



INVALUABLE LEGACY

**A Possibility in the Eco-system of
Swadeshi and Swaraj**
Sudarshan Iyengar

Quest for an Alternate Vision
M P Mathai

**Thinking Beyond the Self
and the Other**
Prem Anand Mishra

FOCUS

**Transformation Through
People's Power**
P A Nazareth

SPECIAL ARTICLE

**The Flame of Swachhagraha
Burns Bright**
Akshay Rout

Vice President Releases Second Volume of Selected Speeches of the President of India



(Credit: Photo Division, PIB)

The Vice President, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu releasing the two books of selected speeches of the President of India, Shri Ram Nath Kovind, titled 'The Republican Ethic (Vol. 2)' and 'Loktantra ke Swar (Khand 2)', in New Delhi on September 6, 2019. The Union Minister for Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Prakash Javadekar; the Union Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment, Shri Thaawarchand Gehlot; the Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Shri Amit Khare and the Pr. DG, Publications Division, Dr. Sadhana Rout are also seen.

The Vice President of India, Shri M Venkaiah Naidu released two books on Selected Speeches of President of India, Shri Ram Nath Kovind, titled 'The Republican Ethic (vol. 2)' and 'Loktantra ke Swar (khand 2)' at the Pravasi Bhartiya Kendra in New Delhi on September 6, 2019. Shri Prakash Javadekar, Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Thaawarchand Gehlot, Minister of Social Justice & Empowerment, Shri Amit Khare, Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Dr. Sadhana Rout, Pr. DG, Publications Division and others were present at the occasion.

The Vice President complimented the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting and the Publications Division for publishing the collection of speeches of Hon'ble President in an aesthetic manner. The Vice President said that upholding values and ethics was of paramount importance for people in public life and added that both he and the Hon'ble President Shri Ram Nath Kovind felt strongly about it and their priorities for the nation converged at a number of points such as "clean India, an educated skilled India, an innovative India, a fit India and a harmonious, strong and empowered India."

Union Minister Shri Thaawarchand Gehlot said that the President has dedicated his life for social justice, which is reflected in the speeches presented in the books. He said that Shri Ram Nath Kovind is 'people's President'. He highlighted several aspects and areas which the President has stressed upon in his speeches, including education, female empowerment, good governance, inclusive growth, uplift of the poor and downtrodden, among others. He also talked about the life of the President along with the challenges he faced and overcame.

Union Minister Shri Prakash Javadekar highlighted Hon'ble President's concern for ensuring social, economic and political justice to all citizens. Shri Javadekar pointed out that Shri Kovind has a definite vision and awareness about India's future and a keen sense of transformation of society through a future-oriented education. He lauded the efforts of Publications Division for bringing out these important publications.

Several dignitaries including Members of Parliament, Members of Diplomatic Corps, Secretaries and other senior officers of different Ministries and departments, attended the event.



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Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides
Rig Veda

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Reaffirming Faith



Anniversaries of great men are like milestones in the lives of individuals and of societies and nations, providing opportunities to re-assess their messages, their contemporary relevance and to undertake the required course corrections, to re-chart their path towards a better, blissful future.

But how competent are we to do such assessment? Perhaps, for a wholesome assessment, certain ubiquity is required – capacity to be at all times and all places and to assess events at contemporary as well as futuristic level. So, for such complete assessment of Gandhiji, one has to be present and involved at the times of the euphoria of Salt Satyagraha, despondency of pre-partition violence on one hand, and with visionaries like Martin Luther King Junior and Malala Yousafzai of our times on the other. We, human beings, do not possess such capacity. And, as such, we cannot assess in totality, what it meant to be blessed with such lighthouse as Mahatma Gandhi, and more so, what his absence from the historical scene would have meant for the society. But, still, these milestones give us opportunities to remember such personalities and to rediscover their footprints in the sands of time – ‘to make our lives sublime.’ Our humble efforts spread over these pages are a small contribution to the nation’s remembrance and reverence towards Gandhiji.

In the first half of the 20th century, Gandhiji led our nation to a successful fight against the then mightiest power with unique tools of love, truth and non-violence. However, during the same period, the world faced two World Wars, and the Mahatma himself faced assassin’s bullets. After his death, global society faced many anxious moments – from the Cold War to the 9/11 at the turn of the century and the creation of many flashpoints across the world. At national and international levels there were instances of injustices, apathies, distrusts and disparities despite Gandhi’s message.

However, as already pointed out, had we been ubiquitous, we could have simultaneously assessed, along with those despondencies, the impact of the likes of Martin Luther King Junior, Nelson Mandela and other saner academic voices like Alvin Toffler, Erich Fromm and Ernst Friedrich Schumacher – advocating sanity and love for a just and sustainable society. So, the struggle persists, but the hope that ‘truth shall prevail’ also persists. If we believe in continuance of life on this planet, there is no option but to sustain this hope. And this is, perhaps, the essence of Gandhiji’s relevance.

As God fulfils Himself in many ways, Gandhiji’s message is not political alone. It is manifested in a holistic manner for the wholesome development of humankind. The politics, sociology, economics and ethics of Satyagraha, Constructive Programme, Trusteeship, Swadeshi and Khadi, basic education, Truth and Nonviolence, Eleven vows, peace and sustainability of human society – all contribute to a Gandhian dream of a sane, just and empathetic society. In our own humble way, we have tried to fathom these aspects, in various articles spread over the following pages.

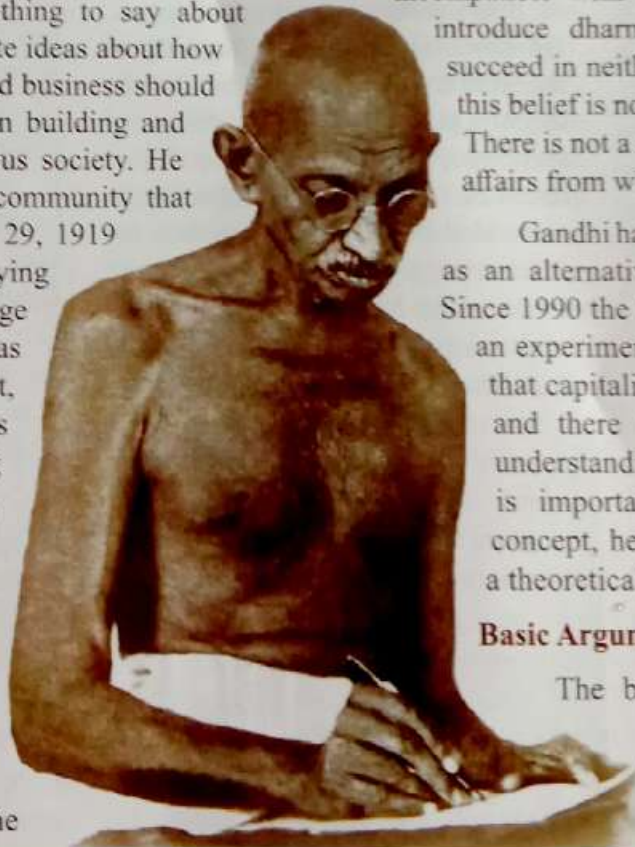
As said in the beginning, milestones give us opportunities to retrospect, introspect and to weigh our prospects – with our limitations. This special issue of *Yojana* – being published on the 150th Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, is one such small effort. Inspired by the great soul – the Father of the Nation – this is a manifestation of our belief – that is ‘deep in our hearts’ that ‘We shall Live in Peace’ and ‘We shall Overcome’.



A Possibility in the Eco-system of Swadeshi and Swaraj

Sudarshan Iyengar

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is the buzzword in the corporate world and the Government. There is an impression among some both in business and public at large that the Government, by making a law forcing the corporate and the business world to spend two per cent of their profit for social betterment, has gained the ground for Gandhi's idea of Trusteeship. It is now known as CSR. However, Gandhi's idea is deeper. Gandhi also had something to say about ethics in business. He had definite ideas about how people engaged in commerce and business should act and can contribute to nation building and forming a nonviolent harmonious society. He had conveyed to the business community that they had a clear role. On June 29, 1919 speaking at the foundation laying of Vanita Vishram, an orphanage in Ahmedabad, he said, "It was said here, by way of complaint, that Ahmedabad has an excess of *Vanik* shrewdness... Along with the shrewdness of a *Vanik*, one should have a venturesome spirit, knowledge and readiness for service... It is the *Vanik* who in fact gives the country its wealth. He is the best *Vanik* who has dedicated his skill in commerce to the country... The spirit of patriotism does not come



unless one has a true sense of dharma... By the compassion which the *Gita* teaches, I only understand that we should dedicate ourselves wholly, body, mind and possessions, to relieving the suffering of those around us whom we find in distress."

Elsewhere Gandhiji commented, "It is generally believed that the spheres of practical affairs or business and spiritual pursuits or dharma are distinct from and incompatible with each other, that it is madness to introduce dharma into business, for we should succeed in neither if we made any such attempt. If this belief is not false, there is no hope for us at all. There is not a single concern or sphere of practical affairs from where dharma can be kept out."

Gandhi had developed the thesis of trusteeship as an alternative to capitalism and communism. Since 1990 the world has changed. Communism as an experiment is almost over. There is a feeling that capitalism is the only saviour for humanity and there is no alternative! In this context understanding Gandhi's ideas of Trusteeship is important. When Gandhi developed this concept, he was essentially trying to argue out a theoretical case.

Basic Argument

The basic and fundamental argument he made in this regard was that both capitalism and communism were founded on violence. In

In contemporary corporate environment, the dominance of the positive economics is reflected in the acceptance of the exogenous nature of values, i.e., the values have to be treated outside and separately. This is not true because actual human behaviour is not bereft of such kind of value systems. The market failure signals the failure of acting like an economic man. In reality, the economic man concept becomes segregated and stands alone in a text bookish world.

“Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth, than by any other method.”

CWMG, Vol. LIX, P. 318

capitalism, wealth creation generates violence. Communism that talks about equity also recommends violence. As against both the schools of thoughts, trusteeship principle basically stands on non-violence. The efforts that society has to make to achieve this kind of equity are not on violence. So for a sustainable society, Gandhi's argument was that trusteeship stands a better chance at the theoretical level. This point is very interestingly brought out by Ajit Dasgupta, “it was however with trusteeship as a theory, an idea, a social and moral norm that he was concerned” thus for example, he describes a society based on trusteeship as follows “the rich man will be left in possession of wealth of which he will use when he necessarily requires and reasonably satisfies his personal needs and then act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society and by the society.”

The fundamental assumption regarding the theory is honesty and integrity of the trustee. Unrealistic nature of the assumption did not deter him since the idea essentially was embedded in the nature of a theoretical model. Many commentaries followed on this point. Prof. Dantwala, a well-known scholar opined that it was necessary to distinguish the moral principles of trusteeship from the system of economic development and business management that could be deduced from it. In other words, Trusteeship is one such theory from where one should deduce and should not hold Gandhi responsible for such deductions. This point needs to be emphasised as eminent scholars have observed that trusteeship as a

concept is not absolute but relative in space and time and on the needs of society. Dantwala differs from other scholars. The principle was ‘absolute’ but application of it can be relative – what is relative or tentative is the floor work of political/economic arrangement based on this moral philosophy. The ‘theory for theory’ must be examined first before we reject his theory on the whole. A number of scholars and philosophers have thought that Gandhi's idea of trusteeship is not operational. However, Gandhi is not arguing of the workability of trusteeship, but he is only promulgating the theory of trusteeship. The idea of trusteeship is based on one particular value that is embedded in Indian tradition. It is the value of *aparigraha* non-acquisitive nature of the human being that has to be developed. This *aparigraha* is the foundation of his idea of trusteeship. It has so happened that the positive economics, as it evolved, has ignored values of this nature. *Aparigraha* becomes the integral part of the human behaviour and this has to be considered also as a part of the behaviour of the economic man. Gandhi departs from the conventional positive economists from this point. The economic man has an ordinal utility, which is qualitative and comparable. *Aparigrahi*, i.e., the person who is acquiring wealth but is not acquisitive, has a variety of uses of his wealth. One, and also accepted by the positive economists, would be the utilisation for self satisfaction-gratification of self-needs. This is one part of the utility; the other part of utility involves an individual deriving the satisfaction and utility by satisfying the needs of others. In

this case, she takes into consideration the satisfaction of family members, relatives, neighbourhood, society at large and the whole world by her actions. The important aspect of *aparigraha* is its multi-utility concept. This concept is slightly different and qualitative in nature, and for maximisation of satisfaction, this multi-order utility has to be considered rather than focusing only on the economic man, where the anthropocentric behaviour aims at maximising individual utility. If this normative nature of *aparigraha* is accepted in the mainstream economic analysis, cultivating an *aparigrahi* individual becomes a major task. Gandhi believed that the value of *aparigraha* had been embedded in Indian culture.

In contemporary corporate environment, the dominance of the positive economics is reflected in the acceptance of the exogenous nature of values, i.e., the values have to be treated outside and separately. This is not true because actual human behaviour is not bereft of such kind of value systems. The market failure signals the failure of acting like an economic man. In reality, the economic man concept becomes segregated and stands alone in a text bookish world.

In corporate practice often there exists irrationality-value other than profit motive. If space is to be created for such value, then it is possible to create space for *aparigraha* as a value to be operational. Trusteeship is based on this premise. Taking the point little further, one can understand the practical implications. If *aparigraha* is to be imbibed, the approach to view the production system would differ. Also, within the production system, the issues like what to produce and how much to produce would be tackled from a different perspective. The society would need to find the way to bring down the acquisitive nature of the population. One solution lies with the introduction of the moral

value of *aparigraha* into lives of the mass through education. However, that is going to be a long process.

Trusteeship is Based on *Ahimsa*

Essentially, trusteeship is based on the idea of *ahimsa*. The natural corollary of *ahimsa* is *satyagraha*, that is, if the wealthy and the capitalist do not part with their wealth voluntarily, then the weapon of *satyagraha* is to be used. Gandhiji was repeatedly asked the process of bringing about trusteeship. Persuasion and non-cooperation was Gandhi's answer. He was also asked that if the trustee fails to behave as a trustee, would the State be justified in dispossessing them. His answer was 'yes'. 'As a matter of fact, the state will take away all those things and I believe it will be justified if it uses the minimum violence'. It is interesting to note that Gandhi also thought about the role of the State too. He had realised the long process of inculcating a personal moral value in society. The role of the State is only for shorter time. Dantwala had rightly pointed out that if the nature of State was not clear and also if the nature of the State were exploitative and repressive, as has been the general case, then the society

would be pushed towards the State capitalism even under this model.

A variant of trusteeship was tried out by Vinoba soon after the Independence that related to the land, which is well known as *bhoodan*. Soon after Independence in 1947, in Telangana the land was being confiscated by left extremists violently by murdering the Zamindars. The Government of India also introduced a number of land reforms at the same time. They included Zamindar Abolition Act and The Land Tenancy and Land Ceiling Act. For Vinoba, violent confiscation and direct confrontation was nothing but murder and what the State was trying to do with law was *kanoon*. He started asking for land in donation and redistributed the donated land to landless farmers. He was appealing, using moral persuasion and he called this '*karuna*' (compassion). It is interesting to note at this point that the Gandhi would have gone slightly beyond *karuna*, i.e., if the landlords did not yield to *karuna* then he would do his *karthavya* which would be *satyagraha*. In early 1950s, agriculture was still the dominant sector contributing significantly in Gross Domestic Product. Land was the

most important factor of production and ownership of land was crucial for supporting the livelihood of a family. Inequality in land ownership resulted into skewed distribution of wealth and income. Landlords were considered to be extremely rich and powerful class in the economic and political spheres of the country.

It was only after the industrialisation the corporate world has come into foreground. Hence if the corporate world would not be ready in acting as a trustee, the practical implication would be moral persuasion followed by *satyagraha*. This point is pertinent and important. Failing to rectify the situation and allowing the corporate sector to grow unbridled, the inequalities would grow further resulting into serious consequences. The mindset about the violent acquisition and confiscation of wealth would become reality if the corporate world would not start acting as a trustee. As against violence and murder, Gandhian approach requires the corporate sector to be more trustee-like and use the wealth for the benefit of all.

Trusteeship Allows Creation of Wealth

Trusteeship is essentially about how to possess and how much to possess. It is not against creation and possession. Creation and possession of wealth is justified in the scheme of Trusteeship. When Gandhi came back to Ahmedabad, one of the problems he faced was the textile mill strike. But then in the entire industrialised world workers union etc. had taken good shape; negotiation used to go on, but the spirit was that of opponents. It was one versus the other. Gandhi brought in the change and incorporated the trusteeship concept. "In the textile mill strike, what I expect of you therefore is that you should hold all your riches as a trust to be used solely in the interest of those who sweat for you and whose industry and labour you owe all your possessions and property



With Jammalal Bajaj at Delhi (1940)

“Since property becomes the cause of quarrels and tempts us to do wrong things, we should give it up, and so long as we are not ready to renounce it completely, we should, as its trustees, use it for the good of others and make the minimum use of it for our own enjoyment.”

CWMG, Vol. XXVI, P.364, 22-3-1925

I want you to make your labourers co-partners of your wealth...unless you think your labourers as co-partners you are not really in the mould of trusteeship and therefore you are always confronting.” The corporate world may not agree to what Gandhi had said and would argue their case citing irresponsible behaviour of labourers and need for exit policy. There exists possibility of violent incidences since the corporate world has been treating their labours merely as a physical objective input devoid of human face and just as a factor of production. In the Neo Classical Economics, to imbibe the value of labour indirectly and to minimise the cost, it is to be exploited physically and economically. This is what virtually happens which is irresponsibility. In such circumstances, any expectation from labourers to become efficient and develop a commitment for production cannot materialise. If the labour neither has any sense of stake in production process nor of ownership in the production unit and environment, it would be an alienated lot in the entire production process, hence would not be interested. The entire process of production generates definite negative externalities by not paying proper wages. These externalities are also being imposed on the society and the state. If the concept of trusteeship is to be applied in these circumstances as a trustee, as a producer the corporate sector should make an offer to fellow human beings who are part of the production process for their decent standards of living. Decent standards of living, in this context, would mean provision for *roti, kapada, makkan, education* and

health. These provisions can be made with an idea of trusteeship. In pure economic terminology, consideration for the average cost only is not the answer. It is necessary to internalise the externalities that the corporate sector has imposed on the society. The invisible hands of the market, supply and demand have ignored this serious issue of externality. For the individual firm and the whole industry, the question of this externality does not come into their balance sheet, but is transferred to the State and society. The State and society both have inferior options—in terms of options and in terms of implementation with corruption. Therefore, the net negative externality that industrial process generates would be in addition to the financial externality it would transfer to the society resulting into a larger externality at the societal level.

Trusteeship and Nature

The other input of production is nature. Depletion and degradation of natural resources is comparatively recent phenomena. Natural resources and inputs are used in production process. As a corporate sector, consideration should be to minimise extraction cost or transportation cost or if there is some absolute scarcity cost of the natural resource. In a corporate framework, intrinsic value of that natural resource is not being evaluated. Non-use value of the resource, in the anthropomorphic sense, is the value that is only useful to us and not for others. We consider only those things, which are useful to us and not useful to the nature, in general, but are important for our survival and we may not understand

it presently. The firm analysis fails to bring out that, but it transfers externality either to the state or society or to the nature. This is an important aspect of production process. Take an example of the forest. The demand for wood is indirectly a demand for the forest. The payment for the wood would only include the monetary cost of cutting and transporting wood. It is not the real value of the wood. By removing a tree, part of the forest is removed. That part has an entire range of ecological services including that of livelihood for the families who live there or nearby. This cost of ecological services would remain unpaid and not borne by the consumer. This externality is also passed onto the State and the society. In Gandhian theory of trusteeship, handling of nature and use of nature in one's own production system can be different, perhaps more conservation/preservation oriented. If the industry as a whole takes a decision to price it more appropriately, then let that product be produced if there is a demand rather than cutting it down at the firm's/industry's level or transferring all the costs to the society. In this regard, carbon trading is a very inferior option, although a better option than no option. The third issue is about pollution. Pollution obviously is the result after the production. One can also be trustee by choosing appropriate technologies. Gandhi has proved to be consistent on the production side.

Gandhi's opposition to machinery is well-known. He was against excessive and senseless use of machineries and technologies. His concern was sensible use of technology, in contemporary parlance it can be treated as eco-friendly technology. That can be interpreted as trusteeship. Hence, on production side too there is ample scope of trusteeship.

Trusteeship in Consumption

After the production of wealth and commodities, the issue of utilisation follows. The examples

of Bill Gates and Warren Buffet are quite well-known. Though Corporate Social Responsibility is getting popularised rapidly as a new concept, it is philanthropy, at the best. It is present in Indian culture as well. Philanthropy or *daana* is driven by *lokeshna* – desire to be known among people. After earning wealth, the Indian culture advises one to make large donations to get recognition in the society. While citing Bill Gates and Warren Buffet, one should not forget Bhamasha, the Shreshthi and Mahajan who gave up his entire wealth to Rana Pratap to regain his state. That is the level of philanthropy and trusteeship India had already achieved. That is the example that shows that Gandhi was not totally talking through his hat or in thin air. He had absorbed and imbibed the culture of India. But second part of the concept is more important. It is about trusteeship in consumption.

Consumption has two distinct levels: personal and societal. Trusteeship at personal level is individual's consumption requirements and needs. The theory of *aparigraha*, non-acquisitiveness, tends not to acquire and consume things which are useless to an individual. This is where Gandhi brings in the concept of limiting personal demands/needs. A conscientious trustee would control and regulate his/her self consumption. It is important to note here that Gandhi had never advocated abject poverty. After satisfying needs for a decent livelihood, the rest of the wealth is required to be spent for the social good. A question of choice comes at this juncture. Gandhi was against philanthropy. There is a difference between a philanthropist and Mahajan. Mahajan tradition has been originated specifically from Gujarat and Rajasthan. Mahajan is a trustee who produces and possesses wealth more than what he/she requires, understands it, follows a very simple lifestyle and uses the wealth for



Essentially, trusteeship is based on the idea of 'ahimsa'. The natural corollary of ahimsa is 'satyagraha', that is, if the wealthy and the capitalist do not part with their wealth voluntarily, then the weapon of satyagraha is to be used. Gandhiji was repeatedly asked the process of bringing about trusteeship. Persuasion and non-cooperation was Gandhi's answer.

socially productive purposes. It is not being done to improve one's status in heaven which is philanthropy—the notion of taking care of the other world was deserted by the Western world with the Protestant ethics. For protestant ethics, all was this worldly. Gandhi was also concerned with this 'world' in a different manner. His trustee would use his wealth for socially productive purposes. Use for socially productive purposes can be defined as, despite the fact that a trustee would take of externalities in the production side, there would be some externalities bound to be generated. The case for CSR has come up because these unintentional and

unavoidable externalities. The socially useful activities that cannot be taken up by an individual or by the State because of lack of resources should be handled by the Mahajan. In Gujarat, a number of educational institutes and healthcare units have been financed and managed by the Mahajans. Until recently, they did not charge high fees but now slowly, they have transformed into private and profit making institutions. In a way, they are also trusts and a form of CSR in socially productive manner. The current concept of CSR is to part away a share of profit for the larger society and be happy with the rest. The Mahajan tradition was different. Also, it generated minimum hurt. The present corporate sector asks for an exit policy, it exploits nature and labour, the sole concern is generating profit. In the process, everyone except the corporate sector gets hurt. To minimise this hurt that may be an unintended outcome of the processes, labour and nature need to be looked in a more sympathetic fashion. That is corporate social responsibility in Gandhian Trusteeship framework. To achieve this, trustee herself should also regulate self needs, requirements, desires and wants that can have a demonstrative effect on rest of the population. In this case, the societal level demand and desires also gets regulated, which is a positive externality. That would put less stress on nature.

Beginning the process with the basic principle of *aparigraha*, non-acquisitive life by the trustee, by the creator and possessor of the wealth would impact the entire society in a positive manner. Such society would be a simple society and the craze for useful and not-so-useful technologies will also be automatically regulated. The vision has to change. Gandhi's Trusteeship becomes relevant and a possibility within his overall vision of a non-violent society, *swadeshi* decentralised economic system and *Swaraj* as self-rule.

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Quest for an Alternate Vision



M P Matha

Outlining the challenges humanity is facing right now, the author emphasises that this is a man-made crisis. Delving deep into various dimensions of the challenges posed by modern society, the author concludes 'that the prognosis is evidently clear and survival of humanity is threatened by such real dangers as climate change and resultant natural calamities, human beings, though beguiled by self-aggrandisement and sensuous enjoyment, have started a process of rethinking.'

'Return to Gandhi' is an expression we hear often repeated in the general discourse on Gandhi, particularly in the context of celebrating his 150th birth anniversary. One is constrained to comment that it has almost become a cliché; not only uncritical admirers but even serious students of Gandhi use it almost as a refrain while affirming that the only way to solve the pressing problems confronted by humanity today is to 'return to Gandhi'. As 'return' suggests going back to a place where you have been before or a situation that existed before, to apply the term 'return' to Gandhi does not seem very accurate. It is well-known that the central aim of the Gandhian programme of action is the attainment of Swaraj and Sarvodaya which in general parlance mean the all-round, (w)holistic development of humanity. A critical look at the principles and programmes of Gandhi indicates that he was a revolutionary reformer and guide with a prophetic vision and perspective and, therefore, our duty is to go forward to him, accept his vision and programme of action and work for their realisation for building a true and sustainable civilisation.

We know that humanity today is passing through critical times; it

is confronting probably the worst-ever crisis in its existence, with its survival hanging in the balance right in front of us. Contemporary society has been characterised as knowledge society; it is an age of explosion of and access to information and knowledge based on information, particularly through Internet connectivity. But in spite of such easy and widespread access to information and knowledge, in daily living we confront natural phenomena which are practically incomprehensible, inexplicable and hence mind-boggling to most people. It is true that scientists like Michio Kaku aver that (three) scientific revolutions

in the fields of quantum mechanics, bio-genetics and artificial intelligence are dramatically reshaping the destiny of humanity positively. But they too are not sure about the fate of our universe and the intelligent life in it. Although astrophysicists had long thought that the universe will expand forever, present scientists are not certain about that scenario. One possibility they visualise is that the universe will eventually die no matter whether it is through what they call a Big Crunch by which the universe dies in fire or the Big Chill or entropy death in which the universe dies in ice. What quantum physicists tell us is that either way the universe



Gandhiji's room in Babu Kutir, Sevagram



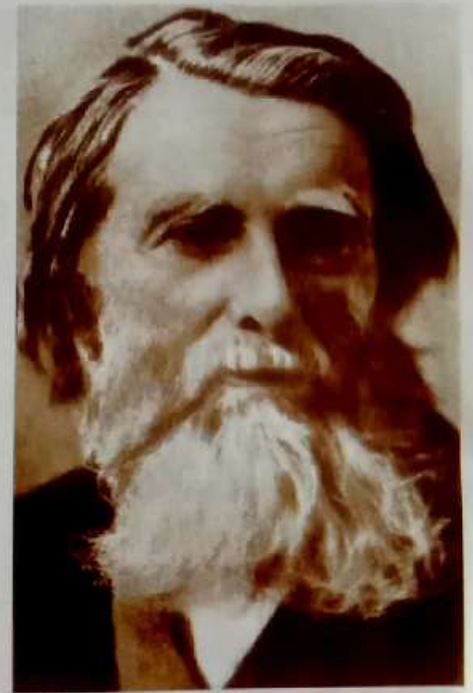
Leo Tolstoy inspired Gandhiji in his South African Struggle (in 1910)

and intelligent life will eventually die with it. Of course, they also speak about the remote possibility of human beings manipulating the fourth pillar of science, the space-time continuum, expand the microscopic wormholes that connect the various universes and using them tunnel their way through and escape the death of the universe. What the scientists speak about relates to the far distant future, billions of years into the future. Ordinary human beings are concerned and worried about what is happening right in front of them and now, affecting their lives and life-support systems directly and destructively.

It is obvious that the crisis we face today is well recognised as a manmade crisis in the sense that is the natural outcome of the terrible atrocities that powerful humans have committed against Mother Earth and our weaker fellow human beings. We know that it was the scientific revolution (of the seventeenth century) and subsequent European Enlightenment that led to a paradigm shift at all levels of human existence. The traditional worldview that guided human life in all its aspects was replaced by the so called scientific worldview. For example, in the traditional or pre-enlightenment

worldview, which is also characterised as Spiritualistic Worldview, it was assumed that life has a dimension of transcendence and there was a Divine Order behind existence. Earth was understood as a living organism and human life was to be organised on the basis of this understanding, respecting and even adoring every aspect of nature and trying to live in tune with its laws. But as physical sciences enabled humans to understand the working of the laws of nature more accurately, human attitude changed dramatically and drastically. In the arrogance of the newly-acquired fund of knowledge, they developed an instrumental/utilitarian view of nature and desacrilised Mother Earth. The earth came to be viewed merely as a giant machine and a repository of material resources for human consumption. Humans were here to dominate, control and manipulate nature using science and technology. The meaning and purpose of life were redefined and physical welfare and sensuous enjoyment were elevated as the ultimate purpose of human existence. A brand of materialism evolved and it replaced religion and spirituality. Knowledge, traditionally viewed as an aid to service, came to be considered a mere instrument for the attainment of power and domination. Sir Francis Bacon put it succinctly: 'knowledge is power.' In the new scientific secular civilisation, physical comfort and craving for sensual enjoyment were encouraged beyond measure, and it naturally resulted in the discounting of morality and spirituality from the fabric of life. Utilitarian values acquired precedence over moral and spiritual values and religion was

The UN Declaration Document clearly states that the focus of the programme is on people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership, points repeatedly emphasised by Gandhi on many occasions.



John Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' inspired Gandhi to live an austere life in a commune

dubbed and dismissed as nothing but sheer superstition.

The idea that unlimited physical comforts and sensuous enjoyment could be chased and realised developed into a new theory and ideology known as developmentalism. Development at any cost has become the motto of modern civilisation, irrespective of the divergent political ideologies followed by different nation states. Developmentalism has assumed the dimension of a new political religion, so to say, and like most religions has become superstitious and fundamentalist.

From the hindsight of this decade of the twenty-first century, the devastating nature of contemporary civilisation is as clear to us as daylight but it was not so in the beginning of the last century. On the contrary, modern civilisation with its uni-dimensional focus on physical comforts and sensuous enjoyment, developed by the West, in the West, and thrust upon the rest (of the world) by them, was glorified by the elite classes around the world as the ideal way of life to be aspired and attained by all. Ironically, a small group of intellectuals of the West, like Edward Carpenter,

Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, (Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson from the U.S.) et al. often characterised as exponents of 'the Other West' questioned and critiqued that civilisation and characterised it as a disease. Gandhi, who got personally acquainted with some of them and studied their works during his student days in London (1888 – 1891), later continued his intellectual and moral dialogue with them. He developed a worldview thus and enunciated them, though not in sufficient detail, in his first book *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home-Rule*, rightly characterised by some as a seminal Gandhi text and by certain others as 'the Gandhian Manifesto'.

As is well-known, Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* contained, among other things, a severe critique of modern western civilisation. He diagnosed the

root cause of the disease of modern civilisation as **violence**. It was rooted in and sustained by violence both direct and structural, and consequentially, it generated and escalated more violence. The other dangers that Gandhi identified in modern western civilisation were that it dismissed religion and morality from human life and transactions as redundant and elevated physical comfort – he termed it as "bodily welfare" – to the level of the ultimate goal to be sought after in life. In keeping with the Marxian perspective, it measured the level of human civilisation on the basis of its increased technological capacity to dominate over, manipulate and control nature. Gandhi warns in *Hind Swaraj* that as modern civilisation functions on the basis an instrumental view of physical nature and human beings, it will turn out to be a nine

days wonder or even take humanity eventually to its doom, unless checked and corrected. Further studies he did during his post-*Hind Swaraj* period and his several experiments and experiences convinced him of the veracity of the findings he presented in *Hind Swaraj*. Accordingly, answering all those including Jawaharlal Nehru who thought and wrote that the ideas laid down in *Hind Swaraj* were unscientific, reactionary, outdated and romantic, Gandhi, in a communication to Jawaharlal Nehru in 1945, reaffirmed that he stood by everything he wrote in his first book and did not think it necessary to make any correction therein. We know that several thinkers from different parts of the world examined the critique and alternative vision presented in *Hind Swaraj*, some of them acknowledging their indebtedness to Gandhi and



... (Makara) – ready for despatch to village centres

others without doing so. Studies like Rachael Carson's *The Silent Spring* (1962), Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1980), Dennis Meadows, Donella Meadows and Jorgen Randers' *The Limits to Growth* (1972), E.F. Schumacher's *Small Is Beautiful* (1973), *A Guide for the Perplexed* (1977), Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave* (1980), to mention only a few, have enumerated graphically the havoc wrought by human aggression on physical nature and on various other aspects of human life leading to a crisis of existence. These studies, while warning humanity against the impending possibility of a total global catastrophe, also present alternative visions of a sustainable future civilisation and it is fascinating that these visions are mostly in consonance with the Gandhian alternative. The authors of these studies also share Gandhi's view that the present civilisation is totally unsustainable and unless we take a U-turn and start building an alternative world

order on the basis of the principles of sustainability, non-violence, justice and peace, it will prove to be a nine-days wonder and crumble down like a pack of cards, as warned by Gandhi.

Now that the prognosis is evidently clear and survival of humanity is threatened by such real dangers as climate change and resultant natural calamities, human beings, though beguiled by self-aggrandisement and sensuous enjoyment, have started a process of rethinking. When the United Nations Organisation discussed the issues relating to climate change and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), some of the world leaders referred to Gandhi, his vision and programme of action for building an alternative, sustainable civilisation. The UN Declaration Document clearly states that the focus of the programme is on people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership, points repeatedly emphasised by Gandhi on many occasions. It also states that the member nations are determined to take steps

which are urgently needed to shift the world onto a sustainable and resilient path. But it appears that no serious steps are taken by most nation states to implement such important covenants and protocols. Look at the state of the Kyoto Protocol, for example.

Modern civilisation with its glitz and glamour continue to entice gullible people and the majority of humanity, is caught within its trammels even today. It is not without reason that Gandhi called it a nine days' wonder. As the UN, rightly posed it, the question before us is simple and obvious: Are we ready to read the clear signs on the horizon and change on to a sustainable path. This was, precisely, what Gandhi had asked in his *Hind Swaraj* and it was the basic principles of a sustainable civilisation that he enunciated in it. Our responsibility is to translate them into reality. And that would be the true tribute to his revered memory too. ■

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Thinking Beyond the Self and the Other

Prem Anand Mishra

The concept of non-violence at multiple levels – direct, structural and cultural; the author emphasises that in Gandhian world-view, violence is not only an act or major violent event but also a sign of deeper socio-political and economic alienation that a community or group faces or perceives. Therefore, it cannot be analysed, tackled or solved separately taking it only as a major violent event. One must view violence in its totality and examine it in the worldview in which it emerges.

One of the contemporary major challenges is multilevel violence that ranges from micro to macro level. Commonly violence is considered in 'legal terms'.¹ However, legal terms narrow down the complexity of violence and define it as punishable acts, thus, simplify the phenomenon of violence. Foucault has rightly mentioned that 'what appears obvious to us is not at all so obvious'.² Applying this notion to the concept of violence one may argue, although violence may seem a straightforward and self-evident concept, it is profoundly ambiguous. In this regard one may agree with Stanko who observed, 'what violence means is and will always be fluid, not fixed'.³ In spite of this conceptual problem, one can explain violence through the typology of Johan Galtung. According to Galtung, violence is of three kinds; direct, structural and cultural.⁴ Here I have attempted to show how Gandhi's non-violence responds to the contemporary problem of violence at this three—level; direct, structural and cultural.



On his way to Noakhali (now in Bangladesh), November 1946

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Gandhi's Response to Direct Violence

The underlying principle of Gandhi's non-violence is *Advaita*. Thus, Gandhi does not see any separation between the self and other. Following *Advaita*, his non-violence affirms that there are no others, there is only the self, or versions thereof. Thus, violence against others is actually violence against oneself. Direct or personal violence, organised or sporadic, that we observe in contemporary society and politics, emerges when one considers others as absolute 'other'. Gandhi challenges such contemporary view and perceives 'otherness' as a relational notion in which sacrifice of the self gets supremacy to sacrificing others. He noted in *Hind Swaraj* that 'sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others'.⁵ In Gandhi's paradigm, both self and the others are tied to a relationship of responsibility. This responsibility is ethical and nonviolent in nature that recognises each other's free will to experiment in the field of society and politics guided by the truth. On this grounding, to challenge contemporary direct violence, Gandhi argues that one must have training in non-violence and finally one should undergo for personal suffering and sacrifice if the situation demands. As a priori, his non-violence implies self-purification of individual and he maintains that the power of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability of the nonviolent person.

Gandhi also argues why violence as a contemporary means to settle issues should be avoided in our personal and social life. First,

he observes that violence does not accept the 'essential dignity' and worth of the individual. Second, violence recognises no boundaries and finally becomes self justificatory in itself. The reason is that violence claims to possess the truth about right and wrong and on this basis, it also decides who should be punished and who spared. Third, when violence becomes habitual and institutionalised, it becomes a general means/method to settle the issue of any kind of conflicts in society. He also suggested that in the long run violence does more harm than good as it produces a vicious and endless chain in which an individual or the society get trapped. Thus, he prescribes non-violence as a way of our daily individual life and invites us to test it in our lifeworld. To test one's non-violence, he argued, one must learn to dare danger and death, mortify the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manners of hardships. Thus, his non-violence is not only a matter of philosophy or intellectual inquiry but it calls for dynamic action at the individual level as well.

It must be recalled, for Gandhi, non-violence is not confined only to a personal virtue or individual behaviour. He considered non-violence as 'law of our being' that must be applied in all social relations: familial, political, economic, and educational. To contemporary violence

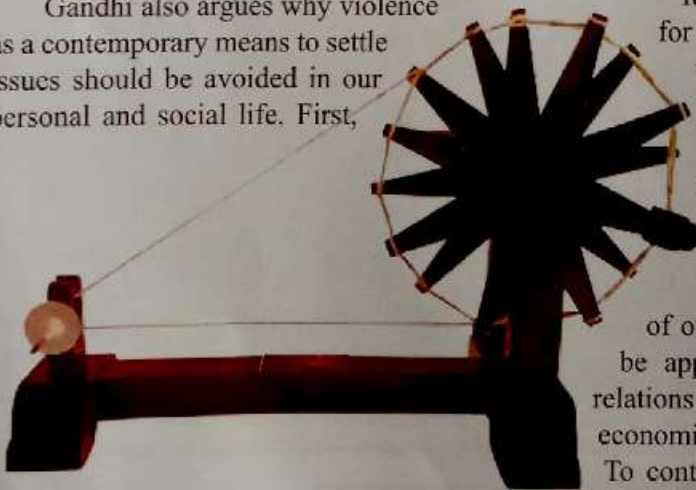
“Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralizing, cowardice always is.”

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inflicted society, his message is very clear—apply non-violence in all possible fields of human relations. In his words, "I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale".⁶ He was convinced that the fundamental moral instincts are still active and the human being can survive only if he/she has faith in non-violence.

Gandhi's Response to Structural Violence

In the modern world, at the structural level, the problem of violence may be viewed in terms of concentration of power, large scale industrialisation, and exploitation of one group by another. These have been termed as structural violence by non-violence and peace scholars. In Gandhi's views, these are the manifestation of violation of the moral principles which contemporary society tends to ignore. Here, Gandhi's idea of *aparigraha* (non-possession) and its institutionalised form 'trusteeship', as well as the need for self-control, are useful today. Gandhi held the view that the modern crisis can be overcome only by making our institutions more in the line of 'law of non-violence'. He recognised centralisation of power, political or economic, as violence and advocated the decentralised mode of polity (*Panchayati Raj*) and economy (*Gram Swaraj*) to minimize the structural violence in the society. For such social and political task, Gandhi invites



“A votary of ahimsa remains true to man's faith, if the spring of all his actions is compassion, if he shuns to the best of his ability the destruction of the tiniest creature, tries to save it, and thus incessantly strives to be free from the deadly coil of himsa.”

CWMG, Vol. XXXIX, P. 279

people to take up moral leadership at different levels. The moral leadership which Gandhi calls for, to create a society free from exploitation and marginalization or structural violence, is not the imposition of one's will on others, but employing the supremacy of reason and love to one's life and related institutions.

In response to the contemporary problem of social-political injustice or the economic inequality, Gandhi proposes a nonviolent mode of protest what he termed as Satyagraha. Based on the 'active principle of love', his Satyagraha takes various forms according to a different situation, such as civil disobedience and non-cooperation, but the object of all these methods is to awaken the sense of justice in the wrongdoer. However, he noted that these methods can be adopted only by those who are self-less, fearless and self-controlled. To modern society, where ethnic or political conflict has become common, his Satyagraha offers a method of nonviolent, creative conflict transformation which results in reconciliation and removal of bitterness between or among the conflicting parties.

On the issue of State and individual, which is a central challenge to modern polity, Gandhi regarded the individual as the centre of authority and value. According to him, the State and Government derive their existence and power from the individuals. He reminded the people that the State and Government cannot exist for a moment without their cooperation. Thus, when the State begins to exploit the people and impede their progress, it is the

holy duty of the people to withdraw their cooperation from the State and reform the State by moral force. For this, he recommended that the edge of the political consciousness of people should always be kept sharp and moral discipline must be maintained. In his view, without moral discipline and voluntary control of the greed for wealth and power, neither the individual nor society can prosper.

Gandhi's Response to Cultural Violence

Gandhi does not see violence only in overt form. He was well aware that violence has many dimensions and forms in the contemporary world, for example, exploitation or marginalization. He also realised that such multi-dimensionality of violence worked together on a particular community or society as in the case of colonised India. Multi-dimensionality of violence, as Allen points out, 'signify psychological, linguistic and socio-political and economic violence indirectly inflicted on a particular community in the society which is not overt but hidden in the very structure and mechanism of the society'.⁷ Such violence often gets vent when cultural, political or religious war (as in the case of terrorism) takes place. Similarly, for Gandhi, violence is not only an act or major violent event but also a *sign* of deeper socio-political and economic alienation that a community or group

faces or perceives. Thus, in Gandhi's prescription, as violence is the result of the dominance of the socio-political or economic structure of the society on a particular social group/community, it cannot be analyzed, tackled or solved separately taking it only as a major violent event. One must view violence in its totality and examine it in the worldview in which it emerges.

Contemporary discourse on violence does not question our normal world view and its nature. It takes our normal view as something final, fixed and unquestionable. In this regard, one might argue that violence has much to do with our 'normal world view'. As Allen argues, 'our normal world view is violent in nature and we are socialised and educated in such a way that we never grasp how violently we relate to ourselves, to others, and to nature'.⁸ This 'normal world view' often conceals the happenings outside the 'normal' and defines them as deviant case and in extreme condition as 'terrorism'. Gandhi challenges such violent normal view and its normative design and emphasises on 'nonviolent world view' arguing that we need to analyze our existing worldview portrayed as 'normal' which is, in fact, violent from within. To develop a nonviolent worldview, he emphasises on a new kind of socialization through *Swadeshi* and a new type of education through *Nai Talim* in the society. In his view, implications of such ideas will nourish and foster nonviolent relation with others making our world more human.





Mahatma Gandhi at the Kingsley Hall during his stay in London

The violence against nature, known as the environmental crisis, is serious contemporary challenges before us. The present environmental crisis is not a problem but only a symptom of a deeply mistaken normative view of the relation between humans and nature. Rather than looking the nature separate from the human being, Gandhi submitted that we should feel a more living bond between ourselves and the rest of the animate world. He also suggested that humans and nature must be in harmony rather than human being exploiting the nature for their pleasure.

Gandhi's idea of non-violence attempts to eradicate the root cause of the present ecological crisis by proposing the idea similar to a notion recently termed as 'human ecology'. Human ecology, as Moolakkattu argues, is concerned

with the ecological implications of all what human beings do. In his words, "We [human being] are also interested in the generation of resources, their sustainable use, adaptive growth and development of human beings. All these take place in an environment in which the crucial interlinkages between human beings and nature are recognised and reinforced. This implies not doing anything that can harm our fellow beings, nature and future generation."⁹ As noted, Gandhi does not see the environmental crisis in isolation. He intimately links the environment to the very nature of other human institutions as a polity, economy, health, and mode of development and calls for essential change in these fields. He strongly advocates the 'green thought' in our day to day life as well as an economy

and developmental model based on natural order to save ourselves from the catastrophe.

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Towards an Egalitarian Society



Ramchandra Pradhan

The author finds the genesis of dignity of labour, enunciated by Gandhiji, in his Ekadash Vrats (Eleven Vows). Two of the vows—Sparsh Bhawna (Elimination of untouchability) and Sharir Shram (Bread Labour) are central to his tenet of the dignity of labour. These values inspired India's freedom movement. A lot of ground has been covered to achieve this noble good, however, still much has to be done.

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of many parts. He was not and never considered himself just as a political leader with a singular mission to free India from the British yoke. With a multi-dimensional mission, he wanted to touch every aspect of our individual, national and even international life. In particular, his heart and mind remained ever ignited to work for the total regeneration of the Indian society—be it political, economic, social, cultural, religious or spiritual aspects. In the political field, he applied the age-old principles of truth and non-violence and their derivative Satyagraha to built up a mass movement which ultimately resulted in the freedom of India on 15 August, 1947. In the economic field, he challenged the very foundational values of the western model of development viz. (a) it is the self-interest that moves man and his society and that (b) it is the ever spiralling desires and aspirations of man which lead to progress of the human society. He fervently made a fine distinction between human 'need' and 'want' and underlined the centrality of basic needs in any given social order. His idea of trusteeship tried to subsume all these ideas in its fold. He rejected



Women inmates on spinning wheels at Duttapur, a colony of lepers run by the Sevagram Ashram

the overemphasis on materialism as its singular pursuit corrodes the finer and higher aspirations of human beings. In the religio-cultural field, he stood for Sarva Dharma Samabhava (equal respect for all religions) and rejected the western concept of secularism, i.e., a distinct separation of religion and politics. He did not have much faith in State power and ever remained a votary of civil society organisations. In the process, he provided three major instruments of social change viz. Eleven Vows (Ekadasha Vrata), Constructive Programme and Satyagraha, instead of a singular role of the State power.

As stated earlier, total regeneration of Indian society through its concomitant reforms remained his primary concern and commitment. However, because of his monumental role in fight against the racial discrimination in South Africa and that of Indian freedom struggle, his radical ideas in this area have not received the kind of recognition which was due to them. He was fully aware that the Indian religio-cultural tradition, in ancient India in its pristine form, was marked by a rare kind of goodness and greatness. But he was also not oblivious of the fact that it has gathered

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Q.1. Why should we insist on a Rabindranath or Raman earning his bread by manual labour? Is it not sheer wastage? Why should not brain workers be considered at par with manual workers, for both of them perform useful social work?

Ans. Intellectual work is important and has an undoubted place in the scheme of life. But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from that obligation. It will serve to improve even the quality of his intellectual output. I venture to say that in ancient times brahmins worked with their body as with their mind. But even if they did not, body labour is a proved necessity at the present time. In this connection, I would refer to the life of Tolstoy and how he made famous the theory of bread labour first propounded in his country by the Russian peasant Bondaref.

Harijan 23-2-47, 36.

the *shudras* who were to engage in menial work. All this was not acceptable to Gandhi. Thus, when he set up Satyagraha/Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad during 1915, he introduced Eleven Vows (Ekadash Vrata) which every inmate of the ashram would have to follow and imbibe in his life and living. These eleven vows were: truth, non-violence, non-stealing, brahmacharya, non-possession, control of palate, fearlessness, elimination of untouchability, bread labour, swadhesh and equal respect for all religions. Out of these eleven vows, two of them viz. *sparsh bhavana* (elimination of untouchability) and *sharir shram* (bread labour) were primarily concerned with the principle of dignity of labour. Hence, a brief discussion about both these vows is called for.

Bread Labour: The simple meaning of the principle of bread labour is that one must work to live. In other words, what entitles a man to have his bread is the physical labour. He might be engaged in any kind of mental work, but he has to put in some amount of physical work to earn his bread. It was the Russian leader, T.M. Bondarek who first propounded this principle. Later, Tolstoy popularized it. Gandhi was aware that the dignity of labour was missing from our socio-cultural value system. He wanted to establish it as one of the core social values of the Indian society. Hence, he made it a part of the Ekadash Vrata. Not only that, performance of bread labour became an integral part of Gandhi's daily routine both at Sabarmati and Sevagram ashram. Every inmate of these ashrams was to follow this routine including that of physical labour. Gandhi also associated this principle of bread labour with *Jajna* concept of the Bhagavad Gita. It is said there that anyone who partakes food without performing some sacrifice (*Jajna*) is nothing short of being a thief. In his letter to the inmates of Sabarmati Ashram, written during his incarceration in Yeravda Jail (Gandhi called it Mandir), during 1930, he

certain undesirable accretions and distortions in the course of its historical development. So, he strongly believed that the Indian socio-religio-cultural tradition would have to be brought on its original track through a gamut of radical social reforms. Even in his seminal work, *Hind Swaraj*, he has made it clear that in the absence of such radical reforms, both in its institutional and intellectual fields, India would ever remain 'Englistan' and could never become true 'Hindustan.' He had the background of liberal Hinduism, despite calling himself a 'Sanatani Hindu.' Saurashtra, the region he came from, was marked by all inclusive Hinduism on account of Swami Pranatanth and his sect, Pranami Panth. Gandhi's mother, Putlibai was personally connected with Pranami Panth. Besides, his father was also a liberal Hindu. Thus, his household environment was quite liberal and any kind of orthodoxy was an anathema to Gandhis. Moreover, his three-year stay in England (1888-1891) had further strengthened such process of liberalism. He came into contact with other religious traditions including Christianity and Theosophy. He started reading religious scriptures including

the Holy Bible and the Bhagavad Gita. He also came into contact with the thinkers of the 'other west' who were challenging its dominant tradition which had been inspired by the Industrial Revolution and orthodox Christianity. All this further broadened his liberal views. But it was in the course of his long stay in South Africa (1893-1914) that made his ideas to take their concrete forms. It was in Phoenix Settlement (1904) and Tolstoy Farm (1910), that some of his liberal ideas like *sharir shram* (bread labour) *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* (equal respect for all religions) and *sparsh bhavana* (elimination of untouchability) started being practised in more vigorous way; though they were not regular ashrams. It was after coming to India in 1915 that he came face to face with prevailing Indian religio-cultural tradition. He became fully conscious that because of Brahminic tradition, based on chaturvarna system, a sharp distinction has come to stay between mental and menial work. Upper caste Hindus, particularly Brahmins, were not ordained to engage much in physical/menial work. They were supposed to pursue only mental work. It is only the lower castes particularly

advanced a number of arguments in the favour of the principle of bread labour. One, certain amount of physical labour is needed for maintaining good health by any individual. Two, the scourge of the superiority of the mental work over the physical labour could be easily abolished by following this principle of bread labour. Three, the rich would come to consider themselves as the trustees of their property by following the principle of bread labour and as such the existing conflict between capital and labour could be easily taken care of. Fourth, he considered self-scavenging as the best form of the bread labour, as it would automatically eliminate the scourge of untouchability and lead to the state of social equality of all men. Thousands of his followers started practising the principle of bread labour on his lines.

Charkha and Kargha became the symbol of synthesis between mental and physical work. They also were meant to provide employment to the millions of people during their spare time. Getting their own cloths through spinning and weaving, people were to attain self-reliance and indeed their own Swaraj. Not only that, the culture of self-reliance was to be promoted all over the society through them. This was the primary idea behind khadi and its related works.

Sparsh Bhavana (Elimination of Untouchability): From his early days, Gandhi was totally against the scourge of untouchability. He was fully aware that it was based on the false belief that the upper caste Hindus would get polluted by coming into any kind of physical contact with the people born in certain castes and families. Some of them were taken to be unapproachable as even their sight was considered to have a polluting effect. He considered the entire spectrum of untouchability as a blot on the fair face of Hinduism. Hence, it must go lock, stock and barrel, he often asserted. *Sparsh Bhavana* became one of the major *vrata* of his Eleven Vows. He held such strong view about it that he was even



Greeting a newborn calf

willing to move away from Kasturba twice (once in South Africa and another time in Sabarmati Ashram), when he had found her discriminating against the Dalits in some form. Not only that, he risked his own life by going on a fast unto death when an attempt was made by the British to take away the Dalits from the Hindu fold through the Communal Award of 1932. Subsequently, he launched one of the most vigorous campaign to eliminate the scourge of untouchability from the soil of India. He had set up Harijan Sevak Sangh and published a journal called *Harijan* with the same purpose. He had advanced a number of arguments in favour of his contention. One, he considered it a sin to look at some people as untouchables based on their births in a particular family. Two, it was never an integral part of Hinduism. Three, as everyone comes from the same source (God), hence, all are equal, he further asserted. Hence, we have to fraternise and mingle with them, taking them as our brethren. Four, it is nothing short of the practice of love and *ahimsa*. Fifth, the elimination of untouchability amounts

to removal of barriers between man and man. Hence, it is a major step towards equalitarian society. He found scavenging as the most essential act in human society. But being confined to a section of people, it has become the symbol of indignity of labour. Hence, he pleaded for self-scavenging.

These two Gandhian ideas of *Sparsh Bhavana* and *sharirshram* appear very relevant to the present situation. India has covered a lot of ground in these areas. During our fight for independence, thousands of freedom fighters practiced these ideas both in their private and public life. But it would not be correct to say that we have totally succeeded on these fronts. Long back untouchability was abolished by law and an attempt was also made to firmly establish a new social value of dignity of labour. True, a lot has been done and achieved. But it is equally true to say that a lot remains to be done. The battle is won, but the war is still on and it must continue to usher India into a new era of equality between man and man as dreamt by Bapu and other freedom fighters. ■

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Overflowing Love Melts in Others' Woes



D John Chelladurai

Peace, as a byproduct of non-violence, therefore, can also be seen as a convertible term to 'truth' and 'non-violence'. A life of non-violence is a life of peace; a life of truth is a life of peace; not in the metaphysical sense, but in a very mundane, pragmatic sense.

Gandhi's notion of peace can be understood from his concept of life based on the fundamental principle of 'Truth'. His peace is life-centric in a concrete sense and he pursued it through the means of 'non-violence', which according to him, is competent to guide oneself and the rest into sustainable life experience.

Truth

Truth, for Gandhi, is the basis of life, and it is in the practice of Truth, as he did that one unravels the peace he expounded. While elucidating Truth as God, Gandhi explained that there is an "unalterable Law that governs everything and every being that exists or lives. It is not a blind law; for no blind law can govern the conduct of living beings."¹ Quoting the great scientist Sir J C Bose, who showed the world that even matter has life, Gandhi stated, "that Law which governs all life is God,"² and he called that Law as Truth, the sovereign and eternal principle.³ For him, Truth is God, the End and the very purpose of life.

He understood Truth as the Sanskrit term *satya* connoted. It stems from the word '*sat*', which means 'that which exists'.⁴ All that exists is real or true, hence part of the '*Satya*'.



In Mumbai (1931)

Life

"This Truth is purely benevolent," Gandhi says. "For, I can see that in the midst of death, life persists, in the midst of untruth, truth persists, in the midst of darkness, light persists. Hence, I gather that God (Truth) is Life."⁵ In the empirical sense, Life is God.

As a pragmatic idealist, Gandhi explained life as the closest manifestation of Truth or God. Hence, the only way to find the all-encompassing Truth or God is "to see Him in his creation and be one with it. This can be done by service to all.

I am part and parcel of the whole," he confessed, and "I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity."⁶

Non-violence

While Truth for him was the end, Gandhi held non-violence as the undisputed means. "Nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law."⁷ As life is real or true (truth), Gandhi proposed, anything that protects, promotes and preserves life are also attributes of Truth. He called such acts non-violence. On the contrary, anything that hampers life is considered to be anathema to Truth, and he called such act as violence.⁸

This non-violence is not a mere individual virtue, but a method of collective living.⁹ It is an attitude of "overflowing love, and melts at another's woes".¹⁰ It means selfless devotion to a righteous cause, self-suffering and love, as Gene Sharp puts it. Sharp elaborates Gandhi's non-violence as a socio-economic and political arrangement that ensures everyone a fair chance of living, using appropriate tools, structures, systems and orientation.¹¹

As a pragmatist, Gandhi's search for truth blossomed into such vibrantly nonviolent concepts as *swaraj* (conscientious living by

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With C.F. Andrews, Ms. Muriel Lester, Mahadev Desai, Miraben, Pyarelal and an English friend

individuals), *sarvodaya* (searching one's welfare in the welfare of all), *swadeshi* (neighbourhood organic relationship), *khadi* (mutual/reciprocal sustenance), communal harmony (tolerance towards diversity) and *nayee talim* (learning the art of inclusive living). These were some of the facets of Gandhi's pursuit of larger non-violence and greater truth. His satyagraha emerged as a holistic way of conducting human affairs in a manner where both the victor and the vanquished end up gaining life equally. He wanted to free India and humanity at large, from all the bonds that in some way or the other prevent people from being free. This holistic non-violence sustains life and, therefore, he called it *ahimsaparamodharma*.¹²

Peace : An Experience of Life

In this sense, for Gandhi, peace is an experience of life. In our day-to-day life, it is recognised through attributes such as satisfaction, joy, happiness, comfort, relief (attributes

of impact of human action); sharing, cooperation, mutual aid (attributes of human action), love, compassion, forgiveness, tolerance (attitudinal attributes), understanding, realisation and consciousness (cognitive attributes); All these, together as well as independently, refer to the experience of peace.

Joy and happiness are termed as close attributes of peace. While they are true, it is also established that an asocial person too can experience sense of joy and happiness by pursuing his life at the expense of others. It is therefore essential to have a basic, foundational reference for peace. From Gandhi's exposition of Truth, we understand that the all-encompassing Truth, or its manifest form-'Life' in particular, is an unqualified and comprehensive reference for peace.

Peace: A Pursuit of Life

As life is the reference to peace, peace is subject to (a subjective

experience of) life. There is no peace where there is no life. Peace independent of life is called 'peace of graveyard'. When life is all good, the experience of it is termed as peaceful; and when life is in trouble, the experience of it is termed as peaceless.

We realise life through its innumerable acts. While every act of us has its own individual objective (eating, for instance, is aimed at giving us physical energy, sleeping to relieve us from exhaustion), each act is aimed at serving the underlying universally common purpose called 'living'. When an act serves that purpose, the experience is one of happiness, satisfaction or peace.

In that manner, anything that protects, promotes, preserves or sustains life gives us an experience of peace. Eating sustains life. Hence the act of eating gives us satisfaction-peace. Meeting people sustains social being emotionally, hence the act of meeting gives us comfort - peace.

As life is the reference to peace, anything against life or deficiency of life essentials becomes a reference to 'peacelessness'. Instances such as inadequate food or living space, lack of identity or dignity curb life prospects and are negations of peace. Similarly, poverty, unemployment, their precursors like illiteracy and lack of skills are forms of peacelessness, as they repress the prospect of peace drastically. Gandhi's constructive interventions such as Khadi, village industries are, that way, pro-life acts of peace making.

Experience of Peace is defined variedly. War, one of the major threats to life, is deemed to be peacelessness. Hence, absence of war absence of violence, absence of conflict and frustration, in that sense, are also termed as peace. Presence of means of settling discords is also seen as attribute of peace. Life thrives in the absence of war and violence.

This definition is significant in the sense of its emphasis on protecting life. However, this is termed as a definition of 'passive peace', for, while the occurrence of war negates life, life does not thrive merely because there is no war/conflict.

Peace of life is more of a dynamic experience which is termed as 'positive peace'. Peace is experienced through creative, constructive and sustaining instances pertaining to life. For example, a man with headache experiences peace when treated with palliatives. For Gandhi, Peace is having a truth-centric life. While acts of eating, construction or a hug give us sense of happiness and fulfillment, they will be termed an experience of peace only if they comply by the norm of nature, i.e., promoting, preserving and protecting life. If these acts are carried out independent of its necessity for life, they would be deemed to be indulgence. For example, eating food when the body does not require, meeting people just

“Peace is unattained due to partial performance of conditions, even as a chemical combination is impossible without complete fulfillment of the conditions of attainment thereof.”

Mahatma Gandhi: Harijan, 18-06-1938

for the sake of meeting, constructing a house when we already have one are definite acts of indulgence — acts of violations, even if they give us joy. It is worth remembering in this context what Gandhi said: “nature has enough for every one's need, not for the greed of even one man.”

On the other hand, the law of diminishing returns works on the quest for peace too. While good food gives satiating joy, unlimited eating of that food only causes diminishing return. Anything in excess causes negative utility. Excessive religiosity turns into fanaticism. Accumulation of wealth is a kind of economic obesity, it destroys the person and the fellow beings. That is why Gandhi spoke about *aparigraha*.

Unlimited collection of wealth or power only creates unbridgeable gulf, an act of untruth, therefore anti-peace. Gandhi says, “a seeker after Truth, a follower of the law of Love, cannot hold anything against tomorrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed from day to day.”¹³

Life is experienced through the fulfillment of its needs. Peace,

therefore also means, a **situation (context) that enables individual to procure or avail of these needs, and do so without hampering the fellow beings' pursuit of their needs in any manner.** Gandhi's idea of *swaraj* is an ideal pursuit of peace;¹⁴ for, it leads to self-rule which means self-empowerment of every individual to the extent of each taking care of oneself, without hurting anyone's prospect of life in any manner.

Society is the sum of individuals bound by collectively held goals, guided by shared values, cultural means and methods, all attuned to the same thing called life. The primary objective of the society is to ensure life requirements to



“Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants, which promotes real happiness, contentment and peace.”

Mahatma Gandhi: Yeravda Mandir, Ch. VI

its members. In order to ensure individuals' requirements, society has built a number of systems and structures; to run them a number of institutions; to govern them a set of norms; and to demonstrate their veracity in a long memory of tradition. **The smooth conduct of these systems and structures towards successful execution of their purpose** (fulfillment of individual needs thereby life) can be termed as peace. Gandhi's idea of decentralised socio-political order or appropriate technological intervention for economic justice (*swadeshi* economy) is essentially meant to create systems and structures that are comfortably sized for individual members to use them adequately, no less and no more.¹⁵

Presence of such systems and structures which are pro-life are integral constituents of any society, and therefore termed as pre-conditions for peace.

Systems and structures work only as much as the members understand the dynamics of them and operate objectively. Sufficient knowledge and skill of the members (both in the system and its beneficiaries) too is a pre-condition for peace.

Thus, life requires certain sustaining components to construct the experience of peace. Need fulfillment, social relationship, systems and structures that ensure fulfillment, knowledge of the system and skills to deal with it and consciousness of not overdoing at the expense of others are some of the components that together ensure peace in life. Gandhi's concept of *Sarvodaya* -welfare of all, deals with peace in this connotation.¹⁶

Harmony with All

Gandhi's understanding of all-encompassing Truth and its existential interpretation of 'welfare of all' subscribes to the fact that he was a believer in the principles of *advaita*.¹⁷ At the same time, he agreed to the all-pervading reality in a constantly changing form. He professed that this changing form of Truth, "leads me to believe in the innumerable many-ness of reality."¹⁸ It is in this sense, "the Vedas describe Brahman as 'not this', 'not this'."¹⁹ Conversely, it means, 'this too', 'this too'. "Formerly I used to resent the ignorance of my opponents. Today I can love them, because I am gifted with the eye to see myself as others see and vice versa."²⁰ "It is this doctrine that taught me to judge a Musselman from his own standpoint and a Christian from his."²¹

Crisis Management Technique

Life is realised by individual through the society. Society is all about relationship. And the relationship is bound to get strained, for, individuals are essentially different from one another. On such occasion, it is important we resist the wrong and not the wrong doer.²² The wrong impedes life (the Truth), hence it has to be resisted; while the wrong doer is a reality (part of the Truth) hence to be endeared. This scientifically tempered surgical analysis (doctor fights against the disease to save the patient, even when both the disease and the patient have come as one package), is attuned to the larger reality of Truth. In this sense Gandhi often reiterated, "hate the sin and not the sinner."²³ And he called that methodology, '*Satyagraha*.'

Conclusion

Gandhi's life-centric pursuit Truth gives us indication of peace. That which protects, promotes, preserves life is an experience of peace. He called such acts as non-violence. Conversely, that which hampers life is an experience of peacelessness. He called such acts as violence. Nonviolence is the means of achieving the ultimate purpose, 'Truth'. It is also an experience of peace. That is why Gandhi termed that 'non-violence' and 'Truth' are convertible terms. Peace, as a byproduct of non-violence, therefore, can also be seen as a convertible term to 'truth' and 'non-violence'. A life of non-violence is a life of peace; a life of truth is a life of peace; not in the metaphysical sense, but in a very mundane, pragmatic sense.

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Gandhi as an Internationalist

G L Mehta

Gandhiji felt and hoped that a free India by example and achievement could inculcate a moral sense among nations. "My ambition," he wrote in 1924 "is nothing less than to see international affairs placed on a moral basis through India's efforts". He thought that there was no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state made frontiers. "God never made these frontiers."

"For me patriotism is the same as humanity", observed Gandhiji nearly fifty years ago: "In trying to serve India, I serve humanity at large." These words sum up Gandhiji's outlook on world affairs—which was neither national nor international but simply human. For him, expressions like "humanity" and "mankind" were not mere phrases of flimsy, vague ideas; they were concretely embodied in human beings, irrespective of community, religion, colour or race.

He looked upon all men as members of one family. He felt sincerely and deeply for human beings because they are human not someone apart from him. His soul revolted against any outrage on human dignity as in racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa or against the degrading practice of untouchability in his own country. His Ashrams in Phoenix, in Sabarmati, in Sevagram became miniature international institutions.

India was, however, not a free and independent country when Gandhiji launched and led movements of national emancipation. The Indian people could not, therefore, make any effective contribution in the

international realm. Nevertheless, Gandhiji had his ideas half a century ago about internationalism and about the part which India could play in future.

"It is impossible," he wrote in "Young India" in 1925, "for one to be internationalist without being a nationalist. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, that is, when people have organized themselves and are able to work as one man". He thought that it was not nationalism which was evil but the narrowness, the selfishness and

exclusiveness which are the bane of modern nations. He did not want India to cut herself adrift through attainment of independence. "Isolated independence is not the goal of the world status," he wrote in 1925, "it is voluntary interdependence."

Indeed, one could say that this is precisely the objective for which the United Nations was set up. Conciliation and arbitration, not slaughter and destruction are civilised ways for settlement of international disputes. Loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations and unreserved



With women workers of a mill in England (1931)

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acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice gives concrete expression to dedication to peace.

In other words, all that substitutes law for force, reason for violence, understanding for fanaticism is in consonance with Gandhiji's ideals. But experience shows that peace cannot be attained by incantation or simple formula; it has to be striven for by patient endeavour, by adjustment and compromise and by deliberate organisation in a complex, anarchic international society.

Gandhiji felt and hoped that a free India by example and achievement could inculcate a moral sense among nations. "My ambition," he wrote in 1924 "is nothing less than to see international affairs placed on a moral basis through India's efforts". He thought that there was no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state made frontiers. "God never made these frontiers," he said. But, alas, men made one more frontier on the subcontinent of India itself as a price for winning national independence! Thus, in human affairs high ideals become distorted through ambitions, hatreds and conflicts. Gandhiji, however, argued that just as the individual has to die for the family and his loyalty is extended to village, district, province and the country, "even so a country has to be free in order that it might die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world." His love or idea of nationalism was not exclusive or selfish and there was no room in it for race hatred. His ambition was, indeed, higher than independence. Through the deliverance of India he sought to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western exploitation. This ambition, it may be contended, has, to a large extent, been fulfilled. For achievement of independence by India through pacific means and by mutual goodwill did provide an inspiration and an example to several nations in Asia and Africa.



With Charlie Chaplin in London (1931)

Vital Contribution

And here we come to what constitutes Gandhiji's most vital contribution to international relations—his philosophy and technique of non-violent resistance. Described by him at various times a "Satyagraha" or "passive resistance" in Africa or "non-co-operation" and "civil disobedience" in India, it was the first attempt of its kind at the application of certain ethical principles on a national scale and to problems of relationship between a dependent country and its alien rulers. It was the principal means of the Indian struggle for over twenty-five years and finally, helped in achieving its aim.

When the atom bomb was used against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Gandhiji was deeply distressed and observed that "the employment of the atom bomb for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children" was "the most diabolical use of science." He thought that the only alternative to peace was the total annihilation of mankind. Since his passing away, the world has stood on the brink of disaster through the invention of even more destructive nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, not to mention chemical and germ warfare. What has prevented a nuclear holocaust is a

"balance of terror" between the super powers that renders necessary uneasy accommodation of rival interests. In these circumstances, Gandhiji would have favoured a total ban on nuclear weapons and unilateral disarmament by a single country which believes moral values.

Gandhiji, it is contended, was an obscurantist when it came to cultural matters and wanted the clock to be turned back in our country. In his *Hind Swaraj*, written in South Africa, the underlying theme is almost total rejection of values of western civilisation. But he was not against obtaining knowledge from wherever it came nor did he advocate adoption of primitive customs simply because they were old. In words which have become famous he said: "I do not want my house to be walled in all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown of my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave." In other words, he wished the people to adapt intelligently, not borrow indiscriminately. In seeking truth and light, he recognised no national boundaries. ■

(Yojana, October 5, 1969)

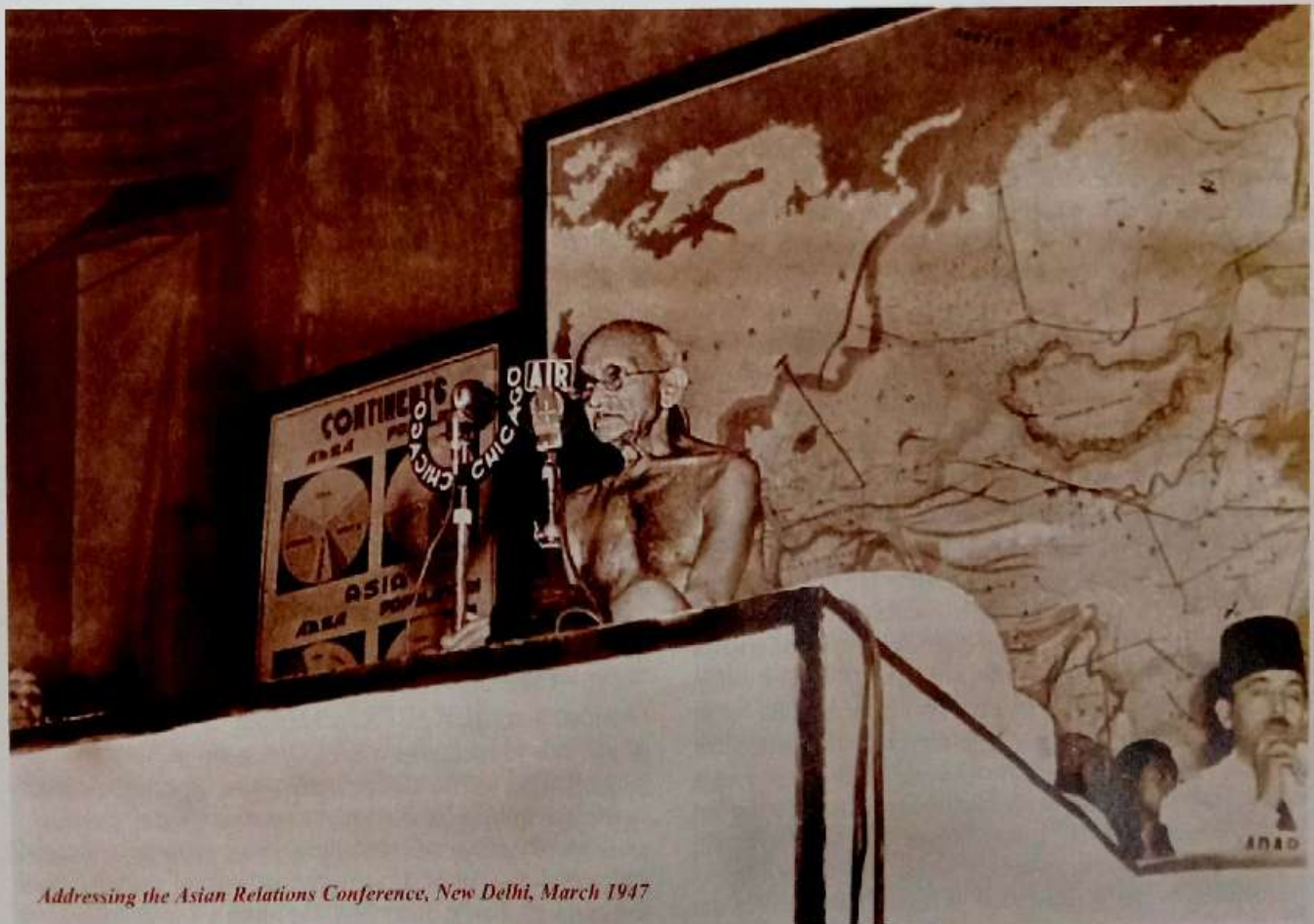
My Life is My Message

Y P Anand

Gandhi evolved as a communicator during his 21-years stay in South Africa, where he grew to lead all sections of Indians against racial discrimination. There he came to realize his fundamental ethics of Truth and Nonviolence, pronounced his ideology of nonviolent civil resistance, Satyagraha, for fight against injustice and resolution of all conflicts (1906)...

As Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam had said, "Gandhiji was first and foremost a great communicator. More than anyone else, he recognized that communication is the most effective tool to shape opinion and mobilize popular support." He used both ordinary and extraordinary means to communicate with millions of Indians and drew their spontaneous response. He could reach out to all sections and classes of people. He used verbal, non-verbal, written, sensory and extra-sensory means and could access the very hearts and souls of Indian masses.

Gandhiji had emerged as a unique communicator also through his wide-ranging roles in public life, as a lifelong student as well as a teacher, a role model as a lawyer, a



Addressing the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, March 1947

The author is an eminent Gandhian scholar and former Director, National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi.

DO YOU KNOW?

The Purest Spiritual Light Shining in the Dark Skies

Mahatma Gandhi gained his knowledge and wisdom through constant reading and interacting with people from all walks of life. One among them was Noble Laureate from France, Romain Rolland, an idealist deeply involved with pacifism, the fight against fascism and the search for world peace.

Mr. Rolland's correspondence with and about Mahatma Gandhi and other writings including extracts from his diary tell the story of how the great French humanist came to conceive "an infinite love and veneration for Gandhi's person, for his great heart burning with love" and how, at a time when Gandhiji's creed of non-violence seemed to have little chance of being understood in the violence-filled air of Europe, became, in his own words, "one of the first in the West to discover and spread the Word of the Mahatma".

Publications Division has published the book "Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence" – a collection of letters, diary extracts, and articles of Romain Rolland's correspondence with and about Mahatma Gandhi and other writings.



Below is an extract from page 141 of the book:

Romain Rolland's Message on Gandhi's Birthday

Villeneuve, Lake Geneva

1 October, 1930

Gandhi, for us, is not only the heroic guide of his immense people claiming its liberty—and about to take it. He is the surest, the purest spiritual light shining in the dark skies of our time. Amidst the tempests in which the sinking ship of our civilization risks vanishing with all its cargo, he is the star that shows us the way—the only way still open that leads to salvation.

This way is within us. It is the supreme energy, the energy of heroic no-acceptance. It is the refusal hurled by the proud soul against injustice and violence. It is the revolution of the spirit.

This revolution does not breed opposition between races, classes, nations and religions; it brings them together. It awakens in every man the deep fire of the One Soul, which made humanity rise from the void into which its madness now aspires to return. It reminds the Christians on how to be Christians (which they no longer are except in form); it reminds the "free spirits" how to be free (which they no longer are except in empty speeches which mask their servility); it reminds all men how to respect in each other equal sons of the same Father—the same *Dei Optimi Maximi* today) "moved on the face of the waters".

Text sent to Reginald Reynolds for publication on the occasion of Gandhi's birthday.

Requisite Qualifications for a Satyagrahi

1. *He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only Rock.*
2. *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.*
3. *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.*
4. *He must be a habitual khadi-wearer and spinner. This is essential for India.*
5. *He must be a teetotaler and be free from the use of other intoxicants in order that his reason may be always unclouded and his mind constant.*
6. *He must carry out with a willing heart all the rules of discipline as may be laid down from time to time.*
7. *He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect.*
8. *The qualifications are not to be regarded as exhaustive. They are illustrative only.*

— Gandhi in Harijan, 25-3-1939

Volunteer's Pledge: Ahmedabad Congress

With God as witness, I solemnly declare that,

1. *I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.*
2. *So long as I remain a member of the Corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that, as India is circumstanced, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussulman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.*
3. *I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.*
4. *I believe in swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.*
5. *As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.*
6. *I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge, prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.*
7. *I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.*
8. *In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.*

— CWMG, Vol. 22, 1966

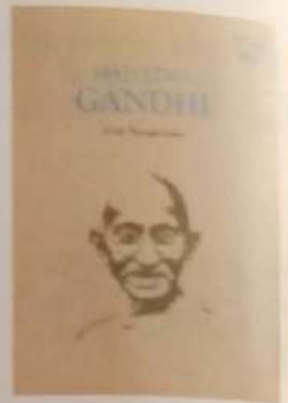
About Our Books

MAHATMA GANDHI: A Life Through Lenses

Gandhiji surrounds us. From our childhood we are taught about his values and principles, which only a few of us are able to imbibe. Nonetheless, he does leave an imprint on the life of an average Indian, much more than any public figure. The coffee-table book named *Mahatma Gandhi: A Life Through Lenses* does that and much more. The book takes us on a visual journey through Bapu's ancestral home, the school that he studied at, his student days in London, professional days in South Africa and later his engagement as a political activist – first in South Africa (rightly termed as the time of 'Making of Mahatma') and then in India. His entry into Indian Freedom Struggle marks a sea change in the way freedom movement was turned from a limited movement of a few people to a mass movements. The 'Introductory' at the beginning of the book provides a textual summary of Gandhiji's life, before one is aesthetically drawn in the beautifully captured pictures, towards a life that is very well celebrated and yet can surprise us with how little we know of him.

During the 150th year of Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, Publications Division has restored this heritage album from its first edition of 1954. The book displays photographs from the Sarvodaya Diwas Pradarshni organised at Rajghat in January 1949 to mark the first anniversary of Gandhiji's death, which have been sourced again with the support of National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi. A must for anybody remotely interested in the freedom struggle of India, as it transpired during the life and times of Mahatma Gandhi. The book is also available in Hindi.

Price: Rs 2360/- ISBN: 978-81-230-3033-3.



Satyagraha Geeta and Uttar Satyagraha Geeta

'Satyagraha Geeta' was published for the first time in Paris in 1932. Its second part 'Uttar Satyagraha Geeta' was published in 1940s. The writer of the two books Pandita Ksama Rao is one of the most eminent Sanskrit poetess of the last century. In the words of Professor KM Punekar, the composition style of Anushtup has been used in both the books which is the recognised metre for epics has helped bring out the serenity and dignity of Gandhiji's life in a very aesthetic manner.

While 'Satyagraha Geeta' deals with Gandhiji's life up to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the book 'Uttar Satyagraha Geeta' brings the story of the great struggle to the 75th birthday of Gandhiji. The heritage books have been restored by Publications Division with improved translations in Hindi and English. These publications have been presented in aesthetically made DVD set.



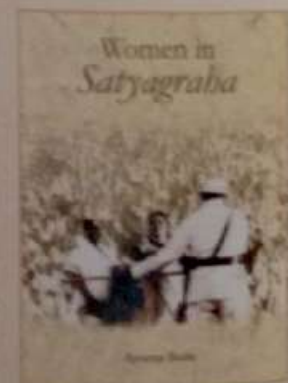
Women in Satyagraha

It is not often a common understanding, but the history of the national liberation struggles of the twentieth century, India's freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi, displayed two unique features: it was a mass movement based on the principle of non-violence and that it marked the large scale participation of women. It was a firm belief of Gandhiji that in the peaceful struggle of Swaraj, the Women of India can outdistance men by many a mile. And working in sync with this belief, he was successful in inspiring million of Indian women to not only join the freedom struggle, but also lead from the front in the movement of Satyagraha.

The book 'Women in Satyagraha' written by eminent Gandhian Dr. Aparna Basu is an attempt to put in focus, the stories of many of these inspiring women who rose to prominence during the daunting struggle against the biggest empire of the world, but never went astray from the path of non-violence. Many of these women also continued working for the social development of India in post independence era. While the book begins by giving a brief overview of women in the public sphere before the emergence of Gandhi on the Indian political scene, it primarily focuses on women participation in freedom struggle and Gandhiji's involvement in Indian freedom Struggle, as in the words of the author: "It was Gandhi who gave a new direction and inspiration to the freedom struggle.

The book is available in Gujarati too.

Price: Rs. 150/- ISBN: 978-81-230-2807-1



Transformation Through People's Power

P A Nazareth

The non-violent national struggle for India's independence which Gandhi conceived, strategized, managed and led, and in which millions of people fearlessly participated, was the 20th century's largest, most amazing 'peoples power' movement. It not only secured India's independence but also transformed it from a minimally democratic polity to a democracy based on universal adult franchise in which all discrimination based on race, religion, caste and gender was prohibited and feudalism ended without bloodshed.

Gandhi is most often presented as an 'Apostle of Non Violence', 'Father of the Nation', 'Architect of Non Violent Conflict Resolution' and a 'Peace Icon'. Hardly anyone speaks about him as a Management Icon. Yet Alan Axelrod, renowned author of biographies on Queen Elizabeth I, Winston Churchill and Gen. George Patton has authored a widely acclaimed book titled 'Gandhi CEO: 14 Principles to Guide & Inspire Modern Leaders'. In it he has averred "There is no doubt that Gandhi was a good man and an intensely spiritual man, but he was also a manager and executive, a supremely practical leader for change [management]."

His book has 14 chapters, each presenting one of the mentioned fourteen principles. Among them he gives prime importance to "a humane and people-oriented approach" - based on Gandhi's "Talisman" and to transparency to which he attributes Gandhi's moral stature and ultimate success. He urges CEOs to adopt these principles in all their decision-making processes and make their leadership an open book, because a "closed book has little meaning and less value." He



At the residence of Rev. Doke in Johannesburg, South Africa in 1908

also urges them to be role models, demonstrate consistency in principles and give equal importance to means and ends.

He extolls Gandhi's vital insight that even oppressive governments derive their authority from the consent, voluntary or coerced, of the governed. He affirms that this should make CEOs aware that businesses

cannot be run by coercion and they should earn the cooperation and trust of their employees/stake holders and welcome dissent because "if everyone is thinking alike, no one is really thinking."

Gandhi had studied Law and not Economics or Business Management. So where did he acquire the Management insights and skills

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First Ashram at Kochrab, Ahmedabad, 1915

owners the rationale for the British textiles boycott he had launched in India. He did this despite the fact that just a few weeks earlier (in April that year) eight thousand people had gathered in Blackburn "to inform the Government that...unless a firm stand is taken which will stamp out Sedition, Lawlessness and Disorder [in India], there can be no hope for a revival of the Lancashire Cotton Trade." In an interview with the Press prior to this visit, he stated "There is so much misunderstanding [in Lancashire] about what we have done with foreign cloth. If I went up there and talked with them I should be cross-examined, and would speak to them without reserve." He spent two days in this area (September 25-27) visiting many mills and meeting mill workers and owners, textile traders, journalists and the Mayor of Preston.

His FE and LM are seen in his choice of the charka for India's emancipation from colonialism and abysmal poverty, and his insistence on stringency in all expenditure and strict accounting of every rupee spent. He continued using the same pencil until it became so small that he could no longer write with it, and often used incoming postcards and envelopes to send replies and notes to associates.

Gandhi's choice of the charka for confronting India's widespread

unemployment and "Corporate Lancashire" was as brilliant as it was simple. His *Autobiography* reveals he had not seen one until he returned to India in 1915. "Eminent" economists thought of this choice as ridiculous. Yet the Charka generated rural employment, promoted discipline and dedication among satyagrahis,

reduced use of imported textiles and undermined Britain's economic interests in India. The Secretary of State for India revealed in the House of Commons that whereas the Great Depression caused a 25% drop in Britain's textile exports to India, the additional 18% fall was due "directly to the boycott program carried on by the Indian National Congress."

The German economist Ernst Schumacher, in his book 'Small is Beautiful' lauded Gandhi as a "People's Economist...who refused to treat economics as if people did not matter" and argued "The technology of mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self defeating in terms of non renewable resources and stultifying for the human person. The technology of production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience is conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines." He named this 'Intermediate Technology'.

Narender Pani's book 'Inclusive Economics' lauds Gandhi's economic methodology which unlike the conventional economic approach of constructing theoretical models and framing policies based thereon,

focused first on the desired objectives and then on the requisites to achieve them. He has stated "It is Gandhi's skepticism about grand theories that makes him relevant to the challenges faced by economists at the beginning of the 21st century. Gandhi emphasized the need to go beyond theories to understanding society. The method he developed was inclusive enough to deal with both the known and the unknown while reducing the scope for expediency. Once we shift the focus of theory to method, there is much wider acceptance of Gandhi's ideas." He has gone on to state "Too often Gandhi's ideas are associated with his ascetic life style. There is in fact a tendency to believe that the Gandhian method would only be relevant to those who accept his ascetic lifestyle. But once we recognise that the method would be equally consistent with a variety of moral frameworks, it gains wider relevance".

One of the Management concepts now in vogue is "Core Competence". Collins and Porras have defined it as "a strategic concept that captures your best inherent capabilities". Over a century ago Gandhi identified textiles as the Indian people's core competence. For centuries they had clothed much of Asia and Europe with the finest cottons, muslins and "cashmeres". Fierce competition from machine made textiles and a taxation system that favoured imported rather than domestic textiles had ended this. To reverse this he chose the humble charka and made it the symbol of India's struggle against British oppression, both political and economic, and succeeded in both spheres. Since Independence, India is once again clothing millions of people all over the world. The Charka is also good proof of Gandhi's BSLPP, CIT and VL.

Ashok Khosla, President of Development Alternatives, in an October 22, 1998 article in *Times of India* described Gandhi as the 'Prophet of Post Modernism' and extolled him

as "one of the greatest innovators of the 20th century". He wrote "Gandhiji was not for a primitive, back to the land life. Rather, he was a firm believer in technology as one of the means to improve the lives of our people. He was particularly sensitive to the need for improving the productivity of the workplace and the central role of technology in achieving this. He even offered one of the largest prizes of his time to a technological innovation.... His insights on technology, economics and governance may well be the most valuable resource for the wisdom we need to survive into the 21st century."

C.K. Prahalad, does not mention Gandhi in his widely acclaimed book 'The Fortune At The Bottom of The Pyramid: Eradicating Poverty Through Profits' but when he spoke at the INFOSYS Campus in Bangalore in 2008 he revealed that Gandhi's 'Talisman' had impacted on him greatly. In his book he enunciates how companies, big and small, can

serve the world's poorest people and yet make a profit. He also points out the new bottom of the pyramid resources and trends in technology, health care, consumer goods, finance etc. His gospel is that it is possible to build profitable businesses, create new ecosystems for wealth creation and reduce poverty and human misery, all at the same time. In other words: "doing well by doing good".

Among the many examples he gives of successful BOP enterprises are Nirma soaps/shampoos in mini bars/sachets, Jaipur rugs and prosthesis, Annapurna salt, Aravind Eye Care, ITC e-Choupal, Bharti Airtel and Casas Bahia.

Some of Gandhi's critics have described him as Utopian, others as Arcadian. But he actually was a very down to earth, practical and far sighted thinker and man of action who could accurately foresee the disastrous consequences of modern, materialist civilization on human, animal and

plant life as also on the environment many decades ahead. Good examples of this are the present global warming and unemployment crisis. He urged that humans should be industrious, "not like a machine, but like the busy bee." The Charka was his mascot for employment generation. Ridiculed by many as "antediluvian", it revived India's moribund cottage and village industries which today employ over 30 million artisans and their families.

The change in the intellectual mindset in the field of management during the Gandhian era is clearly seen in the following two quotations from John Maynard Keynes and Peter Drucker. The former, Britain's leading economist in the 1920s, in his 1930 book 'A Treatise on Money' stated "For atleast another hundred years we must pretend to ourselves that fair is foul and foul is fair; for foul is useful and fair is not. Avarice and usury and precaution must be our gods for a little longer still. For only they can lead us



Gandhiji's tour of Bihar after the communal riots, 1946

out of the tunnel of economic necessity into daylight."

In sharp contrast, America's leading management guru Peter Drucker, in his 1989 book 'The New Realities' wrote: "Because management deals with the motivation and direction of people in a common venture, it is deeply embedded in culture. A basic challenge managers therefore face is to identify those elements of the traditions and culture of their workers that can be used as management building blocks. Besides, as everyone like myself, who has worked with managers of all kinds of institutions for long years, have become aware, management is deeply involved with spiritual concerns – the nature of man, good and evil."

Gandhi's continuing pertinence in the management field in the 21st century is clearly visible in the present Global Warming.

Rachel Carson's 1962 book 'Silent Spring', which highlighted the noxious effects of pesticides and averred that if humans poisoned nature they would themselves be poisoned is often lauded as the ecological pioneer. Yet three decades earlier Gandhi had written:

"Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need but not for every man's greed.....The wars of our times spring from greed."

It is notable that Gandhi's assertion that "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need but not for every man's greed" has been/is being used as one of the prime slogan of United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP).

The Robotic Revolution is already making many professions in the US and Europe obsolete. Automated billing & drones are already eliminating thousands of jobs in accountancy and the delivery business. Before long even nurses in hospitals and chauffeurs in cars and trucks will become redundant. The

World Economic Forum has estimated that there will be a net loss of over 5 million jobs by 2020 across 15 major developed and emerging economies. Citibank has estimated that 47% of US jobs are at risk !

Jack Ma, Chairman of the Chinese e-commerce giant Alibaba, has proposed a surprisingly Gandhian antidote to this crisis. "In the next 30 years, the world will see much more pain than happiness.....Machines should only do what humans cannot ... Only in this way can we have the opportunities to keep machines as working partners with humans, rather than as replacements."

Over a century ago, Gandhi had foreseen that "labour saving" machines "save labour" by making labourers redundant. He had urged "production by the masses" instead of "mass production". He wanted humans to be industrious, "not like a machine, but like the busy bee." His choice of the Charka (spinning wheel) as his mascot for employment generation, ridiculed by many economists of his day as "antediluvian", revived India's traditional cottage and village industries. The multiplicity of their hand made products, which include Khadi garments, shawls, carpets, brass & marble ware, bone & wooden sculptures etc employ over 30 million artisans and earn India over \$ 5 billion a year in export earnings.

Gandhi, by focusing on the poorest of the poor, empathising working, praying and living with them, selecting simple issues like cotton and salt which they understood, managed to inspire, enthuse and empower them; convince them that Truth, non violence and the spinning wheel were effective weapons for India's political, economic and social emancipation, that a mere 100,000 Englishmen in India could not rule its 350 million people if the latter refused their cooperation and were willing to suffer the consequences; that all Indians, men and women, rich

and poor, high caste, low caste and untouchable, had a vital role to play in the liberation of India. Concurrently he managed to train, plan, fundraise, lead and negotiate on their behalf. He exercised effective moral control over the millions of people, of disparate beliefs, interests and backgrounds who responded to his call; they spun cotton, burnt foreign cloth, submitted to beatings and imprisonment and stolidly refrained from violence. This was the most amazing transformation of a sub-continental nation, long gripped with lethargy, fear and despair into a mega mass of people throbbing with vigour and patriotic fervour, imbued with common purpose, all ready to die for the cause but never to kill. The non-violent national struggle for India's independence which Gandhi conceived, strategised, managed and led, and in which millions of people fearlessly participated, was the 20th century's largest, most amazing 'peoples power' movement. It not only secured India's independence but also transformed it from a minimally democratic polity to a democracy based on universal adult franchise in which all discrimination based on race, religion, caste and gender was prohibited and feudalism ended without bloodshed. Thereafter, led by Gandhi's disciples Jawaharlal Nehru, Desmond Tutu, Martin Luther King, Corazon Aquino, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel and such others over 120 European Colonies were decolonized through concerted efforts at the UN and in these countries. Besides, over 30 Fascist, Communist and military dictatorships were terminated with "people's power" struggle. All these radical changes transformed global political geography. Thus, this was not only an enormous political but also a management achievement. ■

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(Text of the lecture delivered by the author at the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad on August 20, 2019)

The Path Towards National Regeneration

A Annamalai

Gandhiji planned efforts to converge the positive energies within for betterment of the society and designed the constructive programmes to generate inner strength, to elevate internal growth in the masses and to make them aware of their rights as well as duties.

Gandhiji penned a small booklet during a train ride from Sevagram to Bardoli, in which he appealed to all engaged in the freedom struggle to address some basic issues. There were thirteen items in the original and later he added five more; thus 18-point constructive programme was developed, which became his framework for Socio-economic reconstruction of Indian society. In 1942 he wrote, "If we wish to achieve Swaraj through truth and non-violence, a gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way." It is an action-driven programme to be undertaken within the community by its members to rebuild structures and systems or processes by using their own resources. It is also a planned effort to converge the positive energies within for betterment of the society. He designed the constructive programme to generate inner strength, to elevate internal growth in the masses and to make them aware of their rights as well as duties.

This 'change mantra' given by him is relevant even after 72 years of independence, and we are analysing Gandhi's constructive programmes in today's context. The issues are still applicable. The methodology may

be different, but it is still needed for developing a healthier and peaceful society.

Background

Gandhi travelled all across India, as suggested by his political Guru Gokhale. Gandhi's understanding of India convinced him of its 'degenerating' status. He realised that the suppressive foreign rule for quite long time had made the Indian people deeply divided, caste-ridden, fearful and lacking in social conscience and civic virtues. Unless the country is reconstructed, it could neither win nor sustain its independence.

Therefore, Gandhi chalked out a comprehensive programme for national regeneration, which he called the Constructive Programme. The content of Constructive Programme, however, was unique—it was a compilation of issues and initiatives that he had promoted in one way or other throughout his public career, beginning in South Africa in the late nineteenth century.

Though he had formally categorised constructive programme in 1941, he started his constructive activities during Champaran Satyagraha by establishing schools,



An oil mill at
Maganwadi,
Sevagram
Ashram

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“If constructive work is not carried on keeping non-violence in mind and accepting it rationally, India will not achieve swaraj as a result of it. . . When we realized that to achieve real freedom the only royal ways was that of non-violence and truth, our range of vision extended to the whole of India and beyond it to the whole world.”

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health and hygiene programmes. His Ashram was used as the training grounds for public workers.

Illustrative, Not Exhaustive: Gandhi had listed 18-point programme but these were only illustrative and were not meant to be comprehensive and exhaustive. In fact, it is impossible to foresee different types of work that may be useful in a particular locality or area. It is also not desirable to impose any kind of plan for a place without taking into consideration the specific needs and requirements of the locality. Therefore, in his foreword to this small booklet, Gandhi said, “The items included in it have not been arranged in any order, certainly not in the order of their importance. When the reader discovers that a particular subject though important in itself in terms of Independence does not find place in the programme, he should know that the omission is not intentional. He should unhesitatingly add to my list and let me know. My list does not pretend to be exhaustive;

it is merely illustrative. The reader will see several new and important additions.”

Gandhi’s 18-point programme may be broadly classified into **Social** (Communal Harmony, Removal of Untouchability, Prohibition, Women, Students, Kisan, Labour, Adivasis and Lepers); **Economical** (Khadi, Other Village Industries and Economic Equality), **Education** (Basic Education, Adult Education, National Language and Provincial Language) and finally **Health** (Village Sanitation and Hygiene and Health).

Communal Unity: Peace and Communal Harmony are the backbone of national unity and it is the foundation for development. Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, “It may at once be admitted that the present communal disunity is due to mutual distrust and suspicion. It has so vitiated national life that suspicion of each other’s motives has crept into sphere of religious performances, language, culture, mode of life,

education, economic freedom and political power – in fact, into every sphere of life. Mutual trust will be automatically established only if we renounce the use of force under all circumstances for enforcing what we consider our right or preventing the abuse of what the opponent considers his right.” Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life for the cause of Communal Unity.

Removal of Untouchability: Untouchability is the worst form of structural violence and a definite manifestation of cruelty which has been practised in the name of religious sanction. Gandhi emphasised that there was no religious sanction for practising untouchability and the causes and origin of this inhuman custom has to be rooted out. In this modern technological age, practicing untouchability in varying grade in different parts of India is a shame. All are equal in the eyes of God. Gandhi fought against the dominance of English over Indians. They treated Indians inhumanly and considered them as inferior people, ‘coolie’. It will not be justifiable if we do the same treatment to our own people. Therefore, everyone should treat others equally and also work sincerely for the removal of this inhuman behaviour.

Prohibition: Gandhi felt so strongly about this addiction because it not only affects the social and

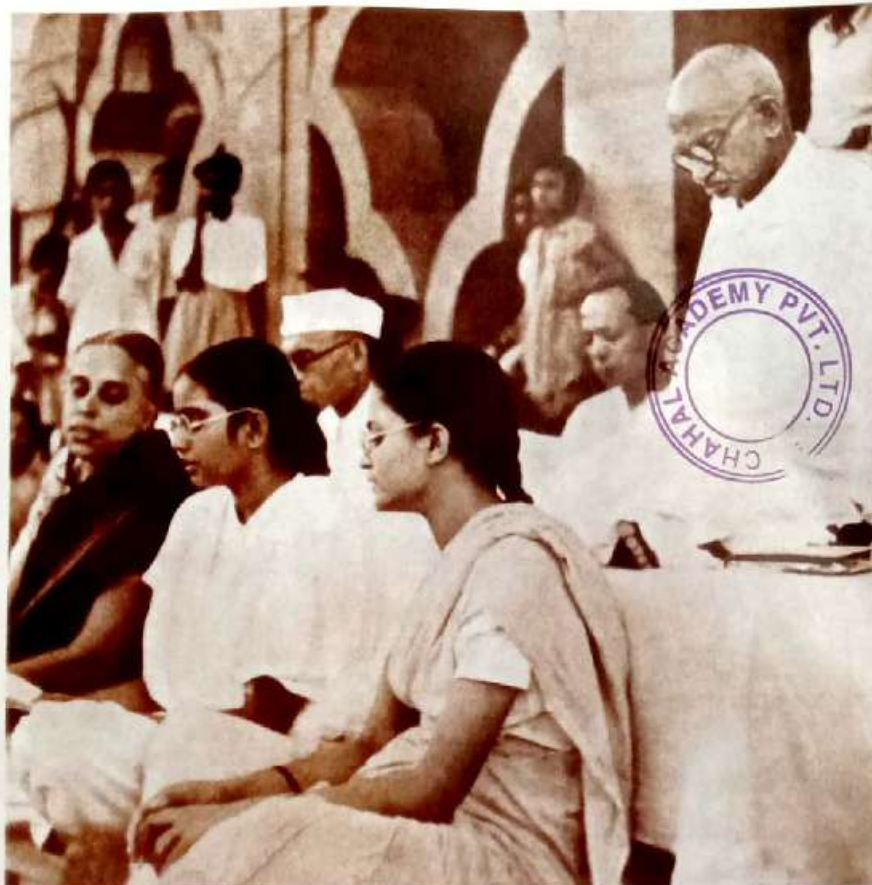


Basic School of Talimi Sangh, Sewagram

economic condition of the families but destroys the moral fibre of the society which is essential for nonviolent struggle. He once declared that if he was made a dictator for a day, he would first close down all the liquor shops without giving any compensation.

Khadi: Khadi symbolises self-reliance, self-sufficiency and swadeshi. Charkha became the symbol of the independence movement and Khadi became the identity of nationalism. India witnessed a shift from colonial power to people's power. Common people once feared policemen in this country but with Gandhi's introduction of nonviolent strategy, policemen feared the 'khadi people'. Purely an economic activity became a powerful political weapon! Now the greatest challenge for Khadi is how to make it more affordable and attractive to the people without compromising the basic philosophy of dignity of labour, decentralisation, non-violence and simplicity. In the absence of powerful influences like 'freedom struggle' or 'swadeshi movement', now khadi has to stand on its own strength of its philosophical foundation.

Other Village Industries: Gandhi conceived Khadi as centre, like Sun in the Solar System, and other Village Industries revolving around it like other planets. Self-reliant Village Republics were his vision of India. Therefore, village industries are essential to keep the rural workforce engaged in economic



activities, which will in turn support the sustainable development of the rural economy. Gandhi said, "When we have become village-minded, we will not want imitations of the West or machine-made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a new India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown."

Village Sanitation: Gandhi was very much concerned with Sanitation when he was in South Africa. He observed that English people treated Indians as 'dogs' and 'pigs' because of

the sanitary condition of their living quarters. He also observed, "Often one would like to shut one's eyes and stuff one's nose; such is the surrounding dirt and offending smell." He further said, we should "make our villages models of cleanliness in every sense of the word."

New or Basic Education: He started his experiments in education among the children of Phoenix Settlement in South Africa. He was aware that education is the backbone of our civilisation. During British period, the English system of education rooted out the people from their own civilisation and educated people despised their own culture. Gandhi wanted a new education to transform the mindset of the people. He developed a system of education for new social order. Gandhi said that the new education, "develops both the body and the mind, and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realisation of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or

“The spinning-wheel is such an ordinary thing that it can be made in any village. Every one of its parts can be manufactured in a village which has a carpenter and a blacksmith. . . A lover of swaraj can have peace only when the country has three crore spinning-wheels. If all these spinning-wheels are to be manufactured only in one place, the work cannot go ahead.”

CWMG Vol. 19, P. 324



Gandhiji inspecting a womens' cleaning squad in Maharashtra, 1939

her career in school.”

Adult Education: Adult Education does not stop with teaching illiterates to read and write. Gandhi said, “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.” Through adult education we can make the villagers aware of their rights, Gram Swaraj, environment, water conservation, agricultural practices, etc., apart from reading and writing.

Women: Gandhi demonstrated the power of women to the world. He was aware of their sacrificing nature, suffering, love and care. He wanted to give the right place in nation building. He said, women should not be called weaker sex; actually they are very strong in their own field, in which men are very weak. He also said that men and women are not equal but complementary to each other. He believed that women empowerment will give them rights and honorable position in the society and lead to development of the nonviolent

social order. Gandhi explained why he included women in the Constructive Programme by saying, “I have included service of women in the constructive programme, for though satyagraha has automatically brought India’s women out from their darkness, as nothing else could have in such an incredibly short space of time, Congressmen have not felt the call to see that women became equal partners in the fight for Swaraj. They have not realised that woman must be the true helpmate of man in the mission of service. Woman has been suppressed under custom and law for which man was responsible and in the shaping of which she had no hand. 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.”

Education in Health and Hygiene: When there was a separate programme on sanitation why Gandhi wanted to have a separate place to education in health and hygiene? But Gandhi had a holistic vision of health and hygiene. He himself explained that, “It might have been bracketed

with sanitation, but I did not wish to interfere with the items. Mention of mere sanitation is not enough to include health and hygiene. The art of keeping one’s health and the knowledge of hygiene is by itself a separate subject of study and corresponding practice. In a well-ordered society the citizens know and observe the laws of health and hygiene.”

Provincial Languages: Gandhi always insisted that everyone should learn through mother tongue. All the educational institutions should be encouraged to teach in their provincial language. Gandhi observed that, “Our love of the English language in preference to our own mother tongue has caused a deep chasm between the educated and politically-minded classes and the masses. The languages of India have suffered impoverishment.”

National Language: Gandhi insisted that mother tongue should be the medium of delivering instruction and at the same time he was also in favour of a National Language. He

insisted that "...we need, from among the Indian stock, a language which the largest number of people already know and understand and which the others can easily pick up... Hindustani has been the Rashtra Bhasha."

Economic Inequality: Gandhi was clear in his mission when he proposed this Constructive Programme to the nation. He said, economic equality "is the master key to non-violent Independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means 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 semistarved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of Government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists."

Kisans: Agriculture has been one of the most affected sectors by the modern development strategies. In Gandhi's scheme of village swaraj, agriculture is the centre of all activities and it should support the farmers to lead a decent living. Therefore, farmers should be taken care of if you need a real development. He explained his own experiments in Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad and said, "The secret of success lies in a refusal

to exploit the kisans for political purposes outside their own personal and felt grievances."

Labour: Through Ahmedabad Mill Workers' strikes, he directly came in contact with labour force and established a unique model of Trade Union for the Textile workers in Ahmedabad. Labour force should be organised not to disturb the development but for the overall development of all stakeholders.

Adivasis: Due to their innocence and ignorance, Adivasis are always exploited by the selfish people. The rich resources in the jungle attract many people, and subsequently, locals are displaced or thrown away from their roots. To protect the Mother Nature, we need to protect the Adivasis and their traditions.

Lepers: Gandhi used to clean the wounds of the leprosy-affected Sanskrit scholar Parchur Shastri while he was in Sevagram Ashram. Even today lepers experience the most cruel excommunication and social neglect. Gandhi observed, "If India was pulsating with new life, if we were all in earnest about winning independence in the quickest manner possible by truthful and non-violent means, there would not be a leper or beggar in India uncared for and unaccounted for."



Manufacture of handmade paper at Maganwadi, Sevagram

Students: Gandhi observed, "It is from these young men and women that the future leaders of the nation are to rise. Unfortunately, they are acted upon by every variety of influences." In this age of technology students are influenced by online content and are more interested in interacting virtually, and not with human beings. These multifarious issues are affecting our youths who need to be reoriented to make them committed to the social and economic development of the nation.

Constructive Programme and Civil Disobedience Movement

The Constructive Programme was Gandhi's method for the regeneration of swaraj by engaging each and every unit of society irrespective of caste, creed or race and for developing a constitutive and necessary part of the civil disobedience movement. There is no need for civil disobedience if we sincerely involve ourselves in the Constructive Programmes. Disobedience attracts punishment and imprisonment; but constructive work is within the reach of anyone who is willing to contribute his might to the cause of the country. Constructive Programme and Civil Disobedience will go hand in hand. It connects to the people in need. Civil Disobedience, on the other hand, will mobilise the people to resist the unjust practices. Therefore, constructive programme is the training ground for civil disobedience.

Conclusion

Many modern nonviolent movements pay little or no attention to Constructive Programme. Many a time they focus their energy on non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. Unless we connect with the people and their issues, it is very difficult to mobilise the masses at the time of resistance. The development of voluntary sector in India is also the outcome of Gandhi's constructive programme. Many NGOs are doing yeoman service for uplifting the depressed sections of the society. ■

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Production by Masses, Not Mass Production

Nimisha Shukla

For Gandhi, the ideal of economic constitution of India “can be universally realised only if the means of production of elementary necessities of life remains under the control of masses.” For him, trade should not be free but fair. Gandhi, to measure the fairness, considered not only efficiency criterion; but he took into consideration the criterion of equity which has much to do with ethics.

It is fashionable these days for some to call themselves *Swadeshi* and sell their products to earn huge profits. By invoking *Ayurveda* and/or traditional Indian and indigenous practices, sometimes in Gandhi’s name, it is easy to manipulate many people for long, that too with unbridled use of Social Media and advertisement. There is also a sense of new awakening about nation–*Rashtra* which tunes well with the use of *Swadeshi*. Hence, perhaps the time is ripe to understand Gandhi’s idea of *Swadeshi*.

In capitalistic countries the population irrespective of their development stage, are to some extent reaping the fruits of industrialisation driven by liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG). The greater good for a fewer number has resulted in wealthy Indians trotting the globe or prosperous Mexicans visiting the beautiful beaches of Sri Lanka. There is no doubt that the standard of living of people in general has improved and for rich it is indulgently high. Although most economists argue for market economy, unsustainable growth is a big concern among many.



At a silk weaving centre in Assam

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However, there are some who have raised voice against majority-supported discourse of 'Endless Growth'. They have been arguing about 'Limits to Growth'¹ with renewed rigour. The magic wand of omnipotent and omnipresent technology has created alarming situations threatening the very survival of life on earth. Authoritarian political leadership even in democratic countries has led to an exodus of political, environmental and ecological refugees. Gandhi's *Swadeshi* may offer new insight and possible solution under these circumstances.

India and most of the developing world is faced with economic, social, political and environmental issues.

The problems are often interrelated and cannot be resolved in isolation. One can easily understand that the fundamental issue is the ownership over natural resources. The countries that are technologically advanced have always been taking a domineering position since the time of industrialisation. The two World Wars have changed political canvas of the world. Newly independent countries with high levels of aspirations for development were and are being handed over inferior and polluting technologies. Climate Change is a reality now and Geopolitics is unfolding in a way that would lead to further unsustainability. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) notwithstanding.

Gandhi and Swadeshi

Gandhian concept of *Swadeshi* was a result of long-observed and well-thought out process. The young student in England and the practicing barrister in South Africa had seen the perils of industrial society. *Hind Swaraj*, considered as his treatise on political economy, came out in 1909 and it carried his valid critique of modern civilisation. His *Hindustan Darshan* exposed him the exploitation of the British.

A votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbour wherever is possible by giving preference to local goods manufactured elsewhere... But Swadeshi like any other good can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. To reject foreign manufacturers merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit.

His conversations with Navroji and reading R.C. Dutt led him to believe in the need to overhaul the mindset of Hindustan. The Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix Ashram were his reply to the Western civilisation. After returning to India, his Ashrams at Kochrab, followed by Satyagrah Ashram at Sabarmati in Ahmedabad helped him to mould his idea of self-reliance and *Swadeshi* for *Swaraj*—independence. *Swadeshi* got its first mention in 1905 and last in 1947. He wrote in the *Indian Opinion*,

*Bengal seems to have truly woken up this time... The movement to buy and use only Swadeshi goods is rapidly gathering strength.*²

While examining the balance-sheet of previous year, Gandhi wrote,

*.... Swadeshi carries a great and profound meaning. It is not merely the use of what is produced in one's own country...another meaning implied in it which is far greater and much more important. Swadeshi means reliance on our own strength. "Our strength" means the strength of our body, our mind and our soul.... The soul is supreme, and therefore soul-force is the foundation on which man must build.*³

He considered *Swadeshi* as the Key to economic salvation of India.

*For a proper observance of the (Swadeshi) pledge, it is really necessary to use only hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn.....I may add that covenants to the restricted Swadeshi referred to here will not rest satisfied with Swadeshi clothing only. They will extend the vow to all other things as far as possible...and when the Swadeshi mantra resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India... Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin.*⁴



Dandi March (1930)

“Swadeshi should mean, for you, that you look after your needs. Give no thought to Bombay. My patriotism tells me that I must first make my own home independent, then my town and then my province. Let me tell you that, with your 25 spinning-wheels, you will not be able to give a good account of yourselves in the fight against this mighty Empire.”

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Gandhi declared law of Swadeshi as the law of laws. He wrote,

'In its ultimate and spiritual sense, Swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its earthly bondage.... Its votary will as a first duty dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. This involves exclusion or even sacrifice of the interest of the rest but the exclusion or the sacrifice would be apparent only. Pure service of one's neighbours can never, from its very nature, result in disservice to those who are remotely situated... On the other hand, a man who allows himself to be lured by 'the distant scene' and runs into ends of the earth for service is not only foiled in his ambitions but fails in his duty towards his neighbours also... Swadeshi in its purest form is the acme of universal service.

*A votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbour wherever is possible by giving preference to local goods manufactured elsewhere... But Swadeshi like any other good can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. To reject foreign manufacturers merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit.'*⁶

Gandhi's idea of Swadeshi led him to his ideal village. In an interview that he granted on 28th July, 1946 he had said,

"every village will be a republic or panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs...ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world. It will be a free and voluntary play of mutual forces...every man and woman knows what he or she wants and, what is more, knows that one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour."

In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never-ascending circles.

For a proper observance of the (Swadeshi) pledge, it is really necessary to use only hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn... I may add that covenants to the restricted Swadeshi referred to here will not rest satisfied with Swadeshi clothing only. They will extend the vow to all other things as far as possible... and when the Swadeshi mantra resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India... Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin.

Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till the last whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units." In a prayer meeting in Delhi on 20 June, 1947, he said,

I want to tell you that today we have forgotten Swadeshi. I have been telling you from the beginning that if we ape foreign manners it is futile to talk of self-rule. What harms us, what keeps us starved, is not the Swadeshi.

Acharya Kripalani understood Swadeshi as a universal phenomenon. According to him even in countries believing in *Lassier-Fair* an unwritten law of Swadeshi was observed. Neither capitalism nor socialism could achieve the objectives of social justice, economic equity and national integration simultaneously. Gandhi dreamt of a society based on new democratic nature and equitable system with decentralisation as the engine.

For Gandhian economist J.C. Kumarappa 'cottage industry' was not merely a method of production but stood for a type of economy as its integral part...values and valuation was the pair that drew the chariots of Human Progress. He added, "the standards by which we judge are not comprehensive enough. We are often led away by low money prices ignoring the great gashes in our economic and social organisations made by such short-sighted choice of ours. The goods produced by our own neighbours have values which are not represented in the money price."

Gandhi's associate Narhari Parikh in his *Manav Arthashastra*. He argued that the concept of Swadeshi was one of the pillars of Gandhian ideology. It opposed large-scale

production. Agriculture was primary occupation and source of income, and village industries played a supportive role. Questioning the 'improved' standards of living he argued that having a 'torch light' or 'wristwatch' or 'fountain pen' should not be considered as having a high standard. In today's terms, the same can be said about 'cell-phone' or a 'motor-bike'. It is more important to make available adequate food, vegetables and milk-ghee for the poor.

Interestingly, no one including Gandhi argued for any to be termed as brand *Swadeshi*. The fundamental point is to have development from below and from self-sustaining local production systems using, if necessary, appropriate technologies. *Swadeshi* meant local for basic needs and self-reliance.

Swadeshi in Present Times

Now is time to ask, can Gandhi's *Swadeshi* offer solution for addressing the crisis of present times? As economics has become the main system, the solution should also start with economics. *Swadeshi*, being a mind-set, becomes a non-economic postulate. Incidentally, same applies to technology too! And modern economic analysis ignores exogenous factors. The market-dominated economies try to maximise material prosperity. Globalisation for the world means adopting the GDP growth paradigm as practiced and favoured by the advanced economies. It is termed as an economic



phenomenon that would increase economic interaction or integration among countries by more economic transactions through international trade, investment and capital flows. In this process, technology plays an important role for solving the complexities that arise in economic transactions (Iyengar, 2005). It simply ignores environment and ecological ethics in production and consumption. Voluntary poverty of Gandhi meant that the 'haves' of the society should restrict their consumption moderated by ascetic and paternalistic values. A Gandhian thinker, Raval, would call this 'Gandhi Effect'.

For Gandhi, village-level self-sufficiency was providing maximum opportunity for production at local level. As he lived and worked for dignity of each human-being, this needed to be tackled in a more humane way. He called it Bread labour. His self-reliance would produce the necessities of life by one's own labour or produce goods that could be exchanged for necessities. As Schumacher believed there should be production by masses rather than mass production. Mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self-defeating in terms of non-renewable resources and stultifying for human person.

For Gandhi, local requirements provided the key. Limitation of wants would provide signal to producer and the system of production would guide the consumer. Prosumer is the word used by Alvin Toffler when he talks about the Third Wave. A prosumer is both producer and consumer. For Gandhi, the ideal of economic constitution of India "can be universally realised only if the means of production of elementary necessities of life remains under the control of masses." For him, trade should not be free but fair. Gandhi, to measure the fairness, considered not only efficiency criterion; but he took in to consideration the criterion of equity which has much to do with ethics. Gandhi discovered and articulated

the principles for an alternative and humane economy where the doctrine of *Swadeshi* was in centre. Keeping individual at the centre, he believed in one's moral development reflected in human dignity, limiting conspicuous consumption and decentralised production system to seek a life with self-esteem and genuinity meaning. At least Indian Humanity needs to give it a try.

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The Flame of Swachhagraha Burns Bright

Akshay Rout

Swachhata Hi Seva, a campaign highly inspired by Gandhian ideals of voluntarism, mass movement, Shramdan – all directed towards sanitation has become a part of the national life around this time of the year. An estimated 10 crore Indians took part in SHS 2017 and in 2018, the number simply doubled to 20 crores.



Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi at Mahatma Gandhi International Sanitation Convention, New Delhi

The 150th birth anniversary of the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi is around the corner and the 1.25 billion strong nation is gearing up to make sure that the occasion is felt globally with the narrative and the messages that embody Mahatma's life. The air is rich with the spirit of celebrations, bustle of achievements and confidence and level of excitement and curiosity like never seen before. After all, by remembering Bapu

more and practising more, India feels stronger on its feet, and the world only becomes a better place.

Again and again all these years, India as well as the world have been digging deep into the life of the Saint of Sabarmati to reboot our priorities and ways of living. That simple statement, 'My life is my message' is perhaps the offer of a window to a goldmine of what to pursue for the sake of a better society, a better country and better humanity. Among many parts to lean on and learn from,

one would recall the ground-breaking works of Gandhi on sanitation more than a century ago when he first travelled as a legal counsel to South Africa in 1893. His subsequent two decades struggle against racial discrimination and oppression took a different flight altogether when he stressed on improving the sanitation and hygiene on priority. During almost two decades of stay there, he successfully experimented the landmark non-violent approaches like 'Satyagraha' for mass mobilisation.

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Gandhi ensured that sanitation remains one of his major focus areas irrespective of the place, community or goals. He strongly advocated that 'Everyone must be his own scavenger' and implemented this idea on scale in Phoenix and Tolstoy, two farms he established during Satyagraha movements in South Africa.

Over a century later and just five years ago, India returned big time to combine both the concepts of Satyagraha and Sanitation that Gandhiji so zealously espoused. The country made a daring promise to the world under the inspiring leadership of the Prime Minister, to provide universal safe sanitation access to its citizens and build an Open Defecation Free (ODF) India as a befitting tribute to the greatest sanitation champion ever, Mahatma Gandhi, on his 150th birth anniversary. The Swachh Bharat Mission or Swachh Bharat Abhiyan was born out of the core Gandhian thoughts. Jan Andolan in the cause of Swachhata followed the pattern of Gandhi's inspirational mass

mobilisations during the freedom struggle. Swachhagrahi became the new foot soldiers who insisted on sanitation like the Satyagrahis of yesteryears who insisted on truth and justice. Rightfully, one of the defining calls in Swachh Bharat Mission has been 'Satyagraha Se Swachhagraha' and one of the iconic congregations of Swachhagrahis was held in Champaran, in April 2018, marking the culmination of the commemoration of the centenary of Champaran Satyagraha.

Gandhi carried the flame of sanitation to homeland, India, and travelled across the country for a finger on the pulse of the situation. He was astonished and disappointed after seeing the pathetic status of sanitation across class and creed. He said, "Independence can wait for some time but Sanitation cannot" and regarded, "Cleanliness as the biggest religion". Speaking from the Red Fort on 15th August, 2014 the Prime Minister only gave vent to a national anguish, when he said,

"Has it ever pained us, known that even today our mothers and sisters have to resort to open defecation? Is the dignity of women our collective national responsibility? We have to remove this blot. We should do this at the least for the dignity of our mothers and sisters."

The historic call by the Prime Minister aimed at triggering behaviour change of over 600 million open defecators. Access to safe sanitation in 5 years for population of continental size made the promise look unachievable. India had then a mere 39% rural sanitation coverage and accounted for over 50% of the global open defecation burden and had a mammoth task cut out for itself considering its geographical vastness, diversity and regional challenges. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 6 for meeting universal sanitation coverage by target year 2030 almost depended on what India could or could not do.

Armed with Gandhi's inspiration Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) was



Women Swachhagrahis triggering the village

launched on 2nd October, 2014 by India's Prime Minister, for ridding the country of the stigma of open defecation and uncleanness and building Clean India of Gandhi's dreams. The next five years saw unprecedented community mobilisation riding on the magic of the 4Ps: Political leadership, Public funding, Partnerships and People's participation. Started as a Government Programme, SBM gradually transformed into one of the world's largest people's movement or Jan-Andolan that witnessed emergence of natural leaders, volunteers and stakeholders across all levels with Gram Sarpanches and Swachhagrahis leading the path. Labelled as the world's largest behaviour change programme, SBM bears the testimony of herculean efforts by millions on the ground.

SBM stands out with women at the centre of all interventions by themselves leading the march in many cases and reclaiming dignity and empowerment in the process. Women in rural hinterland not only ventured out for discussing sanitation and convincing rest of the folks, they moved a step ahead by staking claim in men-dominated masonry work as Rani Mistris by constructing toilets, affectionately called 'Izzat Ghar' or Dignity Home in many parts of the country. Children and youth volunteered in a big way by inculcating Swachhata in behaviour and volunteered for Swachhata Shramdaan and tremendous participation in mobilisation campaigns. School children have been the change agents at many places with their demand of "Mujhe Shauchalaya Chahiye" triggering a sense of urgency among parents and school management alike. Children have also performed the morning Nigrani work with aplomb when they accost the stray defecator with whistle and torchlight and get them back to toilets.

The SBM journey bewilders everyone with its milestones as



Swachh Sundar Shauchalay- an initiative to maintain and beautify toilets in snow-clad areas

well where over 10 crore Individual Household Latrines (IHHLs) have been constructed, and all 6 lakh villages, all 699 districts and 35 states/UTs are on the verge of being declared ODF with a sanitation coverage only decimal short of 100 percent as of day. Of course, India can't afford to rest on its laurels as it takes up the challenge ahead in sustaining the gains made with ODF and taking up the next big task of Solid and Liquid Waste Management (SLWM) with a higher intensity.

The SBM success story is incomplete without the mention of the stellar role played by Information, Education and Communication (IEC). IEC is the soul of SBM and is at the heart of the programme making the complex task look easier. Leveraging the time-tested efficacy of Inter

A foundational principle of SBM, as underlined by the Prime Minister several times, is that Swachhata is everyone's business. It needs every hand on the deck. During the last 5 years, none in the country have remained untouched by this passion; Government or non-Government.

Personal Communication (IPC) in media dark villages and other pockets, Behaviour Change was ingrained in community with great efforts by about 4.5 lakh Swachhagrahis on ground. Nationwide IEC interventions and campaigns were designed and rolled out regularly with great efficiency for mass awareness mobilisation with 'Swachhata Hi Seva' and 'Swachh Shakti' being prominent ones. The Swachh Bharat logo with the thought provoking Gandhiji's spectacles as part of it could easily be the most seen sign across villages, towns, lanes and by-lanes of the country today. One speciality of SBM communication has been the waves created through demonstration by influencers, champions and community leaders. Digging of a toilet pit or emptying of it, putting bricks for the superstructure, while creating a public event surround, made sure that people saw, believed, emulated and spoke about it. The Prime Minister regularly hold forth as the chief communicator for Swachh Bharat in his public speeches and in 'Mann Ki Baat', his popular radio address to the nation every month ensuring Swachhata remains high on priority in daily lives.

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5 years, none in the country have remained untouched by this passion; Government or non-Government. Civil society, corporate, media, academic institutions, all have joined in. Inter-ministerial initiatives like Swachhata Pakhwada, Swachhata Action Plan and Special projects including Swachh Iconic Places and Namami Gange made a huge mark with significant improvement in Swachhata standards across the country at public places, tourist locations etc. Departments having no apparent connection with sanitation found reasons and resources to contribute to Swachhata efforts. Private donations came pouring through Swachh Bharat Kosh. It was a great sight to see University students slogging out to get villages clean under a formal programme named Swachh Bharat Summer Internship.

A milestone in India's sanitation journey came in October 2018, when the country hosted 200 ministers and experts in the field of sanitation hailing from over 70 countries at Mahatma Gandhi International Sanitation Convention (MGISC) along with the UN Secretary General visited India to learn from the inspiring journey of SBM and share their experiences in the field. Together with the Indian prime Minister, they put their signatures to the Delhi Declaration, underlining a joint commitment to sanitation for all people.

As we approach 2nd October, India is set to keep its promise made 5 years ago and offer an ODF India as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on his 150th birth anniversary. But to achieve all-round sanitation clearing decades of backlog, for a large country like ours, there is no time to stand and stare. In his Independence Day speech from Red Fort this August, the Prime Minister saluted the nation for efforts put in making ODF India, but lost no time in calling for a new Jan Andolan from 2nd October, 2019 on SBM lines to get rid of plastic waste and urged everyone to join this overdue



movement. Prominently he said,

“On this 2nd October can we make India free from single-use plastic? Let us move around, form teams and move out from home, school, college. Remembering revered Bapu, we should move out of home collecting single-use plastic from homes, streets, chowks, and drains. Municipalities, Municipal corporations, Gram Panchayat should make arrangements to collect single-use plastic. Can we take first big step on 2 October, towards making India free from single-use plastic?”

India generates an estimated 95 lakh tonnes of plastic waste every year, of which 38 lakh tonnes are uncollected, most of which is Single Use Plastic which find their way to dumps, river and living beings. Our land, water, air, food all are affected by the ill-effects of SUP plastic. SUPs or disposable plastics like plastic carry bags and other packaging material, plastic cutleries or decorative items require to be collected and effectively recycled or disposed off without which they cause serious damage to the environment. It is difficult to digest out 22000 tonnes of plastic waste generated in our country every day; about 10000 tonnes of waste are never collected.

Prime Minister's call could not have been more timely considering the chronic character of the problem

and severity of long-term. He underlined the issue of plastic when he sat down with a group of women in Mathura to discuss the activity of segregation of plastic waste, just ahead of the national launch of Swachhata Hi Seva on 11th of September. The Government's seriousness of purpose can be seen from the fact that the Prime Minister wrote personal letters to over 4 lakh Sarpanches and Swachhagrahis across the country to lead the fight against single use plastic, which were read out in large number of Gram Sabha meetings on SHS start off day as a show of commitment of the masses to the cause. In fact, soon after his call, several organisations and premises have opted for doing away with SUP use and gone for substitution of plastic material.

Swachhata Hi Seva, a campaign highly inspired by Gandhian ideals of voluntarism, mass movement, Shramdan – all directed towards sanitation has become a part of the national life around this time of the year. An estimated 10 crore Indians took part in SHS 2017 and in 2018, the number simply doubled to 20 crores. In his Mann Ki Baat address in August 2019, Prime Minister called upon citizens to actively generate awareness against SUP plastic and give Shramdaan for collection and disposal of plastic waste in this year's Swachhata Hi Seva from 11th Sept. to 2 Oct., 2019. A new chapter of Jan-Andolan has just taken off with this one as a crusade against plastic waste as the last one was against open defecation.

Soon, after doing our own bits during the days of Swachhata Hi Seva we approach the very special Gandhi Jayanti that is poised to mark a much-awaited accomplishment of ODF India. On that day, as we bow before the Mahatma for the eternal inspiration, one ventures to think that the Bapu would have been a happy man to see this happening of Swachh Bharat of his dreams!

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Providing Food to Hungry Stomachs

Vinai Kumar Saxena

Since Khadi needed no outlay or capital, Gandhiji made it a tool to end the dependence on foreign materials – symbolising foreign rule. He also felt that in a country where manual labour was looked down upon, Khadi can club high and low, rich and poor together. Gandhi's Khadi movement was having more economic and social reason than the political causes.

Right from 1918, Mahatma Gandhi started his movement for Khadi as a relief programme for the poor masses, living in Indian villages, spinning and weaving. It was soon elevated to an ideology for self-reliance and self-governance. Following Mahatma's call, every village soon started planting and harvesting its own raw materials for yarn. All women and men were engaged in spinning and weaving, respectively, whatever was needed for their own use.

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When Gandhiji says, "Khadi gives food to hungry stomachs and your dress becomes the flag of the values you cherish," it has a lot of meanings. Since for Gandhi, Khadi symbolises Swadeshi, for the masses – it turns into the spirit in themselves

that restricted them to use and service of their immediate surroundings to the exclusion of more remote.

Gandhi always believed that much of the deep poverty of the masses was due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. He anticipated that even Swadeshi – like any other good thing – can be ridden to death, if it is made a fetish. And, here comes Khadi

– owing doctrine of selfless service with its roots in the purest *Ahimsa* – that guarded the nation against this danger.

Swadeshi is for that where a country produces all the goods it needs from its own resources. Every village/region produces all it needs by using its local resources. Gandhi used to say that Swadeshi Dharma demands that India preferably should boycott



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of companies seems to be over. We must not forget that 43 per cent people of India are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture and other small business entities like pottery, carpentry, leather-crafts, handicrafts etc. for a livelihood.

The Khadi production, which was of Rs. 879.98 crore in the year 2014-15, has gone to Rs. 1902 crore in 2018-19, which is a growth of more than 100 per cent. Similarly, the Khadi sale was Rs. 1310.9 crore in year 2014-15 and has gone to Rs. 3215.13 crore in 2018-19, recording a growth of over 145 per cent. Khadi and Village Industries' products' turnover has reached to Rs. 74,323 crore in 2018-19.

Not only that, the Village Industries' turnover too reached to Rs. 71,123.68 crore in 2018-19 with respect to turnover of Rs. 31,965.52 crore in 2014-15, with a growth rate of 123 per cent. Khadi has made an average jump of 62 per cent in Khadi fabric production in the last five years, i.e., from 103.22 million square meters in 2014-15 to 170.80 million square meters in 2018-19. In the fiscal 2014-15, the share of Khadi in overall Textile production was 4.23 per cent, which in the year 2018-19 has gone up to 8.49 per cent, which is almost the double. And, this growth could be the best manifestation of Gandhi's doctrine of Swadeshi.

In the last five years, several artisan-centric programmes were launched following the Prime Minister's call of 'Khadi for Economic Transformation'. During this, the KVIC provided more than 32,000 New Model Charkhas and 5,600 modern looms, which has increased the Khadi production substantially. Not only that, nearly 400 new Khadi institutions have been added along with over 40,000 new Khadi artisans. The KVIC has also created employment through Khadi in the remotest part of the country such as Leh, Ladakh, Kaziranga forest, Sunderban in West

all foreign goods, even if they might be beneficial to the country. Swadeshi means that the villages should enjoy the things that are available locally, whether it is agriculture, small industry, handicrafts etc.

To nurture the spirit of Swadeshi one could keep on working together with his neighbour and do business also. Things which we can produce in the country should not be imported from abroad. In other word, Swadeshi is neighbourly feeling of affinity. But at present, import has laid a major impact on the economy of our country. Latest in this context is the example of Agarbatti manufacturing industry in India, which had been one of the core village industries in the country since time immortal. It had been crippling since relaxation in import of raw agarbatti, round bamboo sticks and other odoriferous articles was allowed. Khadi's Agarbatti units

were gasping to breathe prior to 29th August this year, when these items were brought in Restricted Bracket of import. Notably, Khadi has undertaken a Bamboo Plantation Drive across the country to reduce India's dependency of import in Agarbatti Industry and to create millions of local employment – which is the core aim of Gandhian philosophy of Swaraj and Swadeshi.

Khadi and Swadeshi always reduce the gap between rich and poor, which has incidentally increased around the world during last five decades. The rich people's income increased by 7 times around the globe during these five decades. The gap between rich and poor is growing on and on.

According to Stephen Graffdy, the greatest danger of globalisation is that State loses control over the economy, profit can be taken out of the country and local accountability

“By patronizing foreign cloth we have committed a deep sin. We have condoned an occupation which in point of importance is second only to agriculture, and we are face to face with a total disruption of a calling to which Kabir was born and which he adorned. One meaning of the swadeshi vow suggested by me is that in taking it we desire to do penance for our sins, that we desire to resuscitate the almost lost art of hand-weaving, and that we are determined to save our Hindustan crores of rupees which go out of it annually in exchange for the cloth we receive.”

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brought major textile corporates in Khadi sector for its marketing, which has increased Khadi sale by manifold. KVIC also brought major PSUs in the Khadi fold, for purchasing Khadi gift coupons for their employees – which has given the business of over Rs. 100 crore. E-marketing through e-wallets, Shop'nShop and approaching Universities, Colleges, Schools, Municipal Bodies etc. for adopting Khadi Uniforms and ceremonial gowns for promotion of Khadi, has increased the reach of Khadi among the young generation and made it buyer-friendly. The introduction of new trendy designs such as Westernwear for women, Jacket, Kurta, Vichar Vastra and other innovative products, with high-quality stitching, has changed the image of Khadi.

In the village industry sector – to cater the economic needs of poorest of the poor and the last man left in the society – which was the axiom of Gandhian Swadeshi, new schemes such as Honey Mission, Kumhar Sashaktikaran Yojana, Leather Artisans Development Scheme etc. were launched for the benefit of farmers, Adivasis, SC/ST and marginalised communities of potters and cobblers. Under Honey Mission, a record 1.15 lakh Bee-Boxes were distributed across the country to mostly farmers, Adivasis and unemployed youths and created more

than 12,000 jobs. To bring the deviated youths and fatigued farmers to the mainstream of development radar, at Kupwara in Jammu & Kashmir, KVIC distributed as many as 2,300 Bee-Boxes in a single day and created World Record, in collaboration with the Indian Army. Similarly, under Kumhar Sashaktikaran Scheme, 10,000 electric Potter Wheels along with other equipment were given to the potters across the country, which has created 40,000 new jobs and their income has been increased from Rs. 150 per day to Rs. 600 per day. During the ongoing 150th Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, KVIC is all set to distribute another 30,000 electric Potter Wheels among the marginalised potter community. These electric Potter Wheels would ensure production of at least 2 crore kulhads and other terracotta items per day, which would cater the needs of Indian Railways, which had recently ordered to use only terracotta products at 400 major railway stations in the country.

Bapu always loved the marginalised community – whom he called harijan (the loved ones for the God). Following his principles, Khadi has recently launched a programme for the development of another marginalised community of cobblers – polishing and mending shoes and footwears sitting on the footpaths in the scorching sun and shivering westerlies. To give them a social

status, KVIC has rechristened them as charm-chikitsak (Leather-technicians) and set to distribute 70,000 advanced leather tool-kits this year providing proper training.

To remind the glorious memories of Swadeshi, some innovative initiatives have also been undertaken in the recent past. World's Largest Wooden Charkha was installed at IGI Airport Terminal-3 as the grand testimony of Charkha and Gandhian philosophy. KVIC installed monumental grand steel Charkha at Connaught Place along with Charkha Museum, which has emerged as the main attraction of Connaught Place. Similar grand steel Charkhas were installed on the bank of Sabarmati in Ahmedabad and in the heart of Champaran in Bihar.

Gandhiji always believed in Swachhata. Khadi, following his principles, has for the first time successfully developed waste plastic-mixed handmade paper carry bags, which is instrumental in maintaining sanitation as well as reducing the plastic menace from the nature.

Since Gandhian philosophy of Swadeshi has always laid stress on making the balance in eco-system, under the Moringa plantation drive, 46,500 Moringa saplings have already been planted by the KVIC this year, which will not only help the farmers but will also supplement Honey Mission.

Time has come when we should eradicate the contradiction between economic growth and social welfare. We must draft economic policies and programmes oriented towards Mahatma's principles of Swadeshi, which can uplift the economic sustainability of the deprived classes, farmers and women workers.

Sarve bhawantu sukhinah, sarve santu niramayah!

(May All be Happy, May All be Free from Illness!)

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Constructive Programme: A Women's Perspective

Aparna Basu

Gandhi wanted women to play an important role in implementing the constructive programme. He said that more than a military campaign, constructive work required qualities like tolerance, sacrifice, renunciation, perseverance and penance and who could better exhibit these qualities than women?

Constructive programme formed an integral part of Gandhi's non-violent struggle for freedom. For Gandhi, political freedom from British rule was only one part of his struggle. He held that India's real swaraj would be attained through constructive programmes. Constructive programme could be called the construction of purna swaraj by truthful and non-violent means which would help achieving "independence of every unit, be it in the humblest of the nation, without distinction of race, colour or creed."

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Of all the items included in the constructive programme, Gandhi attached the greatest importance to khadi. Spinning of charkha and wearing khadi were the two symbols to arouse among Indians a sense of self reliance and nationalist zeal. Unlike the nineteenth century social reformers, Gandhi had realised the negative effects of colonial rule on women's economic status. The East India Company had destroyed India's cottage industries and the greatest sufferers had been women. This strengthened his decision to launch the khadi movement. Revival of swadeshi would provide work and supplement the income of the semi-starved women of India.

Gandhi used women's role in the khadi movement to show men that women's participation as equals was essential if the swadeshi movement was to succeed. Calling khadi essentially a women's movement served many purposes. A woman would earn a basic income for survival. It would also enable women to come out of

purdah. It enabled Gandhi to challenge the dominant upper middle-class value that equated a family's status with women not engaged in productive work. He asked well-to-do women to support the movement as producers and consumers, to buy khadi and also spin.

This was one of the programmes of the national movement through which a large number of women were brought into the political struggle. Women were associated with different aspects of the programme. Many



Gandhiji with Mridula Sarabhai in Bihar, 1946

(Late) Dr. Aparna Basu was a noted academician and former Chairperson of National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur toured almost every corner of Punjab addressing meetings to promote communal solidarity. Saraladevi Chaudhurani also visited several towns in Punjab appealing to people to strengthen bonds of affection between the two communities.

Mridula Sarabhai played a very active role during communal riots in restoring peace and harmony. Gandhi was deeply concerned about the inactivity of Congressmen amidst all this communal hatred and violence, and commended the courage shown by three women – Mridula, Indumati Chimanlal Sheth and Pushpaben Mehta, who at the risk of their own lives tried to restore peace. In order to bring about communal harmony, Mridula formed the 'Shanti Sevak Sangh' with Mahadev Desai as President. In Bihar during 1947, Mridula accompanied Gandhi as he moved from village to village on foot in scorching heat, speaking directly to the people striving to restore communal peace.

Mridula showed remarkable courage in rescuing abducted Hindu and Sikh women from Pakistan and Muslim women from India after Partition in 1947. In January 1970, efforts were underway to set up an organisation at the instance of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan on the lines of Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God) to promote communal harmony. Mridula was actively involved in the efforts to start the organisation which was called 'Insani Biradari' (Human Brotherhood) whose objective was to encourage the spirit of tolerance and mutual respect among all the people of India in regard to each other's religion, aspects of culture and way of life.

Prohibition was another important item in Gandhi's constructive programme. To combat this evil, he had a two fold programme viz., educating the people regarding the evil effects of drinking and closing liquor shops. Here again, Gandhi believed that women had a special role. Women who had drunken husbands knew what havoc drinking could cause in the home. Many women responded to Gandhi's call. During the Non Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements, women came forward to picket shops selling liquor. Among the women who were active were Hansa Mehta, Maniben Nanavati, Mridula Sarabhai, Khurshidben Naoroji, Mithuben Petit, Ambujammal, Malati Devi and many others.

Gandhi wanted the condition of women to be improved both within the



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

home, and outside. Kamaladevi asked people to put down imperialism in their homes by improving the status of women economically, socially and politically. Subhadra Kumari Chauhan, Annapurna Devi in Orissa, Hemaprabha Mazumdar in Bengal, Lakshmi Unnava in Andhra Pradesh and many other women in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Madras and elsewhere organized women's programmes, opened schools and colleges for girls, etc. Muthulakshmi Reddy tried to abolish the devadasi system and brought a bill in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1930.

Mridula Sarabhai protested against gender inequality, injustice, oppression and discrimination faced by women within the family and in society. She established in Ahmedabad, 'Jyotisangh', a women's organisation in 1934. Mridula had the capacity to train women from all walks of life, and gathered around her a group of extremely dedicated and loyal workers such as Charumati Yoddha, Hemlata Hegishte, Perin Mistry, Udayprabha Mehta, Pushpaben Mehta and Vidyaben Mehta. For the first time the concept of family counseling was introduced, helping to resolve the problem of disturbed families. Workable solutions were often instrumental in preventing escalating abuse of women and the breakdown of families.

In memory of Kasturba, who died in Aga Khan Palace in Pune on February 22, 1944, the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust (KGNMT) was set up on Gandhi's 75th birthday (October 2, 1944). It was inaugurated by Sarojini Naidu and its aim was to work for women and children in rural areas. Gandhi remained its chairperson throughout his life and he used to look into every detail and no work was too small for him to attend to. He wanted the work to be done in villages, "Because"; he said, "this is a memorial to my wife. My wife was an uneducated village woman. She was not like these sophisticated women of the cities."

Women also contributed to the revival of village industries, to conduct programmes of village sanitation and education in health and hygiene. Thus, women played a remarkable role not only in the political struggle but also in implementing the Gandhian constructive programme. ■

(The article has been taken from the book titled 'Women in Satyagraha' by Dr. Aparna Basu. Published by Publications Division in 2018)



*Saudamini Mehta (1903-1989)
A social reformer who worked towards
upliftment for harijans*

Holistic Development of the Personality

Shalender Sharma

Gandhiji's education model does not work in silos. It endeavours all-round development of mind, body and soul. Gandhiji dreamed of a society where power is not distributed hierarchically but in the form of "oceanic circles" with each individual empowering and protecting the other.

How does one define a person as phenomenal as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi? In a single lifetime, he was at once a barrister, an activist, a political leader, a socio-religious reformer, a philosopher, an author, an educationist and so much more. While his stature as a statesman is perhaps the most celebrated of all, his contribution to the field of education and skilling is often not given the credit it so richly deserves. Of course, Gandhiji was an outstanding intellectual, and to elaborate upon the depth of his ideas in any sphere is a task that is next to impossible. This article attempts to discuss some features of the education model he envisioned for India and highlight its relevance in contemporary times.

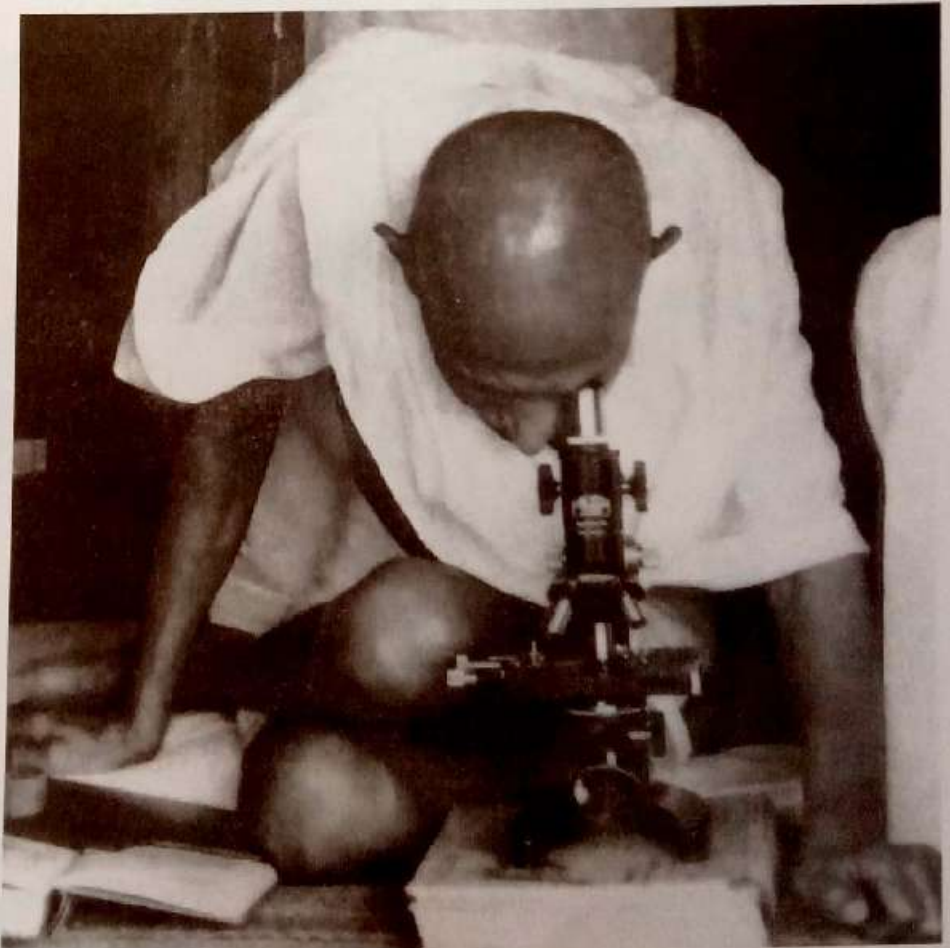
Simple yet Pathbreaking Model

In order to comprehend any vision, especially one as profound as Gandhiji's, it is imperative to understand the values on which it has been founded. The main theme underlying his philosophy is that of *Integrated Education*, that is, education that ensures the all-round development of the mind, body and soul of pupils and is not just limited to the narrow confines of merit in academics. "Man is neither mere

intellect, nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone", he taught us. It is this transformative take on education and character-building that forms the bedrock of all his writings on this subject.

In the same vein, Gandhiji also dreamt of an India which would

provide free and universal education to all its children—however, knowing this would not be feasible, he suggested the novel method of self-financing, that is, making pupils pay in labour (for instance, by spinning cloth) for their own education. To quote him from 'Young India', "manual training



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“One word only as to the education of the heart. I do not believe, that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher.”

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will serve a double purpose in a poor country... pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after life... Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.”

Another noteworthy aspect of his theory of education was that of *respect for manual labour* and inculcating a sense of dignity in being adept at such work. Lamenting upon the condescension with which the so-called educated elite look upon such work, he stresses that it is essential to possess such practical knowledge, including that of sanitation, in order to be *self-sufficient and self-reliant*.

In Gandhiji's time, as well as today textbooks were often mistakenly considered as Bibles of learning while the role of the teacher was relegated to the background. Critiquing this practice, Gandhiji went so far as to say that textbooks “are for the most part useless when they are not harmful”. His sharp mind pointed out that it would be erroneous to fit children from different geographies and different social classes into an academic straitjacket. Rather, it is the duty of teachers to read from textbooks and mould the material so as to suit the specific requirements of the pupils. It is, after all, teachers and not texts that are capable of imparting “education

of the heart” which was a prerequisite for developing character. Much like Swami Vivekananda who believed that education is the manifestation of the perfection already within man, Gandhiji too subscribed to the notion that “real education has to draw out the best” from within the pupils and this is something mere bookish knowledge could never achieve.

Naya Bharat, Nai Talim

To understand Gandhiji's New Education or *Nai Talim*, we may turn to his ardent disciple Acharya Vinoba Bhave. One of the greatest *Gandhians* ever, he said that “... the crux of *Nai Talim* lay in overcoming distinctions between learning and teaching... knowledge and work.” *Nai Talim* wasn't merely a scheme for education; instead, it is a part of a holistic value system with Swaraj as the end and Satyagraha as the means to achieving it. For Gandhiji, quality education was a prerequisite for the ultimate goal of nation-building. He dreamed of a



Children learning at the basic school at Talimi Sangh, Sevagram



Evening prayers at the Ashram



society where power is not distributed hierarchically but in the form of “oceanic circles” with each individual empowering and protecting the other. *Nai Talim* was also Gandhiji’s challenge to the prevalent education system at the time, largely drawn from Western influences. He believed that the prevalent model was obsessed about career advancement while *Nai Talim* aimed to achieve a holistic growth of the individual’s mind, body and spirit.

Today, many in the country and those of us in the education sector in particular are cognisant of the fact that increasing enrolment and literacy rates merely scratch the tip of the iceberg when it comes to resolving the employment problem. But being the visionary that he was, Gandhiji realised this problem early on; he asked—of what use was literacy if it didn’t lead to *personality development*?

He saw education as a *life-long, communitarian, holistic, activity-based and grass-roots oriented* activity. This meant the creation of self-supporting and self-sufficient village-based schools which gave primacy to skill development for

handicraft production and traditional industries where teachers and students were, in fact, fellow workers.

While the model Gandhiji put forward may not have been practical or sustainable to our early post-Independence policy-makers, the fact that we had turned a blind eye to quality education at the grassroots in fact has hindered our ability to fully utilise our demographic dividend! Small wonder then, that educating the grassroots was such an important tenet of Gandhiji’s model for educating the country.

Another evil of the Indian education system is its emphasis on *rote-learning*: this denies a child opportunities to develop his/her critical thinking faculties and have a well-rounded personality. We also focus excessively on the literary aspect of academics while other practical aspects are ignored. It is only now that some schools are waking up to the many benefits of activity-based learning. This principle of ‘learning by doing’ is again a critical component of Gandhiji’s *Nai Talim*.

What Gandhiji said in 1937 in an Education Conference still holds

true – He mentioned that the present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. Absence of vocational training has made the education class almost unfit for productive work. Money spent on primary education is a waste of expenditure inasmuch as what little is taught is soon forgotten and has little or no value in terms of the villages and cities. For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should, so far as possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation.

As we celebrate the Mahatma’s 150th birth anniversary, probably the best tribute to him would be to relook at what his education model stood for. The spirit upon which it was formulated is more relevant than ever now. In fact, we have reached a stage where we can only continue to overlook his ideas and ideals, at our own peril. Gandhiji’s thoughts were radical at his time, and it is high time for us too to radically reinvent our current education system so that it can fulfil the wishes and aspirations of our people in the years to come. ■

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Important Gandhian Titles of Publications Division Released at Delhi Book Fair-2019



Five new titles on Gandhian Literature released at Delhi Book Fair-2019

Shri Amit Khare, Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting inaugurated the stall of Publications Division on the opening day of 25th Delhi Book Fair 2019 at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi on 11th September, 2019. Five books brought out by Publications Division were also released by Shri Khare. Shri A. Annamalai, Director, National Gandhi Museum was also present on the occasion.

Shri Khare also lauded the efforts of Publications Division in bringing the lives of great personalities closer to people

through books published not only in Hindi and English but in several Indian languages. He also talked about the thriving culture of books in the



Replica of memorabilia related to Mahatma Gandhi on display at the stall

era of internet, stating that while the internet is a repository of information, it is books which impart knowledge.

Replica of memorabilia related to Mahatma Gandhi & interactive screen (with audios, videos & quizzes) on Gandhi@150 were placed with the support of National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi at Publications Division Hangar. The quiz attracted a lot of students.

Later, an engaging talk by eminent Gandhian and Director, National Gandhi Museum, Shri A. Annamalai on the topic '11th September 1906 -

The Birth of Satyagraha' was also organised. Shri Annamalai gave a vivid description of Gandhiji's initial struggle in South Africa, and how he coined the term 'Satyagraha'. He laid emphasis on inculcating the values of a *satyagrahi* as enumerated by Gandhiji, in the youth of the nation.

Being one of the prominent publishers of books on Gandhian thought, Publications Division displayed an array of titles on Mahatma Gandhi in both print and e-versions. Books on speeches of President, Vice President and Prime Minister and also on other diverse subjects including history and heritage, children's literature, arts and culture, national freedom movement, biographies of national leaders, flora and fauna, science and economy, Rashtrapati Bhavan series among others were also displayed. The book fair was held at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi from 11th September to 15th September, 2019, and is annually organised by the Federation of Indian Publishers and ITPO.



The quiz on the interactive screen on Gandhi@150 attracted students



ITPO & FIP awarded Gold Trophy to Publications Division's stall for excellence in display of Hindi books

Books Released at Delhi Book Fair

- ***Kasturi Parimal*** (Hindi): Kasturba Gandhi was witness to, and an imminent part of, the journey of transformation of a young boy named Mohan to Mahatma Gandhi. Told in a story format, the book is a biographical account of the trials and tribulations of Kasturba, her conversations with Gandhiji, and her rise as a prominent woman leader in Indian Freedom struggle. The book sheds light on the important role played by Kasturba in the constructive programmes initiated by Gandhiji, as well as community life in various ashrams. The writer of the book, Dr. Vishwas Patil, is a known name in Marathi literature world.
- ***1921 ke Asahayog Aandolan ki Jhankiyen*** (Hindi): With a Preface written by former President Shri VV Giri, the book has write ups by many known intellectuals, freedom fighters and journalists, including Dr. Tarachand, Shri Prakash, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Kaka Kalelkar, RR Diwakar, Haribhau Upadhyay and Dr. Harekrishna Mehta.
- ***Gandhi Katha*** (Hindi and Urdu): It is a Graphic novel based on the life of Mahatma Gandhi. With a target readership of children, Publications Division is working to ensure publishing of the book in various Indian languages.
- ***Women in Satyagraha*** (Gujarati): The book, written by Prof. Aparna Basu, former Chairperson, National Gandhi Museum, originally published in English by Publications Division, has now been translated in Gujarati by eminent Gandhian Prof. Varsha Das. It chronicles the stories of many of the inspiring Satyagrahi women who rose to prominence during the daunting struggle against the biggest empire of the world, but never went astray from the path of non-violence. It is no wonder that the serving spirit of many of these women inspired them to continue working for the social development of India in post-independence era.
- ***Homage to Mahatma: All India Radio Tributes*** (Tamil): The book, originally published in English, and now translated in Tamil for the first time with the help of Gandhi Study Centre, Chennai, contains tributes to Mahatma Gandhi as broadcast on All India Radio after Gandhiji's death on 30th January, 1948. The book contains tributes from eminent freedom fighters including Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, as well as important dignitaries including Lord Mountbatten. ■



Shri Prakash Javadekar Presents Report Card on 100 Days of the Government

On September 8, 2019 the Union Minister for Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Prakash Javadekar, addressed a Press Conference on key decisions taken by the Government in the first hundred days of its second term. The Minister released the booklet 'Jan Connect' and inaugurated an Exhibition on 'Furthering India's Development - 100 Days of Bold Initiatives & Decisive Actions'.

Key highlights of the achievements mentioned in the booklet 'Jan Connect' are

- **Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A** with a view to the betterment of life of common people of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh;
- **Steps towards achieving the vision of making India \$5 trillion economy;**
- **Historic merger of Public Sector Banks** and additional credit expansion through PSBs; Support to Non-banking Finance Companies and Housing Finance companies; linking repo rate - reducing EMI for housing loans, vehicles etc.; Infrastructure credit;
- **Ease of doing business** measures such as CSR violations; Transparency and Accountability in Tax administration; Relief from enhanced surcharge on long-term/short-term capital gains; Customer ease; Special measures for MSMEs;
- **Boost to Start-ups;** Measures to simplify Taxation; Labour Laws; Environmental clearances; Corporate Affairs; Deepening of bond markets in India; Access of Indian companies to the Global Markets; Reduction in corporate tax; Review of FDI policy on various sectors approved; Companies Amendment Act 2019; Special Economic Zone (Amendment) Act, 2019;
- **Boost to Automobile Sector;**
- **Code on Wages, 2019;**
- **Ensuring Social Justice to all Sections of the Society** including legislation against Triple Talaq; Amendment of POCSO Act; The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill 2019 etc.;
- Several measures for delivering **Tribal and Minorities Welfare;**



The Union Minister for Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Prakash Javadekar visiting an exhibition on 'Furthering India's Development - 100 days of Bold Initiatives & Decisive Actions', at a Press Conference on completion of 100 Days of Government, in New Delhi on September 08, 2019. The Principal Director General (M&C), Press Information Bureau, Shri Sitanshu R. Kar is also seen.

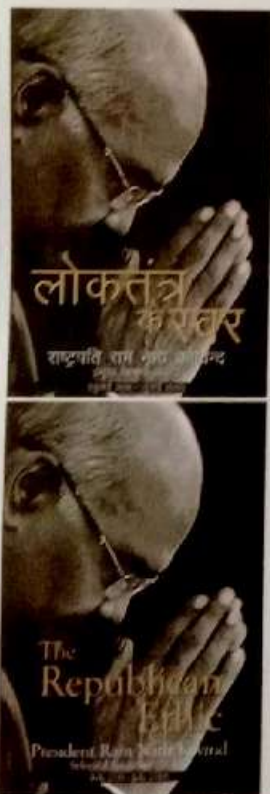
- Ensuring Wage Security **The Code on Wages 2019** ensuring women's equality; etc.;
- Measurements **Towards Doubling Farmers' income;**
- **Formation of Jal Shakti Ministry** towards **commanding Water Security;** Har Ghar Bijli Yojana; Ujjwala scheme for gas connections; Ayushman Bharat; Jan Bhagidari movements; Fit India and campaign against ending menace of single use plastic etc.;
- Steps taken towards ensuring **Good Governance;**
- **Focus on development of Higher Education Infrastructure;**
- Emphasis on Discovery and Scientific Endeavours;
- Focus on Security and Defence Sectors;
- India's expanding sphere of influence in the world; Neighbourhood First Policy;
- Empowering North East etc.

First Copy of "The Republican Ethic (Vol-2)" and "Loktantra ke Swar (Khand-2)" Presented to President Ram Nath Kovind



Hon'ble Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Prakash Javadekar, presented the first copies of the books "The Republican Ethic (Vol-2)" and "Loktantra ke Swar (Khand-2)" to the Hon'ble President of India Shri Ram Nath Kovind. Secretary I&B Shri Amit Khare, Principal Director General, Publications Division, Dr. Sadhana Rout are also seen.

Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Prakash Javadekar, called on the Hon'ble President of India, Shri Ram Nath Kovind at Rashtrapati Bhavan on September 6, 2019 and presented the first copies of the books "The Republican Ethic" (Vol-2) and "Loktantra ke Swar" (Khand-2) to him. He was accompanied by Secretary I&B, Shri Amit Khare and Pr. DG, Publications Division Dr. Sadhana Rout.



The Hon'ble President complimented the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and Publications Division, for bringing out these titles in a time-bound manner with an aesthetic layout. Shri Javadekar apprised the President that the books will be available for purchase on e-platforms like Amazon and Google Play in order to meet the demands especially the young readers.

Both the books - 'The Republican Ethic' and 'Loktantra ke Swar' are the second volumes of selected speeches of the President Shri Ram Nath Kovind delivered by him in his second year in office. Both the volumes have 95 speeches each, categorised in eight sub groups. These are: Addressing the Nation, Window to the World, Educating India, Equipping India, Dharma of Public Service, Honouring our Sentinels, Spirit of the Constitution and Law, Acknowledging Excellence and a special section on Mahatma Gandhi, commemorating his 150th birth anniversary.

These volumes are a reflection of the wisdom and spirit of India, its diversity and aspirations that are embodied through the republican values and words of the Hon'ble President of India. Publications Division is the proud publisher of selected speeches of Hon'ble President. Earlier, the organization had published the first volumes of the two books.

To get copies of the titles, please visit us at: Book Gallery, Publications Division, Sookhana Bhawan, CGO Complex, New Delhi. The books are also available online at www.publicationsdivision.nic.in and www.bharatkosh.gov.in; e-version available on Amazon and Google Play.