

5. Yubaraj Ghimire, "Next Door Nepal: Blaming the neighbour?" *The Indian Express*, November 30, 2015.
6. Ibid., no.5
7. Kosh Raj Koirala, *The Diplomat*, April 28, 2016, www.thediplomat.com
8. Ibid., no.7.
9. Manish Gyawali, "Nepal and the Great Power Courtship", *The Diplomat*, January 20, 2015, www.thediplomat.com
10. Ibid., no.9.
11. "The Crisis in Nepal", *The Hindu*, May 10, 2016.
12. Ibid., no.4.
13. Ibid., no.11.
14. Ibid., no.11.
15. A 'Post-Disaster Needs Assessment' report prepared in June 2015 estimated the total economic loss at \$7 billion. At the following international donor's conference, a generous sum of \$4.4 billion was pledged by more than 30 countries and 19 multilateral agencies.
16. Ibid., no.11.
17. Ibid., no.11.

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## Gandhi's views on Swaraj

Dr. Satarupa Pal\*

*[Gandhi's theories of Swaraj have been integral part his freedom struggle since beginning of the 20th Century, both in Africa and in India. The concept of Swaraj promoted by Gandhi, was based on idea of governance by an ideal state and regulated by elementary technology and subsistence economy whose base was destroyed by colonial capitalism.]*

Gandhi appreciated the traditional peasant world, which he believed was superior to the contemporary urban, industrialized and capitalist civilization, to which humanity must return for its blissful existence. This concept focused on collectiveness of society including small villages and cottages, and in 'good conduct'.

It is noteworthy that Gandhi's approach was neither a critique of the traditional civilization nor a glorification of it. On the contrary, his writings reflect a balanced account of its past existence –an appreciation of its traditional economy and a critique of its malpractices with regard to gender and caste. Gandhi believed in restoring Indian civilization along with the ideal of humanity and peace.

### Conceptualizing Swaraj

Swaraj as an idea and a strategy gained prominence remarkably in the context of nationalist articulation of the freedom struggle and the growing democratization of the political processes that already brought in hitherto socio-politically excluded sections of society. So, swaraj was a great leveler in the sense that it helped mobilize people despite obvious socio-

economic and cultural differences. This is what lay at the success of 'swaraj' as a political strategy. Underlining its role in a highly divided society like India, Swaraj was defined in the following ways: (a) nationalist independence (b) political freedom of the individual (c) economic freedom of the individual and (d) spiritual freedom of the individual or self-rule.

Although, these four aspects are about four different characteristics of "swaraj", they are not complementary to each other. Of these, the first three are negative in character while the fourth one is positive in its connotation. 'Swaraj' as 'national independence', 'individual', 'political', and 'economic' freedom involves discontinuity of alien rule, absence of exploitation by individuals and poverty, respectively. Spiritual freedom is positive character in the sense that it is being which everyone aspires for and articulates, once first three aspects are met.

As Gandhi said: "Under Swaraj of my dream there is no necessity for arms at all. But I do not expect that dream to materialize in its fullness as a result of the present effort, first because, the effort is not directed to that end as an immediate goal, and secondly because, I do not consider myself advanced enough

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