UNIT 9 GANDHI'S CRITIQUE OF MODERN CIVILISATION

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9.1 INTRODUCTION

All of you, who have seen Gandhi, in pictures obviously, agree that in his dress and appearance he belonged to the Indian ascetic tradition. As a mass leader and iron hearted campaigner against the British imperialism, he consciously chose such an image. His philosophy too contained symbols and words which were, in look and meaning, essentially Eastern in general and Hindu in particular. He used these words and symbols as weapons not only against the British colonisers, but also against the modern civilisation they represented, and in a sense, against modernity itself. Khadi, about which we will discuss more in the course of this chapter has been one such symbol and Ram Rajya, Sanatan Dharma, Satyagraha, Swaraj are some more in the long list. In a sense most of the words and symbols Gandhi invented and used in his long political and philosophical struggle against the British and the Western materialism were symbols of Indian tradition on the one hand and a critique of modern Western civilisation on the other. These words and symbols have more than one meaning. They also present multiple messages and the most important among them was a critique of modernity. These essentially Indian words and symbols were used by Gandhi as critiques of and counter to the three important concepts of nationalism, industrialism and western education, which form the very core of modernity in India. All these suggest that Gandhi declined to accept "modern civilisation" which he designates and describes as "Western civilisation" and most of the values it stood for. He actively countered them with words, symbols, concepts, traditions, values and in all, the very philosophy which is essentially Indian.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Gandhi's ideas and perspectives on modern western and Indian civilisations.
- His perception of modern civilisation as a bane for India.
- His use of Indian symbols like Khadi to counter modern civilisation.
- His ideas of education that best suited India.

9.2 GANDHI'S IDEA OF CIVILISATION

Gandhi explains in detail his ideas and concepts of civilisation, positive and negative features of Western civilisation i.e., modern civilisation, and comparison and contrast between Indian and Western civilisations in many speeches and writings especially in *Hind Swaraj* which he wrote in Gujarati in 1909 on his return voyage from London to South Africa. It was serialised in two installments in the same year in the Gujarati edition of *Indian Opinion*, the weekly published by Gandhi in South Africa. It was issued as a booklet in Gujarati in 1910 and was banned by the British authorities on the charges of seditious content. Undaunted by this move of the imperial authorities, Gandhi later developed the ideas he expressed in *Hind Swaraj* further and enriched them by new contributions throughout his life. When we try to assess Gandhi's view on the then existing civilisation, we must take a note of these in the context of the impact of his work on his total philosophy. His views emanated mainly from his reaction to events and his attempt to give a lead to many social reforms and political movements. However, the existence of a uniformity underlying his thoughts will make our task of connecting, understanding and analysing them relatively easy. This uniformity in Gandhian thoughts arose from a moral approach and a desire to lead active and creative life not for the sake of himself but for the sake of his countrymen.

Gandhi regarded violence un-Indian, something alien to Indian civilisation and he makes his opinions amply clear in *Hind Swaraj*. In a sense, the aim of *Hind Swaraj* was to confront the anarchist and violence-prone Indian nationalism with an alternative to violence derived from Gandhi's earliest experiments with *Satyagraha.* Gandhi mentioned that *Hind Swaraj* was written in order to show that his countrymen were following a suicidal policy of violence, and that if they but revert to their own glorious civilisation, either the English would adopt the latter and become Indianised or find their occupation in India gone.

Furthermore, in *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi depicted "the dichotomy between the spiritual, moral superiority of Indian society, and the violent, politically corrupt nature of European states" even more dramatically than any of his predecessors. While condemning the `brute force' of Western power, Gandhi distances himself from the militant nationalists for their support to violence which he considered a suicidal strategy as it would provoke `an organised violence' by the ruling authority.

Hind Swaraj was a detailed commentary on Western civilisation that thrived on material power. According to Gandhi, modern Western civilisation is characterised by the many negative features like greed, aggression, colonialism, imperialism, war technology, inequity, exploitation, poverty, extravagance and luxury, bodily comforts, unbridled individualism and vulgar materialism, immorality, valueless and commercial education, alienation and so on.

These are thoroughly criticised by Gandhi. Before explaining these features in detail and their impact on social, economic, political and moral aspects of modern human life, and Gandhi's overall critique of Western civilisation scattered throughout his extensive works, it is better to know what Gandhi meant by civilisation -both Western and Indian- by quoting himself elaborately.

According to Gandhi, "Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves" (Gandhi, 1938: 53).

In the chapter titled "Civilisation" in *Hind Swaraj*, he provides an elaborate explanation about his ideas on modern (western) civilisation:

Let us first consider what state of things is described by the word "civilisation". Its true test lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life… The people of Europe today live in better-build houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilisation, and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness. Formerly, they wore skins, and used spears as their weapons. Now, they wear long trousers, and, for embellishing their bodies, they wear a variety of clothing, and, instead of spears, they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers. If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery. Formerly, in Europe, people ploughed their lands mainly by manual labour. Now, one man can plough a vast tract by means of steam engines and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilisation. Formerly, only a few men wrote valuable books. Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds. Formerly, men traveled in wagons. Now, they fly through the air, in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilisation. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airship and reach any part, of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor-car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished up food. Everything will be done by machinery. Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilisation. Formerly, men worked in the open air only as much as they liked. Now thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion. Now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. There are now diseases of which people never dreamt before, and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their cures, and so hospitals have increased. This is a test of civilisation. Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send letters; today, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. True, at the same cost, one can send one's thanks also. Formerly, people had two or three meals consisting of home-made bread and vegetables; now, they require something to eat every two hours so that they have hardly leisure for anything else…

This civilisation takes note neither of morality nor of religion… Civilisation seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so… This civilisation is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad…

This civilisation is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed. According to the teaching of Mohammed this would be considered a Satanic Civilisation. Hinduism calls it a Black Age… (ibid, pp. 31-33).

Gandhi reasoned why western writers were not critical of the civilisations they lived in:

…We rarely find people arguing against themselves. Those who are intoxicated by modern civilisation are not likely to write against it. Their care will be to find out facts and arguments in support of it, and this they do unconsciously, believing it to be true. A man whilst he is dreaming, believes in his dream. He is undeceived only when he is awakened from his sleep. A man laboring under the bane of civilisation is like a dreaming man. What we usually read are the works of defenders of modern civilisation, which undoubtedly claims among its votaries very brilliant and even some very good men. Their writings hypnotize us. And so, one by one, we are drawn into the vortex (ibid, pp.30-31).

Now, let us get an idea of his opinion on Indian civilisation. In this regard, he wrote:

I believe that the civilisation India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate; the might of the Pharaohs was broken; Japan has become Westernized; of China nothing can be said; but India is still, somehow or, other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory… In the midst of all this India remains immovable and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilized, ignorant and stolid that it is not possible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty: it is the sheet-anchor of our hope.

…We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fiber. They therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet… They saw that kings and their swords were inferior to the sword of ethics, and they, therefore, held the sovereigns of the earth to be inferior to the Rishis and the Fakirs. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from others (ibid, pp. 52-54).

While admiring the Indian civilisation, Gandhi was not unaware of the fact that India of his days was not exactly like he described it. He was quite aware of the darker side-child marriage, child widows, teenaged mothers and housewives, women practising polyandry, existence of the practice of Niyoga, where, girls dedicate themselves to prostitution in the name of religion, goats and sheep killed in the name of religion. He candidly regarded those defects as defects. He declared that nobody mistook evils of

Indian civilisation for ancient civilisation. He recognised the attempts that have always been made in the past to remove those evils and believed that such attempts would be made to remove them in future too. He said:

We may utilize the new spirit that is born in us for purging ourselves of these evils. But what I have described to you as emblems of modern civilisation are accepted as such by its votaries. The Indian civilisation, as described by me, has been so described by its votaries. In no part of the world, and under no civilisation, have all men attained perfection. The tendency of the Indian civilisation is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilisation is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behooves every lover of India to cling to the Indian civilisation even as a child clings to the mother's breast (ibid, p.55).

Gandhi declared that "India is unique. Its strength is immeasurable." He also draws our attention to the historical fact that when other civilisations succumbed, the Indian civilisation has survived many a shock.

9.3 MODERN CIVILISATION AND LOSS OF INDIA'S FREEDOM

It is quite possible that one wonders if Indian civilisation was superior to Western civilisation, then what caused the subjugation and colonisation of India by Western nations. Gandhi declares in unequivocal terms that the English did not take India, we Indians gave it to them. He said: "They (the British) are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them." Analysing the loss of India's freedom to the West, Gandhi wrote:

They (the British) came to our country originally for purposes of trade. Recall the Company Bahadur. Who made it Bahadur? They had not the slightest intention at the time of establishing a kingdom. Who assisted the Company's officers? Who was tempted at the sight of their silver? Who bought their goods? History testifies that we did all this. In order to become rich all at once we welcomed the Company's officers with open arms. We assisted them. If I am in the habit of drinking bhang and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame him or myself'? By blaming the seller shall I be able to avoid the habit? And, if a particular retailer is driven away will not another take his place?

…English merchants were able to get a footing in India because we encouraged them. When our Princes fought among themselves, they sought the assistance of Company Bahadur. That corporation was versed alike in commerce and war. It was unhampered by questions of morality. Its object was to increase its commerce and to make money. It accepted our assistance, and increased the number of its warehouses. To protect the latter it employed an army which was utilized by us also (ibid, pp. 34-35).

Gandhi opined that Indians distancing themselves from their civilisation which was essentially spiritual and, instead, moving towards the material richness on which the Western civilisation was based on was the inner and fundamental cause for India losing its freedom. He condemns the fratricidal attitude of Indian princes that gave an opportunity for the British to enhance their military presence here. He also cites the animosity between Hindus and the Muslims of India who were at daggers drawn at each other, also as a potential opportunity the East India Company got and thus the Indians created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. And Gandhi concludes that, "hence it is truer to say that we gave India to the English than that India was lost."

Gandhi was of the opinion that the Indian civilisation was unquestionably the best, but that all civilisations had been on their trial and it was Indian civilisation's turn during the British period. During this period, Gandhi rued, that because the sons of India were found wanting, its civilisation had been placed in jeopardy. Gandhi, however, sounded quite positive when he 'recognised' that the whole of India was not touched by the slavery and those alone who had been affected by modern civilisation had become enslaved.

Gandhi begins laying down his plan for freeing India by quoting the maxim "that the removal of the cause of a disease results in the removal of the disease itself." Similarly, he declares, "if the cause of India's slavery be removed, India can become free." He also makes an interesting point that "the whole of India is not touched. Those alone who have been affected by Western civilisation have become enslaved. We measure the universe by our own miserable foot-rule. When we are slaves, we think that the whole universe is enslaved. Because we are in an abject condition, we think that the whole of India is in that condition. As a matter of fact, it is not so, yet it is as well to impute our slavery to the whole of India" (ibid, p. 56). Having given this picture of India he makes the soothing remark that "if we bear in mind the above fact, we can see that if we become free, India is free" (ibid.).

Gandhi saw Indian freedom movement as "India's contribution to peace." He defined his version of nationalism in terms of Swadeshi and Swaraj. He declared that his Swaraj was to keep intact the genius of our civilisation.

9.4 MODERN CIVILISATION: BANE FOR INDIA

Gandhi blamed certain inseparable aspects of modern civilisation like railways, lawyers and doctors for the impoverishment of India. He even warned that if we did not wake up in time, we "shall be ruined." It appears to us that he unjustly attacked the very institutions which we consider to be good and essential for comfortable living in today's world. Gandhi, however, justified his argument with confidence. He begins his argument against the symbols of modern civilisation by stating that the "true inwardness of the evils of civilisation you will understand with difficulty" (ibid, p.39). He continues: "Doctors assure us that a consumptive clings to life even when he is about to die. Consumption does not produce apparent hurt it even produces a seductive color about a patient's face so as to induce the belief that all is well. Civilisation is such a disease and we have to be very wary" (ibid.)

Regarding railways he says that but for the railways, the English could not have such a hold on India as they had. He blames the railways as carriers to the length and breadth of India, of virus that caused epidemics like bubonic plague and caused untold misery to the Indian masses. He says: "the railways… have spread the bubonic plague. Without them the masses could not move from place to place. They are the carriers of plague germs. Formerly we had natural segregation" (ibid, pp. 39-40). He identifies Railways as a cause of famine by noting that these modern means of rapid transportation "have also increased the frequency of famines because, owing to facility of means of locomotion people sell out their grain and it is sent to the dearest markets. People become careless and so the pressure of famine increases." He also says that railways have robbed the holy places of their holiness as with the help of railways bad men "fulfill their evil designs with greater rapidity. The holy places of India have become unholy. Formerly, people went to these places with very great difficulty. Generally, therefore, only the real devotees visited such places. Nowadays rogues visit them in order to practice their roguery." He

concludes that "the railways can become a distributing agency for the evil one only" (ibid, p.40). Gandhi does not accept the notion that it was due to railways that the spirit of nationalism bloomed in India. He cautions us that attributing our spirit of nationalism for the railways is a mistake. He vehemently argues that we were a nation before railways were introduced, even before the British came. He says that the "English have taught us that we were not one nation before and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is without foundation. We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us" (ibid.).

Explaining his argument further he says that "I do not wish to suggest that because we were one nation we had no differences, but it is submitted that our leading men traveled throughout India either on foot or in bullock-carts. They learned one another's languages and there was no aloofness between them and questions his reader- "What do you think could have been the intention of those farseeing ancestors of ours who established Setubandha (Rameshwar) in the South, Jagannath in the East and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage?" (ibid, pp.40-41). Gandhi insists that in doing so our ancestors were not fools and he recognises the root cause behind their above mentioned actions in the following words:

They knew that worship of God could have been performed just as well at home. They taught us that those whose hearts were aglow with righteousness had the Ganges in their own homes. But they saw that India was one undivided land so made by nature. They, therefore, argued that it must be one nation. Arguing thus, they established holy places in various parts of India, and fired the people with an idea of nationality in a manner unknown in other parts of the world. And we Indians are one as no two Englishmen are. Only you and I and others who consider ourselves civilized and superior persons imagine that we are many nations. It was after the advent of railways that we began to believe in distinctions… (ibid, p.41).

9.5 KHADI AS A CRITIQUE OF MODERN CIVILISATION

As mentioned earlier, Khadi has a complex and different appellation. Gandhi sought to convey multiple messages through Khadi, arguably the focal one among them was a critique of modernity. Khadi was an apt symbol of long Indian tradition on the one hand and a critique of modern Western civilisation on the other.

Khadi is essentially Indian and traditionally Indians have not only been weavers, but also exporters of cotton fabric since time immemorial. In the more recent history, British themselves imported huge quantities of clothes from India, before they introduced machine-made textiles. At the time of arrival of the British in India, next to cultivation, weaving was the commonest economic activity in the Indian countryside. In fact, weaving has been a common metaphor, even in the spiritual discourse of many saints and philosophers of India, the most notable among them was Kabir, himself a weaver. The saga of the economic exploitation of British colonial imperialism is replete with reference to the decline of cotton weavers.

Khadi, the theme of hand-woven fabric, was brought up and invested with new meaning by Gandhi. While not exactly forsaking the spiritual content Kabir and other saints had introduced, Gandhi reinvented the mundane human endeavour, no less complex though. Innumerable songs were composed during the years of freedom struggle or afterwards on

how Gandhi would or did drive out the British with the help of his charkha. It became symbol of freedom struggle and also a means of economic regeneration of the villages and much more. Gandhi declared in unequivocal terms that his Swadeshi chiefly centred on the hand-spun Khaddar and extended to everything that could be and is produced in India. In this sense, Khadi was reversion to that glorious civilisation which India had nurtured before the Europeans arrived. Gandhi urged the fellow Indians to spin and weave Khadi on the ground that Khadi linked them with the downtrodden. He pleaded to his countrymen to spin only thirty minutes everyday as sacrifice. In Gandhi's world of charkha and Khadi, there is no room for machines that would displace human labour or concentration of power in a few hands.

During the years of his withdrawal from active politics in mid-1920s, Gandhi devoted himself to the propagation of Khadi turning it into a cult, as a strategy of nation-building from the grassroots. He suggested a Khadi franchise for the organisation and even envisaged a "yarn currency." Gandhi's almost emotional attachment to the spinning wheel should have baffled both the British and Western educated town-bred Indians. It was obvious as they were unable to grasp the incredible poverty of Indian villages.

9.6 EDUCATION AS CRITIQUE OF MODERNITY

Basic education was arguably the most important arena for the introduction of modernity in India. Designed as it was by the colonial masters, besides remaining generally detached from Indian tradition, it was also oblivious to the needs and problems of the teeming millions in the countryside. Gandhi's basic education scheme was primarily a system of rural education and handicrafts constituted the medium of instruction. Spinning and weaving was Gandhi's preference among the crafts and so his entire pedagogy and educational philosophy was intermeshed with his khadi-based approach to life.

Gandhi was critical of the Western system of education for much of what it stood for. He felt that it was wholly unsuited to India's needs, and was a bad copy of the Western model. He further said that the then education system had, by reason of the medium of instruction being a foreign language, sapped the energy of the youths who had passed through our schools and colleges and had produced an army of clerks and office-seekers. He was of strong opinion that it had dried up all originality, impoverished the vernaculars and had deprived the masses of the benefit of higher knowledge which would otherwise have percolated through the intercourse of the education classes with them. This education system created a gulf between educated India and the masses; it stimulated the brain but starved the spirit for want of a religious basis for education and emaciated the body for want of training in handicrafts. He alleged that this system criminally neglected the greatest need of agricultural training.

It is difficult to appreciate quite how radical and harsh Gandhi would have sounded to the educated Indians as he castigated their educational training and their values and told them they were traitors to their motherland by being willing victims of the education system in vogue. It is an interesting fact that, despite their opposition to British rule, most of the nationalists did not reject the British rule. At the same time most other nationalists did not reject the British system of education outright, since they viewed it as a means by which India could become a materially advanced nation. Gandhi, however, thought differently from the beginning of his political career.

Gandhi launched his experiment in education alongside Champaran Satyagraha, his earliest foray into local politics. In November 1917 the first school was opened in Barharwa and the experiment grew mature. It was fully developed in 1937, after the Wardha Conference. In June 1921, writing in *Young India,* Gandhi had outlined his views on education with a great deal of clarity:

I can see nothing wrong in the children, from the very threshold of their education, paying for it in work. The simplest handicraft, suitable for all, required for the whole of India undoubtedly spinning along with the previous processes. If we introduced this in our educational institutions, we should fulfill three purposes: make education self-supporting, train the bodies of the children as well as their minds and pave the way for a complete boycott of foreign yarn and cloth. Moreover, the children thus equipped will become self-reliant and independent.

9.7 NATION STATE AND MODERN INDUSTRIALISATION

Among the borrowings from the modern West, and willingly accepted by most of the western educated Indians, two crucial ones are the idea of nation state and modern industrialisation. Gandhi had a different concept of both. Gandhi asserted that violent nationalism, otherwise known as imperialism, was the curse; non-violent nationalism was a necessary condition for civilised life.

Against mechanistic and aggressive concept of nationalism in the West, Gandhi proposed a concept of People's Swaraj based on truth and non-violence for which Khadi was an apt symbol. Moreover, this symbol also linked the concept of Swaraj with the concern for the poor- the last man, and village, the supposed bastion of backwardness. Prior to Gandhi, the nationalist leaders had acquiesced in by and large to a western concept of nationalism. Gandhi not only critiqued that but also provided an alternative concept, more deeply rooted in the tradition and encompassing all Indians, rich and poor alike. He gave a moral perspective to the national movement for which a set of new symbols were created by him- Khadi, Ramarajya, and Satyagraha. He was designing a new framework of ideology more appropriate for the teeming millions of India, 85% of them residing in the countryside. His critique was not merely an alternative ideology. It was a plan of mass action that he visualised for the political, social and economic regeneration of India.

9.8 SUMMARY

It is not correct to conclude that Gandhi was against all the currents of modern civilisation and that he wanted to return to the past, essentially Indian. Often he made an exaggerated attack on modern civilisation for its ills. As far as the social organisation was concerned, Gandhi was a religious and social reformer. He fought against such practices as hereditary priesthood, untouchability against the low castes and the denial of entry to temples to them. He conducted many campaigns, based on social equality and scientific spirit for the cause of these social reforms. The socio-economic changes that took place in Gandhi's times and later in India and the emergence of new social classes helped the popularisation of modern ideas which Gandhi tried to spread in his times. With regard to the negation of violence and the prospects of conducting social and political movement, Gandhi was ahead of his times and was referred as the "Prophet of the Atomic Era."

Gandhi was critical of pursuit of materialism, opposed machines and centralisation of production, and favoured, on the contrary, a life of labour for everyone in the society,

concisely contained in his concept of "bread-labour." He believed in the ideal of economic self-sufficiency of the villages. He describes his idea of an ideal socio- economic order in these words: "Independence must begin at the bottom, thus every village will be a republic or Panchayat having full powers." There were occasions when Gandhi remarked on modern western civilisation being yet 'a good idea.' He was not against modern civilisation in total, but had a deep suspicion of the material progress in the West and in concept of modernity.

It would be erroneous to think that Gandhi rejected ideas from the modern West and remained uninfluenced by it altogether. It may be pertinent to note that he viewed his life as "experiments with truth," ostensibly a tribute to science, to which he was sufficiently exposed as a student. Of course, he was both selective and innovative when it came to borrowing from the West. He was aware that there were elements in modern civilisation, like democratic political philosophy, that could be useful to India. In the preface to the English edition of *Hind Swaraj*, he even urged his countrymen to adopt such positive aspects of modern civilisation to drive out the English.

9.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Critically evaluate Gandhi's arguments against modern civilisation.
2. Elucidate Gandhi's use of Indian symbols to counter modern civilisation.
3. Do you agree with Gandhi's description of modern civilisation as a bane for India and also a cause for the loss of Indian freedom?
4. Examine Gandhi's perception on western concepts of nation state and modern Industrialisation.

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