

CHAPATER -II
SWARAJ: THEORETICAL DIMENSIONS,
DIFFERENT NOTION OF SWARAJ

Many scholars define Swaraj in different ways.

Swaraj According to Tilak

Swaraj to Tilk was rule by the people, according to the wishes of the people. Swa (Self) in Swaraj (Self rule) meant people's (Prajā's) rule and hence self rule or swaraj should, therefore mean people's rule or democracy. The word swaraj means a constitutional government which rules according to the wishes of the people to their representatives¹. Tilk said British people select the executive through the elected representatives of the people decide on policies and imposts and remove tones and determine the allocation of public expenditure. Similarly Tilak wants Indian should the right to run their own government to make laws, to appoint the administrators as well as to spend the tax revenue. The British government or their representatives in India should not interfere in there maters². These things lead to Swaraj.

Tilak was one of those leaders who assested over since beginning of the freedom struggle Indias right to swaraj or national self determination. He recognized the basic conflict between the interest to British imperialism and the aspirations of the people of India and this conflict cannot be solve unless the Indians have the right shape their own destiny. These ideas can be achieved by fostering strong feelings of patriotism and self respect among people and social system based on the principles of human dignity, equality before law, tolerance and respect for human³.

Swaraj as the right of the people to conduct the administration of the country according to the wishes of the people. Tilak analyse the concept of Swaraj is that swaraj might mean Government by rulers belonging to the same country religion or caste the ruled. Though desirable in itself. This was the least important aspect of swaraj. If the government is really responsible to the governed, forigon king or a few foreign administrators country what is more external it that the government should be a good government, a government based on peace, order and the rule can also establish order within the country but is does not work for the happiness of the people⁴. Swaraj is not only a natural right of a people, a nation, but also its bounden duty, a sort of moral obligation. It does not have any religion implications, Tilak's concept of Swaraj has a positive content.

Tilak always criticize foreign administration because this administration stagnates the growth of a individual, deprives him of the opportunity of attaining excellence in any field of life. The purpose of Swaraj was to remove this obstacle, it would not be meaningful caterwise. Hence under on undemocratic political set up people do not feel that they are enjoying swaraj. So Tilak hoped that with increasing political awareness people would come to identify the idea of self rule with that of democratic rule and would realize that the emergency of good government would not be possible in the absence of a democratic set up⁵.

Swaraj According to Vinoba Bhawa

Vinoba Bhawa defines swaraj in the context of Bhoodan movement and sarvodaya. Through Bhoodan movement he took donated land from land owner Indians and gave it took donated land from land owner Indians and gave it to the poor and

landless villagers. On the other hand Sarvodya means development of all. Vinoba said we have to achieve Swaraj through village development every government works for the development of the villagers.⁶ Those villagers landless government should be given land to the villagers. Industries should be established in every village. In village the villagers produce sufficient crops and clothes. The problems in the village solve together to the villagers. Every village should have a primary school, secondary and university. In Sarvodya scheme every villager will have the right to work in agriculture. Vinoba called agriculture 'Sita' and village industry 'Ram' village will be happy when the two units work together. So we have to build village swaraj. This should sign the glory of village glory of every village will mean glory to the country.⁷

Again Vinoba said eighty percent of our people live in villages and twenty percent in towns. But government and planning are dominated by village people. Whosoever comes forward, sings in the same tune give me vote and I will do your welfare. None has the courage to remark that your welfare lies in your hands. After independence most of educated persons have arrogated to poor people. They say to the people: ours is to plan and yours is to execute. We are heads, you are looks like blank boxes. So the poor people's problem can be solved through grammar. Present required is that the people should plan and government should help in its execution. Today the government frames the plan and then seeks the cooperation of the public. People have become habituated to get all things carried out through their representatives. This tendency of entrusting everything to representatives is likely to render us indolent, careless, indiscreet and inactive. If we create real swaraj, when

our people's own power were strong. Convert our village into a self government. We must sit down together and unanimously decide about the exports and imports of the village. The village must develop the strength to return a purchaser from outside empty-handed. The village should mean state. Vinoba said, "When any village anybody asks you where you live, your reply should be. I live in the village and that village is an integral part of the world. God is our ruler and we, of the village, run over village state by mutual consent and co-operative effort."⁸

Swaraj According to Aam Aadmi Party

Aam Aadmi Party launched a manifesto. This manifesto is based on Gandhian concept of Swaraj or Home rule. It presents a model of governance. According to Aam Aadmi party Swaraj means self-government and self government can be created in democratic system. In democratic system people elect their representatives and send to in parliament. These representatives take decisions in the parliament and to make policies. But this is not a true Swaraj. There is no participation of the people in policy making decisions. Number of politicians involves in corruption and other criminal activities. True Swaraj come only when people involve in decision making process. In India people do not have constitutional provisions to allow people's participation in policy making. All the other democratic countries like Switzerland, France have such provision REFERENDUM and INITIATIVE. In these countries if a representative did not fulfil people's desire they can reject their representative and send back to their elected representatives. This is called REFERENDUM. Similarly if majority of people would considered a law necessary for their nation, through a clearly defined procedure the people can send the law to their chosen

representatives and this right is termed INITIATIVE. These are chosen representatives and this right is termed INITIATIVE. These are two right through which people participate in government decision.

AAP states that Swaraj can achieve to give powrs to the gram sabhas and mohala sabhas where a sarpanch or common people take decision only with the consent do all thepeople of the village or town. Decenterlisaton of powers leads to swaraj. People involve directly policy making decisions that affect their local areas and government directly responsible to the people. So real swaraj achieved when to give power in the hands of the people and government procedures should be made simple and understand easily by the common man. Every gram sabha and mohalla sabha would be given united funds every year for development activities in their area which they can use according to their needs. The Gram Sabha would decide hence and where the funds would be utilized the fund. So according to AAP Swaraj can be achieved through decenterlization of powers.⁹

SWARAJ: ACCORDING TO GANDHI

According to Gandhi Swaraj means as Self-rule is the rule of the self by the self. It is the rule of the mind over itself and the passions. The passion of greed and aggression in particular. Self-rule enables one to purpose artho and kamo within the bounds of Dharma.

Gandhi's Gujrati text uses the same word Swaraj for self rule and self government. On the other way the English text by contrast, uses two different words to convey these two meanings Swaraj (used an English Word) for self-rule, and home rule, for self-government. True self government requires personal who rule themselves. That is why Britain cannot give self-government

to Indians. They must do it themselves for it by undergoing a suitable degree of self transformation.

He defined the concept in several contexts ranging from self-rule to “total independence” of the nation. This thinking evolved substantially over a period of years during the struggle for independence. He writes in *Hind Swaraj*, “It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is these fruits in the palm of our hands.”¹⁰ Here it is obvious that he means that the moment we become conscious of our innate dignity of a self higher than the external self. We become free and to protect this freedom. He writes, we should willingly sacrifice even our lives. At the spiritual level, he finds Swaraj synonymous with Moksha or Salvation.¹¹

In December 1920 issue of *Young India* Gandhi conceives of Swaraj as the attribute of an independent nation. In sum, he says, Swaraj is the state when a nation is free to make a choice between good and evil.¹²

Gandhi compares Swaraj with Ram Rajya. He draws an image of a pure, idyllic state in which both the government and the governed are led by the highest motives. To quote him, we call a state Ram Rajya when both the ruler and his subjects speak for words, when both are pure in heart, when both are inclined towards self-sacrifice, when both exercise restraint and self control while enjoying worldly pleasures, and when, the relationship between the two is as good as that between a father and a son. Gandhiji proclaims the Real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority when it is abused. In other words Swaraj is to be able to resist authority when it is abused. Swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and central authority for achieving this, is people

should be educated so that they can regulate and control authority. The concept of Swaraj can be achieved through the practice of truth, Non-Violence satyagraha on the pillars of truth and non-violence. Gandhiji created a political, economic and moral structure. His entire thinking was based on the ethical vision in which individual had the Central position. 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. So Gandhiji used the word Swaraj in the wider context and for higher purpose.

PERSONAL SWARAJ

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 he laid down for personal Swaraj was control over lust. Man cannot rule over himself without conquering the lust within him. Rule over all without rule over oneself is deceptive and disappointing. The great mission in life cannot be fulfilled without the rule over the self.

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 a way that he will not come in the way of others. He shall be guided by self-restraint. He shall develop his personality in such a way that his activities. Will not be a hindrance to other; and on the other hand he shall serve others to the best of his abilities. Gandhi desired an ideal state in which all the individuals would achieve maximum degree of self- restraint which would be guided by certain ideals and principles.¹³

NATIONAL SWARAJ

Gandhi ji used the term national Swaraj in a wider sense. According to him, national Swaraj means national self-rule and self-restraint in political, social, economic and moral fields. His concept of Swaraj has multi-dimensional aspects:

(A) Political Aspect of Swaraj

Politically national Swaraj means that the people of the country must be in complete control of all the political institutions. The Government of the country must be based on the consent of the majority people which should be ascertained through the adult suffrage. The people who elect such Swaraj Government should have contributed the manual labor to the state. This concept of Swaraj Government is democratic which is managed by the people who have faith in the dignity of labour.

The national Swaraj will be real if the masses develop the capacity to resist the authority when it is abused. In Swaraj state the ultimate power would be vested with the people. The political power is decentralized in such way that even the smallest man can enjoy the freedom without any social, political or economic disability. There is no political domination either by individual or by any group.

The Swaraj must be poorna (complete) for different social, economic, political and religious sections in the country. The benefits of the national self-rule must be enjoyed by the different sections of the society without any hindrance.¹⁴

(B) Economic Aspect of Swaraj

According to Gandhi ji, national economic Swaraj meant easy availability of food, clothing and shelter to all the people in the country. The production of these basic necessities of life should be localized. Localization of production should be such

that every village and town should be self-sufficient in these basic necessities. Economic Swaraj will not be Poorna (complete) until such conditions are created.

To Gandhi national economic Swaraj also meant the ability to preserve certain Indian industries which are essential for its economic existence. These essential national industries are agriculture and cottage industries. Without the revival and development of these industries, economic independence and equality cannot be ensured to all the Indians.

In an ideal Swaraj state, the people will be free from economic exploitation and domination. Men with capital will voluntarily share their fruits with their common workers under trusteeship system. The institution of trusteeship is one of the basic features of economic Swaraj state. It avoids economic exploitation, ensures economic equality and guarantees proper distribution of production without storage and wastage.¹⁵

(C) Social Aspect of Swaraj

The social content of national Swaraj means the removal of social suppression of one community by another. It also implies that the various social groups and communicates will follow the ideal of peaceful co-existence. There will be no evil passions in the hearts of the Hindus and the Muslims. There should be real Hindu-Muslim unity based on mutual love and affection. These two communities shall try to establish united secular India. Another social evil like untouchability will be completely abolished and social equality will be ensued. The caste-system will disappear but four Varna's will be functionally equal. The social hierarchy will be pulled out.

Women who represent half of the society will be equal to the men. There shall be no domination of women by man. She

will be respected as mother and sister in the society. She will have a unique and highly respectable role to play in the society. Social Swaraj will not be complete without due place and honorable role for the women in the society.

(D) Moral Aspect of Swaraj

Gandhi and concept of Swaraj state is to be based on non-violence. A state which is not based on this principle of non-violence can never achieve its full moral height. Such non-violent state should be defended not by the professional military but by the non-violent satygrahis. Gandhi Ji firmly believed that under such non-violent state the weakest man can rise to his full moral height. This implies that the moral development of the individual and the state go hand in hand. The course of one affects that of the other. Under the protective walls of violent forces, both the individual and the state cannot realize their moral potentialities.

Thus Gandhi Ji defined Swaraj in terms of the individual and the nation. According to him, Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the Swaraj (self-rule) of the individuals. Such Swaraj can come into existence when the citizens discharge their duties in proper manner. In terms of a national Swaraj, 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 collectivity. Gandhi ji tried to identify his concept of Swaraj state with the Ram Raj, the ideal state of Shri Rama.

The corruption has rampant in our society moral values has been commercialized use have almost reached a point where people have lost faith in the integrity of the rules. So to common the 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.

GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE AND CONCEPT OF SWARAJ

Gandhiji's concept of Swaraj is based on his philosophy of life. He built his concept of Swaraj state through two stages- destructive and constructive:

He considered that man is mixture of good and evil. Man should eliminate the evil and develop goodness in him through the practice of certain principles: (i) truth (satya), (ii) non-violence (ahimsa), (iii) non-stealing (asteya), (iv) non-possession (aparigraha), (v) self-control (Brahmcharya), principles of trusteeship, Swadeshi, Swaraj State, equality etc. Men with such principles can build the Swaraj state, the ideal state of self-governing people.

Gandhiji recommended two moral weapons for dismantling the existing society and for reconstructing the Swaraj state. These two weapons which are based on truth and non-violence are: (i) Satyagraha, and (ii) constructive programme. Satyagraha which has certain techniques like non-cooperation, civil practices and insurrection in the existing society and to convert the existing society into the ideal society (Swaraj state) through slow process of dismantling. Along with the fight against the civil practices and institutions, new constructive programmes like village industries, khadi, Hindu- Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and other constructive programmes are to be taken up to build the Swaraj state.

Truth and Swaraj- On the moral principles, Gandhi placed truth as their first and foremost. He called it. "The Sovereign principles". Which included numerous other principles. It did not

merely imply truthfulness in speech, but in thought also and did not only the relative truth of our conception, but the absolute truth, the eternal principle, that is God.¹⁶

He equated God with truth, as he says. "I worship God as truth only. I have not yet found him, but I am seeking. After him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest.

Gandhi's conception of truth has obviously not the common meaning attributed to it for there were divine and philosophical dimensions to it. His ideas truth was based on the deep attachment to the epic, Ramcharitmanas, written by Tulsidas and his faith in the Ramanana.¹⁷

Gandhi says. "Morality is the basis of all things, and the truth is the substance of all morality. Truths become my sole objective. It began to grow in magnitude every day and my definition of it has been ever widening. As we have said, Gandhi equated truth with God, with the ultimate reality that pervaded the entire universe. He thus had a unifying view of life and could look at life in totality. He found all the parts interdependent and realized that good reciprocity was necessary for their smooth functioning. In a letter to Horace. Alexander, he wrote, "we needlessly divide life into water tight compartments, religious and other. Whereas of a man has true religion in him, it must show in every detail of life. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty. It is a sign of inattention, neglect based from upon this conception of fundamental unity.¹⁸

Nonviolence and Swaraj- Gandhi's view that another pillar of Swaraj is non violence. Non violence was the basic requirement of Swaraj. He stressed that non-violence along could

leads to true Swaraj. He even went to the extent of unadulterated non-violence and insisted on recognizing non-violence as living bond. He commuted, "I held that Swaraj cannot be imposed from without, it has to come from within."¹⁹

In Gandhi's opinion the common good is achieved only if the system was non-violent without the recognition of non-violence on a national scale there was no such thing as a constitutional or democratic government. He says, "In a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated."²⁰ Similarly, he believed that true Swaraj could never come, through untruthful and violent methods. "True Swaraj of the masses can never come through the suppression of extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated Ahimsa."²¹

He stated that in non-violent society nobody could be the enemy rather everybody had to contribute his or her quota to the common goal, all could read and write and their knowledge kept growing from day to day. Sickness and disease were reducing to the minimum. No one was a pauper and labour could always find employment. There was no place under such a government for gambling, drinking and immorality or for class hatred. The rich would use their riches wisely and usefully. It should not happen that a handful of rich people should live in jewelled palaces and the millions in miserable hovels devoid of sunlight or ventilation. In non-violent Swaraj there could be no encroachment upon just rights, conversely no one could possess unjust rights. He said, "I have always held that social justice, even, unto the least and the lowliest is impossible of

attainment by force. I have further believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure redress of the wrongs suffered by them that means is non-violent non-co-operation. I am quite sure that non-violent non-co-operation can secure what violence never can."

Addressing the historic August (1942) session of the all India congress committee Gandhi reiterated his faith once again that violent means led to the concentration of power in the hands of a few and frustrated the ends of popular revolutions. "I read Carlye's French Revolution while I was in prison and Pandit Jawaharlal has told me. Something about the Russian Revolution. But it is my conviction that in as much as there struggles ever bought with the weapon of violence, they fould to realize the democratic ideal. In the democracy which I have envisaged, a democracy established by non-violence, there will be equal freedom for all Everybody will be his own master."²²

He concluded, "If India is to evolve the true type, there should be no compromise with violence or untruth."²³

He also said that military force as a dangerous to the free growth of the soul. He stressed that India if attained the independence through non-violent methods then the administration would be carried out without the military and Swaraj are democracy depended upon military could not be true Swaraj. "It will be poor democracy that depends for its existence on military assistance. Military force interferes with the free growth of the mind. It smother's the soul of man."²⁴

Gandhi's view on truly democratic and non-violent society would not need the armed forces. It would have no aggressive designs on its neighbours. It were attached, it should rely on non-violent resistance and if that failed and resulted it its

conquest, it should rely on Satyagraha, including non cooperation, to render the new government ineffective. Every government needed the support are at least the acquire science of its subjects and it would not last long if its united, determined, and non violently trained subjects denied it all forms of active and passive support. Gandhi appreciated that this was a 'Euclidean ideal but insisted that it was worth aiming at and that in the meantime the best defence for a country was to rely on the combination of a small armed force non-violently trained citizenry supported by well organised international economic and political pressure But he was in favour of maintenance of police force a body of reformers in a non violent state. The police would be servants, not masters of the people. He work, "The police force will have some kind of arms, but they will be rarely used, if at all. Infact the policeman will be reformers. Their police work will be confined primarily to robbers and dacoits." In case of large scale raits and social disturbances, Gandhi argued that the police should be assisted by peace brigadier made up of non-violently trained and locally and nationally respected citizens. Gandhi admitted that in independent India there would be crime but no criminals. They would not be punished but treated like patients for treatment and cure in jails which would serve as hospitals. The staff of jail would works as physicians and nurses.²⁵

In Gandhi's view, human beings committed crimes for a variety of reasons, such as poverty, a sense of injustice, lack of self-discipline, selfishness, and ill-will and each required a sensitive response. If human being committed crime out of poverty and a sense of in injustice than it would be the responsibility of community to tackle their roots and if the

person indulged in criminal activity because of lack of self discipline, selfishness and ill will then the society should seek the support of criminal family, friends, neighbours, religious leaders and give them all necessary help to reintegrate him into the community and develop in him the capacities for self discipline, social concern and moral responsibility. If that did not help, imprisonment might be come necessary not so much to punish the criminal but to create on environment for his moral reform. Ideally prisons should become workshops as well as educational and moral institutions, turning criminals to become useful members of society. The would then lease to be brutal institutions, and would instead become schools of reform subject to the same spirit of humanity that government other areas of life.

This it is clear that the rejected violence in Swarajya state and tried to expose it in it nakedness and believed that violence could ensure no safety for Swaraj. As interpreted by Gandhi, non violence aims to strengthen the moral foundations of democracy. It is to add moral dimension as supplement to the legal dimension democracy, never, is to mistaken for a weak government which can tolerate the flouting of order and the canons of civilized existence.²⁶

Satyagraha and Swaraj- Satyagraha was the best weapon through which Swaraj could be achieved. He considered 'Satyagraha' to be the best weapon for the evolutionary process of social change. The root of Gandhi's Satyagraha is self-restraint. Its foundations was laid when he promised his mother that he would not touch, wine, women and meat" during his stay in England. He had to face innumerable difficulties during his initial days there and "Practically had to strane " on account of

his view to abstain from eating meat. This caused some irritation, but soon, "The strict observance of the vow-produced an inward relish distinctly more healthy, delicate and permanent."²⁷

Meanwhile, he had joined the vegetarian society in England and become a convinced vegetarian through his own experiments in dietetics thought him. That the real seat of taste was not the tongue, but the mind Gandhi said that satyagraha was the inherent brightness of person and it implied the exercise of the purest force against injustice, oppression and exploitation. Never, according to Gandhi, Satyagraha for the sake of truth and justice to be given up. But Satyagraha, although based on moral resistance to unjust authority is also never to become a formula of social and political disintegration. A Satyagrahi must have first rendered intelligent, spontaneous and willing obedience to the laws of states.²⁸

He thought that a lover of truth must devote his life to experience truth and be prepared to face any amount of suffering. Resistance to evil must be done with personal suffering to awaken the conscience of the evil doer. The Satyagrahi appeals to the soul of the evil doer.

"The efficacy of Satyagrahi depends upon the tenacity to resist evil which while it abjures force develops in the satyagrahi the faculty to face all risks cheerfully."²⁹

To Gandhi, certainly the Satyagrahi obeys the laws of the state not because of the fear of penal sanctions but because he regards them as promoting the common good. Gandhi himself claimed to have been by nature, law-abiding and stated that the capacity for civil resistance comes from the discipline undergone in the process of obeying the civil and moral laws of the state,

"Democracy come naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine- I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy quality themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy."³⁰

But Gandhi was also believer in the categorical superiority of loyalty to the commands of conscience to man-made law. The dictates and commands of any government if they conflicted with the sense of lighter loyalty to conscience had to be realised. Thus, according to Political Teaching of Gandhi, Satyagraha is a perpetual law against anything repugnant to the soul. In his conception of Swaraj, he rejected the adoption of any form of government imported from either the western countries or the eastern countries as he found fault in them. He thought that if Swaraj was to be desired it should be built upon Swadeshi. Analysing the models of government of the west and the east he said, "The motive lying behind the western type and the Eastern type is the same. The greater welfare of the whole society and the abolition of the hideous inequalities resulting in the existing millions of have notes and a handful of haves. I believe that this end can be achieved when non-violence is accepted by the best minds of the world as the basis on which a just social order is to be constructed."³¹

Similarly Gandhi also maintained that Swaraj was not an alien concept and it could be achieved by self-reliance. He felt that Swaraj could be attained by the people of India if they realised and accepted the importance of all things what were native to India. Thus he said, "We do not realise that Swaraj is almost wholly attainable through Swadeshi. If we have no regard for our respective vernaculars, if we dislike our clothes, if our

dress repels is, if we are ashamed to wear the sacred Shikha, if our food is distasteful to us, our climate is not good enough, our people clothes and unfit for company, our civilization faulty and the foreign attractive, is short if everything native is bad and everything foreign is pleasing to us, I should not know what swaraj, can make for us. It seems to me that before we can appreciate Swaraj we should have not only love but passion for Swadeshi.³²

Gandhi called his model of government "Ram Rajaya" after the political order which was in operation in ancient India and which used to ensure the betterment of all by providing them an ideal living condition. To Gandhi, it signified a social relationship that allowed poorna Swaraj for each.³³

Gandhi Considered that no government considered as good unless it safeguarded the interest of the poorest of the poor. According to him the government had to act as the servant of the people and not be have as their master. Essentially, power had to go along with the purpose of service. The power elite had to live at the level of the masses to justify and legitimize the holding of power.³⁴

In Gandhian political society the individual, the minority and the rural areas, are given due importance and all are considered the integral parts of it. He thinks that if any parts is overlooked than the whole suffers and there cannot be true Swaraj in such a society. Gandhi believed in the betterment of all and their involvement in political sphere. He prescribed for a social system in which all will be emancipated. To him, all the people must be uplifted to enjoy good life in the society. He propagated for a social order promoting the good of all. He called this concept "Sarvodaya" the goal of Gandhi's Sarvodaya was the

overall transformation of the entire race of mankind at all levels of human existence. It represents ideal social order based on self-control, self-suffering, love, renunciation and social justice. T.K.N. umithan gave short summary of the Sarvodaya. Philosophy which was founded by Mahatma Gandhi. He says, "In a word of increasing complexity he preached simplicity, in a world of increasing confusion he painted to the simple qualities of character in which the solution might lie, in a world devoted to material goals he clearly showed their limitations in a period of urbanization, he showed the decentralisation meets other important needs that material gains can after."³⁵

Equality and Swaraj – To his ideal state to achieve swaraj every citizen should be provided opportunities and there should be no discrimination between a man and a man on the ground of cast, colour sex and religion.²⁶

Everyone must have an equal opportunity for the spiritual growth and the person of high intellect would help the people of inferior intellect for self development so that they could the equal states. He explain this, "I do not believe in dead uniformity. All men are born equal in intellect, for instance, but the doctrine of equality will be indicated if these who have superior intellect will use it not for self advancement at the expense of others, but for the service of these who are less favoured in that respect than they."²⁷

Economic equality was also one of the major goals of his attainment of Swaraj. To him, economic equality was the master key to attain swaraj. It meant abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. "It means the levelling lawn 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 A non-violent system of government is clearly impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists."²⁸

Gandhi, too, advocates his new type of mechanized cottage and village industry, not for economic reasons and to check exploitation either of the capitalish or the all powerful state, but also to establish true Swaraj.²⁹

According to him everyone must have balanced diet a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children and adequate medical relief only then true swaraj could be established. To attain swaraj Gandhi gone the idea of equal distribution of wages. According to Gandhian theory, in the ideal society there should be equality of wages not only for labourers but also for the other members of different professions all the persons should be supplied with the necessaries to satisfy their natural needs Thus, he indicated the revolutionary doctrine of equality of wages the lawyers, the doctor, the teacher and scavenger as the panacea for socio economic evils.³⁰

The doctrine of equal distribution implies of the immediate level that each man should have the where with all to supply all his natural needs. These should be no accumulation and no useless possession by economic equality Gandhi did not certainly mean the doctrine of absolute equalization of the possessions of individuals." Economic equality of my conception does not mean that everyone would literally have the some amount. It simply mean that everybody should have enough for his needs. The real meaning of economic equality is " to each according to his needs". If a single man demanded as much as man with wife and four children but would be a violation of economic equality.³¹

A man of practical affairs, Gandhi, began to his encounter with real life that equality of wages or the ideal equal distribution of wealth would not be acceptable to the nation at the stage. As he wrote, "My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see it is not to be realized. I therefore work for equitable distribution."³²

For Gandhi, economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. This could be brought of a person world reduce his wants to the minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with new mode of life. There should be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. "Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of wealthy for the super flows wealth possessed by them."³³

Gandhi has realised the fact that if in a social or political order the weakest and the poorest is given all importance then automatically the interest of the rest is protected. But if the strongest is given importance then always the rest will be neglected, justice and equality cannot prevail in a society if difference is maintained between the weak and the strong or the poor and the rich. In a swarajya state, "The weakest should have the some opportunity as the strongest."³⁴

Gandhi supported his conception of absolute equality on the basis of the metaphysical philosophy of non dualism, according to which, essentially, all people are aspects or modes of the same spiritual entity from his very boyhood, Gandhi circled to have had sentiments against untouchability and he would argue even with his matter when she would practice it in her own life and actions.³⁵

He said repeatedly that he wanted to be reborn as an unmoveable and to experience their pains and agonies and make efforts for the eradication of their great evil.³⁶

Gandhi was the most outspoken and determined prophet who carried on a prostrated wear on the longsurviving fortress of the evil of unsociability. He shocked the Hindu orthodoxy by his repeated declaration that unsociability was not a vital part of Hinduism, but was, he used to say only an excrescence and plague.³⁷

He claimed to be the devote fallow only of the spiritual and moral teaching of the Hindu scriptures. "He refused to accept any interpretation of the religious scriptures including even the Vedas if conflicted with the commands of conscience. Even if a religious and spiritual source would be quoted in support of unsociability he would brush it aside as an interpolation. Thus in his own gentle but terrifically powerful way. Gandhi tried to demolish the religious foundation of untouchability By so doing not only did bring the criteria of conscience and right reason to bear their impact on this institution but he damaged its countries old scriptural support."

Gandhi believed in the techniques of change of heart of the Hindu orthodoxy. But in his philosophy the change of heart of Hindu orthodoxy.³⁸

But his philosophy, the change of heart meant doing penances on the past of the leader of Hindu orthodoxy, because this sin of the institution of untouchability, was existing on the basis of the support of orthodoxy – He wanted the orthodoxy leaders to come forward and fraternize with the untouchables.

Gandhi was in favour of the opening of all temple to the Harijans. Once he is said to have gently rebuked his wife for

visiting a temple which was closed to the Harijans. Gandhi also advised the Harijans not to attempt to obtain worldly favours or political benefits by threatening conversion to some non Hindu religion. He also wanted them not to get identified with any political party. It may seem strange, to some extent that in post Gandhian India no strong political party of the Harijans has emerged. According to Gandhi Dharma before the temple in order to get it opened is irreligion and sinful.³⁹ Gandhi advised the decentralisation of the work of the Harijan sevak Sangha which addressed it self to a comprehensive solution of the Harijan problem.

Moreover Gandhi also speak about equality of sexes Gandhi's views on the position of women in society were quite radical. At the Gujrat political conference in Godhra in November 1917, he said, "we have kept our women away from these activities of ours and have thus become victims of a kind of paralysis – The nation wakes with one leg only all its work appears to be only half or incompletely done."⁴⁰

Gandhiji then described the principles and features of the stable social order, new educational system, society free from diseases, new economic order, decentralized political system, art and literature with certain ideals, role of science and technology, and new leaders and their weapons in the Swaraj state.

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