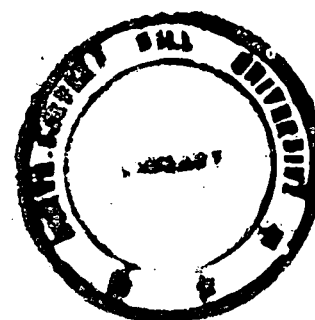


A CRITICAL STUDY OF *HIND SWARAJ*: AN ESSAY
IN PHILOSOPHY OF CIVILIZATION

By

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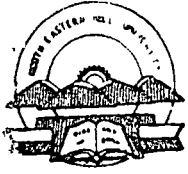
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Certified that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by Shri Rabindra Kumar Madhual, that the contents of this dissertation did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to him, or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the dissertation had not been submitted by him for any research degree in any other university.

In habit and character Shri Rabindra Kumar Madhual is a fit and proper person for the degree of M. Phil (in PHILOSOPHY).

SHILLONG
The 16th May, 1986


(R. V. Vyas)
Supervisor

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The 'Hind Swaraj' by M.K. Gandhi is a monumental work in Philosophy of civilization. It is a critique of civilization. Gandhi has presented incisive criticism of contemporary civilization. Unfortunately this booklet has not drawn attention of philosophers as it should have done. Gandhi was not only a great statesman, but a philosopher and a critic of contemporary civilization. Gandhi's criticism of contemporary civilization may appear dogmatic, strange and very uncommon on the surface, nonetheless, through his criticism Gandhi paves the way for a new social order. Gandhi can be regarded as a social philosopher. Like any other classical philosopher, he presents before us a vision of man and society.

The 'Hind Swaraj' can be regarded as the 'Bible of Gandhian Thought'. This book, as a matter of fact contains the first formulation of his ideas. Even twenty to thirty years after its publication he did not wish to make any change in it except a word here and a word there. Rather he proclaimed that he had all through attempted to live according to the principles enunciated in this book. However, the major objective of the book was to offer a critique of western civilization. By way of providing a critique of western civilization, Gandhi in this book attempted to outline the principles of new civilization, that he hoped will make individual and social life worthy of existence. Gandhi's thoughts regarding politics, religion etc. are enshrined in this book.

This booklet was originally published in Gujrati in 1908 and later on translated into English. Though very thin in size, the Hind Swaraj, is really the magnum opus of Gandhi's thoughts. His later thoughts can be traced back in its germinal form to this book. His later thoughts owe their origin to the 'Hind Swaraj'.

Philosophy, as is understood now-a-days in the Anglo-American world stands for logical analysis of language, concepts or categories. It is construed as a critique of language, thought or communication. This type of philosophizing owes its origin mainly to the logical positivists. The positivists claimed that philosophy cannot study reality or the world directly. Philosophy does not give us any positive knowledge or information about the world. Its sole task is to dispel or clear away ambiguities and vagueness. The speculative philosophers on the other hand, claimed that the task of philosophy is to present a synthetic vision of the world. In this sense, metaphysics or ontology was considered as the core of any philosophical discussion. Gandhi was not a philosopher as an analyst is. Gandhi was not primarily interested in conceptual analysis. Clarity was not the be-all and end-all of his philosophizing. Clarity was treated as a means for achieving something else. It will not be out of place to mention in this connection that Gandhi was neither a professional

philosopher nor had any formal training in philosophy. Many would not, perhaps like to call Gandhi a philosopher. As a matter of fact, this has been the case. Some scholars have characterized Gandhi as a statesman, a moral preacher, but not as a philosopher. However, this will be too harsh a comment on Gandhi. Professional engagement and formal training sometimes provide a man with better opportunities and equipment for philosophizing. But this is not universally required. What makes a man philosopher is not his professional or formal training and competence in the subject, but insight and vision. Gandhi had surely profound insight into human affairs. He developed a theory of individual and society, which was ultimately based on a theory of reality. In this sense, Gandhi can be characterized as a speculative or a normative philosopher. The speculative philosopher presents before us a world view (Weltan chaaung). The writings of Gandhi contain a well articulated world view and his philosophy of man and society is intimately related to it.

An humble attempt will be made in the course of this dissertation to unearth the world view that Gandhi has to present to us. This lies submerged like an iceberg. It is philosophically worth-rewarding to dig it out. Like any other philosopher, Gandhi has treated certain categories as basic to his thought and has revised other categories in the light of this. Seen in this light, Gandhi can be treated as a revisionary metaphysician. But Gandhi was not merely interested

in construction of thought structures. 'Like Marx, he too wanted to change the world. It is not simply enough to understand the world. We should change it. Philosophers, through the ages tried to understand the world. It is Gandhi and Marx who tried to change the world; Whether they succeeded or not in their attempt is very difficult to determine. But their sincere and pious wish to change the world can never be questioned.

*Marx wanted to change the society through revolution. He treated violence as the midwife of revolution. On the other hand, Gandhi wanted to change the society through change in heart. According to Gandhi, non-violence is the only means for social change. Gandhi believes in 'Sarvodaya' or the rise of all. But Marx believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat at least for the transitional period. Marx believed in the class character of the society. Human society is always divided into two opposing classes, i.e. haves and have-nots or the owner of the means of production and the working class. The working class is always exploited by the economically dominant class. For Marx, evil in the society lies in economy. Therefore any attempt to change must begin with change in economy. Whereas, Gandhi considered economy as a small factor only in the vast edifice of civilization. For Gandhi, there was something fundamentally wrong with modern civilization; specially with the modern western civilization. Therefore, any attempt

to bring about any desirable social change must be preceded by the clear understanding of the ills of modern society. Gandhi, in his book 'Hind Swaraj' made a very bold attempt to outline the basic ills that have crept into the modern western civilization. In his own life, Gandhi made an attempt to initiate social change on the lines worked out in 'Hind Swaraj'.

*The English word 'civilization' has been derived from the Latin word 'civis', which means 'citizen'. This means civilized is one who lives in cities and towns. Similarly, the English word 'culture' literally means 'cultivation'. However, in due course of time, 'civilization' and 'culture' have been used as two basic categories in some of the branches of social studies. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, linguists and even economists have taken interest in study of 'civilization' and 'culture'. 'Civilization' and 'culture' have been studied both at the micro- and macro levels. 'Culture' as a universal phenomenon has been studied by social scientists and 'culture' as representing modes of life of different communities have also been studied. Social scientists have taken interest in both type of studies.

'Civilization' and 'culture' have sometimes been synonymously used by some anthropologists. In this sense,

'civilization' and 'culture' stand for the total mode of life. It includes both the material organization as well as customs, traditions, including moral and religious values. The Marxists and the pro-Marxists, because of their assumption that economic factors constitute the basis of the social structure, interpret 'culture' in terms of the economic welfare of the people in particular and the material development of the society in general. Again, some anthropologists, within this parameter have made a distinction between civilization and culture. 'Civilization' stands for the material aspect of human society and 'culture' stands for the spiritual, moral or religious aspect of it. But thinkers like Alfred Weber and R.M. Maclver prefer to define 'culture' as signifying norms, values and 'civilization' as referring to the area of material organization. Weber regards 'civilization' as a product of science and technology, which relates to 'nature' rather than to 'man'. For him 'culture' is indicative of the human element as expressed in meanings and values, in philosophy, religion and art. Maclver makes the distinction more explicit by viewing culture to be the 'ends' and civilization to be the 'means of achieving the ends'. Technological order of civilization is determined within the cultural order of meanings and values.

Sometimes, 'material' and 'non-material culture' are used to stand for this distinction. A social scientist, while

studying 'culture' or 'civilization' may study its origin, growth and its impact on other aspects of society. This sort of study is empirical in nature. This is explained in causal terms. The social scientist by doing this may discover a pattern of 'culture'. This is how, a social scientist may also be interested in study of 'culture'. As such, Lewis H. Morgan, Augusts Comte have studied 'culture' from evolutionary standpoint. They have spelt-out different phases of cultural growth of man kind in general. Marx has been philosophical about 'culture'. According to Marx, 'culture' is a superstructure. This rests on a substructure. The substructure is the economy. Economy determines culture. The type of culture a society has is determined by its economy.

The 'Hind Swaraj' is a philosophical study of culture and civilization. Gandhi has not indulged in empirical study of 'culture' or 'civilization'. The main butt of his criticism is the contemporary western civilization. According to Gandhi, the western civilization is essentially exploitative in nature. It is based upon profit/motive, greed and violence. Ipso-facto, this civilization cannot survive for long. Gandhi is not a futurologist. But his criticism of western civilization forces him to predict that the dooms day is awaiting for us. In the western tradition, man has been treated as a consumer. And this consumer is eternally dissatisfied. So all attempts have to be made both by the individual and the society

to satisfy the needs of the consumer. According to Gandhi, the soul of civilization or culture is the value. A community may be less civilized in the sense that it might have less material amenities, but it may be highly cultured in the sense that it might have higher values. It is the value which distinguishes one civilization from another. Civilizations thrive and survive only on the basis of values.

In the beginning of the century, some social scientists by applying the cultural categories of western European civilization rated its Asiatic counterpart as barbarous and primitive. Asiatic nations did not have sophisticated science and technology. That is why they were rated as less developed. But this is wrong. A people might not have sophisticated science and technology; yet might be highly developed. Development and progress are values concepts. Gandhi lays emphasis on values.

The term 'value' has many meanings. It may mean economic, political, moral or religious values. 'Value', literally means that which we ought to seek. Accordingly, there are economic values, political values, religious values and moral values too. For Gandhi, values stand for moral and religious ideals. Further, he does not make a distinction between religion and moral. To be moral means to be religious and to be religious means to be moral. All other values - economic,

social and political derive their sustenance from moral or religious values. A civilization shorn of religious values is immoral. Immorality is a disvalue - so also irreligiosity. When Gandhi defines man in terms of values, he simply means this - all other values that man seeks after have to be judged in terms of moral and religious values.

The main objective of the 'Hind Swaraj' is to criticize contemporary civilization from the standpoint of values. Man, for Gandhi is a value concept. He is not just a lump of flesh and blood put together. A man is distinguished from an animal by possession of values. An individual is not a man, if he lacks in the values. The defining or essential characteristics of man are values. In this sense, Gandhi differs from Aristotle. Aristotle defines man in terms of animality and rationality. The Aristotelian man is a rational animal. It is reason, which distinguishes a man from animals. Rationality is the differentium of man. This rationality ultimately manifests itself in the development of science and technology leading to accumulation of power. Reason leads to more and more power over nature, paving the way for manipulation of it in the interest of man kind. Bacon says that knowledge is power. What is this power? In the western society which is an offspring of reason and knowledge has ultimately placed individuals and nations at advantageous position over others. Man can manipulate others by means of this power. A nation can

manipulate, exploit, suppress and ultimately vanquish another nation by means of this power. Gandhi would treat all these immoral. For Gandhi, reason is not reason worth the name if it is not tempered with values. It is reason coupled with value that becomes good reason. Reason as such without values is not only useless but is also capable of becoming devilish in character.

✓ The Gandhian man is not essentially a rational man.

✓ He is essentially a value seeker. Reason and knowledge should not only endow man with physical prowess, but with humility. This does not ultimately lead to the exploitation of others, but to self-sacrifice and service in the interest of others. The so-called 'others' are really my brothers. Power is not self-aggrandisement but self-sacrifice. This is basically an Indian ideal - a highly religious ideal. Most of the religions maintain that we live for others. Jesus lived for others. He was crucified for others. He shed blood in service of others. Hinduism and Islam also preach the same values of self-sacrifice. There are innumerable accounts of such self-sacrifice both historical and mythological in Islam as well as Hinduism. Gandhi, is basically a religious man. For him, religion consists of values. These values are not sectarian. They can be treated as cosmic values. There is no scope for hatred, jealousy, violence and exploitation in his scheme of things for any living being, including men, animal and the vegetable

kingdom. Western civilization has taught us to treat others as my competitors, as my rivals. Others are really outsiders. This pains Gandhi. That is why he treats western civilization as immoral.

The theoretical bases of western civilization are competition, survival, profit and manipulation. This ultimately leads to greed, avarice, jealousy and mutual hatred. This is called in Gandhi's word as violence. However one can say that western civilization is firmly rooted in violence. Satisfaction of individual needs is the basic motto. If need be, there is no harm in manipulating others including nature for the well-being of personal life. Morality is utility. In other words, it can be said that utility lies at the basis of western civilization. On the contrary, Gandhi lays emphasis on self-sacrifice character of a civilization. It is not satisfaction of individual needs and consequently enjoyment but enjoyment in and through renunciation that constitute the highest ideal of individual and social life.

The present dissertation aims at a critical study of 'Hind Swaraj'. It might appear that the study aims at refuting or rejecting Gandhi's views on civilization. Much depends upon what do we mean by 'critical study'. 'Critical study' does not necessarily mean rejection or refutation. The core of 'critical study' consists in analytical reflection. Analysis

in its turn does not necessarily mean rejection or reflection. It means systematic elaboration. Accordingly, the present study does not reject Gandhi's views on civilization. It elaborates Gandhi's argument and provides logical defence.

CHAPTER - II

GANDHI'S REJECTION OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

The booklet 'Hind Swaraj' has been variously treated as a seminal book, a revolutionary treatise, an indictment, a critical appraisal of modern civilization, specially modern Western Civilization.

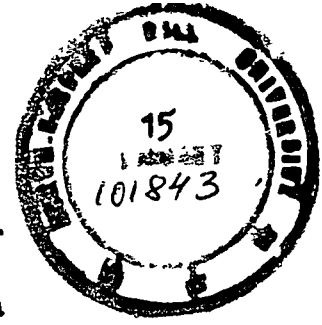
Gandhi in the 'Hind Swaraj' rejects Western Civilization. What does he mean? Does it mean that he rejects the entire western way of life - lock-stock & barrel? Let us now answer these questions. Civilization at the core consists of certain values. These values constitute the core of any civilization. These values in due course of time, get built into the fabric of civilization. Values, are in a way, the soul of any civilization. (The western industrial civilization, based on science and technology inspires certain values or ideologies, which are detrimental to men. Modern science and technology have no doubt, ameliorated the conditions of man, but at the same time engendered certain values, which ultimately prove ruinous. This type of civilization, Gandhi is rejecting. In short, he is rejecting the western industrial civilization, based on science and technology along with its resultant socio economic order.

As a matter of fact, Indian society came in contact with the so-called western civilization through the British rule. Gradually it gained ground on the Indian soil. The Indian intelligentsia also, in due course of time, were lured away by it. Gandhi had a fair and practical experience as well

as intellectual awareness of both the civilizations, i.e. Indian and western. He made serious attempt to expose the evils of western civilization. Thus, in his first serious writing, he took up the study of the fundamentals of western civilization and also made an attempt to provide an outline for an alternative civilization. He could clearly see the violent roots of western civilization and also held a firm conviction that violence can do no good. Hence, he considered it highly desirable to reject the so-called civilization. This is the point that Mahadev Desai makes in the preface to the book written in 1938:

The book was written in 1908, during Gandhi's return voyage from London, in answer to the Indian School of violence and published serially in the columns of the Indian opinion...1

The term 'Civilization' by and large is considered to be concomitant on the material progress ensured by the growth of science and technology. It is indisputable that the rapid strides in science and technology with new inventions and discoveries have revolutionized man's life on this planet. But the fact remains that the marvel and splendour of the so-called Civilization has blinded us to the built-in evils in it. Gandhi attempts to forcefully expose the evils of modern civilization. He writes:



It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilization. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day.²

He further says,

Those who are intoxicated by modern civilization are not likely to write against it. Their care will be to find out facts and arguments in support of it, and this they do unconsciously believing it to be true. A man whilst he is dreaming, believes in his dream; he is undeceived only when he is awakened from his sleep. A man labouring under the bane of civilization is like a dreaming man.³

People in the past before the advent of modern science were living in mud houses, wearing skin or bark of the trees; ploughing their lands with indigenous implements, used to move from place to place either on foot or through animal-rides. But now in the age of technology man lives in mansions and multi-storeyed buildings, puts on synthetic garments; undertakes large scale farming by tractors, makes use of automobiles for quick transport, uses electronic gadgets for communication and so on. In nutshell, modern civilization, according to Gandhi, is wedded to the amelioration of the physical conditions of man. It has no doubt helped us in conquering time and space, liberated us from the deadly diseases. But there is hardly any room for the development of the other aspects of human personality.

Gandhi criticises modern western civilization, because it is based on a lopsided view of man. Modern science, ipso-facto modern western civilization treats man as a lump of matter. Therefore, science and technology are geared to the satisfaction of man, which is basically material in nature.

But according to Gandhi, man is not the body alone. He is not merely a being with flesh and blood to be treated at par with the animals. Man is rather the trio-in-one, the 'body-mind-spirit' complex. Though man shares with the animals, the instinctive propensities yet his uniqueness or differentia consists in having a moral awareness. He has not only the higher awareness by which he distinguishes between right and wrong, the higher and the lower, the Sreya and the Preya (Preferable and Pleasurable), but has the ability to shun the former in favour of the latter. The greatness or superiority of man over animals and one man over another consists in the extent of his moral elevation.

Gandhi accuses that the so-called advancement that passes in the name of civilization, will eventually prove to be self-destructive, for it is bereft of moral content. Science is rich with mechanisms but poor in purposes. It fosters a mad craze after the worldly pursuits. This results in a cut-throat competition for survival which leads man to live at the cost of others. Man treats his fellow beings as a means to promote

his vested interests. Selfishness, merciless exploitations and cruelty become the order of the day. The so-called progress in the name of civilization though has enabled man to conquer nature, has on the other hand, left him morally crippled and if not checked will go on doing so. As a result, the so-called boons of modern science will turn out to be the eventual banes for the humanity. Man, today is threatened by the imminent nuclear holocaust. He tends to be the victim of his own creation. The hydrogen bombs, the gun powder, the inter-ballistic missiles have gone a long way in enhancing man's capacity for perpetrating a wholesale destruction. In 'Hind Swaraj' Gandhi gives a serious thought to this issue. He brings out its real character in the following words:

Civilization is like a mouse gnawing while
it is soothing us.⁴

After the completion of 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi returned to South Africa. In a letter from Johannesburg, which he wrote to Albert of west, there was reaffirmation of what he had said in 'Hind Swaraj'.

... For me I am going through many a battle. Circumstances surrounding me just now are not at all congenial. But I think my mind is at peace. My mind as you know is extremely active never at rest. I am trying bold experiments... The more I observe, the greater is the dissatisfaction with modern life. I see nothing good in it. Men are good. But they are poor victims making themselves

miserable under the false belief that they are doing good. I am aware that there is a fallacy underneath this. I who claim to examine what is around may be a deluded fool. This risk all of us have to take. The fact is that we are all bound to do what we feel is right. And with me I feel that modern life is not right. The greater the conviction, the bolder the experiments.⁵

Pointing to the inherent inadequacy and evils of the modern civilization, Gandhi reminds us about the inevitable aftermath of the unrestricted growth of science and technology and thereby stresses the crying need for moral regeneration. (Modern civilization as he observes is irreligious and immoral. In 'Hind Swaraj' Gandhi says:

This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach religion. Some even consider it to be a superstitious growth. Others put on the cloak of religion, and prate about morality. But, after twenty years' experience, I have come to the conclusion that immorality is often taught in the name of morality. Even a child can understand that in all I have described above there can be no inducement to morality. Civilization seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so.⁶

He further says:

This civilization is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude.⁷

Religion for Gandhi does not consist of a set of rituals, beliefs or a set of superstitious practices. All religions (Christianity, Islam or Hinduism) in spite of the differences are God-based.

Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and all other religions teach us that we should remain passive about worldly pursuits and active about godly pursuits, that we should set a limit to our worldly ambition and that our religious ambition should be illimitable. Our activity should be directed into the latter channel.⁸

The central concern of Gandhi is with morality. According to him, morality is the essence of religion. Thus, to be religious is to be moral. (Gandhi derives his views about morality from the notion of Truth.) He considers Truth to be the highest among human ends. Hence, his famous saying 'Truth is God'. Regarding the nature of Truth, Gandhi elaborates that it is actually the eternal moral principle which regulates the nature. Since it is universal cosmic moral law; human beings ought to discover it and regulate their lives accordingly. A civilization worth the name could be evolved only by accepting truth and morality as the essential fundamentals. (Western civilization is actually in sharp contrast to these principles. Morality is not treated as a creed, but as a policy which can be changed according to circumstances. As a consequence, morality here comes out to be a set of convenient principles. Civilization, built on this cannot be properly treated as civilization.) By granting centrality to Truth and morality,

Gandhi provided a moral basis to civilization. Gandhi's indictment of western civilization is essentially based on moral grounds. It is in this sense that he calls modern western civilization as irreligious. Morality and religion teach us to observe the principles of self-control and natural love. Lack of this leads to a real lack of physical strength and moral courage. Of course, there are several brands of religions available to man-kind. There might be several superficial differences in them. But all of them have essentially unity in the form of moral preaching as the most essential condition of being religious. Keeping in view this essential unity, Gandhi recommended the principle of equal respect for all religions. Philosophically the significant point that Gandhi made through this argument is as follows - people belonging to different religions or for that matter different caste, creed, race, tribe, country etc. all can evolve a philosophy of life in accordance with the essential moral convictions. This unifying principle of all man-kind will lead to a civilization which would be protective of the human race. Western civilization by differentiating between one religion and the other, between one tribe and the other, between one country and the other has upheld the principle of division of human race. Division is the surest way to destruction. In Gandhi's view, western civilization is based on this kind of principle of division and moral decline.

Gandhi equates God with Truth and identifies Truth with the moral order. He affirms the universality and objectivity of the moral order. The Upanishadic thinkers conceive of Brahman to be pervading the entire cosmos ('Sarvam Khaludam Brahma'). For Gandhi, Truth is all pervading. He prefers Truth to God or Brahman, because it is not only theologically neutral, but is also expressive of the essence of all that the terms stand for. He defines the moral order in terms of the cosmic values. There can be relative and absolute values. The values that prove expedient in meeting the relative needs of a man or a group or a society may not prove viable in promoting the welfare of the collective body. It is said to be sectarian, relative. On the contrary, the absolute or the cosmic values constitute the basis of the moral order and indicate that man's ultimate good consists in living in conformity with it. Man, being an integral part of that cosmic moral order, the Truth in man resides in form of the 'Conscience', which Gandhi terms as the 'inner voice of the God'.

For Gandhi, values at the core are absolute. The so called relative values draw their sustenance from the absolute one. The logic of relative value leads ad infinitum. In order to escape the fallacy of reductio-ad-absurdum, one has to accept absolute values. In this system of things, all living beings are treated on equal par. Nothing is a means to an end.

Nobody should be treated as a means to somebody else's end. Even animals and plants are not excluded from the domain of this principle. This ultimately results in moral ecology. Moral ecology preceeds physical and natural ecology.

If Gandhi condemns what he calls the pseudo-civilization of capitalist and communist system of industrialization, what is then is his own conception of true civilization? Perhaps the answer to this question is implicit in his rejection of western civilization. Obviously, he emphasises on the centrality of morality. He says:

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means 'good conduct'.⁹

Gandhi as a realist also recognises the native weaknesses of human beings. He further says;

We notice that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge in our passions the more unbridled they become.¹⁰

The splendours of modern civilization only actuates the baser instincts of man; leaving him morally or spiritually bankrupt. Gandhi therefore pleads for the restraint of the lower self.

The lower self can be restrained only by observing the path of duties. More and more we learn to observe duties proportionately, we make ourselves civilized. So is the case with the growth of morality in society. The restraint of lower self will further mean the giving up of the path of violence of any kind. A civilized man or a civilized society would never like to move away from the path of duty and will always prefer soul force over violent methods.

In this regard Gandhi directs his polemics against the critics who accuse India of backwardness and conservatism. He rather comes out with his arguments to prove that it is India with her rich legacy of spiritualism, can take an affective lead to the so called modern and developed sections along with the path of righteousness. In his definition:

The tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, that of the western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to the mother's breast.¹¹

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CHAPTER - III

THE CONCEPT OF SWARAJ

The concept 'Swaraj' was used by Bal Gangadhar Tilak for the first time in Indian Political Vocabulary. Later on, it became a Watch-Word in the early days of freedom movement in this country. Tilak claimed, 'Swaraj' is my birth right. In fact, it was argued during those days by the nationalist Indians that 'Swaraj' is inalienable to individuality. This reminds us of the natural right theorists. The natural right theorists maintained that freedom is a natural right. The individuality of man is inconceivable without freedom. That is why in the West there was so much clamour for freedom.

Freedom also was a Watch-Word during the time of French Revolution. Philosophers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau gave metaphysical justification in support of freedom. For Rousseau, man is born free; but everywhere he is in chains. Society, Government and State have curtailed human freedom. That is why Rousseau gave a clarion call to go back to the state of nature. The 'Noble Savage' was his ideal type. Man in society is corrupt. The 'Noble Savage' is free from such corrupting influences.

Freedom, liberty, individuality, democracy and equality go together. In the West these terms have been used together. That is to say, one who talks of freedom, also talks in terms of liberty, democracy etc. There was a revolt against authoritarianism, dictatorship and monarchy. Freedom and democracy were advanced as panacea to the ills accruing from monarchical rules.

Freedom is a political concept. This means independence from all restraints and constraints. Tilak used 'Swaraj' in a political sense. But in the hands of Gandhi these concepts have undergone a metamorphosis - a sea of change. Gandhi has used 'Swaraj' in a very wide sense. Hence Gandhi says:

The root meaning of 'Swaraj' is self-rule, Swaraj may, therefore, be rendered as discipline from within... Independence may mean licence to do as you like ... Swaraj is positive, Independence is negative... The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraints which 'Independence' often means.¹

The concept 'Swaraj' is really a vedic concept. This has been used in the Vedas. Its core meaning is moral. Accordingly, Gandhi writes:

Real Swaraj consists in self-restraint. He alone is capable of this, who leads a moral life, does not cheat anyone, does not forsake truth, and does his duty to his parents, his wife, his children, his servants and his neighbours. Such a man will enjoy Swaraj wherever he may happen to live. A nation that has many such men always enjoys Swaraj.²

Gandhi in this sense continues the Vedic tradition of morality. Political and economic considerations are secondary to human situations. Morality is primary to any human situation. In other words, according to Gandhi, to understand any piece of human action is to understand it in terms of morality. What

distinguishes an action from an event is the position of the morality by the former. If this element of morality is lacking, an action is not an action worth the name. Both actions and events have causes. Sometimes, it is argued that human actions have reasons. These reasons are human intentions. That is to say, one can give justificatory reasons in support of an action. But for Gandhi, if an action is bereft of moral elements, it is not an action. A man is distinguished from a beast not by the possession of rationality, but by possession of morality. Aristotle has defined man as a rational animal. But Gandhi defines man as a moral creature. For Gandhi, man is a value concept. This means that the concept of man will not be intelligible without reference to values. Therefore, to understand any social institution one has to refer to values. Society, Government, State and democracy are not intelligible without reference to values. Therefore, 'Swaraj' cannot be understood without reference to 'values'.

'Swaraj' literally means self-rule (Swa + Raj). 'Swa' means 'of the self' and 'Raj' means 'rule or government'. Gandhi does not use 'Swaraj' in its literal sense. Swaraj for Gandhi does not mean the rule of Indian by the Indians. In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi observes:

By patriotism I mean the welfare of whole people... If any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.³

Gandhi again says:

If the English become Indianized, we can accommodate them. If they wish to remain in India along with their civilization, there is no room for them. It lies with us to bring about such a State of things.⁴

'Swaraj' does not mean elimination of Britishers or Europeans from Indian soil. Gandhi used to say that he does not hate Britishers or Europeans, but the British rule or European civilization.

Accordingly, Gandhi writes in Hind Swaraj:

It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground down, not under the English heel, but under that of modern civilization. It is groaning under the monster's terrible weight.⁵

Swaraj does not mean the freedom from the clutches of Britishers. Gandhi further observes:

I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization.⁶

Again he says:

We brought the English, and we keep them. Why do you forget that our adoption of their civilization makes their presence in India at all possible? Your hatred against them ought to be transferred to their civilization.⁷

Gandhi was against a particular type of civilization, culture, values, attitudes, ideologies and belief systems. Accidentally

the British rule perpetuated a particular type of value system which is immoral at the core. Gandhi was objecting to this. (Swaraj does not mean licence but self-restraint and self-control. Thus, Gandhi realized that self-restraint or self-control expressed in terms of control of one's passion would act as a potent weapon for the winning of Swaraj.) Accordingly, Gandhi writes in Hind Swaraj, 'Real home rule is self-rule or self-control'.⁸ Thus Swaraj understood in the sense of moral Swaraj according to Gandhi presupposes self-restraint or self-control for its realization. That is why 'Swaraj' is basically a moral concept. Gandhi would go a step further to argue that Politics is impossible without morality. The idea of secularism and secular politics will be anathema to Gandhi. The modern idea of secularism will be treated as a misnomer by Gandhi. Politicians, Statesmen - those who are in the Vanguard are bound to be moral persons. Politicians have no root without morality. Gandhi wanted to moralize Politics and State-craft. who rules us is immaterial. What matters is how we are ruled? As Gandhi says about the nature of Government under Swaraj:

In such a Government, the ruler will be the protector, trustee and friend of the people. The difference between his life and that of the humble peasant will not be the difference between heaven and earth as at present. There would be due sense of proportion between his palace and the Peasant's hut. The difference between their respective wants would also be very small.⁹

Hence as Gandhi writes in Young India:

I hope also to achieve the end by demonstrating that real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words; Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.¹⁰

Thus the Government under Swaraj of Gandhian conception will be democratic through and through, not only in form, but also in spirit and content.

In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi argues that 'Swaraj' is central to civilization. A civilization without basis in morality is no civilization at all. Western civilization has no basis in morality. It is light years away from morality. That is why in the 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi points out that the doomsday is awaiting for western civilization. It is basically immoral, exploitative and valueless. It preaches immorality, disvalue and exploitation of men by men. It is based on brute force. That is why Gandhi was highly critical of Western civilization. The ramification of Western civilization in contemporary period, augurs ill for future of mankind. Gandhi issues a warning to this effect. It can be said in this connection that Gandhi did not want Swaraj only for the Indians but for the mankind in general. Civilization cannot survive without Swaraj. His premonition is based on deep insight about human civilization. A civilization, based on immorality cannot

survive. A civilization, based on brute force will ultimately result in mutual-hatred and killing. In Young India, Gandhi says:

Purna Swaraj denotes a condition of thing, when the dumb and lame millions will speak and walk. That Swaraj cannot be achieved by force, but by organization and unity.¹¹

Gandhi says:

... the force of love and pity is infinitely greater than the force of arms. There is harm in the exercise of brute force, never in that of pity.¹²

Gandhi says in Hind Swaraj:

I would say to the extremists, I know that you want Home Rule for India; it is not to be had for your asking. Everyone will have to take it for himself. What others get for me is not Home Rule but foreign rule; therefore, it would not be proper for you to say that you have obtained Home Rule if you have merely expelled the English. I have already described the true nature of Home Rule. This you would never obtain by force of arms. Brute force is not natural to Indian Soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal.¹³

Attainment of mere Political Freedom is no freedom at all. In this sense, attainment of mere Home Rule is no Home Rule at all. Genuine Home Rule has to be based on moral principles. In this respect, Gandhi's views on political

freedom can be compared with those of Marx and others. For Marx and Lennin, the rule by the proletariat is the genuine rule. It is a case of political freedom. The proletariat obtain genuine freedom, when they get the occasion to rule themselves. But for Gandhi, mere transfer of power from one hand to another is no freedom at all. If the proletarian rule is not based on morals, it is not freedom at all.

Similarly, Gandhi's views can be compared with those of Locke and Hobbes. Real freedom, according to Locke and Hobbes is obtained only when the ultimate power lies in the hands of the people. That is why democracy is defined as a rule by the people, for the people, and of the people. But this will not be acceptable to Gandhi without a pinch of salt. For Gandhi, the underlying idea of democracy is morality. Mere investment of Political power in the hands of people is no democracy at all. Both the ruler and the ruled have to imbibe the highest principle of morals. If this is lacking, it is no democracy at all. Therefore, Gandhi would define democracy as a form of Government, by the moralists, for the moralists and of the moralists. This he terms as 'Ram-Rajya'. Thus the moral dimension of Swaraj as advocated by Gandhi can be realised through the adoption of the technique of self-restraint or self-control. Gandhi's concept of moral freedom has another aspect. He means thereby, freedom from the existence of armed forces in the country.

According to Gandhi, Rama Raj does not stand for a sectarian rule. It does not stand for rules by the Hindus in the narrow sense of the term. Accordingly he says:

By Rama Raj, I do not mean Hindu Raj.
I mean by Rama Raj Divine Raj, the
Kingdom of God.¹⁴

Ram is an impersonal figure for Gandhi. 'Rama' stands for a principle - the principle of justice, equality and morality. Again Gandhi says:

Rama symbolised justice, and equity,
Rama symbolised truth and charity.¹⁵

Rama Raj, therefore for Gandhi means the rule of morals. The ruler for Gandhi has to be an embodiment of self-sacrifice. This is an Indian wisdom. The ruler is the custodian of dharma - the moral law. The episode of Sibi is illustrative in this connection. Sibi was ready to sacrifice his ownself for the sake of a mere bird. To protect everybody, is the dharma of king. The king or the ruler knows no law except that of dharma and in the process of protecting dharma, if it is required to sacrifice one's own-self, he must be ready to do it without any hesitation. Love for all and hatred to none is the watch-word. Gandhi wanted Swaraj for his countrymen only in this sense.

Gandhi says on one occasion: _____

There is no substitute for Swaraj, and the only universal definition to give it is that status of India which her people desire at a given moment.¹⁶

He was not just interested in the transfer of political power from the hands of the British to that of the Indians. This is no 'Swaraj'. 'Swaraj' consists in the trans-valuation of all values. It consists of transformation of attitudes, beliefs and ideologies. That is why Gandhi used to say that he did not hate the British but the British rule.

Similarly, investment of economic power in the hands of the people will not be treated as a case of 'Swaraj' by Gandhi. Marx will argue that societies are based upon economic exploitation. Economic factors lie at the root of social conflict and tension. Marx points out that the social tension can be eliminated only by shifting the economic power from the hands of the capitalists to that of the proletariates. Marx thinks that social ills are economic in nature. To eliminate social evil is to divert economic power from the hands of the capitalists to the hands of the proletariates. Cessation of economic exploitation will result in cessation of misery. But this will not be acceptable to Gandhi. Human problems are not merely economic nor even the solutions. In other words, remedy for human problems are not solely economic in nature.) According to Gandhi, solution to human problem is a moral issue.

Mere political legislation, foreseeable snatching away of property from the hands of the rich will not ensure equality. Gandhi invented Sarvodaya and trusteeship to bring to an end to economic exploitation. In this respect, Gandhi differs from the utilitarians and the pragmatists. The utilitarians will talk in terms of majority. The minorities, according to the utilitarians can always be overlooked. To the utilitarians, the good of the majority has to be ensured. The Government should take every step to ensure and safeguard the good of the majority. But for Gandhi, it is not the majority that counts. It is the good of all. Gandhi will even extend it to the world of animals. Sarvodaya is not a utilitarian principle. It does not treat man as a means. It treats man as an end. In this respect, Gandhi can be compared with Kant. Kant treated human persons as ends. That is why he tells us to pay respect to persons. Gandhi will go a step beyond Kant. Mercy, kindness and respect are not only to be extended to human fellow beings, but to animals as well. Gandhi finds the spark of divinity all pervading. This aspect is lacking very much in Kant.

✓ The idea of 'Swadeshi' is very much related to the idea of 'Swaraj'. 'Swadeshi' literally means 'Home-spun'. This might appear as a strategy on the part of Gandhi to drive out the Britishers. This might give a suggestion that Gandhi was preaching 'Swadeshi' in order to paralyse the

market for the British commodities. If nobody buys British things, then the British economy will fail and the Britishers will leave India, lock-stock and barrel. This might give suggestion to us that the advocacy of 'Swadeshi' is a strategy both political and economic in nature. But a closer look will tell us that it is not so. Swadeshi like 'Swaraj' is a moral concept at the core for Gandhi. Not only politics and administration, but also economy of a nation cannot be detached from moral considerations. The advocacy of 'Swadeshi' by Gandhi strikes a master blow at the root of the so-called modern civilization which heavily rests upon the use of machinery. The materialistic civilization of the west is founded on machinery. Gandhi considers machinery to be the symbol of western civilization. Huge quantities of surplus goods produced by machinery in factories in the west found their way into India. Hence the real instrument of India's enslavement is machinery. Gandhi writes:

It is machinery that has impoverished
India.¹⁷

Thus real Swaraj means for Gandhi freedom from the baneful effects of machinery or the craze for machinery. Nor can Swaraj be gained by the establishment of large factories or accumulation of material wealth. As he says:

Just as we cannot achieve real Swarajya following the path of evil—that is by killing the British - so also it will not be possible for us to achieve it by establishing big factories in India.¹⁸

For Gandhi, the use of machinery has not only pulverized society, but has dehumanized man. Swadeshi is designed to re-humanize man. Gandhi recommends 'Swadeshi' not only for India but for humanity at large. If self-control is practised in personal life and people release themselves from the bond of materialistic civilization of the West that would spell the emergence of true Swaraj for the masses of India. Hence Gandhi has observed:

It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands. Do not consider this Swaraj to be like a dream. There is no idea of sitting still. The Swaraj that I wish to picture is such that, after we have once realized it, we shall endeavour to the end of our life-time to persuade others to do likewise. But such Swaraj has to be experienced, by each one for himself.¹⁹

Gandhi has declared:

A man who is mad as I now am after freedom, a man who is hungry after freedom - and a real hunger for freedom is infinitely more painful than hunger for mere bread - has got to take tremendous risks, to stake everything that he has in order to gain that precious freedom.²⁰

The idea of 'Swadeshi' is also related to the idea of 'Bread-Labour'. Nobody has right to depend on others for his food and raiments. A person who does not earn his food is a thief. A thief has no moral right to feed his belly at the expense of others. The present economic and social organization which

owes its origin to European civilization is highly immoral, because it encourages dependence and exploitation. This has not only led to pauperization of man, but his despiritualization. Gandhi wants to rescue man by advocating 'Swadeshi' and 'Swaraj'. Swaraj is an ideology. Swadeshi is operationalization of this ideology. Without 'Swadeshi' Swaraj will be inoperative. Swaraj operates through Swadeshi. Therefore, it can be said that 'Swaraj' and 'Swadeshi' go together. One cannot be delinked from the other. To understand 'Swaraj' is to understand 'Swadeshi' and vice-versa. While Gandhi was advocating the cause of 'Khadi' in this country, he was not advancing an alternative economic model only. Khadi for Gandhi is not basically an economic proposition. It is a moral proposition at heart. Gandhi equally realized that the self-governing village republics should be economically self-sufficient units, where the inhabitants as a group shall produce all that they will need or at least their vital requirements. As Gandhi says;

It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruits and its own khadi.²¹

Subsequently he says:

My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth.²²

We have already pointed out, for Gandhi, politics, economics and state-crafts are not detachable from morality. Morality permeates both economics and politics. Economics and Politics are major aspects of human society. One may argue that morality has nothing to do with it. But for Gandhi no human situation can be considered without reference to morality.

✓ Swaraj for Gandhi is a very wide concept. It includes both economic, political, social and moral elements. The people's Swaraj of Gandhi is four dimensional: the four dimensions being provided by the political facet, social facet, economic facet and the moral facet. Gandhi considered them as constituting the "square of Swaraj". Unless these four dimensions are in perfect trim and are properly adjusted and co-ordinated the square of Swaraj will present a distorted picture or as Gandhi said:

It will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue.²³

That is to say the concept of 'Swaraj' is indicative of the potentialities of man. Man is not a uni-dimensional concept. It is a multi-dimensional one. The concept of 'Swaraj' is designed by Gandhi to depict this multi-dimensionality of human personality. Broadly speaking, human personality can be classified into social, political, economic, religious and

moral components. Therefore to talk of 'Swaraj' is to talk of man and society. But morality is central to all these components. The economic, social, political and religious components hover round morality. In other words, political, economic, social and religious aspects of man cannot be detached from morality or values. That is to say, basically 'Swaraj' is a value concept. Gandhi would not only prescribe 'Swaraj' for the Indians, but he would do it for all the people of different nations. Gandhi surely envisages a political, economic and social order free from all sorts of exploitations. Exploitation is a sin. It is immoral to exploit others. It is equally immoral to wallow in temple of luxuries, while others are rotting in misery and poverty. Accordingly, Gandhi writes in Young India:

The Swaraj of my dream is the poor man's Swaraj. 24

Considered from the angle of these poor men or the masses, Swaraj for Gandhi signified removal of their poverty, hunger, destitution, deprivation and exploitation. Gandhi surely talks of economic equality. Hence, elaborating his notion of Purna Swaraj, Gandhi writes in Young India:

It is full economic freedom for the toiling millions. 25

Accordingly, Gandhi said:

The constructive programme may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of Poorna Swaraj or complete Independence by truthful and non-violent means.²⁶

In the constructive programme, Gandhi gave serious thought to the economic aspect of Poorna Swaraj. Gandhi observes that:

'Economic equality' became the 'masterkey' of such Swaraj.²⁷

✓ Though Britishers have deprived the millions in this country of economic benefits, Gandhi not only held the Britishers responsible for the miserable plight of Indians, but he equally held Indians responsible for it. But how to go about it? How to bring an end to misery, poverty and exploitation? A marxist would recommend violent means of struggle. Gandhi writes:

True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means for the.... Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated ahimsa.²⁸

So Gandhi recommends non-violent method of passive resistance. His was a fight with principles and not with persons. That is why Gandhi used to say again and again that he did not hate the British people, but the British rule. Non-Violent passive

resistance is a method of achieving 'Swaraj'. Hence the technique to be adopted for the attainment of Swaraj should not be in conflict with the cultural heritage of the country. Accordingly, while furnishing an explanation for his work, Hind Swaraj, and his denunciation of the violent and terrorist method as a technique for winning 'Swaraj' he said that:

Her civilization required the use
of a different and higher weapon
for self-protection.²⁹

What is this non-violent passive resistance? One may argue that this is the method of the cowards, the weak. In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi recommends:

Passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How then, can it be considered only a weapon of the weak? Physical force men are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister.³⁰

So Gandhi points out that non-violence is a weapon of the strongest. It is only the courageous who can take resort to non-violent means. In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi further says:

Passive resistance cannot proceed
a step without fearlessness.³¹

It is only the virtuous, the moralists who can take resort to non-violent means. Accordingly, Gandhi says:

Real Home Rule is possible only where passive resistance is the guiding force of the people.³²

Passive resistance does not mean passive tolerance of everything. To take resort to non-violent means one must have developed the moral force or the soul-force. Without this moral or soul-force one cannot take resort to non-violent means. One who is fearful, timid and selfish cannot take resort to non-violent means. Non-violent, passive resistance presupposes the ideal of self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is the limiting case of human personality. There is no greater price than self-sacrifice. A believer in non-violent methods must be ready to pay such a price. Self-sacrifice is the highest price that one could pay. This price cannot be paid by everybody so easily. That is why Gandhi argues that only courageous, the virtuous and strong can take resort to such a path. Gandhi says:

The force implied in this may be described as love-force, soul-force, or more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance. This force is indestructible. He who uses it perfectly understands his position...The force of arms is powerless when matched against the force of Love or the Soul.³³

Hence in Hind Swaraj, while rejecting violence as the appropriate technique, he argued that it is impossible to win a

noble ideal like Swaraj by the application of violent technique as it is impossible to get a rose by planting a noxious weed. Gandhi further says:

- (1) Real home-rule is self-rule or self-control.
- (2) The way to it is passive resistance; that is soul-force or love-force.
- (3) In order to exert this force, Swadeshi in every sense is necessary.³⁴

Hatred begets hatred and love begets love. This is a universal principle. Any Society based on hatred is bound to collapse. That is why Gandhi does not recommend the principle of hatred to bring about social change and revolution.

Gandhi's analysis of western civilization suggests as if science and technology are the only factors responsible for deterioration of man. As a matter of fact, no single factor can be sorted out to be solely responsible for it. In other words, political, economic and psychological factors too are equally responsible. It is not reasonable to argue that science and technology at any particular period of time determine attitudes and ideas in the society. Gandhi, in the 'Hind Swaraj' seems to be advocating this view. I wish to suggest that his views are inadequate to account for social change and evolution. To agree with Gandhi, is to accept scientific and technological determinism. Gandhi, seems not to have emphasized the role of politically vested interest groups in any social

formation. Science and technology as such do not bring about ruination. There is nothing in science and technology, which as such brings about ruination to mankind. It is the policies of the State that determine the course of science and technology. ✓

Further, Gandhi does not provide the exact modus operandi of 'Swadeshi'. Gandhi, in other words, provides a theory of moral upliftment and regeneration of mankind, but does not provide a well articulated system of operating it.

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CHAPTER - IV

EDUCATION

Philosophers from time immemorial have talked on education. Education has been treated as one of the major means of social reconstruction. It has been argued that education can induce social change. In other words, social change can be induced through education. A society which does not change automatically can be changed through education.

Gandhi was not only a thinker, but a practical idealist. He not only wanted to understand the World, he also wanted to change it. On this point, Gandhi and Marx come closer. Marx pointed out that Philosophers had been trying to understand the world, but the task was to change it. Philosophers can change the world through their ideas, theories and ideology. Gandhi not only gave us a theory of social change, but he gave us a modus operandi for social change. According to Gandhi, thought and action go together. Correct thought leads to correction action. Right understanding leads to right action. This is why Buddha led emphasis on right understanding. Gandhi tried to understand the basis of human society and designed strategy to change it. Gandhi was not a professional Philosopher of education. But he provides valuable insight into the objectives, content and method of education.

Historically speaking, there are three theories of education: (1) Empiricism, (2) Idealism and (3) Instrumentalism. Empiricism is associated with the name of John Locke.

Empiricism treats mind as a 'tabula rasa'. According to this doctrine, mind is a blank sheet of paper. It does not contain anything. It has to be fed with information. That is why Locke points out that the role of a teacher is to inject information into the minds of people. To educate means to give more and more information. To be educated means to be in possession of information. More information is indicative of more educated. Less information is indicative of less educated.

Locke was a believer in Liberalism. That is why he argued that the contents of education should include liberal arts. The objective of education, according to Locke is to create gentlemen.

The idealists, on the other hand, claim that human mind is pregnant with innate ideas. This doctrine, historically speaking is associated with the name of Descartes. Descartes maintained that human mind is not a 'tabula rasa'. It is endowed with innate potentialities. Therefore, the idealists argue that the objective of education is to bring out the innate potentialities of the people. The term 'to educate' means to bring about. Therefore, they claim that in teaching in the classroom the objective of the teacher shall not be to give more and more information, but to bring about what is already contained in the mind of the student. Plato, advocates this theory of education. Plato likens the teacher

to a midwife. As a midwife helps a mother in easy delivery, so a teacher should help the student in bringing about or making explicit his innate capacities. A teacher is a philosopher and vice-versa. Vivekananda in India accepted this theory of education. For Vivekananda, education is the manifestation of the potentialities already contained in man.

Instrumentalism, on the other hand, has a different programme altogether. John Dewey, historically speaking, is the advocate of this doctrine. Instrumentalism is based upon a metaphysical assumption regarding the nature of mind. Mind is a neutral stuff. It can be changed, be given a shape depending on the needs of society. Therefore the instrumentalists argue that the objective of education is contingent upon the needs of the society.

Gandhi cannot be classed either with the empiricists, idealists or the instrumentalists. For Gandhi, education is a value concept. To be educated means to live in accordance with certain values. To educate means to spread values. What are these values? Are there basic and primary values? We have pointed out earlier in the preceding chapters that 'non-violence' is a basic value for Gandhi. All our social activities centre round this value. An educational system, which does not take note of this value should be rejected. Gandhi terms his education as basic education. Gandhi's philosophy

of education is based upon a metaphysical assumption. It is this: a human person is a complex of "body-mind and soul." According to Gandhi, our educational system should be designed to cater to the needs of both body-mind and soul. Sri Aurobindo also talked of this sort of education. His view of education is known as integral education.

Gandhi was dismayed at the damaging impact of contemporary European education on human society. The present system of education has created parasites. It has created white-collar gentlemen, who are not only unemployed but unemployable in nature. Gandhi observes:

Today the youth educated in our universities either ran after Government jobs or fell into devious ways and sought outlet for their frustration by fomenting unrest. They were not even ashamed to be... or sponge upon others. Such was their sad plight.¹

In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi points out that this sort of education has brought about ruination of man and thereby of human civilization. This sort of education cannot sustain human civilization. It heralds doomsday for human civilization. Gandhi writes:

In my opinion the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters:

- (i) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture.
- (ii) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand, and confines itself simply to the head.
- (iii) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.²

Gandhi was highly critical of the management of education, particularly of higher education in India. He maintains that higher education, particularly liberal education should not be financed by the Government.

Gandhi has developed his own method of education.

Gandhi observes in his book 'Basic Education':

The principal idea is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is taught to the children. You have to draw out all that is in the child through teaching all the processes of the handicraft, and all your lessons in history, geography, arithmetic will be related to the craft.³

Gandhi points out that education should begin with work. Students should be taught through work. Both literature, arithmetic, history, geography, economics etc. can be taught through work. This is a novel method of teaching. It has two aspects: (1) a psychological aspect, (2) a value aspect. Gandhi wished to eliminate boredom that is usually associated with the formal teaching in the classroom. Sometimes it so

happens that a student finds formal, theoretical instruction in the classroom boring and insipid. How to go about it? How to relieve boredom from the classroom? How to enthuse students in the classroom? Different answers have been given by educational psychologists to this question. Expensive audio-visual methods have been designed to make classroom teaching interesting and lively. All these will not be acceptable to Gandhi. Gandhi points out that education should start with manual labour. A human child is not an immobile piece of matter. It is endowed with different sense organs. These sense organs have to be activated and energized. Therefore, Gandhi argues that it is quite natural on the part of the pupil to use their own hands in learning lessons in the classroom. Moreover, it has a value aspect. The child not only learns in the classroom, but he produces something in return. If the child is sustained by the society, he must produce something for it. He should not be a burden on human society. To put it in Ryle's words: 'Education not only consists of knowing that but of knowing how'. That is to say both knowledge and skill go together. Gandhi maintains that the objective of education is to impart both knowledge and skill. Education is a marriage between knowledge and skill. The pupil should not only acquire knowledge, but also skills. This shows that Gandhi gives a value orientation to education. In this respect Gandhi comes very close to Plato. Plato talked in terms of all-round education.

According to Plato, to educate means to bring about all-round development of the people. Plato made a distinction between value and disvalue. Disvalues have no place in education. According to Plato, educational system should be designed to realize what is known as the 'highest good'. It is the 'highest good', which is to be realized. There are hindrances to achieve this goal. That is why Plato talks of 'Censorship'. The undesirable elements should be eliminated. The State should take possible measures to ensure this method of education. Thus Plato envisaged the philosopher king. The philosopher king is a net result of Platonic system of education. There is a sense in which it can be said that both Gandhi and Plato come together in their emphasis on development of body, mind and soul in the process of education. But there is a difference between the two. Plato develops what can be termed as the elitist concept of education. The Platonic educated man is a gentleman, who cannot use his hands in doing manual labour. But the Gandhian educated man is a skilled worker. There is no room for elitism in Gandhian scheme of education. But both Gandhi and Plato believe in values. According to both of them an educated man is a value seeker. Both Gandhi and Plato endow education with values. Education cannot be detached from values. And this value is absolute in nature. No compromise can be made with it.

Education, according to Gandhi, should aim at promoting moral welfare of the people. The primary objective of education is not intellectual development or academic excellence, but character building. Gandhi observes:

Our ancient school system is enough.
Character-building has the first place
in it and that is primary education.
A building erected on that foundation
will last.⁴

That is why Gandhi accords primary place to religious and moral instructions in any scheme of education. This might look absurd. One may point out that Gandhi is tradition-bound. It may be argued that by imparting moral and religious instructions to the pupil Gandhi does not want to modernize India. He wants to stick to the tradition. As a matter of fact, such type of criticisms have been heaped upon Gandhi. Gandhi has been treated as a traditionalist, conservative and anti-modern in education. His educational plan and policy have been characterised as retrograde. What answer could be given on behalf of Gandhi to such critics? One can say that these criticisms are unwarranted and uncalled for. According to Gandhi, all social actions should be based on morality. When Gandhi maintains that religion should occupy a primary place in education, by 'religion' he does not mean any denominational one. Again dry religious ritualism and sacraments have no appeal for Gandhi. When he lays emphasis on religion

and morals, he really draws our attention to religious and moral values. Religious and moral values, according to Gandhi are absolute. An action, whether at individual or social level can be judged only with reference to these values. The nucleus of any human action is the value. Detached from values, an action is not an action worth the name. This is what distinguishes an action from a mere event. An event is just an occurrence. But an action is always with a purpose. And this purpose has to be a value. These values justify social actions. Gandhi, in this respect seems to have been influenced by the ancient Indian scheme of four-fold values, i.e. Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksa. All actions have to be linked with the highest values. Education, being a social action should be linked with these values. The European type of education is not based upon these values; consequently it has led to dehumanization of man. Gandhi observes in 'Hind Swaraj':

Both you and I have come under the
bane of what is mainly false education.⁵

Again he says:

We are so much beset by the disease of
civilization, that we cannot altogether
do without English education.⁶

The European scheme of education creates the so-called intellectuals which in turn are parasites on human Society. Gandhi

maintains :

Carried away by the flood of Western thought we came to the conclusion, without weighing pros and cons, that we should give this kind of education to the people.⁷

This type of education, according to Gandhi, leads to atrophy of both body and mind. Mind gets suffused with all sorts of information. In other words, mind gets burdened with unnecessary overload of information. Further, it leads to unemployment. The western type of education creates individuals who are unfit for any meaningful work. This not only destroys their personal initiative, but ultimately leads to formation of vested interest groups. The educated man cannot support himself. He is not willing to use his hands for manual labour. Such a person is really a thief and unwanted. A man who eats without doing any work, is really a thief. The concept of 'Bread Labour' is very much important in this connection. Every man should earn his own bread. One should not depend on others for his food and clothing. Such a dependent person is really a thief and the educational system which encourages and perpetuates this system should be rejected forthwith. Gandhi was highly critical not only of western civilization, but of western education as well. Western education has created slaves, parasites, thieves, oppressors and exploiters. Do we want this sort of education? Gandhi's answer is an emphatic 'No'.

The be-all and end-all of education should be the absolute values. It should be based upon non-violence. Gandhi recommends in his book 'Basic Education':

We cannot, will not, think in terms of exploitation, and we have no alternative but this plan of education which is based on non-violence.⁸

Again he observes:

We have to make of this training school a school for winning freedom and for the solution of all our ills, of which the chief one is our communal troubles. For this purpose we shall have to concentrate on non-violence. Hitler's and Mussolini's schools accept as their fundamental principle of violence. Ours is non-violence according to the congress. All our problems have therefore to be solved non-violently. Our arithmetic, our science, our history will have a non-violent approach, and the problems in these subjects will be coloured by non-violence.⁹

According to Gandhi, to educate means to moralize and religionise the individual. This is the initial step. To Gandhi, therefore, education means:

By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man - body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is one of the means, where men and women can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education.¹⁰

So for Gandhi literacy is not the aim of education. To educate means not to make a person literate. To educate means to moralize and transform the individual. If this is lacking then the purpose of education is defeated. From this it does not follow that Gandhi is against literary education. He simply wants to point out that the spread of literary education cannot deliver the goods. Any education for that matter has to be based upon a set of values. It may so happen that a literate person may be highly immoral and detrimental to society and an illiterate man may be highly moral and very useful. How do we go about it? Gandhi recommends that the basic aim of education shall be to inculcate universal values.

But how to operationalize this programme of education?

Gandhi observes:

I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught nor merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i.e. the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process.¹¹

Gandhi further observes:

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralize the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.¹²

According to Gandhi, education should begin with manual work. Doing and thinking should go together. This is not only an effective strategy of imparting instruction, but an efficient method of solving certain problems, which are ultimately likely to emerge from any educational system.

Every system gives rise to certain consequences. These consequences may be intended consequences or unintended ones. An intended consequence is one which the planners or the policy makers intends to achieve. The unintended consequences are those which crop up even if they are not intended by the planners. Education, being a social institution may result in both intended and unintended consequences. When a child enters into the portals of educational institution and after receiving a course of instruction enters into the world, some arrangements must have been made for his livelihood. In other words, every society must plan for livelihood of individuals. No society can afford to shirk its responsibility on this score. No government, can afford to say that it is not responsible for providing employment opportunities for its educated young men. We go on producing the so-called educated young men in millions without making any provision for them in terms of employment. In other words, no society can afford to provide white collar employments to all its educated youths. The western model of education is really a vicious circle. In other words, the western type of education, instead of

solving human problems has created innumerable problems for society. Every society, spends a large chunk of its revenue in educating its youth and in the end of the education the society has to spend again a large chunk of its revenue for creating employments. Gandhi would say that this is not only unproductive, but immoral. Employment, according to Gandhi should be built into the very fabric of education. The educational system, instead of being parasitic on society in terms of employment, should generate employment potentialities. This is the difference between European education and Gandhi's programme of basic education. The European system of education does not create employment. It is intrinsically parasitic in nature. Any form of parasitism and dependence is immoral.

An individual in the Gandhian scheme of education is a free individual in the sense that he is not dependant on others for his livelihood. He is not a parasite on the society. He earns his own breadthrough his own sweat of the brow. The failure of Governments in different countries in the contemporary period to provide employment to all its educated youth, goes to prove the validity of Gandhi's ideas of basic education. The Western system of education not only creates unemployment, but leads to exploitation. The educated youths

have to survive and depend on others for their livelihood. In the process, they may not hesitate to exploit others. It is because of these reasons that Gandhi was against European education. Gandhi envisages a type of education where the people not only learn the three R's, but learn the useful arts and crafts. Combination of values, with three R's, arts and crafts is a novel idea. Gandhi observes:

Education through a craft is the pivot of basic education.¹³

He further observes:

I would like you to see the exhibition with a view to developing creative instinct through this system of education. It is not our aim to teach industry and handicraft in the traditional way. We want to make crafts a living medium of education.¹⁴

Gandhi writes:

It is our claim that the mind can be developed through a craft and that is our yardstick. That is the central point of our scheme.¹⁵

Gandhi further writes:

I should like to learn the art of gaining knowledge through a craft... It is my claim that by the method I have suggested are rare enlightenment will be produced.¹⁶

In the true sense of the term, Gandhian education is a preparation for future life. It is a preparation to face challenges in years ahead.

Gandhi was not favourable for spread of higher education at the cost of the people. Even he was opposed to setting up of fresh universities. One may argue that Gandhi was against higher education. He may be characterised as a rustic. But we wish to point out that he has a point in this connection. What have we gained in concrete terms by opening of universities and colleges at national expenses in this country? We have surely created millions of educated unemployed youth. The accumulation of unemployed youth, day by day, poses not only economic problems but moral problems too. Gandhi was not against university or higher education as such, but he was against the idea of Government-supported by higher education. According to him this is a sheer wastage.

Gandhi is very much emphatic on mother tongue, being the medium of instruction at all stages. According to Gandhi, mother tongue should serve as the medium of instruction at all stages of educational instruction. The use of foreign language as medium of instruction, not only dwarfs the intellect of the pupil, but enslaves him. The intellectual growth is arrested in the process. Further, this process leads to alienation of the educated from the masses. Gandhi says:

I am certain that the children of the nation that receive instruction in a tongue other than their own commits suicide. It robs of them of their birth-right. A foreign medium means an undue strain upon the youngsters, it robs them of all originality. It stuns their growth and isolates them from their home.¹⁷

Gandhi was very much against the elitism in all spheres of life - political, economic, social and educational. He was for the masses. Anything that we do must have relevance for the masses. An educational system which does not cater to the needs of the masses should be rejected. An elitist culture is no culture at all. Gandhi tried to replace elitist culture by mass culture. His own mode of life is an eloquent testimony to this. Gandhi worked with the masses and lived with the masses. He identified himself with the masses. A social scientist might point out that this is indicative of the holistic spirit of Indian psyche. Many western trained social scientists claim that democracy is incompatible with Indian psyche. Their argument is that democracy is compatible only with individualism. It is democracy which preaches individual liberty and in turn the philosophy of individualism. 'Max-Weber' and many other social scientists claim this. Whether this interpretation of Indian psyche is true or false is altogether a different matter. But one thing can be said in this connection that the Weberian criticism of Indian psyche inculcates a disvalue. The followers of Weber in this country have really done a damage not only to Indian spirit, but also to common men. But Weber and his followers forget that the so-called philosophy of individuals and democracy which is supposed to be the hall-mark of Western civilization, has ultimately resulted in chaos, confusion and conflict. In this connection, it will not be out of place to point out

that Gandhi follows the ancient Indian tradition that the ego is the root cause of all troubles - individual and social. The 'ego' has to be eliminated for a cause greater and nobler. For Gandhi, employment is through renunciation. Therefore, the individual is to be taught the value of renunciation. I live not for me but for others. This is the highest truth. This truth gets reflected even in Gandhi's educational programme. In Gandhi's scheme of things an educated man is one who lives for others. He knows no comforts, no enjoyment except those of others. Weber and his followers miserably failed to take note of this aspect of Indian civilization. Therefore, it can be said that the Weberian criticism betrays gross ignorance of the Indian tradition.

Gandhi's identification of his own self with the masses gave a new turn to Indian politics. He brought the masses to the forefront in all aspects. No Government, no community, no society can afford to neglect the masses in their social, economic and educational planning. The post-Gandhian era in Indian politics gradually forgot the masses. That is why Indian politics, after Gandhi, became elite-centred. In spite of the slogans for the betterment of the lot of the masses, we have miserably failed because we have embarked upon a wrong course of action. Similarly, opening of schools, colleges and universities in different parts of the country will not solve the problem of the masses. Rather,

it will create problem for them. It will not be out of place here to mention that we have multiplied evils in educational system by forgetting Gandhi's maxim in the field.

Knowledge should not be treated as a monopoly of the few. The use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction in the schools and colleges debars the masses from reaping the fruits of civilization. That is why Gandhi advocates the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction at all stages. This does not go to prove that Gandhi is against foreign languages as such. For a multi-linguistic nation like India, Gandhi has a novel plan. He maintains that Hindustani should be the lingua-franca of the nation. Gandhi writes:

Hindustani is the natural national language for it is already understood by 21 crores. The remainder of the population can also easily understand it.¹⁸

One should have option to write this language either in 'Dev-Nagari' or in 'Arabic' character. What are the reasons? Gandhi wanted to forge unity among different religions and linguistic groups living in the country. Language has sometimes been associated with religion. Sometimes it is argued that 'Arabic' is a 'Muslim-script' and 'Nagari' is a 'Hindu-script'. Gandhi would argue that this is a dogma. No script is either sacred or profane. He wanted to bring home this truth. That is why he argues that Hindustani can be written

in 'Nagari-script' or in 'Arabic-script'. Education should be treated as a means of integrating people. People should learn to live together. They should learn to live like brothers. This is the guiding principle behind Gandhi's scheme of education. Further, for India, Gandhi has another programme. Every Hindu should learn sanskrit. What are the reasons? Sanskrit is a store house of Hindu wisdom. Religion plays an important part in Gandhi's scheme of education. Therefore, every educated Hindu should know sanskrit. Similarly, every educated Muslim should know 'Arabic'. If education is a planned social activity, it should be planned properly. It should be planned in such a way so as to yield the maximum benefit. Gandhi's scheme of education aims at this. Again, Gandhi points out that every North-Indian should learn a South-Indian language and every south Indian should learn a North Indian tongue. We have already pointed out that Gandhi is not only a visionary, but also a practical idealist. What shall be the language policy of India which consists of multilinguistic groups? A conscious and rational decision has to be taken in this respect. Gandhi believes in the policy of give and take - the policy of live and let live. If India has to survive as a nation, it has to accept the linguistic policy designed by Gandhi. The linguistic barriers have to be overcome not by governmental imposition, but by rational educational planning. Gandhi provides an answer not only to India, but to any nation consisting of multi-linguistic groups.'

Gandhi's views on education are extremely relevant to contemporary Indian society. Gandhi treats education both as an investment and a means of self-expression. While investing in education utmost care should be taken. Gandhi was against indiscriminate opening of colleges and universities. He had a point. According to Gandhi, it is national wastage to invest so much in higher education, which does not pay any dividend either in near or remote future. For a country like India, it is a luxury to spend a big chunk of national budget in higher education. To be educated means to be able to produce something in concrete terms or help in production. But the majority of the graduates that Indian universities produce are incapable of doing either. This is a message not only to India, but to all other developing nations of the world. Gandhi repudiates the idea of imparting liberal education to everybody. In other words, Gandhi links education both with productivity and creativity. But how to go about it? One cannot take the risk of allowing everybody to come for higher education and wait for creativity in a particular field. It is neither possible nor desirable that everybody should do some creative work in science, literature and philosophy etc. It is not even an offence or a disgrace if somebody fails to do creative work in these fields. The microscopic minorities that are interested in creative works should be left to themselves. One finds ample justification

to agree with Gandhi that modern educational system in the country has created more problems than it has solved. As a matter of fact, it has created large number of unemployed and unemployable youngmen who are unfit to do anything at all. If education is a means of social reconstruction and change, the present system of education has miserably failed in this respect.

Education is a major means of social reconstruction. Therefore, nobody can afford to overlook it. The type of society we are going to have depends to a large extent on the type of educational programme that we wish to implement. Gandhi was against that type of educational programme which seeks to create unemployable graduates or even highly trained personnel having competence in science and technology. His view of education, in short is linked with his view of society and man. Gandhi's view of society and man dictates his view of education.

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SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION

We have already argued out and tried to substantiate the claim that Hind Swaraj is a critique of modern science and civilization. Science and civilization, historically speaking, have moved concomitantly. Civilization has grown and has been shaped by science and science in its turn, has grown out of a civilizational milieu. One reinforces and is reinforced by the other. In other words, there is a binary connection between science and civilization.

Gandhi in the Hind Swaraj, maintains that European civilization is based on immorality. It preaches and spreads immorality. Gandhi maintains in Hind Swaraj:

This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion.¹

Again, he says:

The humbug of civilization that I am endeavouring to show to you is not to be found in religion.²

In other words, Gandhi attributes the contemporary predicament to western science and civilization. He sides with the Hindu thinkers that this is a 'Black Age' (Kali-Yuga). In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi says:

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed. According to the teaching of Mahomed this would be considered a

satanic civilization. Hinduism calls it the Black Age. It cannot give you an adequate conception of it. It is eating into the vitals of the English nation. It must be shunned.³

The indicators in present day society do not augur well for future. It casts off ill-omens for future. We have already pointed out that Gandhi is not only a serious thinker, but he is a critical activist. He not only critically examines the basic foundations of modern western civilization, but recommends ways and means to overcome the ills. In fact, he was not only an ideologue, but tried to implement and put into action his theories. That is why, it can be truly said that Gandhi not only tried to understand the world, but tried to change it through his active participation and mass mobilization for social activities. Politics in India, in Gandhi's time had a mass base. The leaders and workers during those days identified themselves with the masses. They went to the villages, lived with people and worked with them. This gave a mass base to Indian politics in general and freedom movement in particular. The Indian masses felt involved in the movement. This movement was not only political, but was an all-round movement encompassing all facets of social life. It was a socio-political and cultural movement. Gandhi did not want to obtain political power either for himself or for his people through mass movement. He wanted to awaken the Indian masses from their slothful ignorance and centuries old indifference and apathy. The freedom movement initiated by

Gandhi aimed at socio-political and cultural regeneration of mankind in general and Indians in particular. He wanted to break the slumbering cultural ignorance of the Indian masses. In this respect, Gandhi differs from the contemporary Indian politicians who tried their best to capture power through mobilization. This has ultimately given an elite character to contemporary Indian politics. The politicians of today in India do not identify themselves with the masses in the countryside. The masses feel alienated. This has created a gap between the leader and the led.

Gandhi had a definite plan for cultural and moral regeneration of the masses. He was convinced that this regeneration cannot be achieved merely by obtaining political freedom. The basic values have to be sorted out and identified. Further plans of action have to be designed to achieve it. How did Gandhi go about it? What were his convictions? What were his comments and criticisms of modern science and civilization? Let us spell it out in detail.

Science is a human phenomenon. That is to say, only human beings engage in scientific activities. Science is not given to us from above. It is created, developed and shaped by human beings. Science has two aspects: (1) theory, (2) practice. The theory aspect of science may be characterized as theoretical science and the practice aspect of

science may be characterized as applied science or technology. There is a great deal of debate regarding the issue whether technology is the outgrowth of science or it is autonomous. One group of thinkers claim that science and technology are interdependent. The other group thinks that science and technology are autonomous disciplines. We do not want to enter into this debate here. It is of no relevance to us in this connection. Gandhi in Hind Swaraj, uses science and technology as a cluster. He was not interested in the distinction between science and technology. He was, on the other hand, interested in the moral issues relating to science and technology. In other words, Gandhi was interested in digging out the foundation of science and technology and exploring its ramifications and implications for human society. Gandhi can be treated as a philosopher of science in this sense. The methodological issues relating to science and technology did not preoccupy Gandhi's attention. Rather, he was interested in foundational and moral issues relating to science and technology. Science and technology being human phenomena have to be understood in the context of human society. It is the human society which provides matrix for science and technology. The context of any human activity is human society. It is human society which gives life, meaning and significance to any human activity. It will not be out of place here to mention the conceptual affinity between Gandhi and Wittgenstein. For Wittgenstein, ideas and concepts draw

their significance and meaning from social intercourse between man and man. Society is the sound-board for testing the operational validity of different concepts. That is why Wittgenstein rejects the possibility of private language and pleads for the public nature of it. Gandhi goes a step ahead. For Gandhi, society is not only the sound-board for testing the operational validity of different concepts; even the desirability of certain systems of thought and action can be ascertained only with reference to society. Wittgenstein did not take note of this aspect of concepts and theoretical constructs. Wittgenstein was interested in description and characterization of logical geography of concepts and categories. He was not interested in ascertaining the desirability or otherwise of these concepts, categories and theoretical constructs.

What is a concept? What is its nature? Such questions preoccupied the attention of Wittgenstein. But for Gandhi, the 'why' questions relating to concepts and theoretical constructs are not very much important. It is not the genesis and description, but teleology of concepts which attracted the attention of Gandhi. It is only in this sense that Gandhi was interested to find out the socio-cultural dynamics of the Indian masses and tried to find out a solution.

Science as a system of thought can have both intended and unintended consequences. To use Karl Popper's words;

the unintended consequences are numerous. Sometimes these consequences are not envisaged by the discoveries and inventions in science. It is quite true that sometimes scientific discoveries and inventions are purposely designed to achieve certain end. May be this is true of most of the scientific projects undertaken by the contemporary scientific community. But most of the time the unintended consequences are not envisaged. These unintended consequences gradually become an inalienable part of the system. This gets imbedded into the scientific thought and perpetuates itself giving rise to its progenies. This is how science and technology slip off the hands of the scientists. The scientist as a professional worker does not have any control on it. The scientist, qua-scientist cannot control it, even the professional scientist may not sense it. He may not feel the pinch. A reformer, a philosopher of science, a prophet can sense the danger and provide solution to it. Gandhi sensed the dangers implicitly hidden in modern scientific discoveries and inventions. He could foresee the dangers implicitly contained in modern science and technology. According to him, modern science and technology are not har-binger of a new ways but a presager of doomsday for man. Gandhi was completely disillusioned with modern science and technology.

Science has brought about immeasurable changes in the world. The dazzling discoveries and inventions has not only changed the face of earth, but also the life style of man. It

has given rise to the railways, the airways and the roadways. In the process, it has annihilated distance. Science has eliminated almost all killer diseases. It has brought the world together at least physically. New continents have been explored and fresh sources of energy exploited. Nature is being harnessed day by day to the convenience of man. In other words, it is sometimes argued that science has been able to eradicate disease, suffering, misery and squalor from the surface of the earth to a great extent. In due course of time, with the advancement of science and technology, this planet of ours will be transformed into a paradise. Most of us entertain this type of optimism regarding science and scientific achievements. The votaries and champions of science argue in optimistic tone. Government of different countries allot the major part of their budget for researches in science and technology with the hope that it will ultimately lead to eradication of poverty, disease and inequality. In a word, there is a world wide euphoria about the achievement of science.

Science has not only changed the material conditions of living, it has also created elite classes like doctors and lawyers. It is sometimes argued by many social scientists including Max Weber that calvinism or protestant ethics ultimately gave rise to capitalism.

R.H. Tawney, in the 'Foreword' to the book 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' has observed:

Capitalism was the social counterpart of calvinist theology.⁴

Weber says:

"Calvinism, in comparison, appears to be more closely related to the hard legalism and the active enterprise of bourgeois-capitalistic entrepreneurs.⁵

Again, he says:

For though the development of economic rationalism is partly, dependent on rational technique and law, it is at the same time determined by the ability and disposition of men to adopt certain types of practical rational conduct. When these types have been obstructed by spiritual obstacles, the development of rational economic conduct has also met serious inner resistance. The magical and religious forces, and the ethical ideas of duty based upon them, have in the past always been among the most important formative influences on conduct.⁶

Protestant Ethics or Calvinism was ultimately coupled with rationalism, utilitarianism and individualism. This sort of social formation ultimately gave rise to democracy. It is argued that the contemporary European Society is the result of the scientific attitude. Even Karl Popper goes to the extent of saying that the European society is based on scientific ideas and democracy as a social ideology is based on scientific attitude of mind.

Gandhi on the other hand, vehemently criticises European science and European civilization. According to Gandhi, European science and civilization are based on immorality and atheism. He is very much sceptical about European science and civilization and recommends its total rejection. Accordingly, Gandhi observes:

Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin.⁷

Gandhi rejects machineries. This might appear very rustic and conservative. But Gandhi has his own views about machineries. Gandhi says:

It is machincery that has impoverished India.⁸

Again, he says:

If the machinery craze grows in our country, it will become an unhappy land.⁹

He also further observes:

It is necessary to realize that machinery is bad. We shall then be able gradually to do away with it. Nature has not provided any way whereby we may reach a desired goal all of a sudden. If, instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil, it would ultimately go.¹⁰

His argument is that machinery has not only pauperized man, but has dehumanized him in the process. Machinery in due course of time gives rise to large scale production. Gandhi maintains in Hind Swaraj:

Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery there are large cities; and where there are large cities, there are tramcars and railways; and there only does one see electric light.¹¹

The institution of machinery has resulted in colossal social chaos. It has attracted men from rural areas leading to concentration of heavy population in small urban units. Further, it has attracted both men, women and small children to urban areas in search of jobs. This has given rise to broken homes, juvenile delinquency and impersonal family relationship. The old social structure has been disturbed and disrupted completely.

The sacred relationship between husband and wife, parents and children has been disturbed beyond repair. The disappearance of joint family has given rise to nucleus families which can accommodate only husband, wife and children. Where do the disabled and old members of the family go? They are left to the wolves. Gandhi feels shocked about this. The mad rush for industrial work in urban areas is not liked by Gandhi. This is one of the myriad ways in which modern science and civilization have given a master blow to the old but viable social order.

Further, large scale production has given rise to world markets. This phenomenon is continuing since the days of industrial revolution in western Europe. The producers have to sell their commodities. Large Scale Production requires large markets. Here production is made not for domestic consumption, but for profit. The produce have to be sold to earn profit. Profit is the motto of production. This contains the germ of exploitation of men by men. Science gives rise to machineries. Machineries are used for large scale production and large scale production ultimately leads to exploitation of man by man. Perhaps the scientist, who invented machinery was not aware of the potential of it for exploitation. Exploitation was unintended consequence of scientific invention. When we come across exploitation in society, we are stunned. We do not know what to do and how to eliminate exploitation. But we are unaware of the fact that scientific invention has ultimately given rise to exploitation. Gandhi goes to the root of the problem. He wants to cure not the symptom, but the disease. The symptom is exploitation, the disease is machinery. To eliminate exploitation is to curb the growth of machinery. This is a new type of social engineering, Gandhi envisaged. The remedy for social maladies lies in elimination of the root of the problem. Large scale production in the wake of industrial revolution in Europe, ultimately led to subjugation of African and Asian countries. Marx was shocked

at the appalling conditions of the workers living in unhealthy slum areas. Scientific invention, machinery and large scale production ultimately gave rise to capitalism. Concentration of wealth in the hands of few led to exploitation of man by man. The social structure was changed by scientific ideas and scientific inventions. This is what is eulogized by Max Weber in his book, 'Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. In this book, he writes:

Now the peculiar modern western form of Capitalism has been, at first sight, strongly influenced by the development of technical possibilities. Its rationality is today essentially dependent on the calculability of the most important technical factors. But this means fundamentally that it is dependent on the peculiarities of modern science, especially the natural sciences based on mathematics and exact and rational experiment. On the other hand, the development of these sciences and of the technique resting upon them now receives important stimulation from these capitalistic interests in its practical economic application.¹²

According to Max Weber, the scientific and cultural milieu of Europe was conducive to capital formation, which ultimately gave rise to capitalism and democracy. On the other hand, the socio-cultural milieu of ancient India was not conducive to scientific and capitalistic trends. That is why Max Weber argues that India's cultural milieu is other-worldly, life negating and anti-scientific.

Again, Weber writes:

It is true that the origin of western science cannot be attributed to such interests. Calculation, even with decimals, and algebra have been carried on in India, where the decimal system was invented. But it was only made use of by developing capitalism in the west, while in India it led to no modern arithmetic or book-keeping. Neither was the origin of mathematics and mechanics determined by capitalistic interests. But the technical utilization of scientific knowledge, so important for the living conditions of the mass of people, was certainly encouraged by economic considerations, which were extremely favourable to it in the Occident.¹³

✓ The scientific achievements have given rise to the railways. It is sometimes argued that railways are a boon to humanity. It has facilitated the transport system. Man can travel from one place to another with ease and convenience. But Gandhi is against the railways. He argues that the railways have brought ruination to man. Gandhi expresses in Hind Swaraj:

It must be manifest to you that, but for the railways, the English could not have such a hold on India as they have. The railways, too, have spread a bubonic plague. Without them, the masses could not move from place to place. They are the carriers of plague germs. Formerly we had natural segregation. Railways have also increased the frequency of famines because, owing to facility of means of locomotion, people sell out their grain and it is sent to the dearest markets. People become careless and so the pressure of famines increases.¹⁴

The railways have brought famines and shortage in its wake. Because of easy transport system men send their surplus produce to far off places to get profit. This ultimately results in depletion of food-stuff in certain places. According to Gandhi, the dis-utilities accrued from the railways are in far excess of the utilities. Not only that it encourages immorality, it inculcates profit motive in man. It induces in man the idea of exploitation. Profit is ultimately one kind of exploitation.

Gandhi would agree with Proudhon that property is theft. Profit is one kind of theft. Nobody has any right to make profit at the expense of others. The network of the railways have helped this profit motive. That is why Gandhi is out and out against the railways. Moreover, the railways have helped the rogues and thieves to travel far and wide in search of booty. This is why Gandhi argues that the railways have helped the thieves and the burglars to concentrate in places of pilgrimage. Gandhi observes:

Railways accentuate the evil nature of man. Bad men fulfill their evil designs with greater rapidity. The holy places of India have become unholy. Formerly, people went to these places with very great difficulty. Generally, therefore, only the real devotees visited such places. Nowadays rogues visit them in order to practise their roguery.¹⁵

So the railways have brought moral ruination to mankind. We have already pointed out that Gandhi always seeks to go to the root of the problem. He is not enchanted by the dazzling impact of the railways. Gandhi critically observes in Hind Swaraj:

Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined.¹⁶

We have already pointed out that the scientific discoveries and inventions give rise to certain so-called elite classes. These are doctors and lawyers. Gandhi says:

Western writers have used stronger terms regarding both lawyers and doctors. One writer has linked the whole modern system to the Upas tree. Its branches are represented by parasitical professions, including those of law and medicine, and over the trunk has been raised the axe of true religion. Immorality is the root of the tree.¹⁷

Let us examine what Gandhi has to say on law and medicine as professions. Gandhi is highly critical of the institution of modern European medicine. Gandhi again says:

Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin. Men take less care of their bodies and immorality increases. European doctors are the worst of all. For the mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals. They practise vivisection. No religion sanctions this.¹⁸

From the above definition it follows that, vivisection takes place in the name of medicine and surgery. Innocent animals are subjected to poisonous drugs for testing. According to Gandhi, this is highly immoral. No religion, either Hinduism or Islam approves of killing of animals. Again, most modern medicines are prepared with components of animal fat or spirituous liquor. This is highly immoral according to Gandhi. Nobody has any right to live at the expense of others. All life is equally valuable. Here Gandhi seems to have been deeply interested by the ancient Indian wisdom that God is present everywhere. Modern medicine and surgery are based on hatred, immorality and atheism. Medicine as a profession has equally caused havoc. Gandhi says:

It is certainly not taken up for the purpose of serving humanity. We become doctors so that we may obtain honours and riches. I have endeavoured to show that there is no real service of humanity in the profession, and it is injurious to mankind. Doctors make a show of their knowledge, and charge exorbitant fees.¹⁹

So professional doctors charge exorbitant fees. They are not inspired by the idea of service, but are actuated by the profit-motive. It is the profit-motive, which guides a doctor. But it is against all ethics. Hippocrates, the father of European medicine exhorts a doctor to be guided by the feeling of selfless service to others. Unfortunately, the modern

doctors have forgotten their Father. Accordingly, Gandhi asserts in Hind Swaraj:

These doctors violate our religious instinct... To study European medicine is to deepen our slavery.²⁰

Gandhi is arguing against the modern system of medicine and the institution of modern professional doctors. Further, modern medicine has equally damaged its consumer. Gandhi observes:

A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in loss of control over the mind.²¹

One who suffers from the indigestion takes medicine, gets cured and again over-eats. He moves in a vicious circle. Over-eating calls for taking medicine. Medicine cures indigestion. After the patient is cured of indigestion, he again over-eats and suffers from indigestion and goes to the doctor. The cycle continues. What is the way out? According to Gandhi, unless the patient practises self-restraint, not medicine which holds the key to cure. Therefore, Gandhi argues that modern medicine has taught men to over-eat. This is highly immoral. If some people over-eat, this might lead to food shortage and others have to remain underfed. Is this desirable at all? Is it moral? Can any one afford to over-eat when millions are underfed? Gandhi's answer to all these questions is an emphatic 'No'.

The institution of lawyers is another case in point. This institution is a corollary of modern science and civilization. Modern science has given birth to a particular industrial society. Disputes and conflicts of various types, are rampant in it. The disputes have to be settled. What is the method of settling the disputes? The modern law courts with the institution of lawyers also is an answer to this question. We find modern law courts, almost in every country throughout the world. Gandhi argues that the British law courts in India reinforced British rule on this soil. The legal profession in its modern term is highly immoral. It has brought ruination to man. It has dehumanized man. It has set brothers against brothers and wife against husband. People go to law courts to get the justice as it is really the case. Is it a fact that people get justice from the courts of law? Gandhi's answer is an emphatic 'No'. The law court is not meant for giving justice. When we look at the actual legal proceedings taking place in the law court, we find that it is based upon the so called idea of evidential consistency. The evidences can be cooked up. Consistency can be manufactured. The entire process is impersonal and immoral. The common man does not know the way out. He goes to the law court in search of justice. What does he get? Does he get justice? No. One who can cook up the evidences does get the so-called justice. The innocent man comes back disappointed. What about the lawyers, who are

supposed to be the custodians and interpreters of law? The lawyers like their brethren doctors are a lot of immoral people. The lawyers like doctors are actuated by profit motive. It is immaterial to a lawyer who gains and who loses in the law court. It is not his concern to protect anybody's interest except his own. He pleads in the law court not to settle a dispute, but to gain profit. He has been trained to twist and twirl the laws depending on the situation. Higher amount of fees will make him twist in favour of somebody. Gandhi in Hind Swaraj asserts:

The lawyers, therefore, will, as a rule, advance quarrels instead of repressing them. Moreover, men take up that profession, not in order to help others out of their miseries, but to enrich themselves. It is one of the avenues of becoming wealthy and their interest exists in multiplying disputes. It is within my knowledge that they are glad when men have disputes. Petty pleaders actually manufacture them. Their touts, like so many leeches, suck the blood of the poor people. Lawyers are men who have little to do. Lazy people, in order to indulge in luxuries, take up such professions.²²

Is it a case of justice? Is it a fare play? Can one get justice in this manner? Gandhi's answer is that nobody can get justice in this manner. This is a caricature of justice. The entire legal profession including the institution of lawyers is based on immorality. So, Gandhi opines in Hind Swaraj:

All I am concerned with is to show you that the profession teaches immorality; it is exposed to temptation, from which few are saved.²³

All these are the symptoms as well as the pillars of modern civilization. A nation which has more of science and technology, more of machinery, more doctors and more lawyers is said to be highly civilized. A nation which depends on sophisticated instruments and machinery is said to be highly advanced. A handicraft economy is a primitive economy. A tool economy is agrarian in nature. Power economy is indicative of advanced stage of growth. This sort of thinking ultimately inspired some social scientists to make a distinction between developed, underdeveloped and developing nations. Development is measured in terms of economic power. Economic power is measured in terms of scientific and industrial achievements. Considered in this light, most of the Asian and African countries have been declared either underdeveloped or developing ones.

One may criticize Gandhi that he is a conservative. He does not prefer science and technology. He does not want to encourage economic growth. In other words, Gandhi is asking us to go back to 'State of Nature'. All sorts of arguments have been put forward against Gandhi and he has been castigated in many ways by many people. ✓

Let us turn to these criticisms levelled against Gandhi. Let us examine whether Gandhi is asking us to go back to 'State of Nature'. Let us see whether Gandhi is a conservative, i.e., he does not prefer any change. To answer these criticisms, one has to take into account Gandhi's view of civilization. In the Hind Swaraj, Gandhi points out: The Gujarati equivalent for the English word 'civilization' means good conduct. This means that one who has good conduct is civilized. Good conduct is the characteristic of a civilized man. In other words, it is not the possession of scientific, industrial and economic power that distinguishes a civilized man from an uncivilized one. Rather, it is the possession of good conduct, which distinguishes a civilized man from an uncivilized man. Civilization is a value concept. To be civilized means to be guided by some values. In this connection, Gandhi does not make any distinction between culture and civilization. To be civilized means to be cultured and to be cultured means to cultivate good conduct. Seen in this light, the so called modern civilization is no civilization at all. And the so called civilized man is most uncivilized. Modern science has given rise to this modern civilization and is being reinforced by it in turn. Gandhi points out that both modern science and modern civilization are rooted in immorality, atheism and exploitation. These are disvalues. Therefore, modern science and modern civilization propagate disvalues.

The sooner we reject it, the better for us. That is why, Gandhi pleads for total rejection of modern science and civilization. He does not want to retain one and reject another. Rather, he wants to throw the baby with the bath water. It is wrong to say that Gandhi preches primitivism. Rather, he poses a dilemma before us. Either humanity has to flourish or perish. If we accept modern science together with modern civilization, we are sure to perish. The rejection of it might help us to survive. Which one to accept and which one to reject? Gandhi decided to reject modern science and civilization. He makes this choice on our behalf. He wants to save humanity from its impending doom.

Gandhi was not only an insightful thinker, but was the prophet of the age. He wanted to retain the traditional old values. Everything traditional and old is not fossilized and useless. The traditional values of a society in course of time have stood the test of situations. In this sense, these values support the social structure. Gandhi was not against change. He was not against elimination of blind beliefs and superstitious practices from Indian Society. He was deeply sore at the practice of untouchability and many other cruel and inhuman customs prevalent in Indian society. But at the same time, he was not in favour of accepting in toto what is known as the boons of modern science and civilization. He knew very well that large scale industrialization and introduction of heavy machinery will not solve the problem of the

Indian masses. That is why he was resisting introduction of heavy machinery. This resistance did not grow out of his obscurantistic ideas. Rather it grew out of a deeper philosophical conviction. Gandhi was living in rural dominated India. He was living with the people half-fed and half-clad. How to ameliorate their conditions? How to ameliorate the lot of the millions in this country? Gandhi saw no answer to this problem through the introduction of heavy machinery and large scale production. An economy which multiplies want cannot solve India's problem. It is only wantlessness economy which holds the key to her problem. How can we practise wantlessness? Who are to practise wantlessness? Who are to sacrifice for others? Gandhi's answer is - it is the well-to-do, it is the haves, it is the rich, it is the privileged who have to practise this wantlessness. They have to sacrifice for others. It is their duty to help others, to feed others. This was the type of India, he was envisaging. Unfortunately, the post independent India did not go the Gandhian way, it chose the path of modernization based on industrialization with high scientific and technological input. The posterity will decide whether we have gone the right or the wrong way. But as a theoretical construct, Gandhi's idea of civilization, science and society remains valid for all time to come.

Gandhi had the knack of going to the basis of problems. Correct diagnosis leads to genuine cure. As regards society and civilization, Gandhi is neither an evolutionist nor an eternalist. Civilization and society are creations of man. We create our society, civilization and culture. In other words, we are accountable for it. Further, society, culture and civilization are corrigible. We can make, unmake and shape the course of civilization. In this respect, Gandhi does not leave things to their chance evolution. Society can be corrected, culture can be reshaped and civilization can be given a fresh direction. Gandhi had firm belief in it. Gandhi abhors the idea of a society, where a small minority gets all benefits and majority wallow in poverty.

Unlike modern social scientists, Gandhi does not believe in that type of growth, prosperity and development which depend upon scientific and technological progress. Science and technology have brought ruination. According to Gandhi, they are potentially harmful. Though Gandhi used to say that, he is not against machinery as such, yet he makes a distinction between levels of technology. At certain stage, technology overpowers man. It leads to exploitation, misery and suffering. Consequently, this type of technology leads to creation of particular type of professional classes, who specialize in it and try to exploit their fellow beings. Doctors and lawyers have been sorted out

by Gandhi for the purpose. Gandhi wishes to curb the tendency of mastering of specialized technology by few, which ultimately leads to exploitation of others. All kinds of arguments may be advanced against Gandhi that he is anti-progress and anti-development. This sort of argument is based upon a mistake. Gandhi raises a fundamental question. He rejects science and technology as the true indicators of a happy and prosperous social order. He has reasons and they are legion. To prove Gandhi's point, one may simply point out the misery and suffering accrued to man in the name of science and technology in the contemporary period.

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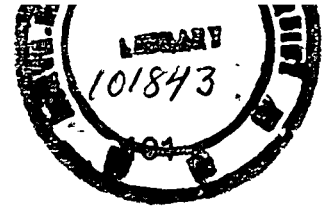
CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSION

Civilization and culture can be studied from various standpoints. As a matter of fact, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, even psychologists have studied civilization from their respective standpoints. All such studies can be classified in two types: (1) empirical, (2) philosophical. Empirical studies of civilization explain it in terms of causality. Philosophical study of civilization, on the other hand, explores its presupposition and brings out its implication. The 'Hind Swaraj' of Gandhi is a study of later type. It is a philosophical study of civilization and culture. Anthropologists, sociologists and historians in their study of civilization have tried to understand it in causal categories. They have spelt out in detail, the course of civilization along with its internal dynamics. Both macroscopic and microscopic studies of civilization have been made. Civilization as a historical and social process has been studied; broad general laws and pattern of it have been spelt out by social scientists. Further, cultures of different societies, too, have been studied. The evolutionists, the functionalists and the structuralists have been studying civilization. Socio-cultural items have been interpreted from evolutionist and functionalist standpoints. Certain socio-cultural items have been treated either as eufunctional or dysfunctional. Cultural items have also been studied from utilitarian standpoints.

Social scientists have advanced different models and theories of society and civilization. Sometimes, human society has been conceived as a system (organic or mechanical); as a network of relation, as a coherent system of different functions, systems and so on. These theories and models are attempts to understand the nature of human society at large. The mechanistic and organismic models have been devised to explicate the nature of human society. Gandhi is not interested in either of these things. The 'Hind Swaraj', does not attempt to make a scientific study of society. Though it appears to be concerned with Indian society and civilization, yet it is about human society and civilization as such. Indian society and civilization have been used as illustrative points. Gandhi in the 'Hind Swaraj' takes a holistic view of human society. The health of any society depends on the health of its different parts. This might give the semblance that Gandhi is a functionalist. A society may be perfectly co-ordinated in itself; yet may pose danger to another society. Gandhi would treat such a society posing evil to humanity. He does not believe that society is a natural growth. Society is a creation of man. It can be made, re-made, changed and modified by human beings. Human beings are accountable for anything going wrong with the society.

Gandhi is neither a determinist nor a historicist. He does not believe that human society is governed by inexorable



laws, nor does he believe that the course of human history is predetermined. He very much believes that human beings can interfere with the workings of society and can give new directions to it. That is why Gandhi argues that human beings cannot afford to remain as passive spectators. Every human individual is an actor in the social drama. To the extent he fulfils his roles, to that extent he fulfils the mission of his life. In this sense, it can be said that Gandhi and Marx have close affinities. Both of them wanted not only to understand human world, but also to change it. Both of them firmly believed that right understanding leads to right action. But Marx laid emphasis on inevitable laws of social development. Gandhi, on the other hand, laid emphasis on the purity of the individual. The starting point for Marx was human society, whereas for Gandhi, it was the individual. Social engineering for Gandhi consists in transformation of the individual, whereas for Marx, it was the transformation of human society at large. For Gandhi, society is an abstract concept. Individuals form a society. Ultimately, the purity of the society depends on the purity of the individuals. To change the society is to change the individuals. Man is not a machine. To change it is not to change its different components. Man is a 'body-mind-spirit' complex. This concept of man is central to Gandhi's political philosophy. Politics and state crafts are not exercises in conveniences and possibilities for Gandhi. Politics and state crafts provide an opportunity to the individual for

self-fulfilment. It is not self-abnegation, but self-fulfilment that constitutes the basis of Gandhi's philosophy of life and man. In this respect, Gandhi's Philosophy of life comes very close to the ancient Indian ideal of life, symbolized by four Purusarthas, namely: Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksa. Man is neither a machine alone (a body), nor a mind lodged in a body, but a machine-mind-spirit complex.

The 'Hind Swaraj' of Gandhi, as I have pointed out in the preceding chapters, epitomizes Gandhi's philosophy of life. Accordingly, Gandhi presents in it an ideal of life and spells out the methods of achieving it. One may point out that there are different ideals of life as there are different orders of rationality. Gandhi presents only one ideal of life and one order of rationality. It may be further argued in this connection that no ideal of life is sacrosanct. Therefore, one may or may not accept Gandhi's ideal of life. But I wish to point out in this connection that there is some sort of conceptual compulsiveness with regard to Gandhi's ideal of life. The concept of life and the concept of happiness go together. Human life is not just a natural phenomenon. It is not just a natural event. Modes of life are either appreciated or depreciated. We evaluate modes of life. For Gandhi, happiness is not just a state of mind. The objective and external conditions of human society are also intimately

connected with human happiness. If need be, the objective conditions have to be changed. The objective and external conditions of human society are always an outgrowth of science and technology. Science and technology sometimes create problem for man and society. Knowledge per se, is not acceptable to Gandhi. Science and technology conducive to human society have to be there. In this respect, it can be said that Gandhi does not reject science and technology as such. He rejects certain uses of it. Unbridled use of science and technology leads to pathological conditions of society. In the 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi has spelt out in detail such pathological conditions of human society. Gandhi is not anti-scientific in his attitude, rather he wishes to replace the existing order of the society by a fresh one.

Gandhi had a particular view of science and technology and it is implicit in the 'Hind Swaraj'. Science and technology should be used to solve human problems. A technology which creates problem for man is no technology at all worth the name. Science and technology which tend to flourish in the name of creation of new ideas in total exclusion of human interest are not approved by Gandhi. Science and technology should be geared to solve the problems of human society. Gandhi castigates the institution of the law court and the lawyer. There are different ways of settling disputes between man and man. For Gandhi,

law courts have created more problems in the human society. The so called modern man takes things for granted. Everybody takes for granted modern medicine, science and technology. Gandhi seeks to break our innocence on this score. He questions the so called modern institutions of human society.

The 'Hind Swaraj' is an attempt at exploration of new orders of society. In this respect, Gandhi is a critic as well as a visionary. He criticizes the existing order of society and envisages a fresh social order.

Gandhi treats 'Swaraj', 'Civilization' and 'Culture' as conceptual neighbours. As a matter of fact, 'Swaraj' is the nucleus around which hover civilization and culture. Swaraj is basic to 'Civilization' and 'Culture'. To understand a civilization or a culture is to understand Swaraj. It is Swaraj which lends meaning to both civilization and culture. The title Hind Swaraj may give the impression that it deals with the Swaraj of the Hindustan or India. As a matter of fact, India or Hindustan has provided the spring board for a critical study of human civilization as such. 'Swaraj', literally means 'self-rule'. But Gandhi uses it in the sense of freedom and value. An individual human being has to be understood in terms of freedom and value. Simple freedom may lead to licentiousness. It has to be tinctured with values. On this point, Gandhi differs from the western exponents of individual liberty and freedom. Rousseau

and others, the champions and exponents of individual freedom in the west, do not attach much significance to value. Rousseau and others have laid emphasis on individual freedom. In the course of exercising my freedom, I may crush and demolish the freedom of others. Rousseau did not have any answer for it. For Gandhi, the 'others' are my brothers. It is this which distinguishes Gandhi from Rousseau. The 'others' have to be regarded as my brothers. They are my fellow beings. Other individuals are not just objects to be manipulated and used for my self-aggrandisement. Thus, mutual self-respect constitutes the cornerstone of Gandhi's political philosophy. Swaraj is self-development with respect for others. True civilization has to base itself on this.

Education, according to Gandhi is a transformative process. Gandhi differs from other sociologists of education. He treats education as a means of change. But what sort of change? As I have already argued, for Gandhi individual is a primary concept. Education has to aim at changing and transforming the individual human beings. No policy or plan of education can afford to neglect the value aspect of man and society. Pure economic and political considerations devoid of values are no consideration at all. The so called political or economic strategies must be designed with a view to heightening the moral

worth of man. Gandhi does not believe that man is a finished product. Man grows, changes and develops. Growth, change and development are value centric. Therefore education as a method of social change must be based on values.

Gandhi's Hind Swaraj can truly be characterized as a critique of civilization. The Indian situations were taken as the points of illustration. It may appear that Gandhi simply makes recommendations to be carried out. I wish to point out in this connection that all social engineerings are recommendations in disguise. Further, no study of human society is complete without recommendations explicit or implicit. If Gandhi was a politician, he was a reformist and a visionary politician. Gandhi believed in reformative politics.

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