

ANTYODAYA

Gandhi Study Circle, Zakir Husain Delhi College



source: Bekir Salim



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Azadi Ka
Amrit Mahotsav

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRINCIPAL



It brings me immense joy to know that Gandhi Study Circle is bringing its second edition of the annual magazine, Antodaya. Society has been widely active throughout the academic session in encouraging and inculcating Gandhian values, teachings, and philosophies.

Mahatma Gandhi is indeed an eternal figure not just for Indians but the entire world for his lasting contributions in the field of peacebuilding and conflict resolution. I am sure, this thoughtful initiative of Gandhi Study Circle would provide an incredible platform to the students, teachers, and everyone who seeks to learn and understand Gandhi. I sincerely hope Gandhi's enduring life, philosophy, and legacy would help each one to become a more virtuous, responsible, and compassionate human being.

I extend my heartiest congratulations to the entire team of Gandhi Study Circle for this wonderful and fruitful initiative of preaching the values of the Father of Our Nation amongst the youth, the future of our nation.

I wish and look forward to many such big and small steps toward a better tomorrow.

All the Best!

Prof. Narendra Singh
Principal

CONVENER'S MESSAGE



It is with utmost delight, humility, and a heart filled with gratitude that we once again gear up to celebrate the launch of the second edition of our magazine, Antodaya 2.0 for the session 2022-23. On behalf of Gandhi Study Circle, Zakir Husain Delhi College, I extend a warm welcome to all the readers to this special issue that brings light to the contrasting and alike perspectives of the Gandhian Philosophies. The magazine staunchly upholds the views of Gandhi and his Contemporaries. The relevance of these philosophies in the present world can be better understood with more critical insight and pragmatic approach and implication.

We hope through this magazine we are able to revitalize and embolden our readers and learners to the everlasting ethics of Gandhi's - Satyagraha (truth), Ahimsa (non-violence), and Nyaya (justice) that humankind in a world besieged with intolerance, bigotry, and violence desperately require.

The launch of our magazine would not have been possible without the generous support and constant encouragement of our dear Principal, Prof. Narendra Singh. We express our sincere gratitude towards his efforts.

I would also like to acknowledge and appreciate the work of our student editorial board and the entire team of Gandhi Study Circle for their timely efforts, management, and dedication in bringing our collective vision to good life worked through the Gandhian lens.

We look forward to the comments and feedback for further opportunities at being better in the future.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Sanjeev Kumar". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Prof. Sanjeev Kumar,
Magazine Advisor & Convener, Gandhi Study Circle.

TEACHER COORDINATORS



Prof. Sanjeev Kumar
(Convener)



Prof. Uma Shankar
(Teacher Coordinator)



Dr. Aftab Alam
(Teacher Coordinator)



Dr. Shabana Azmi
(Teacher Coordinator)

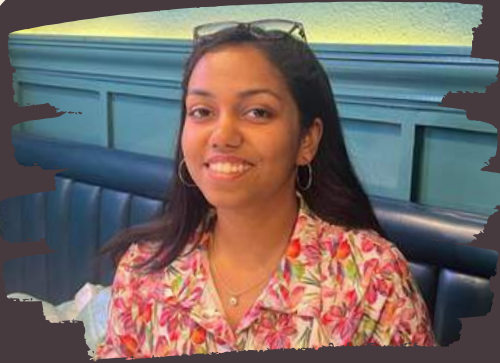


Dr. Tripta Sharma
(Teacher Coordinator)



Ms. Zeba Rayee
(Teacher Coordinator)

OFFICE BEARERS 2022-23



Amisha Das
President

Currently a final year student of BA (Hons.) Political Science, I am grateful to have been part of Gandhi Study Circle, Zakir Husain Delhi College for all three years of my undergraduate. The dynamic nature of the society, including the types of events, activities and lectures conducted, has been an extraordinary learning experience. Being able to be part of the organising teams and later leading the said teams to host such events, has been an exciting journey. I, not only gained academic experience here, but important life skills such as management, communications, and teamwork; and I am thankful to Convener, Prof. Sanjeev Kumar, and teacher coordinators- Dr. Uma Shankar, Dr. Shabana Azmi, Dr. Tripta Sharma, Dr. Aftab Alam, and Ms. Zeba Rayee, for providing me with this opportunity to grow, learn and lead.

I am thankful to my fellow office bearers- Priyanshu, Ayush, Samiksha, and Suyash, an amazing team, for always being supportive of each other and working together as a group of friends. I am also grateful for the opportunities provided by society in terms of networking and meeting people across departments, colleges, and universities.

Lastly, I congratulate the editorial board for successfully compiling another edition of Antyodaya, a project dear to all members of Gandhi Study Circle, and unique across all Gandhi Study Circles under the University of Delhi.



Priyanshu Singh
Vice-President

As I am finishing the last leg of my Undergraduate years in B.A(Hons) Political Science and recall the very first GSC activity that I contributed as a 'Core member' of the Gandhi Study Circle, I could say with this confidence that it has been a true learning experience each time in the past three years. Whether it is the seminars or the Distinguished Gandhi Lecture Series which have provided a great opportunity to interact and academically grow as a student. Or, managing events and activities through which I have been able to inculcate important qualities that of leadership, communication, and team spirit. All these wouldn't have been possible without the consistent support of the amazing team of my office bearers, who have stick together not only to celebrate the success of each event but also in times of utter panic. All these would have been impossible without having consistent guidance and motivation from all our teachers, from whom I have learned each day.

As I conclude, I would like to extend my appreciation and best wishes to our Antyodaya magazine team, who have been working day & night getting submissions and editing them. This initiative of having a magazine is something that we as members have been looking for since the previous year, this being just the second edition of it as we take baby steps in this endeavor. I would love to see this piece of creativity take new heights in the near future with consistent value addition from our new members.



Ayush Chaturvedi
General Secretary

I am Ayush Chaturvedi, a student of Political Science at Zakir Husain Delhi College. Gandhi Study Circle was the first college society/ study circle that I joined. About two years have passed, and this study circle has really helped me as a person very much to learn about Gandhi not just through books but by practice. Here, we do not work totally orienting ourselves on Gandhi but also we do study various critiques of Gandhi. Gandhi or any great person should be evaluated as a whole, otherwise, the evaluation would look like a body without a soul.

The Gandhi Study Circle helps in such evaluation. I hope that in the time I have, I get to know other things with my juniors, seniors, and professors who together constitute the Gandhi Study Circle.



Samiksha LK Chaudhry
Social Media & Outreach Head

I am Samiksha LK Chaudhary, a student of Bcom(Hons) at Zakir Husain Delhi College. I am honored to have the opportunity to work as Social Media and Outreach Head at Gandhi Study Circle. It's my pleasure to be able to manage the social media presence of GSC. I understand the importance of creating meaningful engagement and providing the right insights.

I am thankful for being part of such a talented and dedicated team. Teachers here in Gandhi Study Circle have always been very supportive and encouraging which makes the experience more admiring. I am really grateful for having the learning and growing experience in GSC and I am looking forward to learning more in this journey and excited to share it with my juniors and friends.



Suyash Pandey
Social Media & Outreach Head

I am Suyash Pandey, a student of Mathematics at Zakir Husain Delhi College. Being the Social Media and Outreach in charge of Gandhi Study Circle has taught me a lot. As Social Media is such a crucial part of our lives these days, it makes this position all the more important and I try my best to fulfill it. Outreach of any event becomes a hectic task when done alone, but with the outreach team here at GSC, we all work together and get things done smoothly!

I've had the opportunity to learn from our seniors and teachers here at the Gandhi Study Circle- from organising events to attending it. I thank GSC with all my heart for enabling me to do so and I'm excited for the journey ahead.

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

It is with great satisfaction and pride that Gandhi Study Circle, Zakir Husain Delhi College presents its second edition of its annual journal ANTYODAYA, an initiative that started in the year 2022, aimed at bringing the scholars, researchers, academicians and young students to deliberate on the life, philosophy and the legacy of the Mahatma. The title theme of this year's journal is 'Gandhi and His Contemporaries'. The magazine is a culmination of a variety of literary pieces ranging from poems to articles, a recapitulation of all the activities conducted and much more. This year's edition brings you an insight into the philosophical journey and intervention of Mahatma Gandhi and his contemporaries.

Mahatma Gandhi contributed significantly to Indian political philosophy, which demands that later generations of researchers interpret that contribution in ways that comply with the needs of the evolving intellectual milieu. This need is excellently satisfied by Gandhi and the present world, which portrays Gandhi in a critical, engaging, and contemporary manner. Much revered Gandhi as a figure is, but his actions and beliefs did not escape criticism. His ideas and methods even when he was alive were continuously brought under the scanner.

During the 1920s and 1930s Young radicals like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and Jayaprakesh Narayan fretted at the patient and peaceful methods of the Mahatma (Nanda 1997: X). Even Gokhale [Gandhi's] political mentor laughed at some of the opinions expressed in the Hind Swaraj (1909), considered as the seminal manifesto of Gandhi and told him: 'After you have stayed in India, your views will correct themselves' (cited in Nanda 1995: 10–11). M.N. Roy and Jinnah were constantly at loggerheads with Gandhi. Rabindranath Tagore too disagreed and questioned him [Gandhi] for his understanding on modernity, non-cooperation and swadeshi. Babasaheb Ambedkar vehemently opposed him on the dalit question. The Indian communists dubbed him a charismatic but calculating leader.

Young radicals criticized him for not offering enough change, while liberal lawmakers thought he was proposing too much change too rapidly. As the colonizers of India, the English harbored some animosity towards him because he collapsed one of the initial dominoes in their system of global imperialism.

Nonetheless, the perception of Gandhi that has endured emphasizes his tenacious struggle against the oppressive forces of racism and colonialism as well as his dedication to nonviolence.

While many found merit in Gandhi's philosophy, many others of Gandhi's contemporaries and close followers differed fundamentally with him on his philosophy, approach, and tactics as well as the actual outcomes. It is a fascinating topic, and every effort has been made to glean data for unbiased research. A new evaluation of Gandhi is now more likely due to the availability of new source material and new perspectives coming in light with changing context.. A study of contrasting opinions and ideologies surfaces more clear information but also provides alternatives, and more choices to stand by.

As a product of his time, Gandhi, like any person was influenced by and influenced his contemporaries and it is our vision that our magazine be able to educate future generations as well as present ones about Gandhi's ideas, raise more consciousness and queries with respect to his work and legacy, and realize how his values are relevant and inspirational in the contemporary world and not merely an aspect of history. And most importantly provide you a safe space to share your views and understandings.

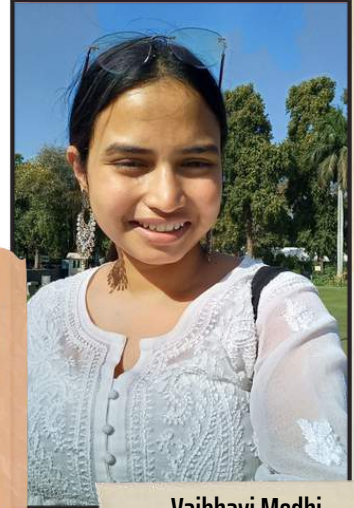
We hope you enjoy this read,

Regards,
Editorial Board 2023

EDITORIAL BOARD 2023



Bushra Parveen



Vaibhavi Medhi



Arpit Shukla



Dhanesh Bhatt



Tiskeen Laba



Gandhi: The Universal Panacea for a Catastrophic World

Author: Dr. Sangeeta Krishna

Assistant Professor –cum -Assistant Director
Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion
& Inclusive Policy(CSSEIP)
Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

Gandhi still remains alive through his principles and philosophy of Satya(truth) and ahimsa(non-violence), the powerful weapon of individual and collective transformation across the globe. Through his life and teachings, Gandhi bears testimony to the values for which the country has stood for ages and still remains alive. In his affirmation of faith with conviction in the human spirit as well as in his introduction of spiritual values and practice in everyday matters lies the uniqueness of Gandhi. Gandhi himself experimented throughout his life with the values for which the country has stood for ages. His experiments provided eternal insights that are relevant in the contemporary global scenario. The world today indeed stands on the fierce race of hatred and greed that leads to wars more dreadful than any in history. The ever-present threat of two nuclear proliferation involving the possibility of unimaginable destruction, craving for territorial expansion, and showing power supremacy through unprincipled and unscrupulous ways and means has gripped the world.

Further, there has been a gradual erosion of ethical values, youth unrest, ecological and social, and gender violence and increasing cynicism in the society. The growing concerns over these issues have been impelling towards the need for the revival of the rich Indian heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought. There is a need for inculcating environmental consciousness, moral values, interpersonal skills, and community, and society- oriented awareness in young minds through education for the proper progress of the country. Situated within this conflict, mankind has to make its choices for its survival between the moral and material forces. Gandhian philosophy on education is not merely theorizing but about doing.

The educational philosophy of Gandhi based on ethical values, and character building, is the much-felt prescription to be offered to the youth in the contemporary times. Ethical principles and character building serve as the real foundation for each and every human action. It should always be remembered that ethical values are to be inculcated and not learned. It has to be internalized. It can be imparted through personal and exemplary conduct and not preached but practiced as what Gandhi taught long back. This ethic and spirit get a better reflection in the New Education Policy 2020. For Gandhi, the end of all knowledge is the building up of character which implies the cultivation of moral values such as courage, the strength of mind, righteousness, self-restraint, and service to humanity. He believes that education will automatically develop an ability in the child to distinguish between good and bad. Gandhi wanted to develop the whole man through education. He wanted to train the hand, heart, and head of the child.

Thus, he emphasized then '3H's (head, heart, and hand) instead of three the 3 R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic). The pursuit of knowledge (Jnana), wisdom (Pragyaa), and truth (Satya) was always considered in Indian thought and philosophy as the highest human goal.

The New Education Policy envisions the rootedness and pride in Indian culture, and its rich, diverse, ancient and modern culture and knowledge systems and traditions as the guiding principle of education. Acquisition of knowledge is not for as preparation for life in this world, or life beyond schooling, but it is for the complete realization and liberation of the self. Gandhi echoes in the principle, mission and vision, the quality and spirit of the New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 which states that the aim of education in ancient India was not for acquiring knowledge only but for the complete realization and liberation of the self. Self plays an important role in the life of any individual according to the Gandhian philosophy. Through Gandhian lens realization and liberation of self-meant, self-introspection, self-evaluation and self-transformation backed by self-restraint, self-accountable and self-practice. Gandhi always said that the spirit in me pulls one way, and the flesh in me pulls in the opposite. The struggle resolves itself into the ceaseless slaying of the flesh and to freeing the soul so that it acts independently. It implies that the conflict is resolved if you listen to your inner voice or voice from within. Gandhian ideologies become much more relevant in contemporary times. It is time for us to acknowledge each other's diversities & identities and take a more ethical, peaceful, non-violent and inclusive approach to understanding each other's life struggles and demands. The only remedy lies in learning and doing Gandhi, the sagacious worker, and his astute means for peaceful coexistence in the world.



असभ्यता का दर्शन जिसके दार्शनिक व नेता थे महात्मा गांधी

लेखक : आयुष चतुर्वेदी

ज़ाकिर हुसैन दिल्ली कॉलेज
दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय

"यह सभ्यता ऐसी है कि अगर हम धीरज धरकर बैठे रहेंगे, तो सभ्यता की चपेट में आये हुए लोग खुद की जलायी हुई आग में जल मरेंगे, पैगम्बर मोहम्मद साहब की सीख के मुताबिक यह शैतानी सभ्यता है, हिन्दू-धर्म इसे निरा 'कलयुग' कहता है" यह शब्द महात्मा गांधी के हैं वह हिन्द स्वराज में तब की यूरोपीय सभ्यता के विषय में ऐसा कहते हैं।

"यह सभ्यता ऐसी है कि अगर हम धीरज धरकर बैठे रहेंगे, तो सभ्यता की चपेट में आये हुए लोग खुद की जलायी हुई आग में जल मरेंगे, पैगम्बर मोहम्मद साहब की सीख के मुताबिक यह शैतानी सभ्यता है, हिन्दू-धर्म इसे निरा 'कलयुग' कहता है." यह शब्द महात्मा गांधी के हैं वह हिन्द स्वराज सवाल यह है कि भारतीय सभ्यता के हालात क्या है? क्या वह भी अतिसभ्यों की पैरवी करते हुए दबे, कुचले, निचले पायदान के व्यक्ति को "असभ्य" बता रही है? भारत में तो वैसे भी यह होता ही आया है, एक बड़ा तबका असभ्य करार कर दिया जाता है, जबकि दूसरा कुछ लोगों का ही लेकिन ताक़तवर तबका सभ्य और एलीट बताया जाता है।

गांधी मानते हैं कि ऐसी सभ्यताएँ कुछ समझदार लोगों के भी केवल धीरज धरकर बैठे रहने से पनपती है, फलती-फूलती है क्योंकि इन सभ्यताओं का कोई आलोचक पैदा नहीं होता। "क्रिटीक" का कल्चर समाप्ति की कगार पर है अगर हम देखें तो किसी का भी सभ्य होना इस बात की तस्दीक करता है कि वह किसी-न-किसी को असभ्य मानेगा ही, सभ्यता ही असभ्यता को जन्म देती है, असभ्यता अपने दर्शन का निर्माण कर लेती है।

जो भेड़-चाल चले, देखा-देखी में कम आमदनी होते हुए भी महँगे शौक रखे, मौके मिलने पर लाखों के कपड़े पहने, दस में से नौ लोगों को कोट-पैट पहना देखकर खुद भी वही पहने, तब वह सभ्य कहलाएगा और कपड़ों, भाषा, जीवन-पद्धति में भिन्नता किसी को असभ्य बना देगी असभ्यता का दर्शन कई चीजों से संचालित होता है पूँजी न होना आपको दुनिया की नज़रों में असभ्य बना सकता है, क्योंकि कम पूँजी से आपका पहनावा आम होगा, खान-पान व रहन-सहन आम होगा और आज आम होना ही असभ्य होना है, आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक कई पहलू हैं जो इस दर्शन को संचालित करते हैं व इसके कारण बनते हैं।

यदि हम खुद से पूछें कि गांधी किसकी नुमाइंदगी करते थे तो जवाब मिलेगा कि गांधी असभ्यों की नुमाइंदगी करते थे हर वह व्यक्ति जो "सभ्य" होने की परिभाषा में फिट नहीं बैठता था, गांधी ने उसका साथ दिया, उसकी नुमाइंदगी की ऐसा करते हुए उन्होंने अपनी जाति और अपने धर्म वालों से खतरा मोल लिया इसी ने एक बड़े खतरे का रूप लेकर गांधी की जान भी ले ली।

गांधी अधीर नहीं थे अधीरपन में उनका विश्वास नहीं था समाज के लिए जो असभ्य हो, वह गांधी के लिए असभ्य नहीं होता था, क्योंकि गांधी उस प्रक्रिया से परिचित थे जो बिखराव और अलगाव पैदा करती है, जो एक को ऊँचा, दूसरे को नीचा बनाती है। "उतावली से आम नहीं पकते, दाल नहीं चुरती", गांधी ऐसा मानते हैं उतावलेपन में गांधी ने कभी कोई फैसला नहीं लिया, कोई बात नहीं कही, कोई तर्क नहीं दिया।

"तभी बोलो जब वो मौन से बेहतर हो", गांधी ऐसा कहते थे गांधी ठहरकर, गुनकर, बहुत सोचकर बोलते और लिखते थे इसकी वजह थी कि गांधी एक बड़ी लड़ाई के हिस्सा थे, यह लड़ाई केवल बड़बोलेपन से नहीं लड़ी जा सकती थी, गांधी ने डर को खत्म किया खुद के भीतर से एवं जनता के भीतर से भी। उन्होंने जेल और मृत्यु का डर खत्म कर दिया असभ्यों को बताया कि उन्हें सभ्यों से डरने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, चाहे आपकी असभ्यता जाति की वजह से हो, धर्म, प्रान्त या लिंग की वजह से अपने लेखन में उन्होंने वैश्विक, सामाजिक और व्यक्तिगत पहलुओं पर बात रखी मील इंडस्ट्री, क्लास वॉर, पंचायती राज, प्रेस से लेकर साफ-सफाई, खान-पान और सेक्स एजुकेशन पर भी गांधी ने लिखा है। अनछुए लोगों और अनछुई बातों को छूना, व उनके बारे में बताना गांधी का प्रिय शगल था।

गांधी नितांत समाजवादी थे कहते थे कि कुछ गिने-गिनाये लोगों के पास सम्पत्ति जमा हो ऐसा नहीं, बल्कि सबके पास जमा हो ऐसा मैं चाहता हूँ जब मशीनों और यंत्रों पर उनसे बात की गई यह मानते हुए कि गांधी यंत्रों के खिलाफ हैं और उन्हें बनाने वाले कारखानों की भी मुखालिफ़त करते हैं तब वे जवाब देते हैं- लेकिन मैं इतना कहने की हद तक समाजवादी तो हूँ ही कि ऐसे कारखानों का मालिक राष्ट्र हो या जनता की सरकार की ओर से ऐसे कारखाने चलाये जाएँ उनकी हस्ती नफे के लिए नहीं, बल्कि लोगों के भले के लिए हो, लोभ की जगह प्रेम को कायम करने का उसका उद्देश्य हो, मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों की हालत में कुछ सुधार हो। धन के पीछे आज जो पागल दौड़ चल रही है, वह रुकनी चाहिए रामचंद्रन पूछते हैं कि क्या आप तमाम यंत्रों के खिलाफ़ हैं तब गांधी कहते हैं कि वैसा मैं कैसे हो सकता हूँ, जब मैं यह जानता हूँ कि यह शरीर भी एक बहुत नाजुक यंत्र ही है?

गांधी कारखानों व यंत्रों से अधिक उन मालिकों के खिलाफ़ थे जिनका मालिकाना हक़ था मजदूरों का शोषण करना, मजदूरों को कम वेतन और दिहाड़ी मिलती थी, गांधी इसके विरुद्ध भी लड़े हम ध्यान रखें कि मजदूर भी असभ्य कौम कहलाई जाती है, पर गांधी उसके साथ हैं, उसके हक़-हुकूक़ के लिए लड़ रहे हैं अंग्रेजों के लिए भारतीय असभ्य, जमींदारों के लिए किसान असभ्य, मील-मालिकों के लिए मजदूर असभ्य। इन सभी असभ्यों की लड़ाई को गांधी ने अपनी लड़ाई माना गांधी ने खुद को भी असभ्य माना।

गांधी के आने से पहले काँग्रेस का आज़ादी आंदोलन चन्द सभ्यों का आंदोलन था, गांधी ने इसे असभ्यों का आंदोलन बनाया किसान, मजदूर, कामगारों, दलितों, पिछड़ों, शोषितों को इस आंदोलन से जोड़ा गांधी ने न सिर्फ़ हिंदुस्तान बल्कि दक्षिण अफ्रीका में भी यही किया जिसने उनकी क्रांति की बुनियाद रखी ट्रांसवाल में क्या हो रहा था, जेल में गांधी क्या कर रहे थे, किसके लिए लड़ रहे थे, क्या पढ़ रहे थे, यह सब आपको बताएगा कि गांधी के जीवन में असभ्यों की क्या अहमियत थी रेलगाड़ी, डॉक्टरों, वकीलों सभी की खामियों को गांधी ने बताया जबकि गांधी खुद भी एक वकील थे सम्भवतः एक असभ्य वकील, जो दलीलों से अधिक सुलह में विश्वास रखता था।

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गांधी निडर हैं, पूछते हैं अंग्रेजों से कि आप कभी खेतों में गए हैं? मैं आपसे यक्रीनन कहता हूँ कि खेतों में हमारे किसान आज भी निर्भय होकर सोते हैं, जबकि आप अंग्रेज वहाँ सोने के लिए आनाकानी करेंगे।

गांधी देहात के नेता ज़्यादा बने, शहरों के कम नगरों-विहारों से उनका बहुत लेना देना नहीं था नगर सभ्य है, सभ्य लोग वहाँ के रहवासी हैं देहात, असभ्यों का ठीहा है, तभी गांधी को देहात पसन्द है, देहात के लोग, देहात के हक़, देहात की लड़ाई, देहात की क्रांति पसन्द है. तमाम बैरिस्टरों से भरी पार्टी में गांधी ने देहात को जगह दिलाई, आम आवाज़ के ज़रिया बने।

सच्चिदानंद हीरानन्द वात्स्यायन 'अज्ञेय' अपनी कविता में लिखते हैं-

"साँप!

तुम सभ्य तो हुए नहीं

नगर में बसना

भी तुम्हें नहीं आया,

एक बात पूछूँ--(उत्तर दोगे?)

तब कैसे सीखा डँसना--

विष कहाँ पाया?" ।

अज्ञेय भी गांधी की तरह मानते हैं कि विष शहरों-नगरों से ही प्राप्त हो सकता है ज़ाहिर है कि गांधी ने जो बातें कहीं, लिखीं, मानीं, वह और लोगों ने भी आगे चलकर मानीं, या तो गांधी से सीखकर या खुद से समझकर।

गांधी मुसलमानों के साथ रहे उनकी हक़ की भी लड़ाई उन्होंने लड़ी आज़ादी के बाद दर्दनाक बंटवारे और उससे उपजे दंगों में गांधी ने मुसलमानों और हिंदुओं दोनों को बचाने की भरसक कोशिश की दंगे रोके भी, हिंसा खत्म कराई आजीवन मज़लूम के साथ गांधी खड़े रहे दलितों के हक़ में व छुआछूत के खिलाफ़ लड़ते हुए उन्होंने अंबेडकर को प्रभावित किया मुसलमानों के लिए बात करते हुए मौलाना आज़ाद व मोहम्मद अली जिन्ना जैसे नेताओं को भी हिन्दू-धर्म व सनातन दर्शन पर पढ़ते-सीखते और बात करते श्रीमद राजचन्द्र एवं अन्य आध्यात्मिक संतों को गांधी ने प्रभावित किया औरतों, गरीबों, उपेक्षितों के लिए लड़ते हुए तमाम समाजवादी व कई वामपंथी नेताओं को भी उन्होंने प्रभावित किया।

दक्षिण भारत के वॉल्टेयर कहे जाने वाले पेरियार से हमारे मतभेद हो सकते हैं, मतभिन्नता हो सकती है, लेकिन किसी भी अन्य व्यक्ति की तरह हम उन्हें नकार नहीं सकते पेरियार ने एक बड़ी अच्छी बात कही थी-

"अगर कोई बड़ा देश छोटे देश को दबाता है तो मैं छोटे देश के साथ खड़ा रहूँगा, अगर उस छोटे देश का बहुसंख्यक धर्म वहाँ के अल्पसंख्यक धर्म को दबाता है तो मैं अल्पसंख्यक धर्म के साथ खड़ा होना पसंद करूँगा, अगर उस अल्पसंख्यक धर्म की जातियाँ किसी जाति को दबाती हैं तो मैं उस जाति के साथ खड़ा रहूँगा, अगर उस जाति में कोई मालिक अपने कामगार का उत्पीड़न करता है तो मैं उस कामगार के साथ खड़ा रहूँगा, अगर वो कामगार घर जाकर अपनी पत्नी को पीटता है तो मैं उस औरत के साथ खड़ा रहूँगा।

मेरे मुख्य दुश्मन उत्पीड़न और अत्याचार है।"

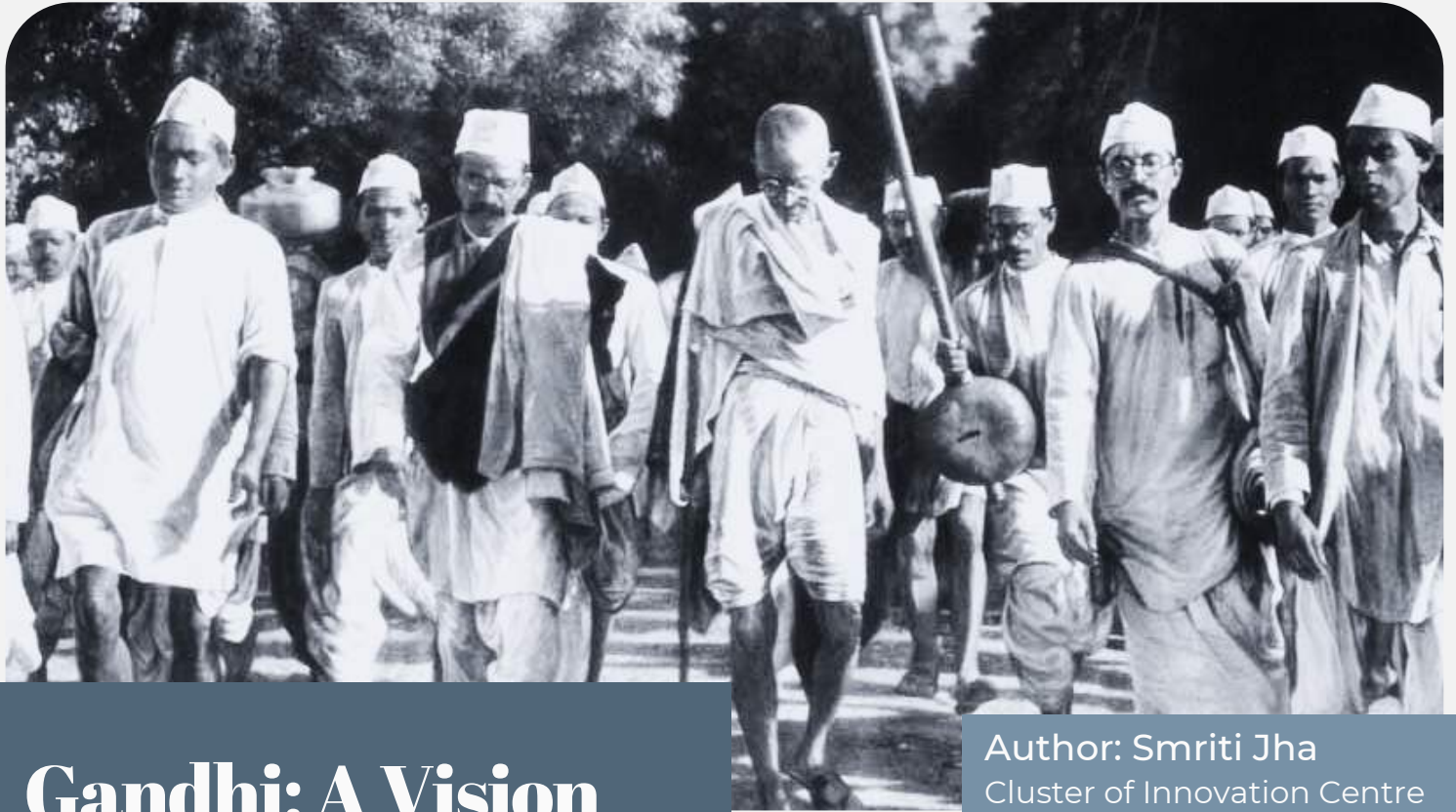
ऐसा लगता है जैसे पेरियार और गांधी यहाँ एक हो जाते हों। इसीलिए आश्चर्य नहीं होता कि गांधी की हत्या के बाद पेरियार ने देश का नाम भारत से बदलकर 'गांधी देसम' अथवा 'गांधीस्तान' रखने की बात की उन्होंने देश के तमाम नेताओं नेहरू, पटेल और राजेंद्र प्रसाद को इस बाबत पत्र भी लिखे वे यह भी चाहते थे कि हिन्दू धर्म का नाम बदलकर 'गांधी-धर्म' रख दिया जाए।

तो असभ्यों की नुमाइंदगी करने वाले महात्मा गांधी से उनसे मतभेद रखने वाले लोग भी प्रेम करते थे क्योंकि मतभेद रखने वाले लोग भी गांधी की निश्छलता से परिचित थे, वे गांधी के कर्म पर सवाल उठा सकते थे, हृदय पर नहीं वो जानते थे कि गांधी का दिल बहुत बड़ा है इतना कि उसमें उनके आलोचक भी समा जाते हैं लेकिन एक विचारधारा जिसे आलोचना का "अ" भी नहीं मालूम था, उसने गांधी की उसी हृदय को ढँकती छाती में गोली मार दी असभ्यों का नेता एक सभ्य बंदूक से मार दिया गया मरा तो उसके साथ असभ्यता भी मरने लगी क्या किसान, क्या मजदूर, समूची अवाम रोने लगी।

रिचर्ड एटनबरो द्वारा 1982 में निर्देशित फ़िल्म "गांधी" में महात्मा गांधी की शव-यात्रा के दौरान माइक से यह बोला जाता है-

"महात्मा गांधी किसी सेना के कमांडर नहीं थे, न ही किसी देश के शासक थे, न उनकी पहुँच विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में थी, न कला के क्षेत्र में ही, लेकिन तब भी आज के दिन दुनिया भर के शासक और लोकनायक इस खद्दरधारी काले आदमी को, जिसने अपने देश को आज़ादी दिलाई, श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने आये हुए हैं।"

जवाहरलाल नेहरू कहते हैं कि हमारे जीवन से प्रकाश चला गया, गांधी सबके जीवन का प्रकाश बन जाते हैं, उस एक असभ्य नेता के चले जाने से सभ्यता में अंधेरा छा जाता है, देहात, दलित, और देश की लड़ाई कुछ देर के लिए थम जाती है और हमें पता चलता है कि लड़ाईयाँ भी अपने नेता के चले जाने पर फफक कर रो देती है।



Gandhi: A Vision

Author: Smriti Jha
Cluster of Innovation Centre
University of Delhi

Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi was not merely an entity, but he is reckoned all through humanity because he differed in his approach vis a vis his contemporaries so as to serve humanity for salvation.

To reach out to Gandhi further, let me tell you that all his contemporaries like Gokhale, Tilak, Maulana Azad, Netaji, Nehru and many others, were nationalists to the core. They all cherished the freedom of the country. Everyone contributed along with their ideational constructs towards national movement. On the other hand, Gandhi merged his constructs for freedom along with the people's wishes. With this he wisely converted national movement to nothing but people's movement.

Unlike his contemporaries, he realized the notions of Rousseau's General Will to emancipate the collective whole by their own. For the first time, the freedom struggle in India became a freedom struggle by Indians. He channelized the mass action. This we can largely visualize by across-the-board participation of people in the Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movements. Unlike his contemporaries, I would call Gandhi as 'A True Democrat in Action'.

To delve deeper into Gandhi, we see that he also devised a unique way of resistance for the have-nots. This was an unusual experimentation unlike his contemporaries.

He only suggested the moral conviction of the masses to stick to the truth. Everyone doing the same, non-violently, would leave very little space even for the bigger adversaries and at last this would compel the opponents to yield. Gandhi devised the usage of non-violence and truth as a tool to win over the mighty adversaries, the Crown in this case.

Unlike the Marxian way, this too was a resistance to revolt, but it lacked the element of bloodshed and violence. This mode of resistance, although passive, yielded all the results in the form of India's independence. This is how Gandhi faced the mighty Britishers till the end.

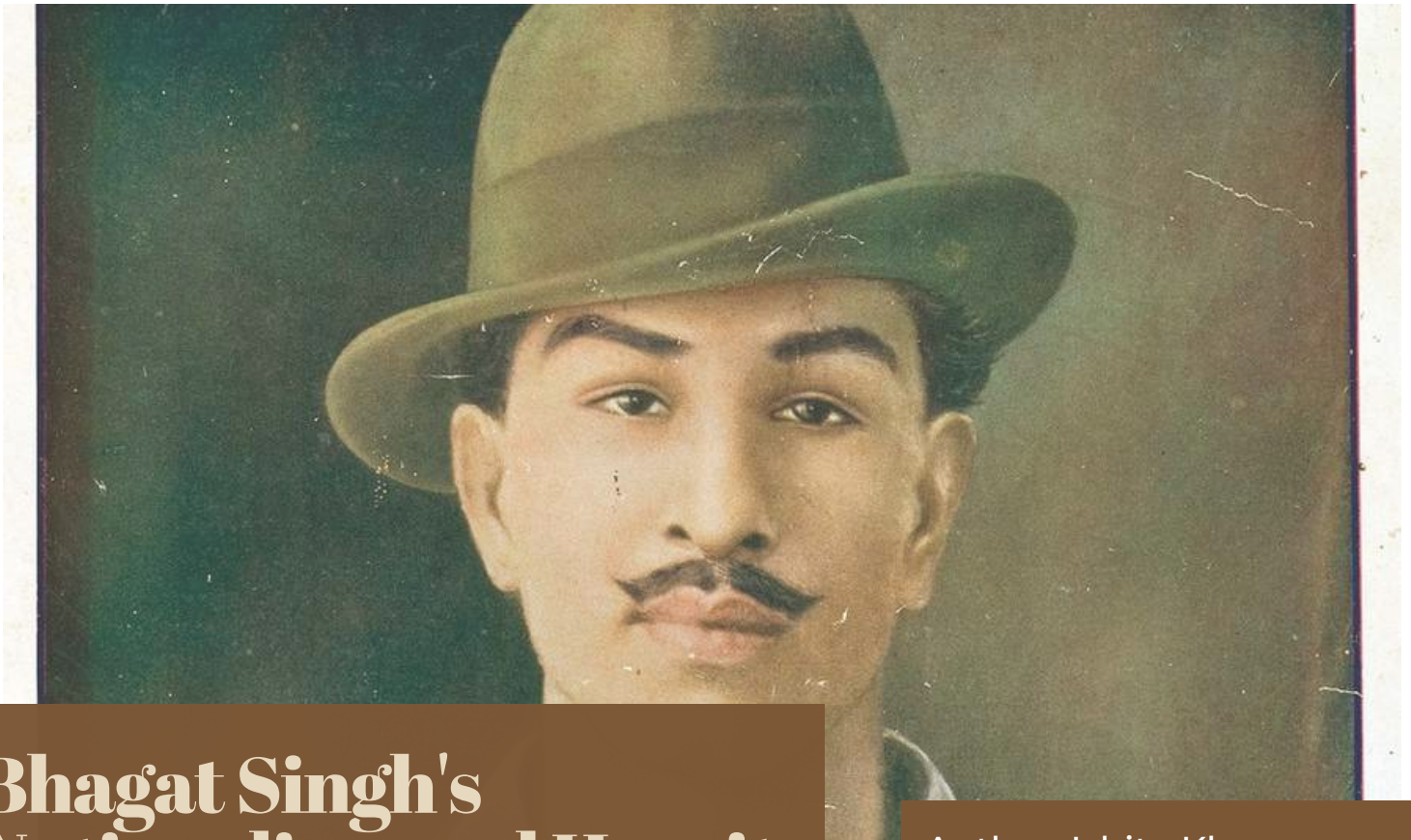
Again, this mode of resistance is well adopted within a democracy even now. Right to Resist peacefully within a functioning democracy is definitely a Gandhian trait.

Gandhi unlike his contemporaries did not only press for achieving freedom of the nation but he also had a framework to build a morally righteous, humane and inclusive society afterwards. He strived for moral correctness for every person. For him this perspective to look at life would sustain that society for long. This would create a state system with less deviant people, making it easier for the state to carry out its responsibilities.

He called for an inclusive society where everyone would be amicably represented. His Temple Entry Movement and a clarion call to believe untouchables as nothing but Son of Gods vividly exemplifies his conviction. Definitely, he was much ahead of his time in crafting an all-Inclusive India, unlike his other predecessors.

And finally, Gandhi was truly a Sanatani in his action. It is always easier to preach something than practice the same. But when you think the same, speak the same and act the same, you gain the trust of the ecosystem around. The aura of Gandhi was owing to this congruence only. In our Rishi Parampara, we revere such entities for long. Really, Gandhi was the brilliant outcome of the Sanatani tradition of this land.

Therefore, when we are to compare Gandhi with his contemporaries, it is like comparing the incomparable. Gandhi was a perfect assemblage of Sanatani Parampara, moral righteousness, a true democrat, a revolutionary and a great visionary. Normally such a confluence is very rare. That's why Albert Einstein rightly reverberated on Mahatma Gandhi by saying that "Generations to come will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."



Bhagat Singh's Nationalism and How it Differs From Gandhi's

Author: Ishita Khanna
Zakir Husain Delhi College,
University of Delhi

Bhagat Singh is perhaps the only national leader, after Gandhi, who is venerated all across India. This shall be accredited to his appeal as a martyr, which cuts across all political ideologies. However, many are still ignorant of his social program and the real principles he stood for, which is not only inaccurate but incomplete. To have a better and clear understanding of history, it is important to shed light on the type of nationalism the revolutionary icon believed in and how it was different from Gandhi's Satyagraha. Let us first dig into the life of Bhagat Singh and reflect on the events that might have contributed to his idea of nationalism. His ideas and philosophies can be divided into three major terms: Socialism, Secular atheism, and internationalism.

Launched in September 1920, the Non-Cooperation movement was a much-awaited step against the British Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre which was also highly supported by the youth. But since Gandhi canceled the movement after the Chauri Chaura incident, the youth moved towards a more radical path and thus, the Hindustan Republican Association came into existence. Bhagat Singh met the then members of HRA- BK Sinha, Shiv Verma, Jai Dev Kapoor, and Ajoy Ghosh in Kanpur and joined them. As he continues to work with the HRA, he became so driven toward the idea of socialism that he renamed the HRA to HSRA (Hindustan Socialist Republican Association). It is believed that the intellectual revolutionary came to Socialism and Marxism in search of an ideology for two major reasons.

The earlier revolutionary tendencies in Bengal and Punjab carried a strong religious element. It naturally closed the method and the movement to Muslims, Sikhs, and secular-minded revolutionaries. Second, the Bolshevik Revolution posed the biggest challenge to capitalist imperialism. Its leaders Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky were the first international politicians to call for self-determination for the colonies. The type of socialism that Bhagat Singh followed was revolutionary socialism which is quite different from the Utopian socialism that Gandhi believed in. Singh was pained by the way downtrodden people like factory workers, farmers, and laborers were treated. According to him, it didn't matter who was in rule, the lower-class workers would be exploited nonetheless i.e., exploitation is exploitation regardless of who the exploiter is. In the sight of this ideology, he said, "Political Revolution is the indispensable precondition, but the ultimate objective is a socialist revolution". He sought a nation that treated everyone equally. On the other hand, Gandhi's trusteeship principle was based on the ideology that the wealthy, landowners, and factory owners won't be snatched of their assets. Instead, they'll be taught that they are not the owners of the wealth which exceeds their need for survival and thus they will give up the extra for the betterment and upliftment of others. Gandhi was inspired by the *Apri-graha* of the *Isha Upanishad* which spread the idea of non-possession. Gandhi also wanted equality among all classes, and he believed this can be achieved by practicing self-realization and non-violence unlike revolutionary socialism which suggested violence shall be opted to serve justice if needed. Mahatma Gandhi argued that the type of nationalism favored by freedom fighters was too violent in nature and following such practice would only lead to more conflicts.

Bhagat Singh's nationalism was about a deep commitment to the poor and a struggle to overthrow exploitation. It was about reading and thinking. According to him, to serve the nation was to build organizations that would overthrow a society where people keep the rest under their thumb. Bhagat also believed in internationalism. Bhagat quotes "*vasudhaiva-kutumbakam*" which means the world is one family in his article titled '*Vishav-prem*'. Bapu wished to develop a more Indian-centric nationalism which would be far more welcoming and rooted in Indian traditions and cultures rather than being influenced by the west.

Bhagat Singh was a secular atheist. He believed in the French view of secularism that religion must be a personal affair and it shall not play any role in the working of the state. The Central Assembly in Delhi is where Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt willingly presented themselves for arrest on April 8, 1929, after detonating harmless bombs inside the Assembly to "make the deaf hear." A few days before the expected verdict of his execution was to be announced, he wrote the renowned piece "Why I am an Atheist?" while imprisoned at the beginning of October 1930. He outlined his life's profound guiding beliefs in simple terms. He stated: "...Beliefs (in God) make it easier to go through hardships, even make them pleasant. Man can find a strong support in God and an encouraging consolation in His name. If you have no belief in Him, then there is no alternative but to depend upon yourself. It is not child's play to stand firm on your feet amid storms and strong winds.

...This is exactly the situation now. First of all, we all know what the judgment will be. It is to be pronounced in a week or so. I am going to sacrifice my life for a cause. What more consolation can there be! A God-believing Hindu may expect to be reborn as a king; a Muslim or a Christian might dream of the luxuries he hopes to enjoy in paradise as a reward for his sufferings and sacrifices. What hope should I entertain? I know that will be the end when the rope is tightened around my neck and the rafters move from under my feet. To use more precise religious terminology, that will be the moment of utter annihilation. My soul will come to nothing. If I take the courage to take the matter in the light of 'reward', I see that a short life of struggle with no such magnificent end shall itself be my 'reward.' That is all..."

Hence, Bhagat Singh did not require the presumptions of God, Heaven, Hell, or even the permanence of the soul to discover and pursue his greater life purpose. In reality, he came to see that holding onto such ideas merely weakened one's will, getting in the way of logical reasoning and autonomous, selfless action. He could perceive the connection between a lack of belief in God, rationality, and selflessness. He might also draw a connection between compassion and the attitude and deed of assisting others. This is a state of enlightenment, one could even say "spiritual enlightenment," that Bhagat Singh acquired in his brief life. Internalizing this compassion and acting out of it within the timeframe of a short life was itself a reward.

On the other hand, according to Mahatma Gandhi," The religion is an integral part of politics where the truth, non-violence, humanity, morality, sacrifice, love and self-confidence were the components which have given rise to nationalism among the people, belonged to different strata of society."

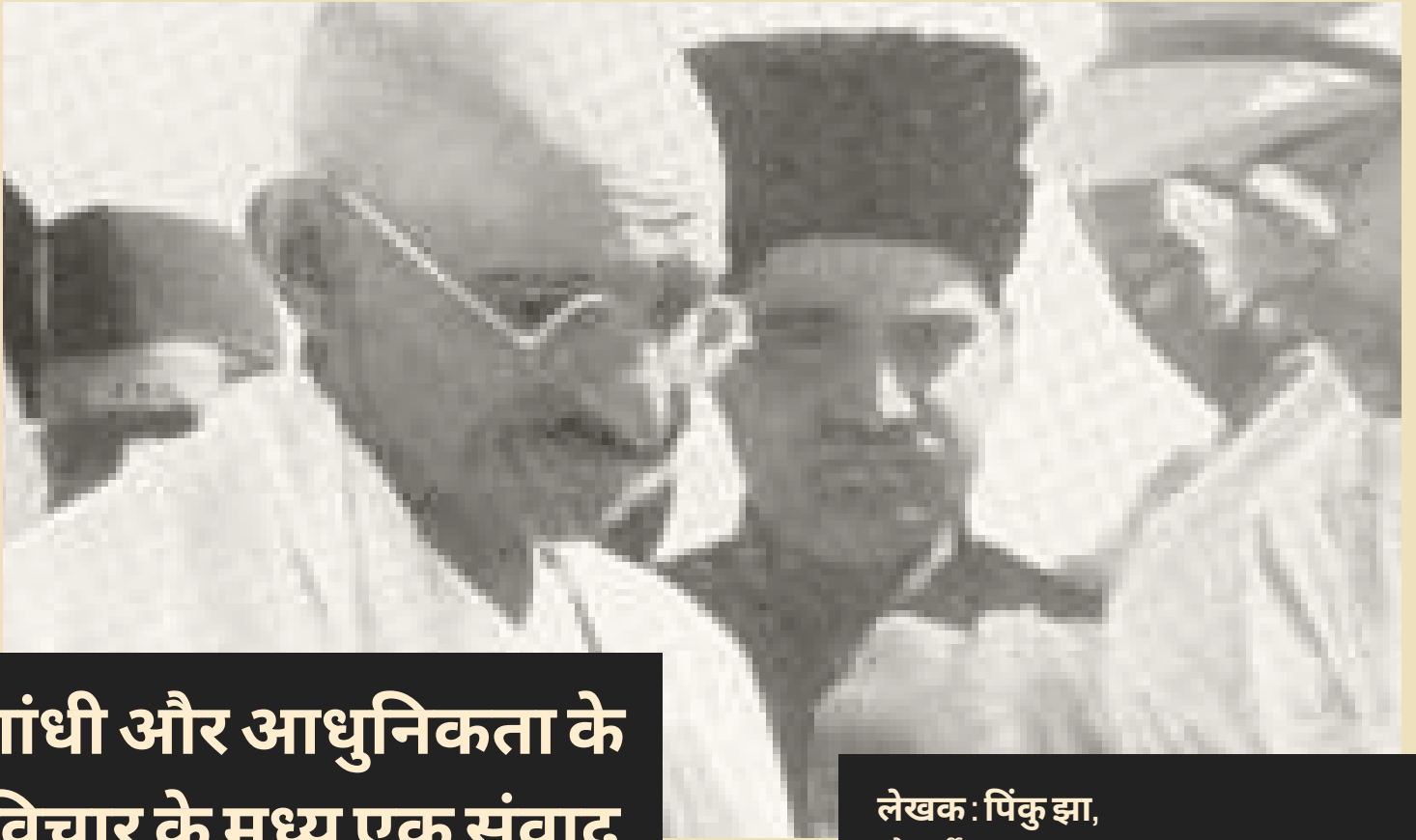
He also said that "without religion, politics is a sin." The Gandhian teachings were rich in spirituality and morality, which influenced how people viewed nationalism. A spiritual weapon built on compassion for humanity is called "Satyagraha." It does not convey animosity against rivals. Gandhi Ji was correct when he remarked that the "Satyagraha" is a philosophy for which we would be willing to live and die. Mahatma Gandhi consistently employed the "Satyagraha" elements of strike violence, social boycott, foreign-items boycott, Dharna, and civil disobedience.

Bhagat Singh found fulfillment through serving humanity and liberating it from suffering and distress. While presenting their worldview in the Court on June 6, 1929, in connection with the Assembly Bomb case, Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt explained their objective and understanding of revolution as follows:

"By 'Revolution' we mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice must change. Producers or laborer's, in spite of being the most necessary element of society, are robbed by their exploiters of their labor and deprived of their elementary rights. The peasant who grows corn for all, starves with his family; the weaver who supplies the world market with textile fabrics, has not enough to cover his own and his children's bodies; masons, smiths and carpenters who raise magnificent palaces, live like pariahs in the slums. The capitalists and exploiters, the parasites of society, squander millions on their whims."

Mahatma Gandhi introduced the concept of a classless society. He utilized this as the foundation for his idea of a "classless" society in which there would be no discrimination. He once believed that "Dalits" had the same rights to life as everyone else. India- Of My Wish, his book, Gandhi Ji created the idea of "Ram Rajya" for India, a society in which wealth and poverty, caste, colour, religion, and sex are all irrelevant. All disputes will be resolved. the state and the land there will be owned by India- Of My Wish, his book, is Gandhi Ji created the idea of "Ram Rajaya" for India, a society in which wealth and poverty, caste, colour, religion, and sex are all irrelevant. All differences will be ended. The state and the land there will be owned by the citizens.

There is a nationalism that claims to love one's country yet refuses to do anything to support it. It states that all I will do is advance my career while remotely praising others' accomplishments. That is not the nationalism of Bhagat Singh. He immediately starts working for the country himself. Another form of nationalism is that I revere my country, that it was great in the past and is still great today, and that I will not listen to criticism of it. It too is not the nationalism of Bhagat Singh. He was the first to condemn the social ills of his nation. For him, being a patriot is working to eradicate those ills rather than trying to ignore them. Another form of nationalism holds that the nation's identity is based on its religion. He also rejects this. He views all religions as belonging to the country. More importantly, the long-term struggle for independence is an effort to cease one's complete emotional reliance on religion. Bhagat Singh's nationalism is the fight for a society without rich or poor, where people think bravely and clearly, and where there is no physical or mental persecution. His nationalism focuses on creating a culture of bravery and astute reasoning.



गांधी और आधुनिकता के विचार के मध्य एक संवाद

लेखक : पंकु झा,
शोधार्थी

महाराजा सयाजीराव विश्वविद्यालय बड़ौदा

प्रस्तुत लेख के माध्यम से एक काल्पनिक चरित्र के रूप में आधुनिकता को गांधी से संवाद करते हुए दिखाया गया है। ये लेख कोई शोध नहीं, अपितु इसके मूल में रचनाकार ने संभावित दृष्टिकोणों को एक जगह दी है।

लेख का मुख्य बिंदु इस प्रश्न से उत्पन्न होता है की गांधी कौन है? व्यक्ति अथवा विचार? साथ ही एक अन्य प्रश्न है आधुनिकता को कैसे समझा जाए? क्या यह एक विचार मात्र है अथवा व्यक्ति (व्यक्तियों के समूह) के रूप में इसकी संकल्पना संभव है? इन प्रश्नों के घेरे में रचनाकार अपना कार्य प्रारंभ करता है, जहां कलम से गांधी को एक विचार और आधुनिकता को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में गढ़ता है।

गांधी एक विचार:

आधुनिकता एक विचार के रूप में तो सर्वज्ञ प्राप्त है, किंतु यदि एक मानव रूप में विश्लेषण किया जाए तो कैसा होगा? एक मानव जो पश्चिमी वस्त्रों, भाषाओं और भोज्य पदार्थों का पुजारी हो, उसका नाम पूछा जाए तो संभव है वह यही कहेगा, “मैं ‘आधुनिक’ हूँ, मुझसे मिलिए”।

तनिक अचंभा का अनुभव हुआ? होना भी चाहिए, किंतु गांधी जी की आधुनिकता कुछ अलग संवाद करती है। आधुनिकता एक मानव के रूप में गांधी के समय का आम व्यक्ति है, जिनसे गांधी का परिचय हुआ या यूँ कहे गांधी ने उसे एक नव परिचय प्रदान किया।

आधुनिकता एक व्यक्ति (काल्पनिक):

स्वराज, अहिंसा, और सहिष्णुता जैसे अनेक विचारों के समूह से एक विचार निर्मित होता है जिसे गांधी विचार कहा जाता है। एक ऐसा विचार जो किसी काल, स्थान या व्यक्ति तक सीमित नहीं है, उसका महत्व तो सर्वत्र है। वर्तमान काल में जहाँ युद्ध, अशांति और अनन्य चिंताओं की बहुतायत हो गई है, विचारों के माध्यम से ही सहजता का भान किया जा सकता है।

और वहीं विचार है, 'गांधी विचार' जो समेट कर स्वयं में अनेक विषयों को स्थान देता है श्री अरबिंद, तिलक और विनोबा भावे जैसे कई विचारकों से भारतीय ज्ञान परंपरा और आधुनिकता के भारतीय मॉडल को गांधी विचार ने एक उचित स्थान दिया।

संवाद विचार और व्यक्ति के मध्य:

गांधी एक विचार के रूप में न केवल भारतीय जन में स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के लिए ऊर्जा भर रहे थे, अपितु भारतीय जन से आधुनिकता का एक नव परिचय करवा रहे थे।

गांधी विचार से ओत प्रोत हुए आधुनिकता ने भारतीय संस्कृति के गुणों की सहायता से स्वयं का भारतीय रूप गढ़ा है। जीवन को जीने की आवश्यकता को पूर्ण करने हेतु पश्चिमी श्रोतों की पूर्ण अवहेलना एक मात्र साधन नहीं है, अपितु आवश्यक है भारतीय तरीकों को एक उचित स्थान और विकास प्रदान करना।

आधुनिकता यदि एक मानव है तो उसे एक उत्तम जीवन जीने हेतु ईर्ष्या, द्वेष और दुर्भावना से दूर वैश्विक शांति की ओर अग्रसर होने की आवश्यकता है। तदोपरान्त गांधी विचार वास्तव रूप में आधुनिकता को एक सही स्थान दे पाएगा। चूंकि, आधुनिकता को एक मानव के रूप में देखा गया है, तो मानव अपेक्षाओं से लालच, द्वेष या प्रतिद्वंद की भावना का होना स्वाभाविक है। किंतु दूसरी ओर मानव के भीतर सौहार्द, प्रेम और उपकार के भाव का होना भी स्वाभाविक है, तो गांधी विचारों के जरिए इन पहलुओं पर काम कर आधुनिकता को एक अच्छा मानव बनाया जाए। जिस तरह गांधी जी ने आधुनिकता से संवाद किया था, हमको उसी तरह आधुनिकता को समझना या यूँ कहे उससे परिचय करना चाहिए।



Gandhi's Opposition to the Idea of Separate Electorates

Author: Dhanesh Bhatt
Zakir Husain Delhi College,
University of Delhi

Separate electorate was one of the issues of contestation between M.K. Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar. Against the grant of 'communal award' for ex-untouchables, or Dalits, on 4 August 1932, Gandhi decided to fast unto death in the Yerwada Central Jail, as a result of which the Poona Pact was signed on 24 September, and the provision of reserved seats for SC/STs in state assemblies and parliament evolved. Ambedkar had, on multiple occasions, vociferously criticised Gandhi for his fast against the separate electorate. He even wrote essays — 'What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables' and 'Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables' — which contained his unreserved criticism of Gandhi.

In the early years of the 20th century, when the minority problem was swiftly gaining prominence & so was the case of separate electorates, the British implemented the system of fabricated democracy in India to strengthen their rule. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 acted as one that introduced a few reforms in the legislative councils & increased the involvement (though limited) of Indians in the governance of British India. The British government provided a separate electorate system for the Muslims, primarily motivated by its desire to keep the Indian political class fragmented.

1916 Lucknow Pact was passed with the collaboration of Congress and the Muslim League. Congress conceded to the legitimate rights of Muslims & the right of separate electorates for Muslims was recognized. In 1919 the Montague Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. The demands of the Lucknow Pact were accepted & the British in the Government of India Act 1919, extended separate electorates to Sikhs, Anglo Indians, and Christians as well.

Again, in the Round Table Conferences in 1930–32, the concept of separate electorates for the Untouchables (SC) was raised by B. R. Ambedkar as a way to ensure sufficient representation for the minority SC communities in the government. The Government of India Act 1935 also continued the separate electorates device.

At this point, we see that separate electorates, focusing on the representation of communities in legislatures, were the dominant way in which affirmative action was thought about in constitutional documents.

It is important to realize that Ambedkar's change was strategic rather than voluntary since Gandhi objected to separate electorates for the depressed classes. The reason for his objection it might seem was that he did not want the depressed classes to just the mere share of seats but to enable them to stake their claim to "the kingdom of the whole world". What was clear was that with the caste system continuing in existence no way in which the depressed classes could stake their claim to the "kingdom of the whole world". It is like the present-day opponents of reservation asking, "why should the lower caste aspire only to the reserved seats? If they ate well enough, they could get all the seats."

There was a bitter struggle between Ambedkar & Gandhi, a struggle in which Gandhi used fast unto death to pressurize Ambedkar into accepting his terms. This fast unto death must be remembered not against the British but as a component of the national struggle of the fledgling Dalit movement led by Ambedkar. Under this pressure, Ambedkar succumbed. Perhaps it was the effect of not so much moral pressure as the real threat that was Gandhi to die for the cause of Hindu unity, Dalits would be faced with serious backlash.

The importance of Ambedkar in the context of the anti-colonial movement lies precisely in that he linked the emancipation of the Dalits with the swaraj. But at the same time, he sought a measure of political autonomy for Dalits within the national movement. Through separate electorates, Ambedkar sought to ensure that Dalits would be elected by the Dalit community. Gandhi on the other hand wanted to prevent exactly this measure of autonomy. Agreeing to the reservation of a proportion of seats, Gandhi not only admitted that there were divisions among Hindus that should have a bearing on political structure but also insisted that these Dalit representatives would be elected by the entire Hindu community. This would ensure that the upper castes who dominated the Hindu community would decide on who would be the Dalit representative.

The separate electorate has its inherent potential of making any community a permanent minority. The communal electorate does tend to intensify communal feeling and the rest of the house owes no allegiance and is therefore not influenced by the desire to meet the wishes of the minority, with the result that instead of leading their people to peace, they are obliged to follow the momentary passions of the crowd. The minority is thus thrown on its resources and as no system of representation can convert a minority into a majority, it is bound to be overwhelmed. The existence of separate interests in any community is therefore just a myth. What exists is not separate interests but special concern in certain matters, the separate or special interests of any minority are better promoted by the system of general electorates and reserved seats than by separate electorates. It will be granted that injury to any interest is, in the main, caused by the existence of irresponsible extremists.

On the other hand, under a system of joint electorates and reserved seats, the minority not only gets its quota of representation but something more. For, every member of the majority who has partly succeeded on the strength of the votes of the minority, if not a member of the minority, will certainly be a member of the minority.

Dr. Shashi Tharoor in his book *An Era of Darkness* explained that as British colonialism sought to prolong its stay in India, it used every conceivable form of division in Indian society to try and destroy the prospects of unity in the anti-colonial struggle & somewhere Ambedkar was a willing tool of the British in implementing their 'divide and rule' policy. Pyarelal Nayyar has stated and we can agree that no matter how people deny it to be Gandhi's motive for a selected community conventional wisdom has it that Gandhi overcame the British imperial policy of "divide and rule" by the Yeravda fast & is part of the legend of the national movement. To sum up, there might be instances when we feel like there must be a separate electorate in the form of political freedom but it is also important to realize in a situation like that within four decades of granting such a right India suffered partition. We continue to suffer the aftermath of this. It was Gandhi's farsightedness that enabled what each of us very proudly says; unity amongst diversity.

साबरमती की कलम से



—गोल्डी मिश्रा
लेडी इरविन कालेज
दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय

मैं सूख चुकी साबरमती की कलम बोल रही हूँ,
बात मैं बापू के धुंधले पड़ रहे पदचिन्हों की कर रही हूँ॥
अब दिखता कहाँ जज़्बा सेवा में समर्पित हो जाने का,
संयम और सौम्यता का दुर्ग मानो मिट्टी में धूमिल हो गया,
व्यक्ति अपने विचारों के बिना कुछ नहीं,
अपने पथ से भटके का, ना है ठिकाना न ही मंजिल कोई,
बापू के विचार सिंहाई में सजे बस कागज़ पर ठहरे रह गए,
चरखे और वो सीख बस आश्रम के एक कोने में सिमट कर रह गए,

मैं सूख चुकी साबरमती की कलम बोल रही हूँ,
बात मैं बापू के धुंधले पड़ रहे पदचिन्हों की कर रही हूँ॥
दरिद्रता को मिटाने की छोटी सी कोशिश की,
देश से करकट मिटा एक स्वच्छ माहौल की बात छेड़ दी,
अरे आत्मनिर्भर बनो देश को सशक्त करो,
त्याग कर आधुनिकरण अपने चरखे की रीत चुनो,
हिंसा की बात ना करी सिर्फ अहिंसा की कठोर राह थी चुनी,
इतिहास के पन्नों पर स्वर्ण अक्षर से अंकित नमक संघर्ष की वो
यात्रा दांडी की थी,

मैं सूख चुकी साबरमती की कलम बोल रही हूँ,
बात मैं बापू के धुंधले पड़ रहे पदचिन्हों की कर रही हूँ॥
बात बस करो या मरो की थी,
खेड़ा और चंपारण की गूंज नए भारत की हूक थी,
पूँछ रही हैं साबरमती की कलम,
कहां खो गए बापू के वो सबक,
जो आए कोई साफ दिल से माफ़ी की सिफारिश ले कर सको तो
तुम माफ़ कर देना,
ये राजा और रंक की भावना को दिल से मिटा देना,

मैं सूख चुकी साबरमती की कलम बोल रही हूँ,
बात मैं बापू के धुंधले पड़ रहे पदचिन्हों की कर रही हूँ॥
मौन हूँ मैं और सामने मेरे इतिहास है,
आंदोलन की वो चीख और नारों की पुकार है,
स्वदेशी भावना की झलकी और नए भारत की तस्वीर है,
इन गलियों इन शहरों से विलुप्त होती महात्मा की तस्वीर है,
खादी के रिवाज़ और सादा जीवन,
अब निष्ठा है विलुप्त और गुमनाम है गांधी-सा संघर्षपूर्ण जीवन॥

मैं सूख चुकी साबरमती की कलम बोल रही हूँ,
बात मैं बापू के धुंधले पड़ रहे पदचिन्हों की कर रही हूँ॥
गांधी नामा एक सूझ है, इशतहार नहीं,
कल के सवेरे की मांग हैं, गुज़री कोई रात नहीं,
मैं भी हूँ सोच में डूबी,
साबरमती की कलम आखिर क्यों सूख गई,
उन विचारों की नींव क्यों कमज़ोर हो गई,
बहुत कुछ पूछना था इस युग से पर आखिर वो कलम मौन हो गई॥

Gandhi: The Universal Panacea for a Catastrophic World

-Dr. Sangeeta Krishna

Assistant Professor-cum-Assistant Director
Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion
& Inclusive Policy(CSSEIP)

Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

O' memorable Gandhi a call for you by the world

Lost in consumerism, hatred, corruption and greed for wealth

Intense craving for infinite desire of territorial acquisition

Recklessly destroying and killing humanity with no regret

And that engulfs the world with violence and untruth

Leaving little room for Satya aur Ahinsa.

Soulless humanity lost in unfathomed desire, need and lust

Bereft of values enmeshed in canny ways and action

Gone is the natural Self with its inner traits

Survives only the stupor Self and the big egoistic desire

On the road to annihilation of Self and the humanity

O' memorable Gandhi an organic evolution of life lies in you

You gave the world the dictum of 'My life is my message'

Ever taught to tryst with Self and listen to small voice within

And this is the ultimate salvation of & by you O' Gandhi

Let's be resolute in doing morally and spiritually Gandhi

This serves as a universal panacea for catastrophic world

स्वच्छ करो ईमान

तन पे धोती हाथ में लाठी,

ज़िंदा होता वह चक्रधारी तो पूछता ये जाति क्यों
नहीं जाती,
एक दलित, एक राजपूत, एक ब्राह्मणी एक ही
थाली में क्यों नहीं खाती,
जंग कराते, जंग भड़काते सौगंध होती देश की
माटी,
हे अल्लाह! हे राम! बोलकर एक दूसरे की गर्दन ही
काटी,
वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् की ये दुनिया किसने है बाटी,

तन पे धोती हाथ में लाठी,

धर्म के नाम पे उठा लेते तलवार और तीर कमान,
स्वच्छता के संदेश से लोग साफ कर जाते प्रमाण,
रक्त बहता सबका लाल ही फिर क्यों बहाना
समझते अपनी शान ,
हिंसा के नशे में भटक गया है आज का इंसान,
जब दंगे की आग लगती तो जलते दोनों ही मज़हब
के मकान,
आज भूखा मर रहा दूसरों का पेट भरने वाला
किसान,
आंकड़ों में सीमित हो के रहे गई है हजारों सपनों
की जान,
हे युवाओं! तुमसे है मेरा आवाहन,
वापस आओ महात्मा स्वच्छ करो देश का ईमान,
स्वच्छ करो देश का ईमान

जाने क्यों आज बच्चों में भी मारने का आक्रोश है,
संस्कार, सरकार, मीडिया कौन जाने किसका दोष
है,
खुद का घोंसला जलता देख कर भी ये सोने की
चिड़िया क्यों खामोश है,
डर के बहकावे में आके बच्चे बूढ़े जवान सब
मदहोश है,
महात्मा तेरी अहिंसा क्यों नहीं है, क्यों हर तरफ
युद्ध घोष है,
वापस आओ महात्मा स्वच्छ करो देश का ईमान,
स्वच्छ करो देश का ईमान।

-मनु गर्ग

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय

भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के आधुनिक भीष्म- गांधी।

एक अहल-ए-ज़र्फ़ से भरा हुआ इंसान,
कोई उन्हें नंगा फकीर तो कोई उन्हें बापू कहता,
कुछ लोग उनका एहतेराम करते तो कुछ उनसे नफ़रत,
लेकिन एहतेराम करने वालों की तादाद ज़्यादा है,
वो कभी चंपारण, कभी खेड़ा, तो कभी अहमदाबाद में सत्याग्रह
करते,
तो कभी दांडी में सिविल नाफ़रमानी करते,
कभी हिन्दू-मुस्लिम की एकता की बात करते,
तो कभी भगवद्गीता की बात करते,
तो कभी राम का नाम लेते,
लेकिन राम और रहीम को कभी उसने मुख्तलिफ़ नज़रों से नहीं
देखा॥

अंग्रेज़ सबसे ज़्यादा किसी से डरते थे तो वो बापू से,
और उससे भी ज़्यादा उनके विचार और उनकी लाठी से,
वो आम लोगों के बीच जाते तो उन जैसा हो जाते,
एक धोती, गमछा और एक लाठी के साथ
और उन्हें स्वराज का अर्थ समझाते,
बापू अंधेरे में एक चिराग़ जैसे थे जो
हिंदुस्तान में प्रेम, एकता और अखंडता का अमृत बांटते,
बापू धर्म में राजनीति और राजनीति में धर्म,
दोनों की मुखालिफ़त करते थे,
शायद इसीलिए धर्म के नाम पर हिंसा और बंटवारे का विरोध
करते थे,
बापू दारा शिकोह के "गंगा-जमुनी तहज़ीब" के जुमले में अटूट
विश्वास रखते थे,
परन्तु कुछ धर्म के दलाल बापू के स्वराज को नहीं समझ सके,
और कुछ नमक-हराम उनकी सिविल नाफ़रमानी और सत्याग्रह
को न समझ सके,
और शायद इसीलिए सर्वधर्म समभाव की सोच रखने वाले बापू
को उन लोगो ने मार दिया॥

बापू को मैं भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का आधुनिक भीष्म कहता
हूँ,
जिन्होंने अधर्म के विरुद्ध युद्ध किया और स्वतंत्रता संग्राम को
आम लोगों से जोड़ा,
बापू के सपनों का भारत पंडितों और मौलानाओं के शोर से दूर
है,
वह प्रेम और एकता से लबालब भरा हुआ है,
लेकिन बापू के सपनों का भारत ध्रुव तारों की तरह बहुत दूर
नज़र आ रहा है,
बापू के सपनों का भारत कैसे बनेगा,
जो धर्म, जाति, और भाषा के आधार पर टूटा हुआ न हो,

मैं कहता हूँ जिस दिन पंडितों और मौलानाओं की आवाज़ बन्द
हो जाएगी,
ये टूटा हुआ भारत भी एक हो जाएगा,
और शायद तब हम बापू के सपनों के भारत का
निर्माण कर पाएंगे॥

-आदित्य तिवारी
ज़ाकिर हुसैन दिल्ली कॉलेज
दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय

Tracing the Footsteps of Gandhi: Exploring Places in Delhi with Gandhi's Acquaintance



**Gandhi Smriti or Birla Bhavan,
New Delhi**

Gandhi Smriti is a museum and memorial dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, located in New Delhi, India. It was the residence of Mahatma Gandhi for the last 144 days of his life before his assassination on January 30, 1948.

Today, the museum showcases various aspects of Gandhi's life and teachings through photographs, paintings, sculptures, and other artefacts. The exhibits highlight his philosophy of non-violence, his role in India's independence movement, and his advocacy for social justice and human rights. The museum also features a multimedia show on the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

In addition to the museum, the complex includes the Martyr's Column, where Gandhi was assassinated, and a prayer ground that is open to all religions. Thousands of people worldwide visit Gandhi Smriti every year to find inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. Anyone interested in Indian history or Mahatma Gandhi's legacy must visit this museum.



Raj Ghat

Raj Ghat is a memorial dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, located on the banks of the Yamuna River in Delhi, India. It is a simple black marble platform that marks the spot where Mahatma Gandhi was cremated on January 31, 1948, a day after he was assassinated. The words "Hey Ram" (Oh God) that were said by Mahatma Gandhi after he was shot are inscribed on the platform.

The memorial is surrounded by a beautiful park with trees and flowers, which serves as a peaceful place for reflection and contemplation. The park also has several memorials dedicated to prominent Indian leaders, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and Indira Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings are inspirational to people around the world, and Raj Ghat is a major pilgrimage site for them. Many visitors come to pay their respects and offer flowers and prayers at the memorial. Open to the public, this site is a must-see for anyone interested in Indian history and Gandhi's legacy.



National Gandhi Museum

The National Gandhi Museum is a museum located in New Delhi, India, dedicated to the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. It is considered one of the most comprehensive museums in the world on the subject of Mahatma Gandhi.

The museum was established in 1951, shortly after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, by the Indian government to preserve and promote his legacy. The museum features a wide range of exhibits, including photographs, paintings, sculptures, and artefacts related to Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. It also has a vast collection of books, manuscripts, and other documents related to Gandhi and the Indian independence movement.

The exhibits at the museum showcase various aspects of Gandhi's life, including his philosophy of non-violence, his role in India's independence movement, and his advocacy for social justice and human rights. The museum also has a research and study centre that promotes the study and understanding of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings.

The National Gandhi Museum attracts thousands of visitors worldwide who are inspired by Gandhi's life and teachings. It is an open-air museum that is a must-visit for anyone interested in Indian history and the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi.



Gandhi Darshan

Gandhi Darshan is a museum and memorial dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, located in Rajghat, New Delhi, India. It was established in 1984 to commemorate the 125th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.

The museum features exhibits that showcase various aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. It highlights his philosophy of non-violence, his role in India's independence movement, and his advocacy for social justice and human rights. The museum also features a library that has a collection of books and manuscripts related to Gandhi's life and teachings.

In addition to the museum, Gandhi Darshan has a multi-purpose hall, an auditorium, and a conference room that are used for various cultural and educational programs related to Gandhi and his philosophy. The complex also includes a prayer ground that is open to all religions.

Gandhi Darshan holds immense importance for people from all over the world who seek inspiration from the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. It is open to the public and is considered an essential destination for anyone interested in Indian history and the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi.



What Did Swaraj Mean For Mahatma Gandhi?

BY

PROF. SANJEEV KUMAR

ZAKIR HUSAIN DELHI COLLEGE

The idea of Swaraj inspired Gandhi's thinking and action all through his life. It received a very prominent place in Gandhi's spiritual, political, social and economic ideas and has been expressed in his writings and speeches. The concept of swaraj per se was not a new discovery of Gandhi. The time when Gandhi was formulating the conception of Swaraj, there were already several meanings of the concept available in the socio-political realm of the freedom struggle. One may begin the investigation of swaraj by looking at its use in the Nationalist Movement. India had her own 'Declaration' proclaimed on 26 January 1930, which called for independence from British rule in terms similar to the American ideal of freedom was largely rooted in common heritage shared with Britain, particularly in the philosophy of John Locke who popularized the doctrine of inalienable natural political liberties. The Indian quest for swaraj, however, was ultimately understood in terms of a rather different religious and philosophical tradition.

Swaraj: The evolution of the idea

The word swaraj was introduced into the Nationalist phase by Dadabhai Naoroji, at his presidential address of Indian National Congress in 1906 where he proclaimed the goal of the Congress to attain “Self-Government” like that of United Kingdom or the Colonies. Bal Gangadhar Tilak shortly, thereafter proclaimed, 'Svarajya is my birthright and I will have it'. Tilak was not thinking in terms simply of colonial self-government but of complete independence. For the next twenty years debate was carried on as whether swaraj was to be interpreted as dominion status, or as complete independence. Finally, in 1929 Poorna Swaraj was officially set as a goal of Congress. Thus, largely, for many of the leaders, Swaraj was basically seen in terms of replacing the external authority by self-government or independence from British rule. Gandhi however, applied a deeper framework of the idea of Swaraj. Gandhi did not completely rule out the popular meaning of Swaraj, i.e., self-(native) government, but the real basis of Swaraj, was premised on (self-rule) of individual or freedom for everyone to rule over one-self (moral /spiritual freedom).

Gandhi's ideas about swaraj were articulated most cogently and most powerfully in that remarkable text called Hind Swaraj, which he wrote in 1909 in Gujarati and published in English in 1910. This short pamphlet, which is presented as a manifesto, was written by Mahatma Gandhi during his return to South Africa on the ship Kildonan Castle in 1909. Gandhi chose the form of a debate between an “editor” and a “reader” in order to present his views to the Indian public. In writing Hind Swaraj, Gandhi positioned himself at the same time against the revolutionary violence of Hindu nationalists like V.D. Savarkar and in contradistinction from the utilitarian-liberal modernists, who believed in replicating the principles of modern civilization in India.

The seminal work contains the seeds of development of some of Gandhi's important and powerful ideas of a later day. In Hind Swaraj one finds the beginning of the discussion on means and ends, nonviolence, passive resistance, social reforms, the meaning of civilization, etc. This, then, makes Hind Swaraj a very special document, which deserves to be read, thought, and re-examined. Interestingly, Gandhi himself re-examined his document in a letter written in October 1945 to Jawaharlal Nehru. Talking about his view of governmentality, he wrote:

"I fully stand by the kind of governance which I have described in Hind Swaraj. It is not just a way of speaking. My experience has confirmed the truth of what I wrote in 1909. If I were the only one left who believed in it, I would not be sorry".

Political Swaraj and Spiritual Swaraj

The grand vision underlying Hind Swaraj is the reconciliation of political swaraj with spiritual swaraj. His interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita claims that this is its real message for modern India. His Introduction to that work deserves close attention:

"The common belief is that dharma and artha are mutually antagonistic to each other. 'In worldly activities such as trade and commerce, dharma has no place. Let dharma operate in the field of dharma, and artha in that of artha' – we hear many secular people say. In my opinion, the author of the Gita has dispelled this delusion. He has drawn no line of demarcation between moksha and worldly pursuits".

In the last lines of Hind Swaraj, Gandhi made an assertion and a dedication:

"In my opinion, we have used the term 'Swaraj' without understanding its real significance. I have endeavored to explain it as I understand it, and my conscience testifies that my life henceforth is dedicated to its attainment".

Gandhiji emphasizes three main criteria of Swaraj: (1) Real Swaraj is self-rule or self-control; (2) the way to it is Satyagraha, passive resistance: that is soul-force and love-force; and (3) in order to exert this force, Swadeshi in every sense is necessary.

In these postulates, Mahatma Gandhi proposes a non-violent society as an alternative. For him true swaraj was a construction by Indians themselves of a new society and polity whose hallmarks would be nonviolence, harmony between people of different religious traditions, the abolition of Untouchability, and the development of an economy-based Swaraj on simplicity and self-sufficiency, whose symbol was the use of khadi, or hand-spun cloth. This broad-based programme of practical construction lay at the heart of his vision of swaraj.

Gandhi's hope for a free and democratic India was essentially based on the idea of self-government as resistance against all forms of authority.

That is why swaraj had nothing to do with majority rule and state control. He was particularly suspicious of the centralized state and of modernity in general. The State for Gandhi 'represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence'.

Swaraj and Self-Rule

He had said in Hind Swaraj that swaraj had to be experienced by each person. Therefore, there was no question of swaraj being obtained by some on behalf of others. Actually, in the concept of swaraj, the word swa (self) was much more important than the word raj (rule and authority). As such, swaraj was the education of the "self" against all forms of authority. Gandhi argued,

"Real swaraj will come, not by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority".

In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.' (Young India, 29-1-1925, p. 41). The greatest social value which Gandhi promoted was that the real bravery increases with the reduction of violence and enmity. In the other words, bravery increases in direct proportion to reduction of cruelty and violence. Gandhi insisted that both Constructive Programme and satyagraha are of equal importance in the fight for social change.

In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.' (Young India, 29-1-1925, p. 41). The greatest social value which Gandhi promoted was that the real bravery increases with the reduction of violence and enmity. In the other words, bravery increases in direct proportion to reduction of cruelty and violence.

Gandhi insisted that both Constructive Programme and satyagraha are of equal importance in the fight for social change. In fact, he went to the extent of saying that the day the Constructive Programme is fully implemented, there would be hardly any scope left for satyagraha. According to Gandhi, Constructive Programme is the major means for attaining swaraj.

Swaraj as a struggle against external authority and domination in every term culminates itself with the conception of self. The domain of attainment of Swaraj is located into self-i.e., it is the individual who have to quest for the Swaraj. According to him, swaraj was a state of mind to be experienced by oneself. One had to win it by one's own strength. The anatomy of the self as found in Hind Swaraj follows substantially the Gita conception of the 'two-fold' self. The tasks facing the embodied self-constitute the basic subject matter of Gandhi's political philosophy. He accepts as proven elsewhere that the embodied self is in the process of discovering its true identity as atman, and that atman is truly identical with Brahman. The analysis of the anatomy of embodied self indicates that Swaraj or Self-Discipline is absolutely necessary for any meaningful and productive political activity. But Gandhi goes one step ahead. He now claims that Swaraj is also an experience, even a self-transforming experience. True, Swaraj gives us more than a notional understanding of inner freedom. Far from encouraging utopianism or moralism, Swaraj as experience opens up new vistas for political action.

Swaraj and Duty

However, Gandhi saw self-realization of the individual not simply as a right, but as a duty grounded on the notion of Truth and nonviolence. In Swaraj based on Ahimsa people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. Hence rights of citizenship accrue only to those who serve the politics with conscience state to which they belong. And they alone can-do justice to the rights that accrue to them. Everyone possesses the right to tell lies or resort to goondaism. But the exercise of such a right is harmful both to the exerciser and society. However, Gandhi saw self-realization of the individual not simply as a right, but as a duty grounded on the notion of Truth and nonviolence. In Swaraj based on Ahimsa people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties.

There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. Hence rights of citizenship accrue only to those who serve the politics with conscience state to which they belong. And they alone can-do justice to the rights that accrue to them. Everyone possesses the right to tell lies or resort to goondaism. But the exercise of such a right is harmful both to the exerciser and society. But to him who observes truth and non-violence comes prestige, and prestige brings rights. And people who obtain rights as a result of performance of duty, exercise them only for the service of society, never for themselves.... Such Swaraj comes only from performance by individuals of their duty as citizens. In it no one thinks of his rights. They come, when they are needed, for better performance of duty.

Village Swaraj

The Gandhian Road, path or progress towards Swaraj was neither linear nor pyramidal. His concept of social progress, following the general view of Indian philosophy, was one of ever expanding unbroken concentric or oceanic circles. Gandhi was often bombarded with questions about the structure of the future Indian society but, he did not dilate upon the structure of future societies. Although he had developed the habit of answering every question, whether personal, social or political, put to him, he was diffident in talking about the future Indian society except in terms of the value system on which it would have to be based. He wrote in the Harijan of 28 July 1946:

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units. Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it."

Gandhi saw each village as a self-reliant unit. Gandhi preferred the decentralisation of small units of production as compared to the setting up of large-scale units in few places. He wanted to carry the production units to the homes of the masses, particularly in villages. Cottage and village industries help increasing employment. Commodities can be produced cheaply as there is no need for a separate establishment; very few resources are needed. There is no problem of storage.

Transport cost is negligible. Integration of cottage industries with agriculture provides work to the farmers in the off-season time. This helped in utilizing all their energies which would have otherwise have been wasted. In fact, these industries are best suited for a rural life. These industries increase the income of the villages and satisfy their basic needs. According to Gandhi this would help in the removal of poverty and unemployment from the villages and also make them self-sufficient economic units.

Concluding Remarks

Gandhi's "Swaraj" meant more than mere political independent. It meant Indian spiritual liberation through a fundamental change in each individual moral perception. For this Gandhi advocated the project of "Satyaagraha" which could enable humanity to realize the potential for nationality and goodness and also help securing amoral democratically legitimate social order.

He was well aware of the fact that swaraj was more than just a political struggle for Indian home rule. Gandhi understood swaraj as the golden rule to the empowerment of Indians. But he was well aware of the fact that this swaraj was not offered to Indian citizens, but they had to fight for it. This simply meant that political self-rule went hand in hand with individual self-realization and self-regulation. Swaraj demands mastery over mind and our passion, so freedom for an individual consists of each person establishing self-rule. If we become free, India is free. And in this thought, you have 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. Here there is no idea of sitting still. The Swaraj that I wish to picture before you and me is such that, after we have once realized it, we will endeavour to the end of our lifetime to persuade others to do likewise. But such Swaraj has to be experienced, by each one for himself.' (Parel 2006a: 12).



About GANDHI STUDY CIRCLE

Gandhi Study Circle of Zakir Husain Delhi College has a consistent history of being the most vigorous society, efficiently providing insights about the political and social life of Mahatma Gandhi to the students for enriching their knowledge to analyze Gandhian values and philosophy along with the practical approach to his beliefs. In recent years, the society has organized a variety of activities, campaigns, and events to familiarize students with Gandhian values and ethics, such as quizzes, debates, art exhibitions, and public lectures of national and international reach.

To engage with Gandhian Thought, Philosophy, and Teachings, the society organizes the Distinguished Gandhi Lecture Series, which has been delivered by some of the most renowned and distinguished Gandhian scholars, including Prof. Akeel Bilgrami, Lord Bhiku Parekh, Prof. Dennis Dalton, Prof. Vinay Lal, Prof. Ajay Skaria, Prof. Karuna Mantena, and Prof. Uday Singh Mehta, providing a platform for young Gandhian enthusiasts to listen to and interact with Gandhian experts.

In collaboration with Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti (Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India), the society co-hosts thirty weeks short-term, skill enchantment and value-added certificate course on 'Nonviolent Communication'. According to feedback received to us these classes have been important in developing positive thinking; prosocial behavior; the Gandhian principle of Non-Violent Communication; altruism, gratitude, compassion, empathy, and forgiveness.

In 2018, the society launched a novel initiative of Charkha Spinning Classes. The initiative is exceptional at the University of Delhi, where students are taught how to spin the Gandhian Charkha. The main motive of this exercise is to instill the Gandhian virtue of dignity of labor and to build the qualities of patience and faith in oneself.

During the pandemic the society organized Mind Management Classes, for students to feel relieved of their stress and anxieties with the positive thoughts and practices discussed during the sessions, to face the extraordinary situation of the world.

The society organized various events such as art competition, crossword puzzle competition, student seminar, field trips to Gandhi Smriti, and Teen Murti Bhavan, along with a lecture by Prof. Bindu Puri and the 9th DGLS session by Prof. Vinay Lal commemorating Gandhi Jayanti Utsav and Martyrs Day, in this academic year.

With such unique and broad initiatives, the society is consistently making efforts and aims to provide students with insights into Mahatma Gandhi's political and social life in order to enrich their knowledge and understanding of Gandhian values and philosophy, as well as a practical approach to his beliefs.

TIMELINE OF EVENT: 2022-23

29th Jul 2022

Felicitation Ceremony: Non-Violent Communication Course (2022) at Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti

20th Aug 2022

8th DGLS Session by Prof. Uday Singh Mehta, Eminent Prof. of Political Science, City University of New York

8th Nov 2022

Orientation Program for incoming batch

28th Sep- 3rd Oct 2022

GANDHI JAYANTI UTSAV 2022

Field Trip to Gandhi Smriti (Birla House)

Crossword Puzzle Competition on 'Early Life of Gandhi and in South Africa'

Student Seminar on 'Contemporising Gandhi'

9th DGLS Session by Prof. Vinay Lal, Eminent Prof. of History and Asian American Studies, University of California

12th Jan 2023

Talk by Prof. Ashwin Parijat Anshu, Dept. of History, Zakir Husain Delhi College on 'Comparing Swami Vivekanand's and Gandhi's Vision of India and the World'

23rd Jan 2023

Orientation Program for Non-Violent Communication Certificate Course (2023)

27th- 31st Jan 2023

MARTYR'S DAY 2023

Lecture by Prof. Bindu Puri, Prof. of Contemporary Indian Philosophy, Jawaharlal Nehru University on 'Gandhi's True Politics and the Concern for Justice: The Unilateral Duty of Owing Kinship with the 'Other''

Art Competition on 'Gandhi's Gallery: Recreating Chapters from his Life'

Field Trip to Teen Murti Bhavan

11th-12th Apr 2023

ANNUAL FEST 2023

2nd Edition of Antyodaya Launched;
Lecture by Sopan Joshi on the theme- **उपयोगी गांधी**

Essay Writing Competition on- Ethos of Non-Violence in Contemporary Times

Art Competition on- Learnings from Gandhi



STUDENT'S *Achievements*

Amisha Das, Jushya Khambiri, Dhanesh Bhatt participated in a Symposium organised by Gandhi Smirti & Darsan Samiti; moderated by Priyanshu Singh

Dhanesh Bhatt secured 3rd position and won a cash prize in Paper Presentation Competition by GSC, Miranda House



Azra Shahab and Aryan Anurag participated in Quiz Competition; Ayush Chaturvedi and Jushya Khambiri participated in Oratorical Competition by National Gandhi Museum

Vivek Suthar, Jushya Khambiri, Aman Raj, Aradhaya Yadav, Zareen Ariba and Prakriti Sinha participated in a Symposium organised by Shanti Sahyog Centre for Nonviolence and won Bronze Medals in a Quiz competition



Photo Gallery



TEACHER COORDINATORS

L TO R:

Prof. Sanjeev Kumar, Prof. Uma Shankar, Prof. Narendra Singh (Principal), Dr. Aftab Alam,
Dr. Shabana Azmi, Dr. Tripta Sharma



OFFICE BEARERS

L TO R:

(Row 1)-Prof. Sanjeev Kumar, Prof. Uma Shankar, Prof. Narendra Singh(Principal),
Dr. Aftab Alam, Dr. Shabana Azmi, Dr. Tripta Sharma

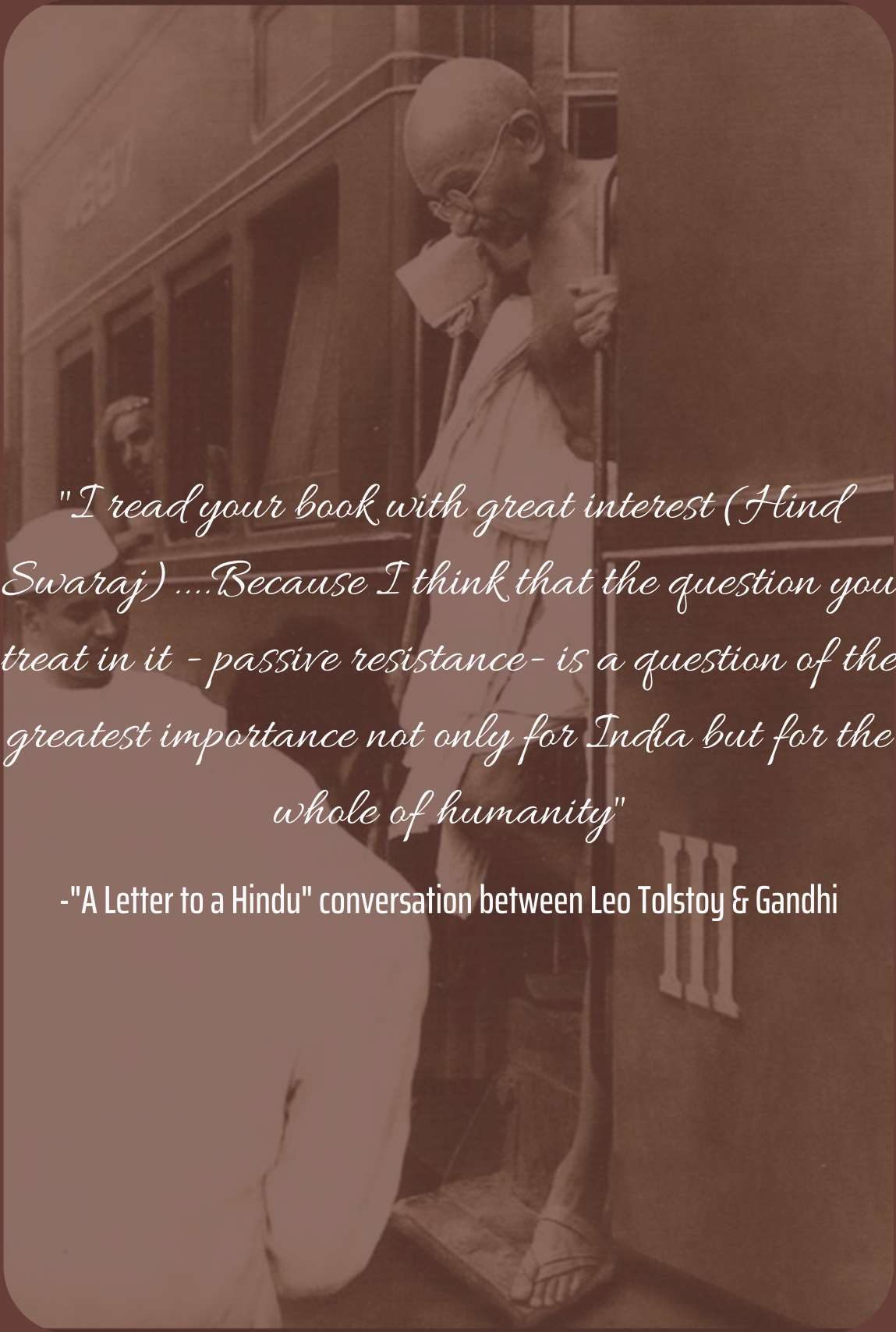
(Row 2)- Suyash Pandey, Samiksha LK Chaudhary, Amisha Das, Priyanshu Singh



EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

L TO R:

(Row 1)-Aryan Anurag, Prof. Sanjeev Kumar, Prof. Uma Shankar, Prof. Narendra Singh(Principal), Dr. Aftab Alam, Dr. Shabana Azmi, Dr. Tripta Sharma, Bharat Gautam
(Row 2)- Aman Raj, Dhanesh Bhatt, Suyash Pandey, Samiksha Chaudhary, Amisha Das, Priyanshu Singh,
(Row 3)- Radhamohan, Arpit Shukla, Tiskeen Laba, Bushra Parveen, Jushya Khambiri, Vaibhavi Medhi.



"I read your book with great interest (Hind Swaraj)Because I think that the question you treat in it - passive resistance- is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for the whole of humanity"

- "A Letter to a Hindu" conversation between Leo Tolstoy & Gandhi

For queries/submissions email us at: gsczhdcmagazine@gmail.com

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