
UNIT 11 KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Structure

- 11.1 Introduction
 - Aims and Objectives
- 11.2 Industrial Civilisation
- 11.3 Why Village Industries?
- 11.4 Swadeshi, Sarvodaya and Constructive Programme
- 11.5 Cottage Industries
- 11.6 Spinning-Wheel (Handlooms and Weaving)
 - 11.6.1 Khadi/Khaddar Economics
- 11.7 Other Village Industries
- 11.8 Summary
- 11.9 Terminal Questions
 - Suggested Readings

11.1 INTRODUCTION

‘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. The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited. Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines and tools that they can make and can afford to use. Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation of others’.

Harijan, 29-8-1936, p.226

Gandhi advocated years ago what we call today as ‘development with a human face’. It is evident from his writings and speeches that he thoroughly opposed the heavy industrialisation, which would rob the innocent villagers of their due share in the development work. He could foresee the exploitation they would be subjected to and was highly critical of establishing such system in the villages. Gandhi’s economics consists of village and cottage industries where handicrafts, spinning, weaving and likewise remain constant sources of income and revenue generation. These would ensure income to even the poorest of poor who would put in their hard work and labour to earn their living wages. To him, this constituted the real ‘Swaraj and Swadeshi’. An in-depth analysis of what Gandhi envisioned for village development and the rise of all is necessary to understand his concept of economics, which is so uniquely different from the conventional economic theories that talk of the welfare of man/individual.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- Gandhi's concept of village development;
- His intent behind promoting village and Khadi industries;
- His preference for cottage and spinning units for village development; and
- His analysis of how it would ensure economic equality.

11.2 INDUSTRIAL CIVILISATION

Gandhi attributes the demerits of mechanisation and industrialisation as the main reasons for the decline of village development. As he says, 'it is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India'. Mechanisation would not only displace the huge manual workforce but also render severe unemployment problems for the villagers. He considers that 'the mills are menace to India, and it is no use thinking of labour-saving devices'. Gandhi wanted these devices to be opted out in favour of providing work to the millions who would spend idle hours for nearly half a year, mainly in search of work.

As had already been mentioned in the preceding Unit on 'Machinery and Industrialisation', Gandhi did not favour industrialisation or the craze for mechanisation that leads to large-scale labour displacement and unemployment. He was highly against this model of development for it would contribute to deepening India's pauperism and massive idleness of the masses. These would also lead to mass production and consumption apart from capital accumulation and centralised production. Gandhi highly deplored the Western model of development. He was aware of the temptations of money and the lure of consumption that would ultimately enslave a man to materialistic life. Machinery, as he said, 'is the chief symbol of modern civilisation that represents a great sin' (Hind Swaraj, p.81) and that which is leading to the ruination and desolation of the Western world. He did not want India to emulate this model of development for it is ill-suited to the Indian needs.

As JS Mathur observes, 'Gandhi despised modern industrialisation and wanted economic regeneration of India in decentralised pattern. He felt that to change to industrialism is to court disaster. The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable. Pauperism must go. But industrialism is no remedy' (Introduction, p.xxxviii). As he viewed it, materialism has stunted moral growth which is so essential for humankind; his concept of national planning and development consisted not in the industrial development but in adopting and leading a simple life by developing the cottage industries. He despised the use of machinery which incapacitates man and that which makes him weak in using the tools and cripples the limbs of the man.

Gandhi was against taking to industrialism on a massive scale. He considered it as nothing but a control of the majority by a small minority. He warned against its entrapment by false analogies. As he said, 'to make India like England and America is to find some other races and places of the earth for exploitation. The fact is that this industrial civilisation is a disease because it is all evil. We must not suffer exploitation for the sake of steamships and telegraphs. They are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race' (Young India, 12-11-1931).

11.3 WHY VILLAGE INDUSTRIES?

Gandhi's model of industrialisation consisted of village-based industries wherein the labour is used extensively and that which has limited capital and involves local resources/ raw materials. This involves an element of non-violence and leads to non-violent economy, which includes non-exploitative, cooperative and self-supporting mechanisms. Gandhi favoured giving utmost attention to the rural industries as these would highly help in developing the rural areas without involving the ills or negative effects of a typical capitalist and urbanised system. Further, to empower the rural masses and generate income, he advocated the development of village and cottage industries as the solution.

The rationale behind the village industries and insistence on khadi is to enhance the national wealth not through industrialisation but through the small-scale industries. Gandhi insisted on khadi since it represented the Swadeshi and self-reliant strategy. The purpose is to outline village planning; development from below and within, inclusive in nature and to promote employment opportunities in villages.

True Swadeshi, as Gandhi enunciated, consists in encouraging and reviving the home industries and also 'provide an outlet for creative faculties and resourcefulness of the people' (MK Gandhi, Village Industries, p.5). He espoused it especially for those who are unemployed and willing to work hard to meet their basic requirements or add to their inadequate incomes. Further, the villages are the chief sources of supply of our daily needs. Therefore, necessary help should be extended to the supplier of our needs (Harijan, 23-11-1934).

Moreover, to help develop village industries is to engage in a constructive work. The main purpose, as Gandhi viewed it, is to bring a ray of light into the lives of the millions of idle masses so that their leisure hours are well utilised. Village industries are necessary to make the villages self-supporting, self-contained with their own manufacturing tools and techniques.

The development of village industries acts as an insurance against the onslaught of the massive industries. By preferring to take products manufactured in the village industries, Gandhi reiterated that the village industries would be saved from extinction due to foreign competition. He felt that the utmost need of the hour is to 'protect the village crafts and the workers behind them from the crushing competition of the power-driven machinery' (Harijan, 10-8-1934).

Developing village industries also involves an element of nationalism as Gandhi had believed. By opting to purchase from the village manufacturers, one tends to become village-minded. To put it in Gandhi's words, 'when we have become village-minded, we will not want imitations of the West or machine made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a new India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown' (Constructive Programme).

Village industries would also highly encourage the local skills and the use of local resources, which can be obtained for a much cheaper rate than the machine made products. Gandhi advocated developing of such a high degree skills by the villagers so that their products would have high demand in the market. This would not only hone their skills but also make their life worth living in the absence of enduring poverty and unemployment. There would be no dearth of skilled people like village poets, artists, architects and others. Gandhi sought to 'build India from the bottom, that is from the poorest and the weakest and hence followed the centrality of the villages' (JN Sharma, p.47). Gandhi thus gave a new meaning to the concept of reconstruction or regeneration of the villages.

11.4 SWADESHI, SARVODAYA AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Swadeshi, as Gandhi defined it, is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. In the economic context, it refers to the use of products produced completely in our own nation and by our own villagers. Khadi became a symbol of Swadeshi in the Gandhian economics. His first advocacy was not to give in to the temptation of using foreign mill cloth in preference for the hard work of the millions of impoverished masses. Charkha or the spinning-wheel became an eternal symbol of Swadeshi for Gandhi. As he often said, it is our desire to wear the foreign manufactured cloth that displaced charkha from its dignified status. In order to revive that dignity and also to inculcate true economic spirit that is devoid of exploitation and deceit, Gandhi took to the spinning-wheel. As he rightly observed, 'economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and sinful. Thus the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral' (Young India, 13-10-1921). The revival of hand-spinning and the extensive use of spinning-wheel to assert our self-sufficiency demonstrated Gandhi's deep interest in developing it into a full-fledged khadi industry.

Sarvodaya means the rise or upliftment of all. In the economic context, it means the economic equality of all devoid of discrimination. It also calls for the equitable distribution and this is possible only when one adopts the self-denial method or voluntarily reduces the wants. Gandhi advocated simple living and high thinking precept, for this alone can bring about the happiness that is more spiritual in nature as against the accumulative materialistic life. Also, in the economic field, 'Sarvodaya pleads for (a) the repudiation of the proprietary possession of the non-producers, (b) the establishment of proprietary possession of the producers, and (c) the neutralization or the negation of ownership' (JN Sharma, p.24). In the village development, the precept of economic sarvodaya is crucial for it is built on the local resources with the collective effort of all the villagers. The production is aimed not at commercial profit but for the consumption within the village community. Moreover, it is the responsibility of the village community to ensure a means of income to everyone. Gandhi envisaged that with decentralisation, the village industries can prosper as they are not only labour-intensive but also non-exploitative.

Constructive Programme is a blueprint of complete independence or Poorna Swaraj as Gandhi envisaged. It consists of his guidelines regarding the reconstruction of the villages and society by truthful and non-violent means. Gandhi includes the development of village industries as one of its primary features. He laid emphasis on the village economy because 'it cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing, etc'. He also talked of economic equality calling for 'abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour', and also stressing on adopting the 'trusteeship' doctrine. Gandhi clearly laid the outlines for village development via village and cottage industries and promoting handicrafts.

11.5 COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

It is important to acknowledge the role of cottage industries in the Indian economic context wherein they provide employment to millions of people. Unfortunately the encouragement given to these industries has been rather dismal; they are also afflicted by shortage in budgetary allocations. Gandhi once remarked that 'Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary

industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best' (Young India, 10-12-1919). Gandhi emphasised the development of this industry mainly to supplement the agricultural occupation. Cottage industries, while encouraging spinning and weaving, would highly contribute to the national wealth and also the economic and moral regeneration of India. Reminding that spinning was a cottage industry that had a wider reach, Gandhi sought to reintroduce this in order to provide specific means of income to all, as the 'central idea behind hand-spinning is to put money in the pockets of millions by finding an easy uniform cottage industry' (Young India, 31-7-1924). His strong belief was that the spinning-wheel would greatly contribute to reviving the national cottage industry, which, in turn, would bring about the natural and equitable distribution of wealth. This would do away with the enforced idleness of the masses and also rid India of its perennial poverty. He was bewildered at the thought of having too many industries rather than one universal industry, that is represented by spinning. At the same time, he was not dismissive of other industries that bring about some remuneration to the village labour. He opined that 'the national resources must be concentrated upon one industry of hand spinning which all can take up' (Young India, 30-9-1926). To elaborate further, 'it is not enough to say that hand-spinning is one of the industries to be revived. It is necessary to insist that it is the central industry that must engage our attention if we are to re-establish the village home'.

Small and cottage industries can also avoid the evils of industrialism. The heart of social reform is to make the world acknowledge the central place in it of everyman's work (JN Sharma, p.156). If we are to follow a decentralised pattern in the economic development, it is necessary to encourage the craftsmanship of the villagers. This pattern of development also makes it possible for the smaller communities to retain the ownership and control of the available resources, which in a way, avoids the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. This profession can be carried on by the humblest of villagers, both men and women, and cater mainly to the local markets.

Time and again, Gandhi stressed on the need to revive the cottage industries by reminding the Congress leaders and the countrymen about the efficacy of these industries. Without their revival, he warned, the village and its habitants are bound to undergo immense suffering. He cautioned that one 'must realise that it is not cities that make India, but the villages and that you cannot reconstruct them unless you revive the village life with their defunct-handicrafts. Industrialisation cannot bring life to moribund villages. The peasant in his cottage home can be revived only when he gets back his craft and depends for his necessities on the village and not on the cities as he is compelled today' (JS Mathur, *Industrial Civilization and Gandhian Economics*, p.135).

11.6 SPINNING-WHEEL (HANDLOOMS AND WEAVING)

The spinning-wheel or Charkha has become an eternal symbol of Swadeshi in the Gandhian economic vision. Gandhi was convinced of its efficacy and prominently backed its revival. 'I claim for the Charkha the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, unexpensive and businesslike manner. The Charkha, therefore, is not only not useless, but it is a useful and indispensable article for every home. It is the symbol of nation's prosperity and therefore, freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace' (Young India, 8-12-1921).

Further, Gandhi gives the following reasons as to his insistence on spinning:

1. It supplies the readiest occupation to those who have leisure and are in want of a few coppers

2. It is known to the thousands
3. It is easily learnt
4. It requires practically no outlay of capital
5. The wheel can be easily and cheaply made. Most of us do not yet know that spinning can be done even with a piece of tile and splinter
6. The people have no repugnance to it
7. It affords immediate relief in times of famine and scarcity
8. It alone can stop the drain of wealth which goes outside India in the purchase of foreign cloth.
9. It automatically distributes the millions thus saved among the deserving poor
10. Even the smallest success means so much immediate gain to the people
11. It is the most potent instrument of securing cooperation among the people.

He likened the spinning-wheel to the life-giving Sun for in it he saw the life giving occupation to the millions of unemployed. He wanted the Charkha to symbolise not only the handicrafts but also the spirit of swadeshi. He wanted that the masses should take to spinning and handlooms in order to achieve economic independence. He believed that the spinning-wheel, in this context, is a force in national regeneration. He even advocated spinning to be made a compulsory subject for it is the 'Secret of Swaraj'. He strongly pleaded for the revival of the home-spinning to attain economic independence and to banish pauperism. To put it in his words, 'I hold the spinning wheel to be as much a necessity in every household as the hearth. No other scheme that can be devised will ever solve the problem of the deepening poverty of the people' (Young India, 2-2-1921).

Spinning was also seen as a subsidiary industry by Gandhi. He remarked that 'it is intended to restore spinning to its ancient position as a universal industry auxiliary to agriculture and resorted to by the agriculturists during those months of the year when agricultural operations are suspended as a matter of course and cultivations have otherwise little to do. The spinning wheel is capable of being applied as a complete insurance against famines and droughts' (Young India, 4-8-1921). Gandhi was thoroughly convinced of the invincibility of spinning wheel, without which the poverty of India cannot be solved. He advocated spinning for all the households and making it a universal occupation so that the complications attached with machinery are fully avoided. As millions of weavers and lakhs of carders revert to this occupation, it would ensure the economic growth of India. It is interesting to note his unflinching belief in this occupation wherein he pledges that it 'defies the pranks of monsoons and acts as an insurance against many risks. It gives the country an incentive to industrial effort and renders cooperation on a national scale absolutely necessary for success' (Young India, 12-1-1922).

Most importantly, Gandhi viewed the charkha as an eternal symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity and also all-India unity. Those who believe in the unity would resort to spinning daily and nothing can possibly unify and revivify India as the acceptance by all India of the spinning wheel as a daily sacrament and the Khaddar wear as privilege and duty (Young India, 16-3-1922). Gandhi saw charkha as a uniting force between communities thus bringing them together to achieve common economic goals. Further, spinning is also advocated as a symbol of identification

with the poorest masses of India. It would rid them of the state of blank despair, painful starvation and insane life of beggary. By providing them the spinning-wheel, we would be rendering greatest service to them by restoring to them a dignified life and easy labour. Spinning, as Gandhi often viewed it, is a cooperative effort that makes us realise our formidable strengths.

11.6.1 Khadi/Khaddar Economics

What does khaddar stand for in Gandhi's scheme of economic regeneration of India? To understand the rationale behind it, it is important to note what he said with regard to it. Firstly, Khaddar stands for simplicity and not shoddiness and does not go against the machinery but its weedy growth. The wheel, in itself, is an exquisite piece of machinery. Secondly, it helps in bridging the gulf between the rich and the poor and creates a moral and spiritual bond between them. It bestows hope in the millions of helpless poor by becoming the centre of all the village industries. It offers an honourable employment, utilises the idle hours, elevates the living standards in the villages, and acts as a great organising power along the peaceful lines. Most importantly he found it as a viable occupation for the poorest, including the untouchables, who are the most helpless among the poorest. It is necessary to observe what Bharatan Kumarappa said with regard to the reasons for Gandhi's insistence on Khaddar. It is summed up in the following paragraph:

'Gandhi wanted people to shake off the inertia and a feeling of helplessness, to learn to rely on themselves. Mill production of cloth could employ only a small fraction of the people and also the employee could not be self-reliant as he was dependent on the employer for wages, raw materials and machinery. It was khadi alone which could teach our village population to depend on their own efforts to improve their lot, and thus to learn their first lesson in real independence. It was meant to put new life in to the individual and to make him resourceful and self-dependent. It contained the seeds of true swaraj or self rule or democracy in the real sense of the term. Gandhi wanted to teach the importance of the dignity of hand-labour and not to shun it or degrade it. Gandhi expected it to lay the foundations of a non-violent economic and social order which would bring peace and happiness to the mankind. This was the far-reaching and permanent objective which underlay his efforts for reviving Khadi' (Khadi, Why and How, Navajivan, Ahmedabad, 1955, pp.iii-iv).

Writing in Harijan (10-12-1938), Gandhi reiterated that 'Khadi has a big mission. Khadi provides dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year. Even apart from the remuneration the work brings, it is its own reward. For, if millions live in compulsory idleness, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically. The spinning wheel automatically raises the status of millions of poor women. Even though, therefore, mill cloth were to be given gratis to the people, their true welfare demands that they should refuse to have it in preference to Khadi, the product of their labours'. By advocating this self-sufficient and contented approach, Gandhi sought to uplift the spirit of millions of masses. His firm conviction was that by reviving the khadi and other village industries, we would not be dragged into the imperialism, wherein exploitation of the weaker races and pursuit of materialistic life reign as supreme goals, making the concept of peaceful living almost impossibility. He felt that in order to withstand the onslaught of the Western machinery, India should adopt self-supporting techniques and the spinning-wheel represented the best alternative. Gandhi's advocacy of khadi was unequivocal and successfully countered numerous criticisms against it. One such defence deserves to be quoted in full. Answering the criticism that khadi is economically not feasible, Gandhi reiterated,

'Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time,

if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of sixteen, male or female, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages in India; or till sufficient cities are built up to displace the villages so as to give the villagers the necessary comforts and amenities that a well-regulated life demands and is entitled to. I have only to state the proposition thus fully to show that khadi must hold the field for any length of time that we can think of' (Harijan, 20-6-1936).

Gandhi was aware of the limitations khadi poses. He identified the factors such as settled prejudices among the villagers, the unscrupulous competition, absence of state protection, reluctance and opposition to khadi by the experts from economics field, and the demands for a cheaper khadi among its users. The problem, he felt, lies in the lack of awareness among both the city-dwellers as well as villagers regarding its utility. At the same time, he points out to its benefits such as being the largest industry that employs largest number of people and huge sums that go into the wage distribution and lastly as the most practical economic proposition without a rival.

11.7 OTHER VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

11.7.1 Cooperative Farming

Gandhi conceived the idea of cooperative farming to banish poverty and engage the idle masses in productive occupation. As for the objectives of this programme, apart from creating employment, it would help in forging cooperation among people to work collectively for their common good and help in the development of the villages. Since most of the people are dependent on agricultural occupation, the cooperative farming would bring about common benefits to all equally. 'The land would be held in cooperation and this would cause a saving of labour, capital, tools, animals, seeds, etc in cooperation. Cooperative farming of this kind change the face of the land and banish poverty and idleness from their midst. All this was only possible if people became friends of one another and as one family' (Mathur AS and Mathur, JS, p.335).

11.7.2 Tanning Industry

Gandhi believed that tanning industry is especially important for generating income considering its worth and demand from many quarters of the world. This is especially useful for the upliftment of the untouchables who are deprived of the basic necessities. They may be taught this skill and thus help in 'taking the art, education, cleanliness, prosperity and dignity to them'. Gandhi supported the application of chemical talent that helps in improving methods of tanning. He did not favour slaughtering animals for this purpose but suggested taking the hide from the dead cattle. Lasting and cost effective footwear could be manufactured from this. It would also help in bringing the intelligentsia who teach the techniques in contact with the villagers through dissemination of knowledge.

11.7.3 Dairying

Gandhi wanted India to set the finest example in the dairying experiments, by setting up the dairying centres/*goshalas* as model units. They should not be confined to a mere two acre land but around fifty to hundred acres, where a modern dairy unit would be operating. The ideal *goshalas* would supply milk to the villages and cities and thus, 'there would be no profits and no dividends to be paid and there would be no loss incurred'. These could be eventually developed into model dairy farms and profitable national institutions (Village Industries, pp.29-30).

11.7.4 Gur and Khandsari

Sugar industry is the most viable village industry and considering its fast multiplication, Gandhi felt, there is a large scope for research and substantial help. He favoured the State's help and favourable legislation for this industry, whose profits are next only to the textile industry. Jaggery, palm jaggery could be used to produce refined sugar or may be retained as they are for nutritious value. The tadi and nira made from fresh khajuri juice also carry health benefits.

11.7.5 Miscellaneous Industries

Gandhi suggested and supported the setting up of compost manure units, organic in nature that would help in enriching the soil and increasing the yield of the grains and pulses. It would also rid the villages of unnecessary waste and filth and make them much cleaner. Hand-made paper is also a viable industrial unit that can produce handicrafts. Another option is to prevent the decline of ghani oil industry. Gandhi suggested an active role of the state to revive these units and also make the oil seeds available to the oilman at reasonable rates. Cooperative societies and panchayats could help in supervising the aid disbursement. Bee-keeping also held immense opportunities to produce quality honey and sugar that have rich medicinal value. Hand-pounding of rice can help millions of housewives and artisans to earn their income; the use of machinery may be avoided that deprives income to people.

Gandhi felt that the village exhibitions are best platforms to display the products manufactured by the villagers. They have an educative value apart from monetary value. They also help in bringing into limelight new methods and techniques that help in improving the production output. Villages can thus create their own opportunities and provide for themselves the amenities like Nai Talim, village medicine, maternity homes and health-care centres, better sanitation, art sections and animal rearing. All these go a long way in the upliftment of the masses, which is proclaimed in the economic aspect of sarvodaya.

11.8 SUMMARY

Gandhi's ideal of village development was simple and straight. He did not set the high ambitions of machine-induced development, which the large numbers of illiterate masses are unaware of. He recommended much simple alternatives like dairying and cooperative farming for the village development. He ruled out any role for machinery in the process that would render this large population to unemployment and despair. Gandhi envisioned self-sufficiency and rejected dependence on machinery and industries for livelihood opportunities. The cottage and khadi industries fit his scheme of development that would ensure in grooming the village art and skills. Unfortunately these industries have been relegated to background in the planning schemes and have been replaced by ambitious development plans as prescribed by the state and international financial organisations. Villages in India continue to suffer from gross underdevelopment and perennial neglect. National reconstruction via cottage and village industries provides a viable alternative and deserves much attention from our policy makers and functionaries.

11.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the rationale behind Gandhian scheme of village development via village industries.
2. Write a short note on the importance of cottage industries.

3. Spinning-wheel is an important instrument of economic development. Do you agree with this? Explain.
4. What do you understand by Khadi economics? Explain briefly.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bharathi, K.S., *The Philosophy of Sarvodaya*, Indus Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990.

Gandhi, M.K., *Khadi-Why and How?*, (ed by B.C.Kumarappa), Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1955.

Gandhi, M.K., *Village Industries*, (Compiled by RK Prabhu), Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

Gandhi, M.K., *The Gospel of Swadeshi*, (ed by Anand T. Hingorani), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1967.

Mathur, J.S., and Mathur, A.S., *Economic Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad, 1962.

Mathur, J.S., *Industrial Civilization and Gandhian Economics*, Pustakayan, Allahabad, 1971.

Sharma, Jai Narain., *Economic Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Sehgal Publishers Service, New Delhi, 1991.