

Chapter - V

THE MEANING OF ' HIND SWARAJ '

Introduction :

Although Gandhi was engaged in a political battle in South Africa he was not oblivious to the then prevailing Indian political situation. In fact the thought of India's political liberation was his major preoccupation. While in London in the year 1908, he seriously began to review India's political situation and especially the issue of Indian Home Rule. It was in this city * where he was exposed to a wide spectrum of opinions and views which to a very large extent determined his own political opinions.

' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule authored by Mahatma Gandhi in the year 1908, en route South Africa is a small booklet no more than eighty pages but containing a new line of approach destined to create waves among the agitating masses under the flag, the Indian National Movement. It only went on to reveal the all abiding truth that in the ultimate analysis, the pen is mightier than the sword. In ' Hind Swaraj ' Gandhi analyses the evil effects of modern civilization on India which has been the root cause of her enslavement and bondage. Modern civilization is described as a disease which had attacked England and now had afflicted India

and was bound to lead to her ruin. Modern Civilization is degrading and a nine day's wonder which " takes note neither of morality nor religion."¹ Gandhi says, " 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."² Modern civilization is a curse which has got to be rid off, if we are to attain ' Swaraj ' Renunciation and sacrifice of this modern civilization is the only answer to put an end to the ills of India.

It is against the background of material civilization hedonistic in nature that he makes a fervent appeal for the revival of ancient Indian civilization, rich and pure, providing a glimmer of hope to all who seek to be liberated from the clutches of the innumerable temptations. With its emphasis on the spiritual Gandhi pleads for the acceptance of Indian civilization.

After deeply analysing the root causes of India's enslavement and bondage, Gandhi proceeds to explain the means through which he hopes to attain ' Swaraj '. Mahatma Gandhi advocated the method of passive resistance or Satyagraha to secure independence for India. He thought that passive resistance was an

1) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 33.

2) Ibid., p. 38.

outstanding trait of India. However it should not be forgotten, that he wanted Indian Home Rule or ' Hind Swaraj ' not for the purpose of capturing power for the brown sahibs but for the complete overhaul of the Indian social and political system. It is a vision of the Gandhian ideal state.

Satyagraha as a Means to attain Hind Swaraj :

Gandhi as we have seen in the earlier chapter denounced the use of brute force, to obtain ' Swaraj ', for, violence is alien to our ancient Indian culture and a pure, moral and noble end such as ' Swaraj ' should be obtained through the use of ethical means. It is here that a relation between means and ends in politics is emphasised by Gandhi.

Gandhi sincerely believes that if India takes recourse to violent methods to obtain freedom she is bound to be doomed for the ' Swaraj ' resulting from the adoption of such means is bound to lead to failure and India will have no future violence can never achieve lasting results and in the long run it is bound to destroy the end which it seeks to achieve. Hence, Gandhi suggests at ^{an} alternative mode of action to obtain ' Swaraj ' i.e. passive resistance or Satyagraha. He also refers to it as soul-force or truth force. Gandhi then adds that " The force of arms is powerless when matched against the force of love or the soul."³

3) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 68.

Satyagraha is positive in nature, form and content and can be used as an all powerful remedy to counter injustice and exploitation. In fact exploitation is rendered possible because the victim of oppression co-operates with the oppressor. And as Gopinath Dhawan rightly points out " When this co-operation is withdrawn by the satyagrahi, the opponent is thwarted and rendered powerless."⁴ Thus referring to the relation between the tyrannical rulers and the satyagrahi ruled, he quotes Gandhi " They (the rulers) know that they cannot effectively exercise force against the passive resister. Without his concurrence they cannot make him do their will."⁵

Satyagraha is a moral weapon which according to Gandhi could be effectively employed in the national struggle for independence. This is a force which aims not at the destruction of the opponent but is directed towards reforming him and awakening his finer instincts of justice and fairplay. There is no attempt to humiliate the opponent and neither is there a desire to inflict defeat. Rather through the adoption of Satyagraha, an attempt to arrive at a just settlement of the prevailing conflict is made. Thus Gandhi, hopes that armed with this magnificent spiritual weapon, the Indians were bound to meet success and the dream of 'Swaraj' could become a reality.

4) Dhawan Gopinath - The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi., p. 142.

5) Quotation - from speeches, p. 393. Ref. Cited above, p. 142.

The Real Meaning of Swaraj :

On enunciating the meaning of Swaraj, Raghavan Iyer, writes " at the centre of Indian political thought lay the concept of ' Swaraj ' or self-rule, connected with the notion of ' Swarajya ' which referred to a particular mode of securing self-determination in a polity comprised of several distinct sectors."⁶ The term ' Swaraj ' was initially used by Naoroji and Tilak in the context of national independence. The catch word caught the imagination of the masses and fired patriotic fervour. The national movement for ' Swaraj ' was strengthened by the call for boycott and Swadeshi. Tilak preached ' Swaraj ', national education, boycott and Swadeshi as the four cardinal principles which were to guide the national movement for independence.

Raghavan Iyer, thus very aptly remarks, " When Gandhi entered the Indian scene, he was able to restore to the term ' Swaraj ' its older meaning. While retaining its newer sense to reinterpret the term Swadeshi and considerably extend its application and above all, to point to the close connection between ' Swaraj ' and ' Swadeshi '. He attempted to show how ' Swaraj ' must necessarily be linked with ' Swadeshi '."⁷ Just as Gandhi had

6) Iyer Raghavan - The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi., p. 347.

7) Ibid., p. 347.

stressed upon ' Satya ' as the end and ahimsa as the means, similarly ' Swaraj ' was to be the end and ' Swadeshi ' the means to attain it.

Gandhi thus succeeded in establishing a relationship between national independence and self reliance. Self-reliance was the first step towards attaining the goal of ' Swaraj '. Raghavan Iyer in this context has the following to say, " ' Swaraj ' and ' Swadeshi ' are essential to Gandhi's political ethic and they also have institutional implications for him in his picture of a non-violent socialist society, and a decentralized polity comprised of village republics."⁸

Gandhi opines that, " India cannot be free so long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and half. If India could make a successful effort to stop that drain she can gain, 'Swaraj' by that one act."⁹

Gandhi further remarks " In hand spinning is hidden the protection of womens' virtue, the insurance against famine and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of Swaraj."¹⁰

8) Iyer Raghavan - The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi., p. 348.

9) Young India, Jan. 19, 1921. The Gospel of Swadeshi Edited and published by A.T. Hingorani., p. 32.

10) Ibid., p. 33.

Explaining the meaning of the word ' Swaraj ' Gandhi explains
" The word ' Swaraj ' is a sacred word, a vedic word, meaning
self rule and self-restraint and not freedom from all restraint
which independence of ten means."¹¹

Gandhi's conception of self-rule is his conception of
' Swaraj '. If only each man would rule himself hence he says ,
" Swaraj is in the palm of our hands " for he says, " rule of all
without rule of oneself would be as deceptive and disappointing as
a pointed toy mango charming to look at outwardly but hollow and
empty from within."¹²

Thus to Gandhi there is an inherent bond between self-rule
and national freedom . He says, " The first step to ' Swaraj '
lies in the individual so with the universe is applicable here as
elsewhere."¹³ He further says, " Swaraj of a people means the sum
total of the ' Swaraj ' (self-rule) of individuals " Further
government over self is the truest swaraj. It is synonymous with
moksha or salvation."¹⁴ Further " real Swaraj will come not by the
acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of capacity
by all to resist authority when it is abused."¹⁵

11) Deshpande M.S. - Quoted from Light of India- by

12) Iyer Raghavan - The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma
Gandhi., p. 349. (Harijan - April 1936)

13) S.W.M.G. Natesan - 1934, p. 409. Quoted from source cited above.

14) Young India., Dec. 1920. Quoted from source cited above.

15) Young India., Jan. 1925. Quoted from source cited above.

Meaning of Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule :

Gandhi in ' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule, draws up a picture of ' Swaraj ' which to many thinkers seems to be an ideal, a utopia having no roots in reality, a kind of an ideal state some what like a dream, remaining a dream.

Gandhi was more of a moral and spiritual reformer than a political philosopher. He draws up a picture of ' Swaraj ' which he hopes to aspire and exhort others to move towards that direction. One can detect two strands of thought in Gandhis concept of Swaraj (a) The Platonic Ideal (b) The Practicable State. The former embedded in spiritual values is referred to as Ramrajya as Kingdom of Heaven, - an ideal state. Aware of the limitations and inherent human weakness Gandhi is alert to the impossible proposition of establishing Ramrajya and accepts reality and is ready to establish ' political ' or ' parliamentary '. Swaraj though one does not really need to ponder over which ' Swaraj ' he had really set his heart upon.

Gandhi's concept of ' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule is all encompassing and includes each and every individual within /d its broad framework. He says, " Swaraj to me means freedom for the meanest of my countrymen. I am not interested in freeing India

from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange ' King
log ' for ' King stork '."¹⁶

Gandhi does not hope to aspire for Indian Home Rule along
the lines of Italy, for that freedom is illusory in nature. He
goes on to say that independent Italy meant freedom for only a few,
that is the king and his henchmen. He adds, " If you believe that
because Italians rule Italy the Italian nation is happy, you are
groping in darkness. Mazzini has shown conclusively that Italy did
not become free. Victor Emanuel gave one meaning to the expression,
Mazzini gave another. According to Emanuel, Cavour and even
Garibaldi, Italy meant the King of Italy and his henchmen,
According to Mazzini it meant the whole of the Italian people that
is, its agriculturalists. Emanuel was only in its servant. The
Italy of Mazzini still remains in a state of slavery."¹⁷

It was this alienation which caused people to continuously
rise in revolt and rebellion highlighting the fact that the dream
of a free Italy of Mazzini has still to become a reality. Gandhi
thus warns us. " I am sure you do not wish to reproduce such a
condition in India. I believe that you want the millions of India

16) Iyer Raghavan v The Moral Political Thought of Mahatma
Gandhi, P. 356 (June 1924)

17) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj ., p. 61.

to be happy, not that you want the reins of government in your hands. If that be so we have to consider only one thing how, can the millions obtain self-rule ?"¹⁸

Gandhi wanted to ensure that independent India should reflect Swaraj in its truest essence. Power and authority should not be used for exploitation and perpetuation of injustice. He does not want white rule to be replaced by brown rule. He says, " My patriotism does not teach me that I am to allow people to be crushed under the heel of Indian princes if only the English retire. If I have the power I should restrict the tyranny of Indian princes just as much as that of the English."¹⁹

Gandhi's vision of ' Hind Swaraj ' is broad and all encompassing, accomadating even those Englishmen who are ready to ⁸⁷ forsake modern civilization and become Indianized and work towards fulfilling her aims and aspirations. Gandhi explains, " You will admit that people under several Indian princes are being ground down. The latter mercilessly crush them. Their tyranny is greater than that of the English and if you want such tyranny in India then we shall never agree ... By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them. If any Englishman dedicated his

18) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 61.

19) Ibid., p. 61.

life to securing the freedom of India resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian."²⁰

Gandhi's concept of ' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule knows no human boundaries for the individual is not just a miniscule but a vital and integral part of the entire spectrum. Thus even if a single individual is not free, it would mean that freedom enjoyed by others is meaningless and insignificant. Thus Gandhi says, " In its full sense, ' Swaraj ' cannot be identified with majority rule. There could not be a greater mistake than that " said Gandhi, " If it were true, I for one would refuse to call it ' Swaraj ' and would fight it with all the strength at my command for to me, Hind Swaraj is the rule of all people, is the rule of justice."²¹

' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule according to Gandhi would be a " self-regulating democracy of individuals who had realized themselves "²² The structure of the new democracy would be a decentralized society, consisting of small self-governing units where the community is knit by a bond of unity based on love, truth co-operation and harmony. Bread labour being its guiding

20) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 61.

21) Iyer Raghavan - The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi., p. 357 (April, 1931)

22) Nair Sreekumaran - Conflicts in Values - p. 19.

principle Gandhi holds that in such a Swaraj, " life will be a pyramid with the apex sustained from the bottom. It will resemble an ' oceanic circle ' whose circle will be the individuals, who will always be ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals."²³

' Hind Swaraj ' says Gandhi will be a reflection of the best that is India. It would be incompatible with modern civilization, which he describes as a mouse gnawing while it appears to be soothing. For the establishment of ' Hind Swaraj ', the clarion call given by Gandhi is the renunciation of modern civilization and rediscovery of ancient Indian culture which has sustained itself through the past several centuries. ' Hind Swaraj ' says Gandhi should be founded on Indian civilization embodying spiritual and ethical values based on the principles of socio-economic justice, non-possession and Swadeshi. In fact in Swadeshi lies the true spirit of Swaraj.

Gandhi appreciates the efforts of all who are involved in gaining home rule for India. " Many Englishmen desire Home Rule for India ... We who seek justice will have to do justice to others. Sir William does not wish ill to India - that should be enough for us. As we proceed, you will be sooner free, You will

23) Nair Sreekumaran - Conflict in Values - Harijan, 2nd Jan. 1917.

see too, that if we shun every Englishman as an enemy. Home Rule will be delayed. But if we are just to them, we shall receive their support in our progress towards the goal."²⁴

Gandhi envisages ' Hind Swaraj ' or ' Indian Home Rule ' on totally unique lines. He is totally opposed to modelling free India along British parliamentary lines and is vehemently opposed to the import of their institutions, which are deeply embedded in modern civilization and bound to lead to destruction. There is a note of warning given to us, When Gandhi says, " The condition of England at present is pitiable I pray to God that India may never be in that plight. That which you consider the mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms but exactly fit the case the Parliament has not yet, of its own accord done a single good thing. Hence I have compared it to a sterile woman. The natural condition of Parliament is such that, without outside pressure it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time. Today it is under Mr. Asquith, tomorrow it may be under Mr. Balfour."²⁵

Gandhi opines that the major drawback of parliamentary functioning is that it is not really representative of the true

24) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 71.

25) Ibid., p. 28.

wishes of the people. There is a discrepancy between the ideal institution it portrays to be and its actual functioning. As Gopinath Dhawan succinctly puts it, " His criticism of parliamentary democracy is due more to the spirit in which it is actually worked rather than to the constitutional machinery. Gandhi does not believe that representative institutions are something new or unsuitable to India, though he is against a wholesale copying of the West."²⁶

Parliament Gandhi feels is more of a toy than a political institution suited to the needs and wishes of the people. It is an object of plaything handled by individuals who display their own whims and fancies and use it to further their own power and achieve their own interests. Welfare of the masses is probably the last thing on the minds of parliamentarians who appear to pose as representatives of the people and in the long run betray the faith, trust and confidence reposed in them. Gandhi observes, " The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power than about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party."²⁷ He further elaborates " If India copies England,²⁸ it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined." Gandhi therefore

26) Dhawan Gopinath - The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi., p. 295.

27) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p.p. 29-30.

28) Ibid., p. 31.

advices us to avoid the way of the English for to accept it would further her enslavement. He says " Parliaments are really emblems of slavery,"²⁹ and concludes, that if ' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule has to become meaningful we have to choose our own mode or governance, best suited to our ethos and cultural temperament.

Gandhi further clarifies that imitating the Western model of democracy based on modern civilization is not in essence the Swaraj that he is striving for. If Swaraj is to mean possessing our own army, and navy and the parapharnelia accompanied with it, Gandhi would rather forsake this illusory Swaraj. He says, " In effect it means this, that we want English rule without the Englishman. You want the tigers nature but not the tiger, that is to say, you would make India English. And when it becomes English it will be called not Hindustan but Englستان. This is not the Swaraj that I want."³⁰ Gandhi then goes on to provide a definition of Swaraj." 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 ... But such Swaraj has to be experienced by each one for himself."³¹

29) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 34.

30) Ibid., p. 27.

31) Ibid., p. 59.

Gandhi therefore emphasises upon the truth that Swaraj has to be earned by each one for himself. Conquest over self - or self rule is the first step towards ' Swaraj ' and therefore ' Swaraj ' or Home Rule obtained by others cannot be ' Swaraj ' in its essence, but will only be a pale reflection of true Home Rule. Thus the expulsion of Englishmen, is not the solution to the problem of our enslavement, for the ultimate aim is not the replacement of white rule by brown rule but the attainment of freedom by each and every individual. To attain such freedom the individual has to learn to control his desires for a slave to his desires he can have no freedom. Thus self control or self rule would be the first step every individual will have to take to attain Swaraj. Initially it would thus be individual Swaraj only later to be transformed into national swaraj as Hind Swaraj. In fact Gandhi is liberal enough to accomodate even those Englishman who become Indianized and forsake modern avilization. This highlights as Gandhi had pointed out earlier, the capacity of Indian civilization to be accomadating, and absorbing all into her mainstream of national and cultural life.

His vision of ' Hind Swaraj ' or Indian Home Rule is one which he hopes will serve as a blueprint for the future of free India. His concept of Indian Home Rule is all embracing covering

within its folds social economic political aspects as well as his views on machinery and education and their position in independent India.

In the political sense ' Hind Swaraj ' would imply self rule i.e. Indian Home Rule in which individuals would rule over themselves, free from alien control, where the political future of the country would be determined not by a few but by each and every individual. Here one detects his contempt for western forms of government whereby power actually resides only in the hands of a few. National rule should according to Gandhi be enjoyed by one and all irrespective of any distinctions. Gandhi says that an independent India would be gracious enough to accommodate the English but on our terms and not their conditions. He informs them that in future they would not be allowed to exploit her. Their function he says, " ... will be if you so wish to police India, you must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us ... You must not do anything that is contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef, and for the sake of Mahomedans you should avoid bacon and ham."³² He further adds that in independent India the common

32) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p.p. 87-88.

language would be Hindi and not English. Gandhi says " The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should therefore learn it."³³ Elaborating further Gandhi says " we consider your schools and courts to be useless. We want our own ancient schools and courts to be restored."³⁴

Since ' Hind Swaraj ' will be a product of love force, trust and non-violence independent India will give no place to the military and other paraphernalia accompanied with it. Gandhi says " we cannot tolerate the idea of you spending money on railways and the military. We see no occasion for either you may tear Russia, we do not."³⁵ A society based on love, cooperation, harmony and deeply rooted in non-violence has not tear of the world outside. Her security lies in the strength fortitude, courage and moral beliefs possessed by her people.

Economic Aspects of Hind Swaraj :

The economic dimensions of ' Hind Swaraj ' touch on the note of self-sufficiency. It is at this point of time that one detects in Gandhi a note of contempt for modern civilization, with its false glamour and hypocrisy trapping all who fall prey to its evil temptations. It is undying love for modern civilization which has struck at the very roots of self sufficiency. Industrialization

33) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 88.

34) Ibid., p. 88.

35) Ibid., p. 88.

has caused a turmoil in the life of the common man and his economic self-sufficiency has been lost in the background of growing economic disparities which threaten to drive him out of existence. Indians who once upon a time enjoyed calm and quiet because of economic contentment, today are engaged in a mad race to acquire riches which in the long run destroy his peace of mind. This is a short-coming which Gandhi would like to correct in his blueprint of future India. ' Hind Swaraj ' according to Gandhi, will not be founded on the exploitation of the masses and coloured by the blood of the oppressed, but Indian Home Rule, wherein each individual will be able to earn his livelihood without any hinderance. Gandhi developed his theory of bread labour and included the economics of the spinning wheel. His contempt for machinery can be studied at this juncture for he feels machinery a product of modern civilization, has enslaved man and morally degraded him. He explains " Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization, it represents a great sin."³⁶ On the issue of adoption or the place of machinery in independent India, he says, " What did India do before there articles were introduced ? Precisely the same should be done today. As long as we cannot make pins without machinery so long will we do without them. The tinsel splendour of glassware we will have nothing to do with and we will make wicks of old with home -

36) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 83.

grown cotton and use hand made earthen saucers for lamps. So doing, we shall save our eyes and money and support Swadeshi and so shall we attain Home Rule."³⁷

' Hind Swaraj ' was thus to provide a state of affairs, where there was to be no exploitation, tyranny and oppression, where there would be no sacrcity but Indian Home Rule would succeed in establishing a land of peace and plenty. Because as it is rightly pointed out that political freedom in the absence of economic security is but a farce.

Social Aspects of Hind Swaraj :

The social aspect of ' Hind Swaraj ' is to be grounded firmly on the fraternity between the two kanor communities in India, based on co-operation, amity and peaceful co-existance. Love and affection should be the basis of this relationship. Gandhi is of the opinion that the difference in religions should not in any way prove to be an obstacle in India being one nation Gandhi rightly says, " Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads so long as we reach the same goal."³⁸

37) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 84

38) Ibid., p.p. 45-46.

Gandhi thus says, as even between brothers differences and disagreements will exist but that should not become a cause for disunity and infighting, between the two. In fact an element of accommodation and adjustment should be cultivated among them. Understanding between these two communities will not only bring the two closer but also strengthen the foundations and roots of our nation. A crack in the relationship will destroy the edifice of our great nation.

Gandhi is of the opinion that both Hindus as well as the Muslims should co-exist and leave no room for misunderstanding. No third party should be allowed to gain an upper hand and foster quarrels among them. He says, " If everyone will try to understand the core of his own religion and adhere to it, and will not allow false teachers to dictate to him, there will be no room left for quarrelling."³⁹ Trust and love for each other should bind the member of religious communities in India which will augure well for the stability of ' Hind Swaraj '.

✓ Gandhi on Education :

Education says Gandhi " means a knowledge of letters. It is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused."⁴⁰ Gandhi opines that education provided by the British

39) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 48.

40) Ibid., p. 77.

regime does not in any way positively contribute to the development of the individual. In fact it is our soft corner for the English language which has to a large extent resulted in our enslavement, according to Gandhi. Thus if we are to rid ourselves of British slavery, we have to give up our / slavery of the English language. He says, " It is we, the English - knowing Indians, that have ⁿexslaved India. The curse of the nation will rest not upon / ⁿthe English but upon us."⁴¹ Further enlightening us on his views on education he says, " It is worth noting that by receiving English education, we have enslaved the nation. Hypocrisy, tyranny, etc have increased., English knowing Indians have not hesitated to cheat and strike terror into the people."⁴²

Gandhi feels that Indians display their naivety when they are eager to emulate English ways, taking to the English languages and speaking of Home Rule in a foreign tongue. He cites the example of Wales where efforts are being made to revive a knowledge of seish among Welshmen. While Indians on the other hand display gross ignorance by adhering to their cast of systems.

Gandhi therefore expresses the opinion that in the independent India of tomorrow, education would play a primary role. But Gandhi insists that education would be ethical in nature

41) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 80.

42) Ibid., p. 80.

founded on morality. He says, " 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."⁴³

His scheme of education is novel and inspiring. He says, " Those English books which are valuable, we should translate into the various Indian languages, we should abandon the pretention of learning many sciences. Religious, that is ethical education will occupy the first place. Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language if a Hindi Sanskrit, if a Mahomedan, Arabic if a Parsee, Persian, and all Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persians, some Mahomedans and Parsees Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi."⁴⁴

Gandhi feels that if the above mentioned goals can be achieved, English language can be expelled within a short time. He says, " All this is necessary for us slaves. Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved and it will be free with our freedom."⁴⁵

43) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 79.

44) Ibid., p. 81.

45) Ibid., p. 81.

The moral aspect of ' Hind Swaraj ' would include the principles of peace, non-violence and truth. Love should be the basic principle on which Indian Home Rule should be established. The moral aspect of this Swaraj will thus only be a reflection of the moral stature attained by individuals who at every moment, personify the principles of peace, love truth and non-violence. As Gandhi has always expressed his weariness with the principle of violence, he obviously visualized ' Hind Swaraj ' manifesting the principle of non-violence. It is the moral strength of the people that lends strength, beauty and character to a nation.

Gandhi would sincerely be happy if ' Hind Swaraj ' were to be modelled along the concept of Ramrajya, embodying all the virtues personified by legendary king Ram, who went into Vanvas at his father's bidding, thus expressing his nobility self-sacrifice, obedience and humility. These are the virtues which Gandhi hopes will be reflected in the tomorrow of India, where goodness will transcend evil, nobility will prevail over narrow selfish interests and where honesty self-sacrifice and goodness will triumph over narrow selfish designs.

Conclusion :

Gandhi thus beautifully pictures the India of tomorrow ' Hind Swaraj ' as he calls it, bathing in the glory of her unsurpassable civilization, drawing strength and inspiration from it, and touching new heights, ' Hind Swaraj ' he says would be Indian in nature and thus it is only on rare occasions that English will be made use of. Since he feels lawyers and doctors have further enslaved India, they will give up their practice in the Indian polity of the future. He insists that they should not only forsake their professions but along with the wealthy take to the hand-loom. Gandhi's idea of ' Hind Swaraj ' has no place for machinery and modern civilization, since he holds them to be responsible for the downfall of man. Lastly he emphasises that ' Hind Swaraj ' has to be obtained through suffering which will enoble even the meanest soul and pleads for the adoption of passive resistance or Satyagraha.

It is Gandhi's opinion that no nation had become great without sufferings. Indians should follow the path of Swaraj by individually following the principles enshrined in it. He writes, " It is an idle excuse to say that we shall do a thing when the others also do it, that we should do what we know to be right and

others will do it when they see the way.⁴⁶ Gandhi wants each one to do his duty so that he can serve himself as well he would serve others.

Gandhi summarises the main arguments of 'Hind Swaraj' as follow :

- 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.
- 4) What we want to do, should be done not because we want to retaliate because it is our duty to do so."⁴⁷

46) Gandhi M. K. - Hind Swaraj., p. 91.

47) Ibid., p. 92.