

## CHAPTER 4

### INFLUENCE OF GANDHI'S IDEAS ON THE INDIAN CIVILISATION AND THE WORLD

#### 4.0 Influences - major, minor, explicit and implicit

Before we dwell on the implications of Gandhi's influences on the Indian and the world. We should examine the concept of civilisation itself. There are two basic ways one can view a civilisation. One perception is that civilisation encompasses a large number of people who shared the same general values and who has come up with impressive artifacts of their own that stamped of their own identity. Another perception of civilisation was that it is the nature of how humans were able to act to their more humane nature. The more capable they are, they are perceived as more civilized.

Basically, we will take a look at civilisations from various points of view. The first known account of sociology (study of how human behaviour in a society) was believed to have originated from Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqadimah*.

Ibn Khaldun believed that there are certain conditions that affect the nature of civilisation such as savagery, sociability, group feelings, and the different ways by which one group of human beings achieves superiority over another.<sup>250</sup> A civilisation deals with royal authority and the dynasties that result and with the various ranks that exist within them.

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<sup>250</sup> Ibnu Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah : An Introduction to History*, 71.

It further deals with the different kinds of gainful occupations and ways of making a living, with the sciences and crafts that human beings pursue as part of their activities and efforts and with all the other institutions that originate in civilisation through its very nature.<sup>251</sup>

These various aspects, as Ibn Khaldun further contended affect human beings in their social organization are royal authority, gainful occupation, sciences and crafts, (all) in the light of various arguments that will show the true nature of the varied knowledge of the elite and the common people, repel misgivings, and remove doubts.<sup>252</sup>

Ibn Khaldun's world view can be reduced to the following general propositions: history is simply a repeated cycle of the evolution of civilisation and state, with each cycle ending in decline and catastrophe.<sup>253</sup>

According to Braudel, another famous historian, a civilisation is something that outlives a series of economies or societies, barely susceptible to gradual change.<sup>254</sup> He also added that in a civilisation, to measure the influence or importance of a person or an event is the time taken to forget them.<sup>255</sup>

Only that which endures really counts in the civilisation's history. Thus, only time can really tell if Gandhi remains important to the Indian civilisation.

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 343.

<sup>254</sup> Ferdinand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, trans. Richard Mayne. (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 28.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 27

One other well-known figure in civilisation studies would be Arnold Toynbee. In his writings, Toynbee tried to find about factors that create a civilisation and that defines it. He believes that societies who are interested in pioneering new thoughts and ideas and that are dynamics are slowly and surely moving towards being a civilisation.<sup>256</sup> Thus, we can state that a civilisation must have the aspect of dynamism within it.

According to Toynbee, a civilisation is made through a transitional period where society undergoing problems and ordeals is made to rise up to the challenges presented. He believed that two general features uniquely contributed to the catalyst that changes a society to a civilisation, namely the challenge itself and the consequences that totally change its path and development.<sup>257</sup>

A more modern definition of civilisation is that a civilisation is the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions and by the subjective self-identification of people.

Civilisation to the *Mahatma*, however refers to the later part of the definition. He believed that civilisation is something that a person must perform and

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<sup>256</sup> Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (London : Oxford University Press, 1935-1964), 49.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 77

observe before he can be called civilized. Ultimately, Gandhi believed a person carries the civilisation around and not the civilisation moulds the man. In Gandhi's eyes, "Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points 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.... Civilisation means good conduct".<sup>258</sup>

He believed that human beings must need to reduce their wants and needs voluntary in order to find contentment and this should be the basis of a civilisation and not materialism.<sup>259</sup>

If one is to see the influence that Gandhi has on the Indian civilisation based on his definition, it will be a impossible task as to who has to right to judge when a person is civilized or not. Thus, the influence of Gandhi will be seen based on the first definition of civilisation. (i.e. a collective group of people who have a complete artifacts of values, ideas, artifacts, customs that is uniquely theirs.)

Unfortunately, the effects on a civilisation can only been seen after a very long period of time. Though Gandhi has been gone for 55 years, it is still not long enough to see how widespread his ideas are to the civilisation. However, an attempt will be made to examine the influence he may have.

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<sup>258</sup> Mohandas K. Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj*, 2003,  
[http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind\\_Swaraj\\_-\\_M.\\_K.\\_Gandhi](http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind_Swaraj_-_M._K._Gandhi). (8 March 2004).

<sup>259</sup> Gandhi, *All Men are Brother*, 130.



#### 4.1 Influences on the Indian civilisation

At the core of the Indian civilisation, there lies doubt as to the identity of the person one can truly called an Indian. India itself has no common national identity, much less one that can be identified as a civilisation identity. Unlike Arabic, the language itself is identified as the language of the Islamic civilisation. In India itself, it has thirty-five languages, each spoken by more than a million people. It does not reflect ethnic groups as there are a diverse plethora of races whereupon a Hindu Punjab shared the same race as the Muslim Punjab. It cannot be religion as it harbours all known religions in the world practiced except for Shintoism. The basic concept Indians have of their nation is that it is the nationalism of idea, from an ancient civilisation, united by a shared history and sustained by a pluralist democracy.<sup>260</sup>

A society is naturally formed when human beings were able to find out that cooperation helps to develop their survival abilities. This was what happened to the Indian civilisation. Because of the ease and survival of food gathering in India, violence was not as necessary as it was in Europe or America, there was no such need to eat meat to supplement their dietary needs. As such the Indians were able to develop a much more non-violent relationship with nature and men.<sup>261</sup>

This was perhaps the reason Gandhi found it so easy to sow his ideas and rouse the masses. Within other civilisations than India, this may not be a

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<sup>260</sup> Shashi Tharoor, *India: From Midnight to the Millennium*, 8.

<sup>261</sup> Kosambi, D.D., *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 34.

foundation at all. In fact, one would say the Indian civilisation created Gandhi rather than Gandhi influenced the civilisation.

However, within any civilisation, for any glorious front there is an undercurrent dark side. The Indian society has always been marked with social institutions such as caste system and unequal gender relationships.<sup>262</sup> According to Braudel, the position of women in a society generally carries the identity of the evolving civilisation.<sup>263</sup> The development of the women's roles over the years carried the underlying values beneath a civilisation.

Gandhi looked at the Indian civilisation in a profoundly idealistic way portrayed by the *Vedas* of the golden years. He was neither a proponent of Stone Age development nor was he happy with the development of modernity within the Indian civilisation. He was more deeply concerned with the spiritual side of the Indian civilisation. Gandhi's Hinduism was uniquely his own. It was rooted in ancient Hinduism but was charged with new growths and ideas that he had uniquely perceived from the ancient Hindu texts.<sup>264</sup>

Gandhi is truly an Indian in that he viewed life as a cycle. He was a part of the Indian civilisation and yet he was also a generator of its new ideas. Gandhi realized that ancient traditional values had no place in his civilisation

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<sup>262</sup> S. Selvam. "Participatory Structure: The Concept and Forms." , 35.

<sup>263</sup> Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, 29.

<sup>264</sup> K.C. Yadav & R.S. Yadav. "A Fractured Legacy: Gandhi, *Dalits*, and the Present-Day India." , 38.

unless they contribute beneficially to its growth and development.<sup>265</sup> One may say that instead of destroying his civilisation as professed by his detractors, Gandhi was trying to save his civilisation by regeneration and renewal and as we know a civilisation that is unable to renew itself would gradually decay and died. Of course, a civilisation would not truly died out without any traces but it would be absorbed by any other new growing civilisation just as the Greek civilisation is absorbed by the Islamic civilisation and then indirectly by the Western civilisation.

The question now is how does one tackle the influence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian civilisation. How does one measure the extent of his influence except most generally?

By no means Gandhi was the only prominent figure in the Indian civilisation, others like the *Aryans* with their *Bhagavad Gita* and *Vedas* have influenced it profoundly, Lord Buddha with his preaching had influenced India at one time and then fade away, including Western style democracy, socialism, capitalism. This is just to name a few. Just exactly how does an Indian identify himself with the Indian civilisation? Many times, the leaders of India have proudly declared that their civilisation is essentially pluralistic. It is the juxtaposition of a medley of ideas.

As mentioned by Braudel, a civilisation can be distinguished if these realities, these structures, are generally ancient and long-lived, and always

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<sup>265</sup> Gandhi, *The Essential Writings of Gandhi*, 105.

distinctive and original.<sup>266</sup> It is they that give civilisations their essential outline and characteristic quality. And civilisations hardly ever exchange them: they regard them as irreplaceable values. Thus, one can try to make sense of the Indian civilisation by looking at its ancient and long-lived characteristics.

If one carefully look through the Indian history, it is clear that the caste system appears to be one of its strongest identifying features in the Indian civilisation, permeating even within other religions such as Christianity and Islam.

Another way of tracking the history of the Indian civilisation can be done through the examination of the philosophical developments of the religious leaders.<sup>267</sup> Some of its doctrines are still practiced today due to the rigidity of the religious sects' leaders. They help to contribute to the knowledge through the rise and change of the functions within its religion to the Indian civilisation.

Gandhi himself had talked about the village as an unchanging part of the Indian civilisation. Whether he truly knew it or not, much of the Indian civilisation's features are truly contained with the rural production and 'the idiocy of village life' wherever little change can be observed of its development yearly.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, 28.

<sup>267</sup> Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 16.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

Other features may perhaps be the aim of the Indian's civilisation. Their purposes are varied just as their diversity and yet united at the same time at the ultimate aim in life. This common feature is its nation's preoccupation with the spiritual dimension of human being, giving a lot of ideational knowledge that prevails even to this day. Another feature of the Indian civilisation is that it has never thrown away any of its ancient ways regardless of how barbaric and out of date it is.

The civilisation's ability to absorb diversity whilst at the same time keeping its ancient traditions is one of its prevailing features. As of now, the identity of the Indian civilisation changes as the power from the Congress that was represented by Gandhi and Nehru has now diminished in its power to the BJP who heads the government. BJP has been well-known of its Hindutva's position. It was a political group supported by Hindu fundamentalists who seeks to define the Indian civilisation according to its perceived Hinduism.<sup>269</sup> This was a disturbing turn that the Indian civilisation has taken to find its own identity. Some Indians equate the identity of its civilisation to religion, namely Hinduism.

On one hand, Huntington claimed that the identity of a civilisation is generally identified through its religion.<sup>270</sup> A very good example would be the Christian Serbians and the Muslim Bosnian. Though they are of the

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<sup>269</sup> "The Economist (US)," Deconsecrating Gandhi: does fashionable muckraking about India's founding heroes say more about them or about India's disappointment with itself? 347, no.8083 (1998): 73-75. Expanded Academic ASAP, Infotrac (24 April 2003).

<sup>270</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 1997), 47.

same race, their differences in their religions lead to genocide between brothers.

#### 4.1.1 Caste system

India has a unique way of classifying its people into classes. There isn't any way for social mobility to take place. Once born to that class, they are rigidly confined within its structures. No matter how brilliant their achievements are, they are not taken into account. Hallowed by centuries of religious aura, caste has been endowed with all the inflexibility of a superstition not quite understood but still is still followed.

This essentially can also be found in the Vedas, whereupon people at one time are divided into castes based on their *gunas* (dispositions) rather than birth.<sup>271</sup> It has calcified in time. Of course, one can also not be very sure of whether it is practiced or not even in those ancient times.

Caste system however helps to uncover a lot of Indian history if one can study it without any baggage. Many lower castes are from tribes that had refused in beginning to take to the agricultural economic system. They were disadvantaged by their inability to change according to time. The lowest castes often retained their tribal rites, usages and myths. They are then assimilated to other parts of society and then rewritten again by the Brahmins to suit their own needs.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> R.C. Gupta, *Hindu Society and Influence of the Great Epics*, (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1991).

<sup>272</sup> Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 15-16.

The caste system has thrived, almost died out, revive with a vengeance all within the Indian civilisation. We cannot but recognized this is one of the most salient characteristics of this civilisation. The caste system in India has a legitimacy that is unmatched by any social segregation practiced by man before.

Mahatma Gandhi perceived caste system as natural divisions within society with no sense of superiority or inferiority involved. There isn't any better caste than any other caste. The caste merely presupposes that a person can follow the profession of his forefathers much better than those who are not born to it. Gandhi believed that the natural tendencies that one is born with are developed better, hence the use for the caste system.<sup>273</sup>

Insomuch that the caste system is a reflection of the social system within the Indian civilisation, Gandhi has a choice of either replacing it radically with another social system or he regenerates this social system by giving a new perspective. Gandhi has undertaken to reform this social system rather than replacing this social system with another. This is his contribution to the Indian civilisation itself. Gandhi has faith that the ideal social order is indeed based on the caste and its ideal social order will naturally assert itself when all humans understand and follow these rules explicitly.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Glyn Richards, *The Philosophy of Gandhi: A Study of His Basic Ideas*, (London: Curzon Press, 1991), 84.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

It would have been an impossible task to replace the caste system with another social system unless the civilisation itself went through an abrupt and radical revolution that propels it to chaos before starting a fresh outlook. However, as it is one of features, the new social system may not last long.

Gandhi was convinced that the caste system that existed was an aberration that had deviated from its original purpose. He was the caste system as a part of the social system and believed that social change is the first and necessary part to change the conditions of the *Hurijans*.<sup>275</sup>

Gandhi was a deeply committed Hindu, he was a reformer in a truest sense. His aim was to help the Indian tradition to grow and evolve.<sup>276</sup> Untouchability, as Gandhi saw it, was related to all his basic beliefs about Truth, *ahimsa* and *sarvodaya*. He saw it as an ability to develop oneself when one serves the Untouchables.<sup>277</sup> Gandhi was a devout Hindu but he was sickened by the excesses taken by caste system and by the upper castes' false sense and grasp of superiority over the lower castes.<sup>278</sup> His Hinduism is a changing and dynamic religion unlike those who seek to crystallize and froze Hinduism in the distant past. Gandhi looked to the future for the development for Hinduism.

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 89

<sup>276</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 208.

<sup>277</sup> Richards, *The Philosophy of Gandhi: A Study of His Basic Ideas*, 88.

<sup>278</sup> K.C. Yadav & R.S. Yadav. "A Fractured Legacy: Gandhi, Dalits, and the Present-Day India," 57.



He did not use any revolutionary method to improve the *Harijan*'s situation but tried to change the Hindus' attitude as a whole through a slower method.<sup>279</sup> Gandhi had wanted to save Hinduism.

What Gandhi has given towards the caste system within his Hinduism is his unique perception of how men can be unequal and yet equal at the same time.<sup>280</sup> His ability to justify the paradox of the caste system must be one of his influences. He believed that men are born with different purposes in life. Although they are born with different careers and purposes, it does not mean that they are not equal to each other. For example, a man who cleans nightsoil is as equal as a man chanting the holy verses. He was in turn much influenced by John Russell. Unfortunately, his perception is shared only by a few. Economic ability and political power still hold sway to determine the position of people within a society and civilisation.

The Untouchables perceived their situation as lack of economic and political power rather than lack of religious empowerment. For the Untouchables, the absence of a separate electorate due to the Poona Pact seriously decapitates their empowerment within then nation.<sup>281</sup>

The caste system today is outlawed in the Indian Constitution. This discrimination is banned by law. This is perhaps one of the good things

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<sup>279</sup> Richards, *The Philosophy of Gandhi: A Study of His Basic Ideas*, 88.

<sup>280</sup> Kameshwar Choudhary. "Religion and Social Order: The Gandhian View." *Gandhi Magazine* 18, no.3 (1996): 323.

<sup>281</sup> Ramnarayan S. Rawat, "Making Claims for Power: a New Agenda in *Dalit* politics of Uttar Pradesh, 1946-48." *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (2003): 586.

Gandhi had been able to institute within. Gandhi had sought to change caste system through society because he was perceptive enough to realize that caste system may not be truly eradicated through the legal system. No doubt the legal system in India meant the best. People are changing but social change takes a longer toll on human psyche. It was once said that people detest changing old habits but once they are forced to change and find that the new habits are conducive to their lives, their grumbles will fade away.

The Poona Pact signed by the Congress with the help of Gandhi is now increasingly been seen as a betrayal of the Untouchables.<sup>282</sup> Without political power, not even the Congress can change anything, how then do the untouchables be thought to change their social stigma without any political clout. Gandhi's fears that Hinduism will be divided legally when the Untouchables have their own separate electorates. With this, the Indian society will forever be divided. However, this change within the fabric of the Indian civilisation requires a great deal of effort and one-man moral power was not enough to sustain this.

Gandhi's role for the Untouchables had only been perceived in the social sector, none of his work for them was done in the political and economic sector.<sup>283</sup> In fact, Gandhi's role in the Poona Pact actually aggravated the Untouchables' position whereby its system was ignored by the government

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<sup>282</sup> Ramnarayan S. Rawat, "Making Claims for Power: a New Agenda in *Dalit* politics of Uttar Pradesh, 1946-48," 588.

<sup>283</sup> K.C. Yadav & R.S. Yadav. "A Fractured Legacy: Gandhi, *Dalits*, and the Present-Day India.", 59.

though it was clear that an Untouchable has the right to be appointed to a reserved seat.<sup>284</sup>

A lot of untouchables or *dalits* (as they call themselves) did not improve anywhere near where they are promised. Gandhi's policy of the *Harijans* may have helped them shed a part of their social stigma but it has not given them any empowerment especially in view of their position within the Hindu religious system.<sup>285</sup> As Gandhi is gone now, so has the social acceptance of the *Harijan*. In reality, nothing much has changed for them.

Gandhi had not trained the *Harijans* for their rights nor did he empower them. His idea that a person born within the caste should stick to their traditional occupation did nothing but stall the developments of the untouchables.<sup>286</sup>

Though there has been land reforms in the past, no lands has reached the *dalits*. They have no part in the industries and have no idea of trade and commerce. In truth, they're not given any opportunities to better themselves. Though there was a reservation of jobs in the government, it was not given to them fast and fair enough. Worst, many *dalits* were turned down for these jobs for the flimsiest excuse.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 64

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 60

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 64

Gandhi was also not the first who tried to eradicate Untouchability, but he was the most prominent one who tried to tackle Untouchability nation-wide within the Hindu religion itself in recent times. His influence in this issue remains to be seen. He did not sought to eradicate the caste system, this is because he knew that the caste system is an integral part of the Indian civilisation. Even if he didn't know about it, Gandhi was able to eradicate Untouchability because it has become connected to it throughout time. Unless he eradicated the caste system itself, it would be impossible to overcome the social evil of Untouchability. Therefore, the caste system is hardly influenced by Gandhi at all, except he managed to reconstruct its meaning to match the modern civilisation's perception of the equality among human. All in all, he failed in reforming the caste system of India.

#### **4.1.2 Village system**

One may be mistaken when one goes to India and find that the villages of India are still caught in a time warp of perhaps centuries. Changes reach the villages slowly even in this modern world. This leads to a mistaken belief that in India, its villages endure forever.

There has always been little changes to be found in the village from year to year, thus giving to the illusion of an unchanged system.<sup>288</sup>

Agriculture is still an important part of the India's landscape. However, its agriculture development, though extensive, still uses primitive methods.

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<sup>288</sup> Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 16.

With agriculture, its land has been overgrazed and overfarmed after two thousands years of cultivation.<sup>289</sup>

Though one cannot say that the village system is the Indian civilisation, one may say that the essence of India of ancient past and modernity is caught in the paradox of its village and city. Without looking at an Indian village, one will not truly appreciate the foundation underlying the Indian civilisation.

Gandhi's praise of the Indian village as a self-sufficient system of its own is well-known. He perceived the Indian village as the cradle that preserves the essence of the Indian civilisation, absorbing foreign influences while preserving its own identity.<sup>290</sup> His call of decentralisation of Indian, a call to return to the nation of many villages was one of the cornerstone of his social ideas. Thus, to study the Indian village is vital to understand its connection to the Indian civilisation.

Gandhi's plan for a grass-root development will start off with the village economic self-sufficiency, then the stabilization of a traditional economy that is labour intensive and gradually towards decentralisation.<sup>291</sup>

As of today, the wretchedness and the poverty of the Indian village still live on. It is with this horror, we can see how within its misery and degradation, it provided and still provides the material foundation for Indian culture and

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 13

<sup>290</sup> Vasant Palshikar, *Gandhi's Economic Ideas & their Present Relevance*, ed.S.C. Biswas (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1969), 227.

<sup>291</sup> Vasant Palshikar, *Gandhi's Economic Ideas & their Present Relevance*, 227.

civilisation.<sup>292</sup> The village itself is closely linked with production of commodities which is an industrial and trade-based economy.<sup>293</sup> Industrialists still sourced for materials and human resource from these villages to work for their businesses. Thus, it is not really true to say that the Indian village is an independent entity of its own. However, it is true that the Indian village until today is very much self-contained.<sup>294</sup>

According to Gandhi, India must reconstruct, improve and develop its villages. Without this foundation, the middle and upper parts of India will perish.<sup>295</sup>

When one is interested in studying the Indian history through the village, one obstacle is its lack of chronology and much of its traditions formed 1,5000 years ago are still similar to what was practiced of today.<sup>296</sup> We cannot really form a conclusion of the actual development or growth of the Indian civilisation. All that we can note is its ability to maintain its tradition in spite of all else.

Gandhi's criticism of the materialistic philosophy underlying industrialisation and the modern civilisation forced him to look for an ideal alternative than the one offered. He felt that the modern civilisation enslaves people,

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<sup>292</sup> Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 17.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> K.D. Gangrade, "Humanising Development: The Gandhian Way," *Gandhi Magazine* 13, no.3 (1991): 287-288.

<sup>296</sup> Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 22.

whereby they are unable to fulfill their potential value as a person.<sup>297</sup> As such, Gandhi turned to the Indian civilisation to look for a better alternative and came to a conclusion that the village system fulfills the material needs without losing its spiritual, emotional and social needs of a person.

He stated that many people mistake the fulfillment of material needs and wants as progress, perpetual action as purposeful movement, restlessness for vitality and dynamism, speed for efficiency, and consumerism for an improved quality of life.<sup>298</sup>

Gandhi's ideal civil society should be separated from the state. The society itself holds the right to criticize and manage the state. He believed that the power wielded by the government is actually very fragile. Its power is derived from the society, so society has the power to actually dictate it.<sup>299</sup> Only because the people within the society are ignorant of their true strength, the government holds sway over them.<sup>300</sup>

As the power is directly from the people, Gandhi sees no point of delegating this power to an agent whereby the society can exercise it directly.<sup>301</sup> For Gandhi, his social philosophy is that the civil society should focus on people's organizations like workers' rights, peace, civil rights, etc.<sup>302</sup> In fact,

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<sup>297</sup> Joseph Prabhu, "Gandhi visionary for a globalized world." *ReVision*. 24, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 3.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

this is what Gandhi sees when he perceives the Indian village, a self-contained society on its own that is capable of acting on his own.

Gandhi said: God forbid India should ever take to industrialisation after the manner of the West. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island kingdom (England) is today keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 million took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts.<sup>303</sup>

To prevent Gandhi's prediction from coming true, empowerment of local and village republic must be done. When there is an interconnection, it can be restored as a part of our lives.<sup>304</sup>

*Panchayati Raj* is a modern and new political institution suggested by Gandhi in place of the modern civilisation.<sup>305</sup> Gandhi associated *sarvodaya* socialism with *panchayati raj*.<sup>306</sup> *Sarvodaya* itself emphasized on the farmers and democracy of a family-based co-operation.<sup>307</sup> It is also a popular myth that a strong peasant community withstanding the onslaught of a commercial and industrial forces.<sup>308</sup>

Due to Gandhi, panchayats at the village level as the aim was incorporated in the Constitution of India.

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<sup>303</sup> Sulak Sivaraksa. "Applying Gandhi for Alternative to Consumerism.", 393.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 394.

<sup>305</sup> S. Selvam, "Caste, Empowerment, and Panchayati Raj.", 307.

<sup>306</sup> Kunal Roy Chowdhuri. "Gandhi's Theory of *Sarvodaya* Socialism.", 65.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 76

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 76



The constitutional provision states: "The state shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government" (Article 40 in Part IV – Directive Principles of State Policy). Efforts were made to set up *panchayats* at village level through various legislations in all the States and Union Territories in the early years of independent India.<sup>309</sup>

Gandhi wanted the village system to be a center of human interaction whereby people can be open to each other and become a focal for human development in terms of spirituality, economic, social and political.<sup>310</sup>

Gandhi argued that a self-sufficient village unit is in a good position to maintain itself in a rural society as compared to the urban society. This village will have the moral authority and autonomous enough to influence an aggressor.<sup>311</sup>

In fact, the unchanging characteristics of the Indian village may have save much of the original character of the Indian society and culture in the changing forces of the foreign influences that inundate India at many points in history.<sup>312</sup>

Of course, the village system in India itself was a system that perpetuates social evils such as the caste system, traditional beliefs and superstition that

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<sup>309</sup> S. Selvam, "Caste, Empowerment, and Panchayati Raj.", 310.

<sup>310</sup> Kunal Roy Chowdhuri, "Gandhi's Theory of *Sarvodaya* Socialism.", 75.

<sup>311</sup> Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, *Social and Political Thought of Gandhi*, 117.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 121

hounded it until today. The stagnation encouraged by this village system may preserve pieces of the Indian civilisation but it also holds it back from development and dynamic changes.<sup>313</sup> According to Toynbee, a civilisation must be dynamic to survive.

Gandhi's wish that independent villages systems spreading throughout India as its development has never been taken seriously by the Indian government who increasingly holds power centrally. One can say that the Indian villages within the Indian civilisation does serves its purpose by keeping much of its ancient traditions but at the same time freeze its inhabitants from progress, whether materially, emotionally or spiritually.

There is not much influence exerted by Gandhi on the Indian civilisation through his concept of village system though it may explain the continuation of a loose configuration of the Indian civilisation.

Gandhi once wrote, "I would say that if the village perishes, India will perish too. It will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost."<sup>314</sup>

Gandhi formed the All-India Village Industries Association which was primarily an organization for the revival of cottage industries and betterment of rural economic life in the centuries to come.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Mohandas Karmarchand Gandhi. "Village Swaraj", *Harijan*, August 24, 1936.

<sup>315</sup> S. Narayanasamy. "Constructive Programme Towards the Twenty-first Century.", 345.

#### 4.1.3 Purpose of its civilisation

Gandhi's new perception of a civilisation came when he visited London in 1909 when he experienced the Western life in its totality.<sup>316</sup> He described the Western civilisation as a half-crazy civilisation where some people either live in total hedonism and some toiling their lives without any rest. There was no room for spirituality for them.<sup>317</sup>

For Gandhi, the true nature of the civilisation is when it points out man the route of his duty and his need to observe morality.<sup>318</sup> Gandhi looked back in India's history to find what he believed was the true civilization in action (a voluntary act by men to limit their needs and desires and to eliminate greed and immorality).<sup>319</sup>

In his quest for true civilisation, Gandhi turned his concern to simple life, education and health.<sup>320</sup> Gandhi was of the opinion that life cannot be segmented into political, social and religious areas and to find truth, the changes he saw needs to encompass everything.<sup>321</sup>

Though Gandhi did not have any qualification in economics, he is of the passionate belief that material development is a deterrent to moral development of a human being and subsequently its civilisation. Gandhi

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<sup>316</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 87.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 88

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 89.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid.

urged the Indians to turn to their ancient civilisation and follow its principles of sufficiency to overcome to evils of poverty, greed and violence.<sup>322</sup>

The Indian civilisation cares more for the spirit or the soul whereas the Western civilisation cares more for more material development. Therefore, the true lover of India must hold on to the old Indian civilisation.<sup>323</sup>

Many have claimed that India is a land of spirituality with the world's two greatest religions originating from its land, namely Hinduism and Buddhism. Others claimed that that perception is erroneous, that one's perception of a land of spirituality is their own wish to perceive it so. Whether one or other perception is correct, it does not matter much as that India has spawned all kinds of thoughts leading to the search for God or truth more than any other civilisations in the world.<sup>324</sup> According to Braudel, one of the strongest feature in a civilisation is the religion. All actions derive their form and justification from religious life, and India has religious depth in full.<sup>325</sup>

Based only on this comparison, one can truly say that India is indeed a civilisation intends on its spirituality rather than materialism. Has Gandhi contributed to this immense spirituality of its civilisation? If one looks truly, Gandhi was merely another part that has contributed to the vast ocean of Indian spiritual civilisation. He himself had stated he was merely restating

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<sup>322</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 106.

<sup>323</sup> Mohandas K. Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj*, 2003, [http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind\\_Swaraj\\_-\\_M.\\_K.\\_Gandhi](http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind_Swaraj_-_M._K._Gandhi).> (8 March 2004).

<sup>324</sup> Houston Smith, *The Religions of Man*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1958), 13.

<sup>325</sup> Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, 23.

back the absolute truths again that were ancient in origin.

If we want to look at Gandhi's contribution to the Indian civilisation, we can state that within the encroaching modern civilisation (that hasn't show much of its disadvantages as yet) he managed to make the ancient truths more palatable to the people of the world.

Essentially, the Indian civilisation is built more on spiritual foundation than of material foundation as opposed to the modern civilisation. One must also bear in mind that the modern civilisation is a newer version of the Roman and Greek civilisations that uphold the beauty and use of materials rather than ideas. This is something we cannot help but perceive one of the most salient features of the Indian civilisation.

The purpose of the Indian civilisation and its people has never been to build monuments for themselves. It has to do with their spiritual journey to finally meet God. In that sense, it is unique in itself.<sup>326</sup> Gandhi himself has stated many times that he took up political and social reforms merely so as a path to his spiritual salvation.<sup>327</sup> Something which many Indians can identify with but puzzled others.

In terms of spirituality, Gandhi has not done much in the Indian civilisation. He has merely followed the path set down by his civilisation. The only

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<sup>326</sup> Houston Smith, *The Religions of Man*, 13.

<sup>327</sup> Gandhi, *All Men are Brother*, 169.

difference is that he has changed the perception that one's spirituality must be divorced from the world.

Instead, he seeks to promote the fact that spirituality of a person is tested and molded from the reality and sufferings of the material world.

Though it did not last long in his lifetime, his demise further loosens the grip Indian youths had of their own ancient civilisation. They prefer to embrace modernization with all its attending benefits and evils.

To Gandhi, the moral discipline of the individual is the most important means of social reconstruction and it is these moral principles which determine the structure of non-violent social order.<sup>328</sup>

The worldview we hold of ourselves and other people determines how we live and how we treat others. Gandhi changed the way Indians viewed violence and authority. They now know that non-violence can be used to change the world. Unfortunately, Gandhi's assassination showed another side that violence could be used effectively too.

He helped to shift the axis of power from the mighty and powerful to the defenseless and powerless by showing that what feat of self-sacrifice can attain for them. He gave the Indian people *satyagraha* and *sarvodaya* in the

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<sup>328</sup> Mahadeva Prasad, *Social Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, 66.

He gave the Indians a sense of pride in their ability to take suffering in the cause of a greater good. A shift in the focus of how to achieve power for the powerless was one of the ways left by Gandhi for the Indian civilisation.

Gandhi wanted India to renew and regenerate its culture, freeing it from its defects that have been collected through the ages. To reconstruct its culture and civilisation, they need the outer freedom requires that is being hold in bondage by the British.<sup>330</sup> However, upon achieving independence, Gandhi's social were forgotten except in certain exceptions.

It is indeed an irony that today where Gandhi's ideas of changing unjust and unfair social and political rules were being practiced by others in the international arena. India has turned its back on Mahatma Gandhi. Regardless of how successful or how much of a failure Gandhi was, he did give something to India.

Amidst all the muck-racking of Gandhi as a person nowadays, it does not detracts from his contributions at all, no matter how quotoxic, idealist and impossible it is to achieve.

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<sup>329</sup> Fisher, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, 345.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

In India today, Mahatma Gandhi is a very well-known figure but he is treated merely as an icon. None of his social ideas ever penetrated very deeply and wrought massive change in the Indian society and civilisation. In fact, there is no strong social movements based on Gandhian percepts of practices in any form or place in India.<sup>331</sup> If there were, they peripherals and of no consequence to the nation and civilisation as a whole.

Gandhi strongly believed that social justice in overcoming even the most minor social ill must not be done through violence. The only proper solution Gandhi sees to overcome social ills is through application of non-violent means.<sup>332</sup>

Gandhi was described as the advocate of socialism as his doctrine of trusteeship. For Gandhi, socialism appeals to him with its equality. He was in favor of robbing the rich and giving it the poor. That is not Gandhi's socialism.<sup>333</sup>

In Gandhi's socialism, there are truth and *ahimsa*. People must not forswear God as was done by Karl Marx. According to Gandhi, God is a force and our lives are a vessel of the force. To deny God is to deny the force within us.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 213.

<sup>332</sup> Richards, *The Philosophy of Gandhi: A Study of His Basic Ideas*, 151.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 151

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*



Gandhi's socialism will never travel the roads by the socialism of Russia and China, but holds to non-violent means to secure social justice.<sup>335</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Unity in diversity

The Indian civilisation has one remarkable feature in its ability to absorb new ideas whilst keeping its old ideas side by side. It is a curious paradox that is comfortably accepted by the Indians. Regardless of how useless the old ideas were, one could still find traces of its existence within the Indian household.

It has both good and bad implications. The good implication is that nothing is ever really lost in the Indian civilisation. The bad implication is that old, cruel, foolish ideas are still being brandished and used in the name of traditional customs.

India's national identity has long been built on the slogan "unity in diversity."<sup>336</sup> Indians have always had a more accepting concept of the world in contrast with the West whereby things are to be battled and wrested before one's ultimate triumph. They were a nation where they view themselves as a part and things happen because they were meant to happen as it should happen.

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Shashi Tharoor. "Who is an Indian?" *SAIS Review*, 20, no.1 (2000): 103-105. (Online Cambridge Journal ) (24 April 2003)

Many believed that because of the ability to transmit information throughout the globe much faster than before. It has been prophesized that cultural distinction will blurred and converged together. Gandhi denied that believing in the plurality of the Indian civilisation will instead prevailed.<sup>337</sup>

In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi stated,

India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the nation; they merge in it. A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it. That country must have a faculty for assimilation. India has ever been such a country.<sup>338</sup>

What was Gandhi's influence in this aspect? Gandhi proposed a neat solution to these. Traditions and customs, Gandhi believed are a very important part of Indian life. However, he cautioned the Indian people not to swallow them wholesale merely because it happens to a tradition. Instead, he called upon people to sift through, to experiment of what is useful and what is not, then decide on which to keep and which to abhor.<sup>339</sup>

He is a true proponent of the Indian civilisation. He felt that the Indian civilisation has much to offer the world and believe that the rush to replace it with the modern civilisation is the highest of all folly.

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<sup>337</sup> Gandhi, *All Men are Brothers*, 156.

<sup>338</sup> Gandhi, Mohandas Kamarchand. *Hind Swaraj*, 2003,

[http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind\\_Swaraj\\_-\\_M.\\_K.\\_Gandhi](http://sources.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hind_Swaraj_-_M._K._Gandhi). (accessed 8 March 2004).

<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

Though he has offered himself as an example of a true Indian to the Indian civilisation, he has not been able to influence adequate Indians to follow his lead. Sad to say, his influence in this is only confined to those who truly understand the essence of his message.

Gandhi's personal identify of himself is very much related to how he perceived the identity of India as a whole and in turn the Indian civilisation itself.<sup>340</sup> Indeed, the ideal Indian civilisation as Gandhi perceives is incarnated in how he developed himself. For him, the Indian civilisation of his heart and soul is an India of tolerance for all beliefs, cultures and people. The reality of the Indian civilisation may be further than his cherished belief. Gandhi believed that to reform society, one must start from the roots upwards.<sup>341</sup> For Gandhi, *swaraj* (independence) is impossible when the social system within is spoilt.<sup>342</sup>

#### **4.2 Gandhi's influence in the world**

Civilisations around the world are not static. At times too, they will import certain values they feel will benefit them. The values imported are generally not seen until a long time. Gandhi's influence can be seen from the general dissemination of his ideas, his influence on prominent leaders around the world, systems changed.

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<sup>340</sup> Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, 176.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

In Gandhi's eyes, the changes that must manifest in a civilisation must change from an individual itself, then it would thoroughly be a change in society. He tried to remake society by prescribing a formula of ethical principles that he believed would go towards forming a much better and ideal society.<sup>343</sup>

Thus, individuals who have been influenced by Gandhi are numerous, and in their own quiet way have changed the structures of societies that they lived in. There will only be a few that will be discussed here.

#### 4.2.1 People influenced

Mahatma Gandhi has many disciples in his life, the most notable two are Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) and Vinoba, each that will come to symbolize the different interpretation they formulate of *satyagraha* and the societal change.<sup>344</sup>

For Vinoba, he sought to change the conditions that would lead to decentralisation. Like Gandhi, he believed that changes must start from the roots upward, namely from the individuals and then slowly spreading to the society and gradually civilisation.<sup>345</sup>

On the other hand, JP had wanted societal change at a much quicker pace by generating a mass movement of people's power. He searched for a form of

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<sup>343</sup> Mahadeva Prasad, *Social Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, 64.

<sup>344</sup> Weber, Thomas, *Gandhism, Optimism and the Gandhians*, ed. Anthony Copley and George Paxton. (Chennai: Indo-British Historical Society, 1997), 1.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

social organization that can bring social changes as quickly and as efficiently as possible.<sup>346</sup>

Today, Gandhian appeal to the Indian youths is fading in the onslaught of a developing middle class that calls for more industrial goods.<sup>347</sup> Furthermore, Gandhi's philosophy of restrained development and decentralisation undermine the power of the state especially the government, especially under Vinoba.<sup>348</sup>

For the government, it benefits them more if they just pay lip service to Gandhi as the Father of the Nation and develops the nation with values drastically different from his.

Gandhian movements after his death had never reached the extent that it began well-known to the general masses. There was optimism for the Gandhian movement in the future in India.<sup>349</sup>

However, Gandhian followers still cherished an evergreen hope that Gandhi's ideas will one day be recognized for their values. They buy into this because of the increasing use of Gandhian methods and approaches in the social movements around the world.<sup>350</sup> There is also an increasing awareness of the dangers of rapacious development of capitalism.

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

Influential people like Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Lech Walesa had claimed to have imbibed Gandhi's principles in carrying out their role against an unjust society.<sup>351</sup> This indicates Gandhi's influence is not confined in Indian civilisation, reaching far out towards other oppressed societies that have no recourse but the weapon of *satyagraha*.

His *satyagraha* experiments were tried to be understood by philosophers and political scientists like Joan Bondurant or Gene Sharp in analyzing the methods and techniques of non-violence.<sup>352</sup>

One of the earliest proponent of non-violence is Martin Luther King himself. Fascinated by Gandhi's ability to get the weaker part of society to create a social revolution, he tried out civil disobedience which in essence basically means that unjust laws in society do not need to be followed, not through violence but peaceful means.<sup>353</sup> He had credited much of his achievements to what he knew and learned from Gandhi. This was one of the earliest influence Gandhi's social ideas had on an individual that changes the status of the blacks in the United States today. Because of this, they now hold equal rights within society from all aspects.

Another individual influenced much by Gandhi was Dr. Nelson Mandela, an political activist from South Africa. Dr. Nelson Mandela himself said,

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<sup>351</sup> Sondhi, Madhuri, *Comparative Civilisations Review*, No.45, Fall 2001.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, 264.

"Gandhi holds the key to human progress."<sup>354</sup> When Dr. Mandela was freed from the political prison, he subsequently became the first black President of the now defunct Apartheid country in 1992. As a fitting tribulation to Gandhi, he had mentioned though he was influenced by others, Gandhi influenced him in terms of forgiveness that one must practiced to heal the wounds and not cause more violence.<sup>355</sup> This is how *satyagraha* changes an individual and in turn changes a nation.

Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian non-violent fighter, had learned non-violent techniques through his own studies and on several trips to India, where he had immersed himself in the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. He had also been greatly inspired by Martin Luther King, Junior and the American civil rights movement.<sup>356</sup>

Others like Ariyaratne from Sri Lanka was inspired by Vinoba Bhave, a close follower of Gandhi in his *Bhoodan-Gramdan* campaign.<sup>357</sup> He studied Gandhian philosophy and its actions in India and then returned to establish a movement that he called *Sarvodaya Shramadana* Movement.<sup>358</sup>

With this movement, it was able to implement programs in education, health care, transportation facilities, agricultural projects and a wide range of technologically appropriate energies. In one-year time, *Sarvodaya*

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<sup>354</sup> S.Narayanasamy. "Relevance of Gandhian Constructive Programmes Today.", 303.

<sup>355</sup> Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, 265.

<sup>356</sup> Catherine Ingram, *In the Footsteps of Gandhi*, (California: Parallax Press., 1990), 35.

<sup>357</sup> Ingram, *In the Footsteps of Gandhi*, 125.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

*Shramadana* Movement built three times as many roads as the government, linking for the first time many underdeveloped villages neglected under colonial rule. By 1970s, *Sarvodaya Shramadana* Movement had organized more than a hundred coordinating centers serving the needs of twenty to thirty nearby villages. It also serves as a rural awakening program of 3,500 communities.<sup>359</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Systems changed

In our modern world, disgusted by our all-consuming greed and our unhappiness despite better living conditions in certain parts of the world, we seek for an all-round development. Thus, we turn to Gandhian thought of development. He gave the world new and revolutionary concepts such as *satyagraha* (truth force), *sarvodaya* (welfare of all) and *Shanti Sena* (peace brigade).<sup>360</sup>

Gandhi's fundamental idea was that a peaceful world must be a just world and that a just world must be peaceful. To a world filled with injustice and conflicts, he therefore presented a program of dynamic non-violence in action. He showed that violence and justice were contradictions.<sup>361</sup>

Gandhi's idea of change that one must change within before one can change without. His idea of social change may be described as the ideological combination of two schools of thought, namely "pacifism" and "social

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> S.Narayanasamy. "Relevance of Gandhian Constructive Programmes Today." *Gandhi Magazine* 18, no.3 (1996): 303.

<sup>361</sup> S.Narayanasamy. "Relevance of Gandhian Constructive Programmes Today.", 304.



revolution". They converged to form "non-violent revolution."<sup>362</sup> His social revolution was two sided. He had *satyagraha* or civil resistance and the other side as *sarvodaya* which is the essence of social reform.<sup>363</sup>

The first clear indication of Gandhi's influence was in how his social ideas managed to change the way racial segregation was fought in the United States. It has set down the foundation for Martin Luther King's civil disobedience campaign.<sup>364</sup>

Gandhian repertoire that was adopted by the African-American community was an example of how a particular "culture of peace" can be spread.<sup>365</sup> Gandhi was author of this repertoire, and widely recognized as such. He even gave the repertoire a specific name, *satyagraha*, which literally means insistence on the truth by means of non-violence.

The community experimented with Gandhian repertoire in the American context during the early years of World War II. Because of this, there were existing Gandhian networks that was transferred to the next generation of civil right activists. Without this, there would not have been a social movement built on the foundation of Gandhi's repertoire.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Midatata Rani. "Sarvodaya as Development Strategy.", 211-212.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>364</sup> Sean Chabot, "A culture of peace in motion: transnational diffusion of the Gandhian repertoire from India to the U.S. civil rights movement," *International Journal of Humanities and Peace*, 16, no.1 (2000): 63. Expanded Academic ASAP, Infotrac (24 April 2003).

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

If one looks closely at the United Nations' Charter of Human Rights, one is forcibly struck by the similar values preached by Gandhi. Gandhi himself believed in the first generation, one must get the freedom of civil and political rights. Then only, one can set to right the economic, social and cultural rights.

In the third generation, one must have rights to peace, to development, to a healthy environment, to a common heritage of humankind and to humanitarian assistance.<sup>367</sup>

It was increasingly recognized worldwide that Gandhi's social ideas and his turning away from the modern civilisation were very solidly based. At the rate of which modern civilisation consumes, so we would consume ourselves out of existence. His foresight is this cannot be downplayed. If indeed Gandhi has the foresight to look at the weakness of this civilisation, one must put close to hearts his warnings that the world might end if we ourselves do not change within.

Most changes that were carried out by nations all over the world are essentially external changes. External changes do not last beyond the fact when the force to apply the change has passed, lapses into the old ways may occurred due to ingrained habits and customs. Human rights have now become the byword for international politics of judging how valid a

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<sup>367</sup> Dhurjati Murkherjee. "The Current State of Human Rights in the World: Problems and Challenges." *Gandhi Magazine* 19, no.1 (1997): 45.

government is to the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev: "no system has the right to exist unless it properly serves a human being."<sup>368</sup> If indeed this was the case, then Gandhi's social ideas that the system should serve the people must be taken to heart.

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 51