one’s country/ neighbour); and, (11) sparsha-bhavana (abjuring untouchability). The first five of these vows, known as Yamas, were given in famous Yogasutra, written by Patanjali. Gandhi considered it as indispensable for moral growth and self-realisation for the individuals. Gandhi prescribed these five cardinal restraints and other six rules as vows mandatory for the residents of his Sabarmati ashrama. Therefore understanding and observation of these would lead the people towards a just and equalitarian world.

Truth is the most important attribute of Gandhian world order. He felt that “all observances are deducible from Truth, and are meant to sub-serve it.” In his vision, truth is basis of human co-existence therefore the social and community relations of all levels can be maintained on the truth only. The truthful relations among human being avert the negative traits and maintain love and peace. According to Gandhi “devotion to this truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centered in truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life... without truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life.”

Being a perpetual seeker of truth, Gandhi refrains from the use of modern diplomacy based on telling lies, ill-will and hatred
towards any nation. In his opinion, truth should be “taken in a much wider sense. There should be truth in thought, truth in speech, and truth in action.” Gandhi craved for adoption of truth as he believes that “truth never damages a cause that is just.” Gandhi emphasised the need of struggle “to stand for it against any odds and to preach and practice it, at any cost, unflinchingly.” Therefore, the Gandhi’s vision of truth “needs wide acceptance in the society for an ideal world order.”

Ahimsa7 or nonviolence means non-injury to any other entity by thought, speech and deeds or abstaining of hurting others mentally, verbally and physically. According to Gandhi, “ahimsa and truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disc.” Love is fundamental base to observe vow of ahimsa. That is why he observed that “where there is love there is life; hatred leads to destruction.” Gandhi believed that ahimsa based on love is very important tool for society. In this context he remarked that “I believe that the sum total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious, working of the law of love. The fact that mankind persists shows that the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, centripetal force greater than centrifugal.”

In international relations, nonviolence seeks mutual understanding, trust and universal acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence. In his words, “somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that ahimsa is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals … ahimsa is definitely an attribute of
society.”¹¹ Focussing on the divergent meaning of non-violence he “distinguishes between three levels of ahimsa. The first level is the ahimsa of the brave, the second level is of the weak, and finally, there is ahimsa of cowards, what is needed for an ideal Gandhian world order is the ahimsa of the brave.”¹²

The other important attribute of the eleven commandments of Gandhi has been asteya or non-stealing is of immense importance in society. Describing the meaning of non-stealing, he expressed that “it is theft to take anything belonging to another without his permission, to take something in the belief that it is nobody’s property, to take something from another even with his permission….We are not always aware of our real needs, and most of us improperly multiply our wants.”¹³ He observed that “much of the distressing poverty in this world has arisen out of breaches of the principle of non-stealing.”¹⁴

In international relations, non-stealing means that ‘not getting the fruits without labour’ or not ‘receiving something from others without giving something in return’ or ‘not exchanging something for the services done by others’. The Japan-China, India-China, Korea-China and Moore islands disputes are due to unabated greed and non-acceptance of the asteya. In his opinion the observance of non-stealing is likely to bring progressive reduction of wants. This idea can be implemented at international level. Adopting the principle of asteya, if these countries limit their needs or spend resources on their real needs, the half of the humanity can be fed and a just economic world order can be ensured as many poor countries will get economic help to make better conditions for their citizens. Apart from this, the vow of non-stealing is important for the nation
states as it brings harmony and coordination in international relations, thus paves the way for ideal equalitarian world order.

Similarly, *aparigraha* or non-possession and *asteya* or non-stealing are co-related terms as the duo not only deal with the nature of individuals, but also reflects the attitude of nation-states towards the world. Gandhi traced the root cause of the prevailing inequality and exploitation in the world because “each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on the ruin of, the other.”\(^{15}\) The tendency of unjust accumulation of wealth or possession of monetary resources more than necessity, forced the world into a zone of disparity, exploitation, violence and long-lasting enmity. Gandhi identified the will to possess more and greed as main cause of most of the world’s social and economic problems. In international scenario most of the rich countries want to gain more and more without taking any care of other nations. Along with the problem of inequitable distribution of the planet's wealth and resources, Gandhi identified that this tendency to accumulate and possession of the economic resources leads towards poverty, homelessness, hunger, illiteracy, diseases and many other social economic problems, particularly in the developing and undeveloped countries.

Gandhi was of the view that “civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increase the capacity for service.”\(^{16}\) Gandhi felt that the lust for excessive possession has become cause of social and economic inequalities. In his opinion, the rich are wasting the resources of the society by not consuming or allow other to consume, but keep possessing the resources, “while millions are
starved to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want, and all would live in contentment.”

Gandhi wanted to leave this tendency and adopt the vow of non-possession by individuals, and nations of the world. Therefore Gandhi gave a message to the rich and capitalist countries to participate in the development of the developing countries as the natural resources are being wasted in developed countries for just sake of luxury. Whereas in developing or developed countries, millions of people do not get food for one time a day.

Non-possession promotes real happiness and increases the capacity for service, not only for the individuals but also for the nation-states. Gandhi considered non-possession as the true spirit of civilisation and expressed that in the real sense, civilisation is not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. He viewed that “our civilization, our culture and our swaraj depend not upon multiplying our wants-self-indulgence, but upon restricting our wants-self-denial.” Gandhi envisaged the important role of great powers on the basis of adoption of the principal of non-possession and voluntary reduction of wants in realising equitable world order as it “seems impossible without great nations ceasing to believe in soul-destroying competition and to desire to multiply wants and, therefore, increase their material possessions.”

The traditional Indian attribute brahmacharya (celibacy, self-restraint, chastity) found important place in Gandhian philosophy. In its narrow context, brahmacharya deals with the control of lust or abstaining from sex by an individual towards woman other than one’s own wife. Gandhi rectified it as “mere control of animal passion has been thought to be tantamount to observing
brahmacharya. I feel that this conception is incomplete and wrong.”

In broad sense of the term, “brahmacharya means control of all the organs of sense. He who attempts to control only one organ, and allows all the others free play, is bound to find his effort futile.”

Controlling organs of senses bring internal satisfaction and elevate the psycho-philosophical attitude in life of the individuals. He added further that “I have no doubt that it is possible to practice such brahmacharya in thought, word and action to the fullest extent.”

In international relations, “it would mean self-restraint and self-discipline by nations in mutual dealing. There is no doubt that, if adopted by all nations, it would result in an excellent world order.”

The principle of sharira-shrama or bread labour, for individual denotes that everyone must undertake manual or physical work of some kind or other at least a few hours every day. In the sphere of international relations, it is aimed to achieve self-reliance and non-exploitation of weak states. Historically, in the wake of colonialism and imperialism, developing or undeveloped countries have been exploited by the developed nations. These countries were used “as suppliers of raw materials, markets for the finished goods, and fields for the investment of their surplus capital.”

In principle, it means that every nation would rely generally on its own natural and other resources for work. It would not only solve the problem of unemployment and environmental degradation up to a great extent, but would be helpful in maintaining physical and mental health of individuals at global level. Adoption of this principle of bread labour may ensure the end of exploitation of developing or undeveloped nations by the developed countries and thus leads to
establishment of a peaceful just and equitable world order.

Gandhian *aswadya* or control of the palate is aimed at, that one should eat to keep body and mind healthy, but not to satisfy the taste buds. With controlled desires, it aspires for ‘eat to live, not, live to eat’. Gandhi found the greed not the need as one of the major causes of human problems, therefore he asked people to control the palate and be a *sthitaprajna*. “He is one who withdraws his senses from the objects of the senses behind the shield of the spirit, as a tortoise does its limbs under its shell.”

At global level, *aswadya* along with the concept of non-possession and non-stealing is of great importance as it checks greed of nations, which have been the most important cause of imperialism and colonialism in modern times. At present, under the influence of neo-imperialism and in the wake of increasing unabated lust for wealth and materialistic instincts, multi-national and trans-national companies are haunting the whole world. Thus by adopting *aswadya*, the developed nations of the world can entreat for the establishment of ideal world order.

*Abhaya* or fearlessness was recommended as an important quality of *satyagrahi* by Gandhi. It is because without fearlessness, it would be difficult to ensure the observance of truth and non-violence. In his words, however, “fearlessness richly deserves the first rank assigned to it. For it is indispensable for the growth of the other noble qualities. How can one seek Truth, or cherish Love, without fearlessness?” He further asserted that for individual “fearlessness connotes freedom from all external fear,—fear of disease, bodily injury, and death, of dispossession, of losing one's nearest and dearest, of losing reputation or giving offence, and so
Gandhi led the most successful political campaigns in India with the help of the fearless followers. Millions of fearless non-violent satyagrahis participated in the swadeshi, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, and quit India movements. Gandhi knew that only fearless citizens could make bow to mighty British government. Thus Gandhi gave the blueprint for non-violent resistance based on fearless citizens for the whole world, meant to change the world.

Gandhi wanted spiritual enlightenment of the individuals as “enjoy the things of the earth by renouncing them’ is a noble precept. Wealth, family and body will be there, just the same; we have only to change our attitude towards them. All these are not ours, but God’s. Nothing whatever in this world is ours.”

Nation-states is large entity and sum of fearless citizens, hence it would be also an indispensable quality for the nation-states to be adopted for establishment of a non-violent world order as “all fears will roll away like mists; we shall attain ineffable peace.”

At present, the whole world is encircled by the fear of war and violence in various forms. For its solution, believing in the doughty spirit of humans and the freedom from fear of anything including death, Gandhi favoured the adoption of the principle for curbing many social and political evils in the world. The uncontrolled and unabated struggle for power has entrapped and engulfed the whole world in tension and violence. Moreover “in terms of Gandhian psychopathy the mutual fear among the nations is the root-cause of the feeling of insecurity”, forced to the carnation of many defence pacts and treaties in world and thus led to stringent and permanent tension in international relations. And “no sooner do nations learn to be fearless in their relations with one another than a healthy sense of
security will arise and offer a sound basis for an ideal world order.”

Thus the spirit of fearlessness would bring an end to the mutual distrust and mutual fear, thus developing mutual faith and trust, would lead to realisation of an ideal world order.

Gandhian principle of religious tolerance or *sarvadharma sambhava* means equal affection and love for all the religions and faiths, by giving due respect to the beliefs, creeds, and sects. Gandhi believes that there is not only an inherent unity among all the religions in the world, but also they lead us to the same goal based on humanity and love. Attacking on the communalism, religious disharmony and intolerance, he envisaged that “religions are not for separating men from one another. They are meant to bind them.”

His vision not only inculcates such values among individuals, but also envisages such role among nation-states to promote ideal world order. It is because Gandhi believed that, “in the fundamental truth of all great religions of the world.” He further added that, “I believe that, if only we could all of us read the scriptures of the different faiths from the standpoint of the followers of those faiths, we should find that they were at the bottom all one and, were all helpful to one another.”

Gandhi also emphasised on the need of greater tolerance and mutual trust among religions of the world. That is why he wrote that, “I should love all the men-not only in India but in the world-belonging to the different faiths, to become better people by contact with one another, and if that happens, the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today.” Hence this holistic concept of religious tolerance or equality of religions “would mean the mutual tolerance of different systems i.e. ideological, economic,
political and social.” By adopting Gandhian tolerance it is possible to eliminate the ideological and religious fundamentalism to ensure the establishment of an ideal world order of religious tolerance based on peaceful co-existence.

_Swadeshi_ or indigenousness in simpler terms, according to Gandhi is “that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote.” Gandhi did not consider in narrow terms as he remarked that, “I buy from every part of the world what is needed for my growth. I refuse to buy from anybody anything, however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom Nature has made my first care.”

Gandhi also insisted to serve the immediate neighbour or indigenous goods to develop the diversified economic structure of society. He did not mean to alienate individual from the world, but he had a broad vision about _swadeshi_. In his vision of _swadeshi_, all home-made things were included, yet he focussed on “exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry, more especially those industries without which India will become pauperized.”

Gandhi developed a scheme of education to ensure delivery of social and moral values along with the dignity of labour aiming at all round development of students, who were to be the citizens of future. To ensure the incorporation of the required _swadeshi_ traits in education for all round development of human being, in 1937 a conference was held at Wardha in Maharashtra. The committee of eminent educationists and education ministers of the seven states under the president ship of Gandhi passed the following four
resolutions under “New Education or Basic Education scheme. These resolutions prescribed that “(i) free and compulsory education for seven years (ii) mother tongue as medium of instruction (iii) education with manual and productive work, and (iv) to arrange the remuneration of the teachers.”

Finding no use of western system of education in India, as it departed students from their social traditions, community values and natural environment, Gandhi opposed it vehemently. Gandhi wanted preservation of different social, moral and cultural values of society and transmission of such values among the students through *swadeshi* curriculum. In the opinion of Gandhi, “the foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us.” Gandhi was supporter of ancient *swadeshi* system of Gurukula, based on the impartial and moral teacher-student relation and Gurukula-society harmony.

The present modern development syndrome adopted by the majority of the nations has caused problem of inequality, exploitation, environmental pollutions, uncontrolled and unequal economic growth, and enormous exploitation. In international context if nations of the world adopt *swadeshi* based on *aswadya*, local resources, local production, local consumption, bread labour and environment friendly techniques than, “*swadeshi* would mean ideological, political, and economic autarchy of anti-imperialist, pluralist type and would never mean any sort of anti-universalist, narrow-minded jingoism.”

Gandhian commandment of ‘removal of untouchability’ is based on universal values of equality and equal behaviour to every human being. Therefore in Indian context he called untouchability is a hydra-headed monster, and an error of long standing. He was of the
view that God did not make man to consider another man as an untouchable, and “it is simple fanatical obstinacy to persist in persecuting man in the sacred name of religion.”43 In the international relations, racialism is synonymous of the Indian untouchability as it degrades the ‘human being’ to beast. Gandhi focussed on motivating public opinion against racialism and other social inequalities. In this context he observed that, “those who agree that racial inequality must be removed and yet do nothing to fight the evil, are impotent. I cannot have anything to say to such people.”44 In the context of international relations, removal of untouchability “would mean the liquidation of racialism or the ending of racial inequality. An ideal world order is incompatible with racial discrimination.”45

These eleven commandments lay the foundation of the Gandhian world order by abolishing the psycho-social precincts of individuals and the world leaders. Apart from this, the commandments transform the politico-economic and cultural aspects of human civilisation by bringing change in human nature. These commandments or vratas aims at establishing mental peace in individuals’ mind, thus leads to peace in society and consequently helps in prevailing peace in world, which is the most important attribute of Gandhian world order.

SATYAGRAHA

The term ‘satyagraha’ was originated in South Africa in 1906, when under the leadership of Gandhi, thousands of disserted Indians took oath to resist the embarrassing ‘Indian Registration Ordinance’ in a peaceful way. The ordinance was aimed at registering Indians by
displaying their fingerprints as identification mark on the registration form as if they were criminals. The registrar was to take the finger and thumb impressions of the applicant Indians and “every Indian who failed thus, have to forfeit his right of residence in the Transvaal. Failure to apply would be held to be an offence in law for which the defaulter could be fined, sent to prison or even deported within the discretion of the court.”

The agitated Indians refused to obey the orders, thus led to the first movement of civil disobedience of Gandhi. Therefore “on the basis of his experiences and experiments, Gandhi developed an integrated approach and perspective to the concept of life itself. His ideas, which came to be known as his philosophy, were a part of his relentless search for truth.”

Nevertheless, Gandhi called the whole movement as ‘passive resistance’ and some scholars, under influence of imperialism, called the whole movement as “a weapon of weak.” Gandhi understood the implications and opposed such understanding, as the term did not represent the true spirit of the movement. Therefore a competition was organised and “small prize was announced in Indian Opinion to be awarded to the reader who invented the best designation for our struggle.” Maganlal Gandhi suggested a good word _sadagraha_, meaning ‘firmness for a good cause.’ Gandhi wrote that, “I liked the word, but it did not fully represent the whole idea I wished it to connote. I therefore corrected it to ‘_satyagraha_.’ Truth (_satya_) implies love, and firmness (_agraha_) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force.”

Gandhi called “_satyagraha_ as soul force, pure and simple” or “truth force” , can be used against any kind of oppression. The word
**satyagraha** is a “compound of two Sanskrit nouns, *satya* which means ‘truth’ and *agraha* which means ‘grasp’.”

Gandhi inferred that passive resistance is different from *satyagraha*, as latter does not involve even an evil thought about the oppressor, but to oppose to ensure and seek justice. The word *Satyagraha* was used by the people as per their whims, hence Gandhi made it clear that, “as the author of the word, I may be allowed to say that it excludes every form of violence, direct or indirect, veiled or unveiled, and whether in thought, word or deed.”

Gandhi was very conscious about means and ends; hence he took every care about the *satyagraha* and its process. Gandhi defined the “the following qualifications” .... for every *satyagrahi* in India:

(a) He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only rock.

(b) He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and, therefore, have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

(c) He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing, for the sake of his cause, to give up his life and his possessions.

(d) He must be a habitual Khadi-wearer and spinner. This is essential for India.

(e) He must be a teetotaller and be free from the use of other intoxicants in order that his reason may be always unclouded and his mind constant.

(f) He must carry out with a willing heart all the rules or discipline as may be laid down from time to time.

(g) He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect.
Gandhi mentioned that these qualifications are illustrative only and not to be observed as exhaustive. Besides, Gandhi decided “some rules” for proper behaviour of satyagrahis in the movements, which were following.

(a) Harbour no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assault of the opponent.

(b) Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.

(c) Refrain from insults and swearing.

(d) Protect opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.

(e) Do not resist arrest or the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.

(f) Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.

(g) If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.

(h) As a member of a satyagraha unit, obey the orders of satyagraha leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.

(i) Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

NON-VIOLENCE AND TRUTH

Gandhian satyagraha is purely non-violent as he observed that “satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, and never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion. It was conceived as a complete substitute for violence”. Gandhi considered ahimsa a positive aspect of functioning in life of human being and society, he said that “ahimsa is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer.”
In his views, “satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.” Moreover, he observed that “the fight of satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. satyagraha teaches us the art of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals.”

Further, Gandhi asserted that anyone in the world can adopt the nonviolent method successfully. “In it physical incapacity is no handicap and even a frail woman or a child can put herself or himself on equal terms against a giant, armed with the most powerful weapon.” Rather “It is a force that works silently and apparently slowly. In reality, there is no force in the world that is so direct or so swift in working.” He maintained that the way of a satyagrahi must lead through the testing of truths as they appear to the individual performer. In view of Gandhi the satyagrahi should be an individual of exemplary character with the attitudes of a monk or a spiritual leader.

Truth, apart from nonviolence, is the other basic tenet of his satyagraha. Gandhi considered truth as God; therefore he maintained that “there are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and owe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as truth only.” Apart from this, Gandhi viewed “satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth.” Indeed, in his view, satyagraha is the apparatus to change the whole world. Therefore he observed that “with satya (truth) combined with ahimsa (nonviolence), you can bring the world to your feet. Satyagraha in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in
the political, i.e., the national, life.” 65 Gandhi did not consider ‘truth and nonviolent’ based satyagraha as a pessimistic, “passive or an act of cowardice.” 66

Gandhi established satyagraha as an effective moral and humanistic way to be adopted for achieving a peaceful world order by elimination of social, political, economic and moral evils from society. He believed that, “it is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.” 67 Gandhi believed that satyagraha is the voice of the hearts of the majority of the people or true democratic as it inherits the wilful acceptance of the public as “in politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed.” 68 The peaceful and nonviolent refusal to support and cooperate the government is inherited in satyagraha “by withdrawing all the voluntary assistance possible and refusing all its so-called benefits,” if the government does not fulfil the ambitions of the public.

In the opinion of Gandhi, irrespective of race, colour, nation etc., satyagraha is universally applicable as a force which can be used by individuals and communities. It can be used effectively “in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children.” 69 Thus in contemporary times, satyagraha has not been used only as a weapon to oppose the authority of the state and but also to achieve general welfare of the people in the world.
Gandhi has immense faith in the power of *satyagraha* to influence whole world as it is considered “one of the most active forces in the world. It is like the sun that rises upon us unfailingly from day to day. Only if we would but understand it, it is infinitely greater than a million suns put together. It radiates life and light and peace and happiness.”  

Nevertheless Gandhi was aware that it requires sacrifices of highest order. He added further that, “the world is seeking a way out, and… it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show that way out to the hungering world. I have, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in inviting all the great nations of the earth to give their hearty co-operation to India in her mighty struggle.”

**CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME**

Gandhian constructive programme is basically a method to achieve “*Poorna-swaraj*’ i.e. complete independence by truthful and non-violent means.” It does not only signify political independence but also focuses on economic and social independence of society. In Gandhian vision truth and non-violence are the pillars of complete independence for every one without distinction of race, colour or creed. Being a visionary, Gandhi had already prophesied political independence of India from the Britishers, yet he was aware of the prevailing social-economic flaws in Indian society. Therefore he proposed the constructive programme to train Indians to make them compatible with the changed conditions after independence. Initially, Gandhi identified 13 articles in constructive programme and later on added 5 more articles in 1945 on the basis of suggestion made by the public. The constructive programme is a comprehensive programme, aimed to reconstruct the society or to transform the individuals by
training them in an ideal way. It is a non-violent way to bring comprehensive social, political and economic change in our society. “Constructive programme” is thus based on following:

1. Communal Unity
2. Removal of Untouchability
3. Prohibition
4. Khadi
5. Village Industries
6. Village Sanitation
7. Nai Talim or Basic Education
8. Adult Education
9. Women
10. Knowledge of Health and Hygiene
11. Provincial languages
12. National Language
13. Economic Inequality.
14. Kisans
15. Labour
16. Adivasis
17. Lepers
18. Students

This programme can be operationalised by observing certain basic principles which were as under.

1. Moral action.
2. Voluntariness.
3. Co-operation.
5. Self-reliance.
7. Building from bottom.
8. The spirit of non-violence.

Thus the objective of the 18 point constructive programme of Gandhi was to provide operational framework to realise *swaraj* and *sarvodaya* based on political, social and economic upliftment of society. Communal unity has been given maximum importance by Mahatma Gandhi in his constructive programme. Gandhi was very much aware about the increasing gap between different religious communities. At present communal disharmony has emerged as one of main challenges of world. Communal clashes and riots have affected the most part of the world. Gandhi wanted to create unity among different communities. He wanted his followers to associate their “identity with every one of the millions of the inhabitants of Hindustan.”\(^{75}\) In order to realise this, he was in favour of cultivating personal friendship by each with person of different faiths. Gandhi valued the mutual respect and acceptance for peace and harmony among different strata of the society.

Social aspect of constructive programme focuses on empowering woman to attain the goal of “gender equality”\(^{76}\) as Gandhi considered woman equal to man and an important part of society. Women have been harassed and exploited all over earth by men, irrespective of geographical boundaries. Gandhi appraised that man could not recognise the importance of woman since long time. He added further that since “men have not realized this truth in its fullness in their behaviour towards woman. They have considered themselves to be lords and masters of woman instead of considering
them as their friends and co-workers.”77 He objected the exploitation of woman done by man and wanted man to treat woman equally. He considered that “woman has been suppressed under custom and law for which man was responsible and in the shaping of which she had no hand.”78

Gandhi recognised equal rights and status for woman and asked his followers to respect rights of woman. In his words, “in a plan of life based on non-violence, woman has as much right to shape her own destiny as man has to shape his.”79 Gandhi recognised the importance of woman for a better society, therefore in his opinion, “wives should not be dolls and objects of indulgence, but should be treated as honoured comrades in common service”80 and “woman must be the true helpmate of man in the mission of service.”81

Gandhi focused on another social curse of society, .i.e. untouchability, which has been a part of every country or civilisation in one or other form. He knew that without removing the untouchability, it would not be possible for anyone to establish equal society. He advised his followers that they “should make common cause with them and befriend them in their awful isolation – such isolation as perhaps the world has never seen in the monstrous immensity one witnesses in India.”82 Gandhi was not in favour of any social discrimination based on sex, caste, race and breed etc.

Gandhi concentrated of prohibition of alcohol and drugs. Every year millions of people die due to drugs and alcohol. The situation is grimmer in poor and developing countries. Gandhi considered it as enemy of the humanity as he remarked that “if we are to reach our goal through non-violent effort, we may not leave to
the future government the fate of lakhs of men and women who are
labouring under the curse of intoxicants and narcotics.” Gandhi
allocated role to his followers to eliminate the social problem of
alcohol in rural and urban society, particularly “women and students
have a special opportunity in advancing this reform. By many acts of
loving service they can acquire on addicts a hold which will compel
them to listen to the appeal to give up the evil habit.”

Gandhi had great concern about the sanitary conditions of
villages, which was more or less equal in all the developing
countries. He asserted that, “I regard this defect as a great vice
which is responsible for the disgraceful state of our villages and the
sacred banks of the sacred rivers and for the diseases that spring
from insanitation” and motivated them so that “they should be able
to make our villages models of cleanliness in every sense of the
word.”

Gandhi initiated the idea of ‘new education’ or ‘basic
education’, because he was unhappy with the British education
system as it focused more on the economic aspect of human
personality. Besides this education was related to the partial
development of human personality, whereas Gandhi wanted to
develop human personality in an integrated way to attain the ideal
social order. Therefore he expressed that, “by education I mean an
all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man - body, mind
and spirit.” He wanted to rebuild and strengthen the foundation of
education according to the conditions, culture and requirements of
India.

One of the important goals under Millennium Development
Goals is “to achieve universal primary education.” Gandhi cared
for the availability for all the children irrespective of caste, class, breed, province or sex. In his words, “basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that is best and lasting in India.”\textsuperscript{89} Besides aiming at physical and mental development, “keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realization of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school.”\textsuperscript{90} Apart from this, the training of productive work and vocational activities received in schools is equally important for all the nations, particularly developing ones, due to economic reasons. These activities can be of great help to find employment in the surrounding regions; particularly it can be of great help to revive rural economy.

Illiteracy among citizens of various countries is one of the main causes of many social, religious, political and economic problems. Gandhi identified this and advocated to adopt adult education to change the social circumstances. He wrote that “if I had charge of adult education, I should begin with opening the minds of the adult pupils to the greatness and vastness of their country,”\textsuperscript{91} and “my adult education means, therefore, first, true political education of the adult by word of mouth.”\textsuperscript{92}

Most of the nations of Asian and African nations adopted English language as medium of instruction and it expurgated their cultural and knowledge roots related with their provincial language. Without adopting the mother tongue as medium of instruction, no one can be coalesced with his society, community, culture and community. Therefore ‘National Language’ as medium of instruction found important place in Gandhian scheme of education. Gandhi
vehemently opposed the foreign medium because it “has caused brain-fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses... It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.”

Gandhi identified the problem of hygiene and health, which can provide the necessary outlook “to reduce child mortality,” “to improve maternal health,” and “to combat malaria, and other diseases” in modern world. Thus, Gandhi prophesied the problems of health and hygiene therefore he concentrated on the education of health and hygiene as the mortality rate was very high. Gandhi mentioned the education of health and hygiene separately and considered it of utmost important as “ ignorance and neglect of the laws of health and hygiene are responsible for the majority of diseases to which mankind is heir... and could be mitigated if the people were properly educated about health and hygiene.”

Gandhi gave appropriate importance to the agriculture and farmers in his constructive programme. He considered farmer as father of the world, as he provides food to society, but he is not conscious that they deserve any credit and does not care to be honoured. In his views, an illiterate farmer is much aware and can explain the difficulties of the agricultural classes in a better way than any learned person. Gandhi identified the power of rural India in farmers. According to him “swaraj is a mighty structure. Eighty crores of hands have to work at building it. Of these kisans, i.e., the peasantry are the largest part. In fact, being the bulk of them (probably over 80%) the kisans should be the Congress.” Therefore, he advised congressmen that the farmers “must not be
used for power politics. I consider it to be contrary to the non-
violent method." He recommended that “in my opinion, like
labour, they should have under the congress, a department working
for their specific question.” Gandhi also explained his views on
the services provided by adivasis, labourer unions, lepers and
students.

Gandhi considered that the economic transformation of the
society can be done only by of establishing economic equality. One
of the main goal envisaged in the United Nations Millennium
Declaration of September 2000 also recognise this fact under the
title, “to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.” This goal can be
made a reality only by adopting Gandhian suggestion of economic
equality. Gandhi called it “the master key to non-violent
independence.” By economic equality Gandhi meant the “levelling
down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the
nation’s wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-
starved naked millions on the other hand.”

Gandhian swaraj or “a non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so-long
as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions
persists.”

The aim to develop a global partnership for development is
another important component of Millennium Developmental Goals,
which focuses on the special needs of the Least Developed Countries
(LDCs), is extension of Gandhian swadeshi to the world. Gandhi
envisioned it on the level of Indian society under swadeshi based on
village industries, self-reliance and “equitable distribution.”
Gandhian swadeshi is aimed at to develop need-based, rule-based,
predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system to address the needs of society.

Gandhi promoted *Khadi*, i.e. hand-woven cloth, to bring economic resources in the hands of every Indian with minimum investment. For Gandhi, *Khadi* “means decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessaries of life,”\(^{106}\) and “it connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country.”\(^{107}\) Keeping it as priority for the reconstruction of Indian economy, Gandhi advocated that, “*Khadi* must be taken with all its implications. It means a whole-sale *swadeshi* mentality, a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers.”\(^{108}\)

Gandhi wanted to end the dependence of India over exploitative mechanisation and industrialism. He knew that exploitation of economic and natural resource is the outcome of the modern civilisation based on mechanisation. Therefore he focussed on labour-based technology which would “ensure environmental sustainability.”\(^{109}\) Gandhi promoted “village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing etc.”\(^{110}\) He was well versed about the massive population, enormous geographical size, great number of villages and poor state of agriculture and employment. Hence Gandhi favoured *swadeshi* based on self-reliance of villages. He wrote that “all should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available…. there is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied from our villages.”\(^{111}\)

Gandhi focussed his concentration on complete refurbishing of the society on the basis of values of non-violence, self-reliance, and
self-rule. His constructive programme was the “blue-print for social resurgence, the espousal of sarvadharma sambhaava, vocational education, trusteeship concept, decentralized planning, local self-government, village self-sufficiency...aimed at a new social order.”

Gandhi called constructive programme a way to attain poorna swaraj, of which political independence was the first step. He considered it as a primary training programme for civil disobedience and to perform satyagraha. Gandhi was very much sure about the political impact of the constructive programme as the social and economic transformation of the society would ensure the mass awareness and mass participation to bring swaraj. He was of the view that political change can be realised through social and economic transformation of society.

The swaraj inherited the establishment of self-government because in views of Gandhi, self-government is far better than establishing good-government and it cannot be substitute of self-government in any context. The transformation based on the constructive programme can ensure the true sovereignty of the people, self-rule and self-control. This constructive programme was aimed at to train, educate and aware the people, thus preparing them for political struggle against the misuse of state power in more organised and planned way.

Gandhi admitted that his constructive programme is foundation to the political objectives, so it is not just limited towards the attainment of social and economic transformation but it has the political implications as well. In this context he remarked that “my social work would be impossible without the help of political work, I
took to the latter and only to the extent that it helped the former..., self-purification of this nature is a hundred times dearer to me than what is called purely political work.”113

Hence, Gandhian constructive programme was aimed at to bring about a non-violent and peaceful social, economic and political revolution in the society. Most of the nations of the world, particularly in third world are facing various social, economic and political problems. Besides, the present world order is devoid of their sovereignty under the all-encompassing influence of the multi-national corporations and trans-national companies. In this transitional phase of society, the relevance of Gandhi and his constructive programme is not only pertinent but also inevitable for the wellbeing of society. This programme based on Khadi, village sanitation, education for everyone, economic equality, village industries etc. represents the anti-imperialist thrust. Simultaneously it serves as a model to guide them in their struggles for liberation from the present chaos and paves the way for a peaceful, equitable and just world order.

Above analysis not only manifests the flaws of present world order but also reveals about futility of present method to realise peaceful, equalitarian and just world order. Hence there is need for an alternative approach for the creation of just world order. In this context Gandhian alternative comes very prominently as it is based on the values of truth, non-violence, equality, decentralisation and universal disarmament. The Gandhian perception underlines the importance of harmony among individuals, states and world system. The ultimate objective of this is transformation of human soul and not merely superficial transformation of political and economic
institutions. The non-violent path of swaraj, satyagraha and swadeshi can change the face of society and establish peaceful, equalitarian and just world order. The main attributes of Gandhian world order can be summed up in threefold dimension: 1. Social; 2. Political; 3. Economics. All these dimensions can be understood by our indepth understanding of these three at individual, state and global levels.

1. SOCIAL DIMENSION

(a) At the level of individual, truth and non-violence are integral part of the personality of the enlightened man. Gandhian idea of truth has moral and spiritual aspects which can be pursued by one person or in collective manner. Gandhi had the conviction that morality is the basis of things, and that truth is the substance of all morality. In his views, the truth can be pursued through the means of non-violence. Since ends and means are convertible, therefore a truthful person can be said to be a non-violent person and vice versa. Therefore truth became his sole objective and sheer guide for individual to transform it into a complete human being. This concept of truth is aimed at “an effort to understand external authority and to reaffirm the moral autonomy and authority of the individual as an agent, and an active performer in the arena of politics and social life.”

Gandhi emphasised on character-building of individual based on truth and non-violence. Because for him, individual is the prime agent to bring change in the present world, therefore it is very important for individual to follow truth and non-violence.

Besides this, respect to the all religions and communities should be duty of every individual. Gandhi wanted individual to respect all religions and communities. The religious intolerance and
Community clashes are looming large today and creating a tensed and skeptical environment among the various sections of society all over the world. It is pertinent here to say that the increasing rate of religious intolerance in self-acclaimed multi-culturist societies is at alarming stage. Particularly after 9/11, the European countries and United States of America, the cases of religious intolerance and clashes have increased a lot. Gandhi believed in equality of all religions and was of the view that all sets of religious beliefs are equally true. Besides, he refrained from criticising religious practices of others, for the sake of communal harmony. Gandhi wanted individuals to follow path of religious tolerance to establish peaceful social order.

Gandhi also advocated that every person should treat every individual on parity basis irrespective of breed, religion, caste and colour. Any inhuman behaviour gives birth to hostility between the doer and the victim and with the passage of time such hostility converts into the enmity. Gandhi’s experience in South Africa exposed him of prevalent inhuman behaviour all over world. He became aware about the impolite and uncivil inequality, which resulted into the large scale social and religious differentiation and alienation. Gandhi wanted individual to avoid oppression and discriminating against persons of different religious beliefs and to accept all religions as equally valid and true. According to him, problem of untouchability and apartheid on the basis of breed, caste and colour takes men away from humanity. Hence individuals need to show respect and equal behaviour with everyone regardless of sex, breed, religion, caste and colour.
Gandhi was in favour of equal participation of women in social and national building. He believed in the ability of women to perform domestic, as well as, social duties. Rather he found women more capable than men; therefore he emphasised on women participation in social and political activities of the society. Gandhi believed that it is duty of every individual to spread positive values and ideas of peace, love and compassion in society. Gandhi wanted every individual to play desired role in society through their ideas, belief and behaviour in exemplary way. Therefore it is duty of every individual to spend sometimes in making other people to understand the value of peace, love, compassion etc.

Gandhi wanted every individual to receive education without any discrimination. In this context, he introduced basic education to inculcate the vocational knowledge. According to him education should be the way to develop all round development of the personality of the individual and make the individual not only to earn for himself but also to work for the society. It is to focus on eternal idea of simple living and high thinking. Basic education should be made compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen. The medium of instruction at basic level should be mother-tongue to teach ethical and moral values and importance of national heritage in an easy manner. Basic education is the right of every individual. Apart from learning to read and write, the children must also learn skills which will make them confident, independent and self-reliant.

(b) At the level of state, need is to evolve a casteless and classless society based on the precepts of sarvodaya, which may ensure social equality irrespective of post, sex, breed, religion, caste and colour. Gandhi believed that the greatest good of all is possible only in such
classless society. This society is likely to ensure welfare of all people without any discrimination of caste, race, sex, colour and religion.

In such social setup of Gandhi, there will be complete prohibition on drugs and intoxicated items i.e. liquor, opium and various tobacco products. Because Gandhi believed that “the drink and the drug evil is in many respects infinitely worse than the evil caused by malaria and the like; for, whilst the latter only injure the body, the former saps both body and soul.”115 He knew that “nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is prey to the drink habit. History records that empires have been destroyed through that habit.”116

There is need for gender equality and gender sensitivity in the society to provide equal treatment to the fairer sex. Gandhi wanted equal treatment for women as enjoyed by men. Gandhi was in favour of gender sensitivity and respect for the women in sections of the society. He considered it to be the duty of society to take actions against the activities of female infanticide, child marriage, purdah, dowry, molestation and prostitution. He was in favour to ensure equality, education and economic independence for women.

According to Gandhi, the society need to be essentially pluralistic society based on communal harmony, cooperation and coexistence. For Gandhi, “religion does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. It is not less real because it is unseen. This religion transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. It does not supersede them. It harmonizes them and gives them reality.”117

He further added that providing basic education consisting of value education is duty of the society. Gandhi wanted society to run
the educational institutions, but simultaneously he aimed for generation of economic sources from within the school because a poor society can not afford to provide education for all children. Basic education would be an “embodiment of his perception of an ideal society consisting of small, self-reliant communities with his ideal citizen being an industrious, self-respecting and generous individual living in a small, cooperative community.”118

Besides, peace education and comparative religion studies should be an integral part of the study at higher level. Peace education should be given to the students so that they can learn and imbibe the ethics and moral values of an egalitarian, humanitarian and peaceful society i.e. sarvodaya samaj. Gandhi’s such conception is closer to the policy pursuit of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in this context. According to Peace Education Working Group at UNICEF, peace education “refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values ....... to prevent conflict and violence.”119 However Gandhi was sceptical that “religious teachers are hypocritical and selfish”120, but he believed that all the religions on earth are based on love, integrity, and compassion towards humanity and thus teach peace, mutual acceptance and tolerance to its respective followers. Therefore the comparative religion studies should be a part of higher education. Besides religious education should be given to sensitize individual to teach and imbibe moral duties and responsibilities.

(c) At global level, humanitarian values should be promoted by a self-controlled and self-regulated global civil society consisting of some enlightened individuals from all over the world. Global civil society is identified with groups, associations, churches, trade unions, ethnic organizations, and all kind of voluntary societies
composed of different strata in the society. This should consist of “perfect national life, state of enlightenment, self-rule and no hindrance to neighbour,” as perceived by Gandhi. These enlightened individuals from all over the world can transform the condition of conflicts by resolving disputes through amicable means. The global civil society is also supposed to take care of the virtues of co-operation, civility, self-restraint and mutual respect at global level to ensure peace. Gandhi’s concept of global civil society focuses on transforming people of social exclusion into social inclusion, thus pave the way to strengthen and spreading human values in the whole world.

Moreover, instead of diplomatic relations, the civilian communities based on ‘people to people’ contacts, can promote mutual faith among the nations at bilateral and regional levels. Civil societies are better equipped to solve the problems among the nations at bilateral and regional levels. Therefore, these groups based on social relations can perform better than bureaucratic and diplomatic agencies. This can create avenues for people-to-people collaboration, a very important factor in facilitating mutual understanding, which benefit bilateral judicial cooperation and mutual trust among nations, ultimately it bring to an end of the ‘fear of the unknown’ and ‘suspicion of the unknown.’

Dissemination of Gandhian values of truth, love, peace, non-violence etc. can be incorporated at regular intervals through workshops, seminars and conferences. Various academic institutions engaged in the dissemination and propagation of Gandhian thought and action need to be established at global level for such purpose. The successful experiences of non-violent resistance are to be integral part of these world workshops, seminars and conferences.
Such programmes should be organised in different parts of the world at regular intervals.

For this purpose, world conclaves based on inter-faith and inter-religious values should be organised. Basically the moral imperatives of all religions and beliefs call for peace, tolerance and mutual understanding in society. These conclaves can focus on promoting peace through interfaith and intercultural dialogue to ensure and realise the people of the world that religion can be a source of the solution for such conflicts that exist at the regional and world level, rather than being a source of conflict.

World level exchange programme of students and regular study programme for foreign students among nations should be organised every year to know the social and religious values of other societies to augment tolerance and mutual acceptance. Academic community of world can play a very important and crucial role in the spreading of Gandhian ideas and values among youth, a potent force for social transformation because their life is closely linked with the younger generation. Students of different countries can get an opportunity to experience Gandhian way of life by field visits to the Ashramas and institutions.

2. POLITICAL DIMENSION

(a) At Individual level, human rights for all be respected. Because every individual is entitled to such rights without any distinction of “race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” Gandhi wished that every individual should not only to follow the path of non-violence, but also to adopt as part of its life. Every individual should perform his duties and should give more importance to duties than rights by individuals.
Each individual should play an active role in local body institution and should participate in the functioning of these institutions. Through this process, an ideal village can be build and “if one man can produce one ideal village, he will have provided a pattern not only for the whole country, but perhaps for the whole world.” It is because Gandhi considered the individual as the “architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government... Any lover of true democracy and village life can take up a village, treat it as his world and sole work, and he will find good results.” That is why, Gandhi wanted individual to participate in the matters and functioning of the Panchayats. He added further that every individual need to be satyagrahi and vigilant citizen, readily aware about developments in society. Such individuals have to rely on satyagraha for desired goals. Opposition of any wrongdoing is the responsibility of such satyagrahi.

(b) At the level of society, there will be ‘Ramrajya’ at the place of state. It will be based on swaraj or self-rule based on truth, minimum rule and maximum participation. In Gandhian vision of ideal state, every citizen is his or her own ruler. Such citizen is self-regulated and self-controlled individual of “the ideal state therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. But the ideal is never fully realized in life...that government is best which governs the least.” Gandhi knew “that the government cannot succeed in becoming entirely non-violent, because it represents all the people. I do not today conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society. And I am working for it.” Gandhi's ideal State was a non-violent state of enlightened anarchism, but he admitted that practically it would not be possible to attain. Therefore he recommended the ‘least governed
state where social life would remain self-regulated. In Ramrajya, there will be a perfect state consisting of enlightened persons, self-regulated and self-controlled following the principles of non-violence and self-rule.

For this purpose polity should be decentralised and grass root governance should be through panchayats. Every problem of the society should be taken care at the level of village republic. According to Gandhi, it is the function of the panchayat to ‘revive honesty and industry, to avoid disputes, speedy justice, cattle improvement, the quantity of foodstuff grown, ban on intoxicating drinks and drugs, eradicating untouchability and social and religious harmony’. That is why Gandhi remarked that “if you achieve all I have mentioned, you will demonstrate real independence, and people from all over India will come to see your model village and take inspiration from it.”

He envisaged that if true democracy is realised, all Indians will be equal. No one will regard another as untouchable. Even the labourer and the rich will be regarded at par. Everybody will observe bread labour and there will be no distinction between intellectual and physical labour. He added further that “everybody would observe swadeshi as the rule of life and man would regard every woman….He would be ready to lay down his life when occasion demands it, never want to take another's life…”

The leaders of the panchayats will be the workers of ‘constructive programme’. These eighteen tenets of constructive programme can be indispensable for the emancipation of the society. It is because the constructive programme based on social renaissance, religious harmony, vocational knowledge, and “the trusteeship concept, decentralized planning, local self-government, village self-sufficiency all of which were all embracing frame of the
nonviolent revolution aimed at a new social order.” The constructive programme will be the core value of the functioning of every village and its panchayats and the elected leaders are to train and educate the people to implement constructive programme.

Moreover, state will not pursue any specific religion, but a secular democracy with spiritualised politics will be practiced to govern the society under ‘Ramrajya’. Gandhi perceived that “state is bound to be wholly secular... All subjects will thus be equal in the eye of the law. But every single individual will be free to pursue a religion without let or hindrance so long as it does not transgress the common law.” Gandhi wanted every religion to flourish and be a part of overall development of humanity. There will be religious equality, religious pluralism and true secularism. Hence, “no oppression should be felt by the minorities, however small they may be. There is need for the gentlest handling of all such questions.”

Justice, liberty, human rights and other democratic values will be taken care of by the society. There will be social and political equality in the society and the rights of the deprived or minorities will be protected by society itself.

In his ‘Ramrajya’, a non-violent state will organise meetings of religious heads to promote mutual religious acceptance and harmony. The state will organise meetings of different religious heads on regular interval to make them understand the viewpoints of other religions. The interaction among the religious heads would reduce the social, cultural and political tensions of the society and the state. Apart from this, these meetings will ensure the acceptance by the religious followers too.

Gandhi was in favour of non-violent and reformative police force. Gandhi was against any type of coercion from the state, but he
accepted that a police force may be necessary in a non-violent state. He perceived the nonviolent police force on the different pattern from the existing force. “Its ranks will be composed of believers in non-violence.... The police force will have some kind of arms, but they will be rarely used, if at all. In fact the police men will be reformers. Their police work will be confined primarily to robbers and dacoits.”

(c) At world level, equal status for every nation, irrespective of size and capacity is very essential and desired goal of Gandhi. He viewed that each nation needs to respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. In this context, rules of peaceful coexistence, mutual non-aggression and mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs need to be followed by every nation. This is likely to end discrimination with any nation due to ‘haves’ or ‘haves not’. For realisation of such state of affairs, there will be a world peace brigade for maintaining law and order at international level. The peace brigade will substitute the police and even military one day. There is no need of violence to solve international problems. The peace brigade will facilitate in the creation of world federation. The volunteers of this peace brigade will keep immense faith in non-violence, equal regard for all religions and impartial attitude towards all religions. Gandhian nonviolent civil resistance have introduced a possible alternative to violent means of political and social change.

Unilateral disarmament is another important aspect of Gandhian notion of world peace. Such world order is going to be free of arms based on unilateral disarmament. Nuclear threat has emerged as the worst problem of contemporary world. Gandhi himself felt the sorrow and terror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. That
is why he wrote that, “the atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms, but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan.”¹³³ Despite the adopting and accepting several mechanisms to contain the nuclear proliferation and disarmament through different treaties and agreements, world is not able to reach consensus on this issue. Perpetual peace, in Gandhian view, is not attainable till the goal of disarmament achieved. For this goal he envisaged unilateral disarmament as an ideal for world community and a possible attainable solution for unabated and uncontrolled arms race. He further added that, “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”¹³⁴.

Commenting on the role of great powers in disarmament he remarked that “if they disarm themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity.”¹³⁵ He warned the great powers that, “if the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history.”¹³⁶ Therefore in the case of another war, he was of the view that victory would be also like death for the victorious state and “there is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications.”¹³⁷

As Gandhi was sceptical about the great powers role, therefore he put his faith in free India to initiate unilateral disarmament and show the way to the world. He was not in the favour of gradually reduction of arms, hence was not much hopeful from the efforts for disarmament made by the League of Nations or the United Nations. He was doubtful about the nature and functioning of these world organisations. Therefore Gandhi envisaged for establishment of a
true democratic world confederation based on trust and confidence of an overwhelming majority of nations. He considered it a “way to real, honourable and voluntary cooperation of all nations of the world based on mutual respect and trust.”\textsuperscript{138} He further asserted that “the better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of friendly inter-dependent states.”\textsuperscript{139} The recognition of the freedom of the conquered and exploited nations, particularly of Asia and Africa, may be in his mind while envisioning the concept of world federation. Similar situation is prevailing today, when haunted by the cold war and the United States hegemony, United Nations Organisation is not able to play the desired role.

In this context, Gandhi’s idea of federation is very relevant. He perceived that “federation is undoubtedly a greater and nobler end for free nations....The very first step to a world federation is to recognize the freedom of conquered and exploited nations.”\textsuperscript{140} Gandhi envisaged equality for all nations as an important condition for world federation. The membership of the world federation will be voluntary, but every nation will be ready to sacrifice itself for greater cause. The world federation will be based on the principles of “\textit{ahimsa} or non-violence,”\textsuperscript{141} and “violence will have to be totally given up in world affairs”\textsuperscript{142}. Gandhi was a great visionary as he was apprehensive about the influence of world powers. The working of universal bodies, failure of League and ineffectiveness of United Nations proved Gandhi’s praxis right. Therefore Gandhi envisaged for more democratic, effective, participatory consensus based international ‘world federation’ for better future of mankind.

In contemporary times when war became impossible to vanish and the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are not effective in
solving international disputes and maintain peace. It is because the
existing situations of ‘balance of power’ and ‘balance of terror’ for
maintaining world peace are not actually peaceful and long-lasting.
Rather the settlement of disputes can be realised through
“negotiation, meditation and arbitration, if necessary, under the aegis
of the federation.”

3. ECONOMIC DIMENSION

(a) At individual level, life need to be ethical based on truth and
non-violence. Therefore, a simple life, free from modern
complexities and complications is to be adopted by the individual.
Gandhi wanted individual to live a simple life with great thinking.
Individual can live a life based on simplicity and non-possession.
Hence, “it simply means that one must give up attachment of these
things and dedicate one's all to God and make use of His gifts to
serve Him only.”

Limitation of wants should be the guiding principle for every
individual. Life is not to engage in the accumulation of the monetary
resources, rather the aim of the life should be much higher than
achieving mere materialistic items. This can be attained only if
individual adopts voluntary self-denial. Thus “our civilization, our
culture, our swaraj depends not upon multiplying our wants-self-
indulgence, but upon restricting our wants-self-denial.”

Besides, “trusteeship” of property can be adopted by every
individual. The sources of the society would be used for everyone
not for some people. Gandhi believed that “if the people meditate
over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be
governed far more by love than it is at present.” It is duty of the
individual to take care about his fellow individuals. The
accumulation of economic resources and living a luxurious life
cannot be said humanity. The rich individuals need to behave like trustee holding their riches on the behalf of the poor (Daridrnarayan) and live life based on austerity. The rich individuals have to work as caretaker of such property and the same would be used for welfare of the people.

Moreover, individuals are to maintain dignity of bread labour. The physical labour is part of the duty of every individual and nothing is inferior to the mental work or labour. Every individual has to obey the law of bread labour to bring about a silent economic and spiritual revolution in society. Gandhi viewed that, “men’s triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service. The law of the brute will be replaced by the law of man.”

Physical labour done to earn the bread, naturally follows the level of intellectuals i.e. poets, doctors, lawyers, etc.

Furthermore, every citizen should adopt need-based consumption, not greed based. In this way they are bound to take care of the need of others. The earth has everything to fulfill the human need, not greed. That is why; the individual should not resort to the consumption more than his need, as accumulation of resources of the all world is not enough to satisfy the greed of a single individual. Every individual should take according to the need of his family. The need based consumption by individual leaves scope for others to satisfy their needs.

(b) At the level of state, focus has been towards the achievement of sarvodaya. Therefore the micro-plan initiative for all round development of the society should take place at local level. The economic planning for the development should be human centric, it has to take place at the level of villages, rather than cities. Villages have always been the basic units of public administration in world
since time immemorial and the planning used to take place at village level. Village should be the basic unit for the constructing road-map of the development of the society.

Besides adoption of *swadeshi* should be pattern of economic life in society. Emphasis would be on *Khadi*, homemade goods, cottage industries and village industries. Small scale industries would be established and promoted for economic production. The production and consumption of the goods would be done first at village level and then for neighbourhood and it would be a step towards attainment of *swaraj* for everyone and every nation. Self-sufficiency and self-reliance at individual, community, village and national level would be ensured through application of *swadeshi*.

Agriculture would be an occupation and proper attention and preference would be given to this sector. Agriculture and farmers are the pillars of the society as it provides not only opportunities of the employment to the millions but also produce the food grains to feed the society. Gandhi believed that the farmer is the ‘father of humanity’, without him the existence of whole world is in danger. Every step will be taken to ensure better production and quality by using non-violent and natural resources in agriculture. Minimum use of pesticide and insecticide will take place till the *swadeshi* pattern of agriculture not evolved. The problems of the farmers will be solved at community level. Full cooperation and financial help will be given to the farmers.

The means of production of the elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of the masses. Production is to be done by masses and regulated by cooperatives. Production will be concentrated on need-based goods, not on luxurious or consumption
goods. Labour intensive methods for production will be used instead labour replacing machineries. The issue of labour-capital dispute will be solved amicably and in a non-violent way. Besides, trusteeship will be the core value to regulate the economic sources of the society. Gandhi left adoption of trusteeship primarily on the will of the individual but if necessary, society regulated trusteeship will be implemented for the betterment of society.

(c) At world level, all the nations in the world should accept the idea of sarvodaya. The belief, that globalisation based on scientific and technical development would solve ecological, social, economic, political and moral problems, has been proved erroneous and futile, rather increased problems of the gap between rich and poor and social and economic inequality. Therefore the welfare of all, materially, socially, and morally will be based on the sarvodaya, which stands for good of all the humanity and not for the good of any particular individual or class or nation.

This economic order will be based on world cooperation and understanding of mutual needs. The nations will maintain understanding, so that the requirement of any nations could be identified and fulfilled. This fulfilment of the requirement would be on the basis of cooperation, not on the basis of conditions or interests. Every nation would be ready to serve the humans of other country every time.

World trade and commerce will be focussed on such commodities, which are not produced in one country. The present regulatory system of world i.e. World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund and World Bank should be changed according to the Gandhian economics and consequently would be
replaced by non-profit world level cooperative organisations. There will be no dependence or minimum dependence on other countries and it would be maintained by every nation. Self-reliance and self-sufficiency can be the keys of global economic development. The terms and conditions of trade would be certainly non-violent and non-exploitative. Export would take place only if local demands are met.

There will be no place for exploitative multinational companies and transnational corporations. Till their dissolution, complete regulation and supervision of the activities of transnational corporations and multinational companies would be taken care of by world federation. Developed countries would assist to developing countries which were kept under colonial domination. This would be done without any political or military conditions.

Besides, sustainable development is to be the primary measure of any kind of production based economic activity. Conservation of natural resources will be an important factor in it. All states can put an end to the waste of natural resources, including food products to maintain ecological balance. There can be cooperation on transaction of Green Technology among the countries. The concept of bread labour will be adopted by every nation, not only to provide work or employment but also to keep their nationals happy and healthy.

Thus, Gandhi’s world order is an attempt to answer the long-lasting problems of world order, i.e., world peace, equal distribution of economic resources, hunger, poverty, arms’ threat, disarmament, ecological imbalance, true democratic participation, equality of opportunities, etc. Gandhi presented his views in the wake of
existing social, cultural, economic and political problems prevailing in the society. He highlighted the several dimensions of the possible solution in a broad framework of humanity irrespective of caste, sex, race and religion. Gandhi wanted the present society to be just, equalitarian, peaceful and non-exploitative.

Gandhi emphasised on the change in personal and social milieu of individuals, which will lead the way to establishment of peace, equality and mutual cooperation in society. Gandhian eleven commandments are focussed on complete transformation of individual, satyagraha for political transformation and constructive programme for social and economic transformation of society. Gandhian ideas are to be adopted in present world order to convert it into desired egalitarian, non-violent, non-exploitative and humane world order.
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