

CHAPATER -I
INTRODUCTION

The concept of swaraj, or self-rule, was developed during the Indian freedom struggle. In Gandhi's book Hind Swaraj (1909), Gandhi was emphatic that swaraj "much more than simply wanted [systems of] English rule without the Englishman; the tiger's nature but not the tiger." His argument centered on the belief that the socio-spiritual underpinnings of British political, economic, bureaucratic, legal, military, and educational institutions were inherently unjust, exploitative and alienating. As Pinto explicates, "The principal theme of Hind Swaraj is the moral inadequacy of western civilization, especially its industrialism, as the model for free India." Gandhi was particularly critical of the deeply embedded principles of might is right and survival of the fittest. On another level, the call for swaraj represents a genuine attempt to regain control of the 'self' - our self-respect, self-responsibility, and capacities for self-realization - from institutions of dehumanization. As Gandhi states, "It is swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves." The real goal of the freedom struggle was not only to secure political azadi (independence) from Britain, but rather to gain true swaraj (liberation and self-rule).¹

Swaraj is a basic concept of Gandhian philosophy. This concept is more basic than even non-violence, a concept with which his name is universally associated. There is no doubt that he made an original contribution to the theory and practice of non-violence and that the world is grateful to him for it. The fact remains, however, that non-violence for all its importance, is only a means to Swaraj whereas Swaraj, according to Gandhi is "a state of being of individuals and of nations."²

Swaraj, a Sanskrit word compounded of Swa and Raj, “self” and “rule” has the first meaning of “self-ruling” and the secondary meaning of “self-resplendent” of “self-luminous”. Gandhiji used the term Swaraj for both the individual and the nation. By personal Swaraj it is meant rule over one’s self. The first condition which Gandhiji laid down for personal Swaraj was. Control over lust and says that “Swaraj is the visible immediate fruit of sacrifice.” Man cannot rule over himself without conquering the lust with in him. Rule over oneself implies that there should be minimum rule of the government and the society, but it means that the individual will rule over himself in such way that he will not come in the way of others. Anybody's is and body’s enemy, everybody contributes his or her quota to the common goal, all can read and write, and their knowledge keeps growing from day to day. This rich will use their richness wisely and successfully, and not squander them in increasing their pomp and worldly pleasures. It should not happen that a handful of rich people should live in jewelled place and the millions in miserable hovels devoid of sunlight and ventilation.³

Gandhiji used the term National Swaraj in a wider sense. National Swaraj means national self-rule and self-restraint in political, social, economic and moral fields. It is the sum total of all activities which go up to build an ideal state based on moral force. The quality and the vitality of such national Swaraj depend on the quality and the vitality of its people. The people of such state are conscious of their moral strength in its collectively Gandhiji tried to identify his concept of Swaraj state with the Ramraj, the ideal state of Shri Rama.

Gandhi, like influential liberals of the twentieth century of the statue of Laski, equated political with economies freedom. Gandhi's model is like Maggine's Italy where the basic necessities should be available to all, irrespective of status, whether prince or an ordinary wage earner. "The Swaraj of my dream" remarked Gandhi," is the poor man's Swaraj". Not only Gandhi made a general commitment to people's welfare, but with remarkable acumen and foresight he also prepared a blue print for rejuvenating and moribund Indian society and life.⁴

Gandhiji proclamaism that "Real Swaraj" will come not by acquisition of authority when it is abused. In other words Swaraj is to be all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. For achieving this, is people should be educated so that they can regulate and control authority. Gandhiji, like plato and Mill, placed enormous importance on education as a precondition to the enjoyment of democratic freedom and the ability to fulfill obligations. The concept of Swaraj was to be achieved through non-violence, production of Khadi on mass scale by men and women living not only in turns, but in lakhs of far-flung villages, boycott of government and government-aided institutions, courts and councils and picketing of wine, opium ganja and today shops?. Gandhiji also laid emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity and thus sought the support of each community during the long-drawn struggle for independence. As nationalism or Chauvinism but is "Consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large."

On the pillars of truth and non-violence Gandhiji erected a political, economic, moral and social structure. His entire thinking was based on the ethical vision in which individual had

the central position. He did not agree with the views that material advancement leads to moral development. He stated, "If inward change is achieved, outward change take care of itself. At political level, he dismissed liberal democracy as a fish market, parliament a prostitute in which people complete for his own-self interest. He believed in the qualitative and not quantitative aspect of democracy. He visualized Swaraj at the individual level Gram Swaraj at the local level and Sarvodya, at Global level. At ethical level, there is much degradation of ethical norms and moral principles in our life. The corruption has rampant in our society. Moral values have been commercialized. We have almost reached a point where people have lost faith in the integrity of the rules. So, to remove this antagonism the moral basic of development is required which lies in truth, non-violence, non-possession, bread labour, fearlessness, Swadeshi, toleration of faith, nature care and simplicity of life.⁵

RESEARCH DESIGN

Review of Literature:

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rules written by Gandhiji gives the essence of Gandhiji's principles like truth, non-violence, purity of means, simplicity, Satyagraha, Swaraj, Swadeshi, village industries etc. Modern civilization has no place for self restraint, which was extremely important for Gandhiji, the book is a severe condemn nation of the Hind Swaraj lays emphasis important for Gandhiji, the book is a severe condemn nation of the modern civilization and presents Gandhian idea about the alternative. The Hind Swaraj lays emphasis on that a country is not nearly a geographical configuration but it consists of its people both rich and poor and patriotism means welfare of all the people.

Sadiq Ali's book. The Vision of Swaraj is a collection of thirty three recent articles on varied subjects by a veteran freedom fighter of the Gandhian era. The writer has keenly observed the developments all through the years in apparent from these articles. By virtue of his close association with the leaders and deep involvement in policy framing he is rightly in a position to evaluate the present situation existing in India authoritatively.

Ramshray Roy's work, Gandhi Soundings in Political philosophy demonstrates how the whole conventional thought and based upon the concept of unlimited progress has become pathetically irrelevant, and how the Gandhian ideas prove adequate to the complese problems the world in confronting today. The book takes up certain key issues in political philosophy such as man and Religion and Nation, and shows how Gandhi with his unique world views offerd entirely new approaches to them.

Anthony J. Parel's book Gandhi;s four meanings of freedom: as original accounts of Mahatma Gandhi's four meanings of freedom: as sovereign national independence, as the political freedom of the individual, as freedom. Gandhi taught human well being, both for individual and fore the collective, requires the simultaneous enjoyment of all four of these aspects. In this volume, seven leading Gandhi scholars write on the four meanings of Gandhian freedom engaging the reader in the ongoing debates in the East and the west and contributing to a new comparative political theory.

S.R. Bakshi's book having the title Gandhi and concept of Swaraj, deals with Gandhi's concept of Swaraj which depicts Gandhian political ideology and techniques of satyagraha. The

chapters deal with the policy and plans executed by Gandhi and his numerous associates. The author also laid emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity and thus sought the support of each community during the long drawn struggle for independence.

Thakurdas Bang's book 'Aasli Swarajya is an attempt to examine the Indian democracy in the context of Swaraj. The author made comments that there is no decentralization of powers in Indian democracy. And he points out that what is real Swaraj and what types of method would be adapted to establishment of Swaraj.

Subrata Mukherjee's edited Book Facts of Mahatma Gandhi Economics and Social Principle, contents include: Gandhian social philosophy, of Sarvodya, Satyagarh, Socialism and Conflict resolution, Gandhi's critique of the old ideas of economies, Gandhi's at Sevgram: India in a village, Mahatma Gandhi and the language equation, Individual Freedom and social action, relevance of Gandhi today etc.

Nripendra Chandra banerji's book the Idea of Swaraj is useful to understand the concept of Swaraj given by Gandhiji. The author observed that under Swaraj the new social order will bring along with it high ideas of responsibility of equality, justice, springing out of renewed faith and charity. Petty class jealousies, narrowing predispositions, small ambitions will vanish and in their place will rise a sense of human solidarity and love.

V.T. Pstil's book problem and Issues in Gandhism the present volume are contained in four parts. Parts one covers Gandhi's ideas on religious and ethics which constitutes an intrinsic part of Gandhi philosophy. The third part discusses the Gandhian interpretation of an existing world order world peace

and nuclear threat parts probes into a number of Gandhian themes like truth, human habitat etc.

Bhiku Parekh's book *Colonilism, Tradition and Reform* divided in nine chapters. The first chapter discuss the evolution of Gandhi's own thinking and shows how he was deeply influenced by a long line of distinguished Indian thinkers. The remaining. chapter discuss a variety of topic including Gandhi's understanding the nature and causes of Indian degeneration, his concept of yugadharama or a new moral and order, his concern radicalize the traditional Hindu view of non-violence, his debate with terrorist about the use of violence of secure independence, Swaraj his concern about the practice of unsociability, and the independence, Swaraj his concern about the practice of unsociability, and the mobilization of sexual energy to attain political adjectives.

S.H. Patil, *Gandhi and Swaraj* this outstanding book gives a total picture of the Gandhian concept of Swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of our freedom, has through Swaraj elaborated his concept of an ideal state. The author critically discuss the life sketch of Mahatma Gandhi, his philosophy of life, his concept of Swaraj, stable social order, society. Free from diseases, towards new education, new economic order, denaturalized political system, relevance of Gandhan thought, etc.

L.M. Bhol's study, *Essays an Gandhian Socio-Economic Thought* analyzed the Gandhian thought and views on Swadeshi, decentralization and Swaraj. The book carry the important message that the guarantee of individual and social welfare. Peace and harmony contained in Gandhi's thought programme and action. The book looked into Gandhi's thought is an

integrated whole in which various Gandhian concepts, themes, programmes are closely inter-related.

M.K. Gandhi India of my Dreams compiled by R.K. Prabhu. This work an attempt has been made by assembling together passage from writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi, to give the redress an idea of the part which he expects a completely free and independent India of his conception to play in her own domestic affairs as well as in her relations with the rest of the world.

Sandhya Arya's book Bhartiya Chintan Mein Swaraj deals with the comparative ideas of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaher lal Nehru about the meaning of Swaraj.

Gandhism after Gandhi the book written by Anil Dutta Mishra is a attempt to interpret Gandhism keeping in view the problems threading in 21st century. The present volume contains thought provoking articles and research papers contributing by eminent Gandhian Scholars and academicians.

B.Pradha, "Swaraj: The Gandhian Vision" in this article the author views that Swaraj for Gandhi was not a mere negative concept in the sense of freedom from alien domination and the baneful influences of western materialistic and mechanistic civilization, western sense of value and western political institutions. Accordingly Gandhi included that Swaraj is positive. This positive aspect of Swaraj was four dimensional, Political, Social, Economic and Moral facets constituting the four dimension of Swaraj.

K.J. mahal in his article, "society and State(Ramraj and Swaraj)" examine the Gandhian concept of Swaraj and Ramraj. Gandhiji wanted in his Ramraj perfect democracy in which inequality based on possession and non-possession, color, race,

creed or sex would vanish. The nation of purna Swaraj of Gandhiji that there is no isolated independence but healthy and dignified interdependence. Gandhiji often used the word Ramraj and Swaraj for indicating this concept of an ideal state and society.

“Swaraj though Panchayati Raj-Some Consideration” the paper written by V.S. Hedge and M.B. Harjan is an attempt to examine Gandhiji’s concept of Panchayati Raj in its totality. Firstly they discussed the meaning and purpose of Panchayati Raj as depicted by Gandhiji. How all round development of a village(gram Swaraj) can be brought about by Panchayati raj is attempted. And then the difference between Gandhiji’s approach to Panchayati Raj is briefly discussed. In the end the author tries to show that Panchayati Raj is the best way to achieve real Swaraj.

Thakurda Bang in his article” Let independence Flower into Swaraj.” Analyzed that something has been done during the lost fifty years but our liberty did not flower into swaraj of the masses. The author Points out that Gandhiji had wished as a no the eve of the independence that we have won only political freedom and the social, economic and moral freedom is yet to be achieved. But we forget the old man’s working. The author emphasized on the psychological transformation of the nation. Since every revelation beings with a change in psychology, we must change air psychology. Besides we must understand the limitations of government. Our programme should be constructive.

N.N. Panicker’s article, “Swaraj”: The Ends and Means in One” examined that the problem in each part of the country may seem to be very different, but it is only in appearance. The root

cause of all problems is the lack of freedom and power in the people for self rule, and exploitative control on them by the manipulating few. Unless basic integrity reasserts itself, the problems of the country can't be solved. People in general all over the country realize it's necessary/ It is their cultural trait and it sustains them. The time has come for a catharsis of the people level it sustains them. Own initiatives. Empowerment of the people through decentralization of power with emphasis on self-reliance is the ways. In other words, Swaraj is not only the goal, it also the way.

Mahatma Gandhi in his article; "Basic Principle of Village Swraj" reveals that village Swaraj can be achieved under decentralization. Every human being has a right to live even as birds and beasts have.

From the above discussion it has been observed that many authors have highlighted the Gandhian concept of Swaraj with special reference to political, economic and social content. In the present age of problem ridden society his concept of Swaraj is highly relevant to address the contemporary realities. With his background the present researcher has taken up this study.

Objectives of the Study:

- To analysis contemporary Indian problems.
- To analysis Swaraj in different perspectives.
- To analysis Gandhian notion of Swaraj in contemporary Indian politics.
- To analysis the relevance of Gandhian concept of Swaraj.

Hypothesis

- Notion of Swaraj as given by Gandhi is still relevant.
- Gandhian concept of Swaraj is a solution for many of the contemporary problems.

- Contemporary needs a paradigm shift for a participatory democracy is in terms of Swaraj.

Research Problem:

Gandhian concept of Swaraj is a complex one. There are several reasons for this. It has already soft referred to the first, which is that Swaraj has four distinct aspects. The second reasons have to do with his sources, for Gandhiji derived the all important notion of self rule. Almost all of the classifiable system of Indian Philosophy-the Vedanta and the Yoga systems for example-deal with the ways and means of attaining self rule, known also as self realization or moksha.

Gandhi's reinterpretation of the meaning of self rule of Swaraj also had a historical context. In the ninetieth century and early twentieth century, the traditional notion of Swaraj met with a serious crisis, the like of which it had never faced. At the heart of the crisis was the equation of whether Swaraj was compatible political and economic activities. According to the ancient and medieval traditions of India, self rule was a political and a social state of affairs. A self rules person was supposed to remain indifferent to any political oppression or poverty that may be around him or her. Those who aspired to self rule tended to seek it outside the around him or her. Those who aspired to self were thought to require world renunciation if not world negation a point made rather powerfully by Albert Schweitzer in his India. Thought and its development Swami Vivekananda, for instance, was opposed to taking any part in politics whereas Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan actively, if judiciously,

Engaged in politics. But no one spoke more fervently of the need to harmonize political action with Swaraj, nor did any one demonstrate a more practical way of meeting that need, That did

Mahatma Gandhi. Western sources supplied Gandhi with the starting points of his notions of independence and political and economic freedoms. And there is good reason for this. Classical Indian political philosophy, being a theory of monarchy, lacked a tradition of political freedom and a notion that people are the repository of power and authority. In classical India the king and his encourage alone were thought of as being politically free, while the people were treated as the passive element of the monarchical regime. This was true also of the Islamic political tradition of medieval India. It was only in the nineteenth emperors, were the legitimate source of power and authority. The Indian National congress, from its very inception in 1885 gave this concept formal recognition. And Gandhi in his turn adopted it his part of his own philosophy. His training in London as a lower and his later readings and activities both in South Africa and India made him a staunch advocate of national as well as individual freedom.

The third factor that adds complexity to Gandhi's meaning of Swaraj or self rule arise from the language in which he expressed them-Gujrati and English, Gandhiji wrote his major works-Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, the Autobiography. In Gujrati of these, he himself translated only one into English, Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rules, which for that reason alone remains an irreplaceable source for deciphering Gandhi's meaning.

In addition to the major works mentioned above, Gandhiji, over a period of four decades, wrote editorials on a regular basis for his three weekly journals. Indian Opinion, Young India, and Harijan. These editorials written in English, remains & excellent sources of information on how he used the English language to

express his ideas of Swaraj. A close reading of these editorials indispensable for getting a sound grasp of Gandhi's meanings.

Consulting the dual linguistic of his ideas, then, is part of any serious study of Gandhi's political philosophy. Thus, in Gujrati he normally used the same word, Swaraj, to express all four aspects of freedom. In his English writings, however, he freely used such different words as "home rule", "self-rule", "independence", "freedom of the individual", "liberty", "right", "fundamental rights" and "economic freedom" as well as Swaraj, which he now used as an English word. The context in which the terms occur is often important.

A fourth factor that adds to the complexity of Gandhi's concept of Swaraj is the fact that he was not a philosopher in any formal sense of the term. He was primarily and certainly a philosophy underlies his thought and actions, but that does not make him a philosopher. The task of giving a philosophers themselves.

Thus it can be concluded that Swaraj is a dynamic and multidimensional concept. The other problem is how far Gandhian concept of Swaraj is relevant in the light of the contemporary world as well as Indian politics are facing the problems and how this concept can be applied in liberalization. Privatization and Globalization period. The existing problems of political, social and economic are communal and sectarian among the communities and sets, environment the individual and collectivities, escalating social tension etc. National economy has been regulated by few individuals. The edifice of political institutions has been crumbling. In this process, instead of co-operation conflicts are mounting up in an unimaginable proportions. How far Gandhian concept of Swaraj be helpful in

creating an ethical and decentralized society? Hence the need for this type of study becomes desirable.

Scope of the Study :

Indian polity is known for three C's that is Castism, Communication and corruption, Gandhiji provided an alternative and he always stood for transparency legitimacy and responsive administration. This study will cover the views of Gandhiji about Swaraj and generally it will include the problems which persist and ones rear their ugly heads in Indian politics. Besides, this research work will also study, how the solution of these problem will be possible in Gandhian concept of Swaraj . The origin of the concept of Swaraj and theoretical and pragmatic dimensions of Swaraj will also be studied. The concluding section seeks to underscore the continuing relevance of Gandhian Swaraj of comparing that notion with, on profiling it against, significant recent initiatives in Western ethical and political thought. Above all the study will also help in resolving the present problems on the basic of various dimensions like political, social and economic philosophy of Gandhiji. Last but not least the study will also analysis how the Gandhian concept of Swaraj will be useful in reconstructing the contemporary Indian policy.

Methodology

This research will be based on library research, content analysis and desk research. For this purpose the primary and secondary both the sources will be used. The primary sources include the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, his speeches, D.G. tendulkar's volume. Manubhan's diaries, Mahadev Desai's diaries, collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, young India, Harijan and Indian opinion. The secondary sources will be the

books and other commentary written by other authors on the subject.

The present study will take the aid of a methodological approaches, such as the historical, comparative, descriptive-cum-analytical. Historical approach would be helpful to understanding conceptual framework of Swaraj. Through analytical method Gandhian meant for Swaraj will be evaluated. Different dimensions such as political, economic, social and spiritual are also be studied. Comparative method would be useful to understand these various dimensions of Swaraj. These methods will also be used for collecting and analyzing the data.

RELEVANCE OF STUDY

Day by day violence, corruption, hypocrisy, frustration selfishness, gundaism, power politics and bulging cities dominant role where no body's is safe, nobody craves for principles and more-over every one is made after momentary opportunities. To encounter these problems, it is the need of the hour to bring Gandhiji's principles of non-violence, truth, fearlessness, sarvodya, trusteeship, swadeshi, occasional fasting, prayer, confession, and brahmachrya into practice from micro level to macro level. It alone can save the whole of mankind and creates a feeling of intension. Preaching and practice must see eye to eye without any kind of economic deepen where the means and ends are pure. There is no shadow of doubt that his life is his message to all of us.

According to Gandhiji earth has enough to satisfy everybody's need but not any body's greed. His core of philosophy lies in loving all mankind without any distinction and helps to have faith in God i.e. truth. Non-violence which is attribute of all soul is might heir than the mightiest weapon. His

experience communicates that morality is the basic of things and truth is the substance of the morality like true equality is the only morality or true is the wisdom. Service to the needy downtrodden and leper is service to God.

Gandhism is a living thought for solving the social, economic and political problems of the day. Gandhism is becoming more and more relevant with the passing of time due to the use of moral principles in each and every field. Infact, the future generations will recall Gandhi's idea particularly in two broader specific areas: like the use of non-violent methods and for reflecting violence for the resolution of social and political conflicts; and secondly, for trying to come to grips with the problems of the culture of "consumerism" in the post industrial era. Not only that his ideas will be relevant in 21st century because he combined theory with public activity, non-cooperation with evil with adherence to non-violence, developing methodology of action with effective force but without malice towards the opponents and rational and experimental attitude together with the fundamental acceptance of an ethical position.

If there is anything that can solve the problem in 21st, is the Gandhian path, along with the opportunities which will emerge from modern science and technology. Our approach to development and economic growth must be harmonized with human value. Our aim should be to have worth living place and worth living life which can be achieved through change of our life style and controlling our unlimited needs and greed's. We must our follow the Indian tradition of self-sacrifice. We require a proper synthesis of science and spirituality to usher in an era of welfarism in 21st century i.e. Bahujna, hitaya, Bhujana Sukhaya. The Indian tradition has a great resilience and Indian

mind a great capacity to overcome hurdles. We have to start somewhere to come to right-path the Gandhian path.

Appraisal of Gandhi's idea of Swaraj illustrates this well. Swaraj of Gandhi's conception with its firm grounding in God, an entity that is anathema to the modern mind, is either dismissed as belong to the dunghill of history of obscurantist or as something to be made floatable by dirempting it from its metaphysical ground. It is argued that since the metaphysical ground of Swaraj is beyond our reach-both historically and ontologically, it must be restricted to its political meaning, that is self-rule. Thus dirempted, Swaraj means nothing else but democracy as an apt political arrangement in modern times appears to be a helpless recognition that nothing better is really available. It also points to an uncritical declaration, an article of faith, that democracy is the only political institutional arrangement that protects and promotes moral dignity of the individual person.

Thus our understanding of Gandhi's idea of Swaraj is influenced both by epistemological and pragmatic factors. Epistemologically, we tend to interpret Gandhi's experienced or intended reality in terms of a language of discourse dealing with a reality shorn of divine presence. Pragmatically, our understanding of swaraj is shaped by what we consider desirable and possible in a radically changed world, in any case, our predilection prevents us from critically evaluating and properly understanding Gandhi's idea of Swaraj.

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