

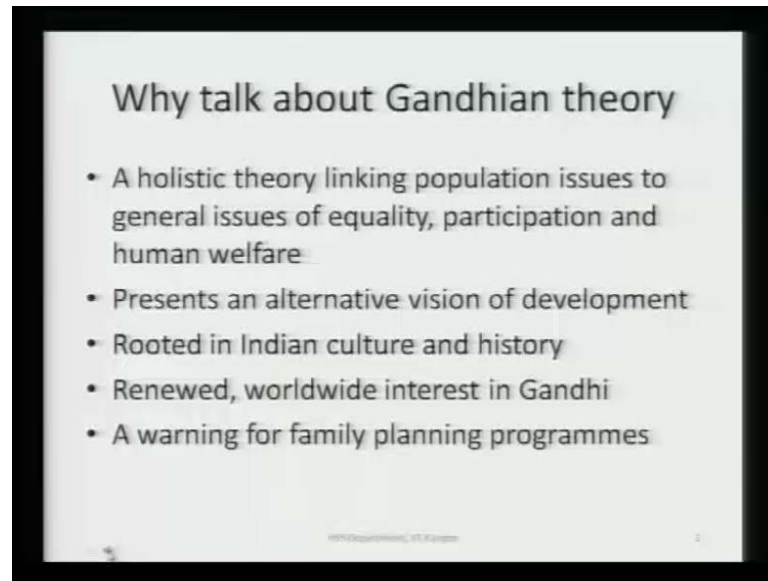
Population and Society
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Lecture No. # 28
Gandhian Theory of Population

Well friends, today we have an interesting topic Gandhian theory of population. We have discussed Malthusian theory of population and Marxist theory of population; in past thing I also mentioned about heretrian, allege. And I said that ultimately the policy decisions by states have largely being governed by practical considerations. There are some tends to combine Marxist and Malthusian theories of population deli made one such attempt; this is all in the western context. Now, I was thinking whether there is anything in the Indian context of by any Indian thought leader or Indian theoretician, Indian writer, on the issue of population from which we can learn something about our own condition and our own ways of handling our population problems.

Now, the advantage of doing that is that we not only have some prescription or some strategies policies for handling population issues, but somebody who theorizes in our context goes beyond theorization of population, and says many more important things about economy, religion and polity and I found that there is something in Gandhi. In text books, you will not find anything like gandhian theory of population, not in text books on population. It just happen that sometimes back, I developed interest in gandhian theory. And because of my background in population studies, I selectively started reading material on population. I remember I gave first lecture on gandhian theory of population, some fifteen years back in IPS Mumbai and I have also published one or two papers on that. So, today I am going to discuss this population theory of Gandhi.

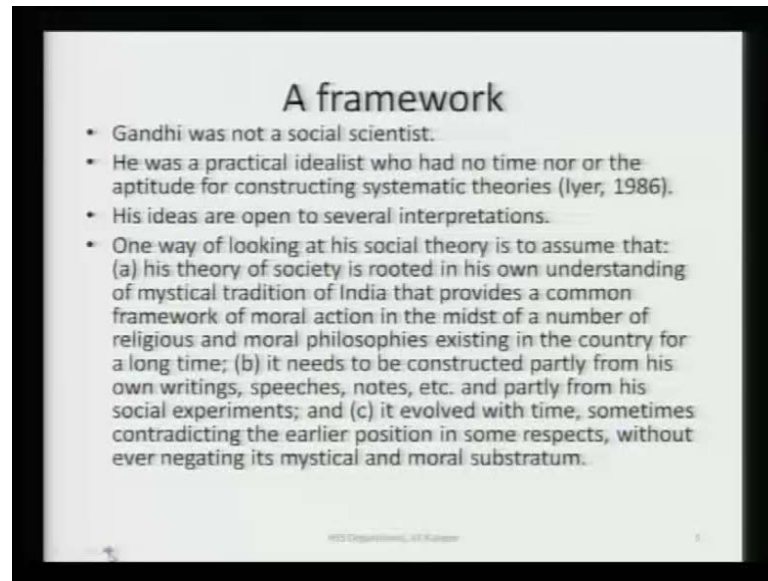
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To begin with we talk about Gandhian theory why? Because it is a holistic theory, linking population issues to general issues of equality, participation and human welfare. All theories are about human welfare, even Malthus said that he is making us aware of that dangers of overpopulation, because that will affect human welfare. Marx gave his concept of classic study of transformation of society, because he found that in capitalist society, condition of working classes were miserable; so that way everybody talks of human welfare, but not in the same way.

Malthus and Marx talked about human welfare in the western materialistic context and Gandhi talks about human welfare in the sincretic religious frameworks of India combining Hindu spiritualism, Islamic spiritualism and Christian theology. It also presents an alternative vision of development that is why Gandhian theory is more interesting to me than say Malthusian or Marxist theory. It is rooted in Indian culture and history and it has renewed worldwide interest in Gandhi. In recent time because of wars, violence, terrorism, environmental degradation and issues of emancipation and anti nuclear struggle and so on; people are once again developing interests in Gandhi. And we find that every year some other important writer from the west or from India, mostly from the west is publishing something worthwhile on Gandhi. Now, Gandhi has a warning for family planning program and we will see what does it mean.

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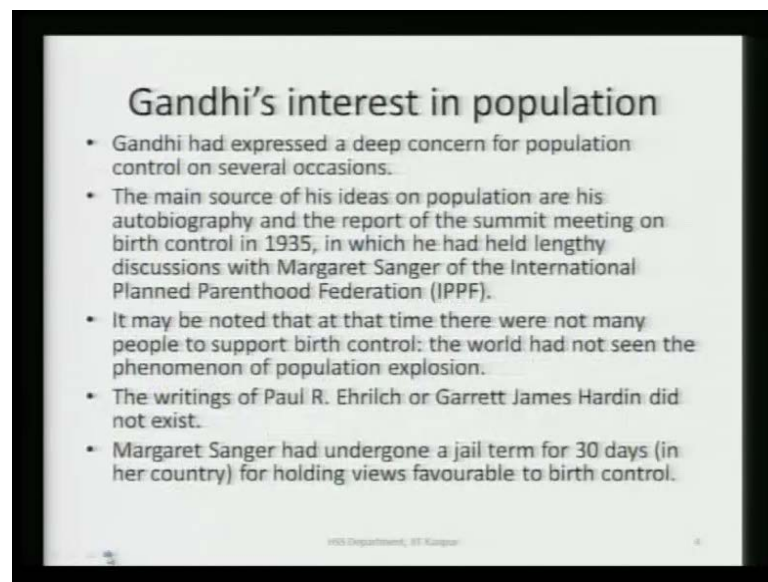


Now, first of all to develop a framework on population, which may be called gandhian framework. It is important for us to understand that Gandhi was not a social scientist. He was not a very well read man also, he was not a scholarly person; he himself accepted, role and expressed that he had not read much; he had read very few books, among the important ones Ruskin's, unto the last, ramcharit manas, geeta. Initially, geeta not written in Hindi or Sanskrit, but English translation and English interpretation of geeta by westerners and he had read communist manifesto, when he was in jail, but Gandhi cannot be called a scholar.

He was a practical idealist, who had no time, nor the aptitude for constructing systematic theories; and therefore, his concepts his ideas are open to several interpretations; even simple thing like what does a non violence mean, what does truth mean, what is the meaning of doing politics in religious framework, all that Gandhi had in his mind; has been interpreted in several ways by several people, scholars, political activists, social scientists, very few social scientists anyway took interest in Gandhi. In several ways, because he was not building, he was not worried about building a consistence theoretical framework and he also accepted that if you are sensitive to life to changing circumstances, socio economic, political, it is natural that your ideas will also change and mature with time; so that means, Gandhi also contradicted his earlier writings on several occasions. And he said that if I ever contradict my earlier writings, take my recent writings more seriously or accept them more than what I said in the past.

One way of looking at his social theory is to assume that, this is my interpretation; I am not claiming that everybody will accept this interpretation of Gandhi, but I think so. That one way of looking at his social theory is to assume that his theory of society is rooted in his own understanding of mystical tradition of India; that means, there are so many understandings of mystical tradition of India; that provides a common framework of moral accent in the midst of a number of religious and moral philosophies existing in the country for a long time. It needs to be constructed partly from his own writings, speeches, notes, etcetera and partly from social experiments. And it evolve with time, we have to recognize that this theory evolve with time, sometimes contradicting the earlier position in some aspects without ever negating its mystical and moral substratum.

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Now, as far as Gandhi's interest in population is concerned; Gandhi had expressed his deep concern for population control on several occasions. The main source of his ideas on population are his autobiography or Aatmakatha and the report of the summit meeting on birth control which was held in 1935, in which he had held lengthy discussions with Margaret Sanger of the international planned parenthood federation. actually this is the basic source, if you want to know about gandhiji's ideas of population, family planning and related issues, then you must go through the original document pertaining to this summit meeting. It must be noted that in 1935, there were not many people to support birth control. The world had not seen the phenomenon of population explosion either, there was no need. Since there was no population explosion,

in earlier lectures, you have seen how the world population started growing in 19 century largely due to a very slow reduction in death rate in the developed countries; and developed countries anyway required labor for their industry and were hardly 20 percent of the world population.

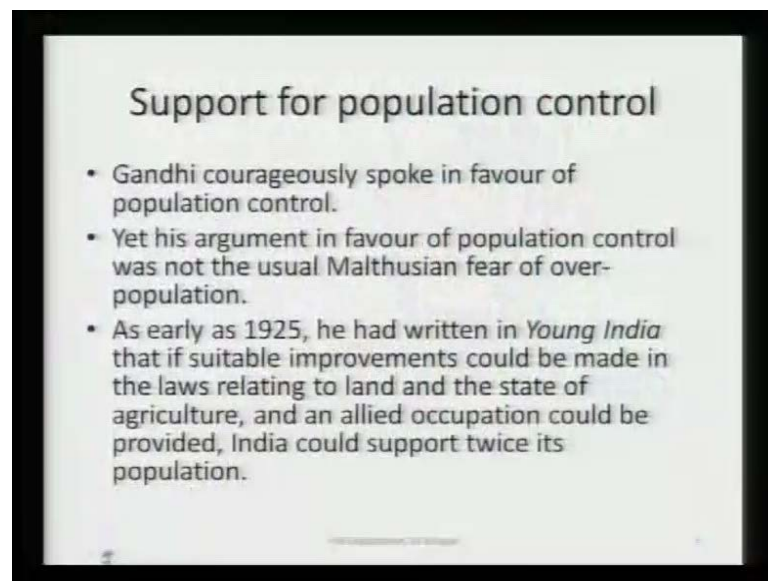
So, there was not such a deep interest in the issue of population. A deep interest in issue of population started when there was population explosion mostly in 1950's and 60's. The writings of Paul Alrich or Garret James Harden did not exist in 1935. And generally, everybody Muslims, Hindus, Christians, everybody had a positive view of population growth; nobody talked about population control and nobody accepted means of birth control. Interestingly, in the western context where birth rate started declining, it was not because of family planning program, it was not because of birth control programs, contraceptives were available, birth control methods were available, but Catholic Church always opposed use of birth control methods. and despite opposition of the part of Catholic Church, for the reasons of social mobility or social capillary, on their own people were using natural methods of family planning and sometime contraceptive methods on their own and there were no social approval for them.

So in 1935, very few people like Margaret Sanger, very few people like were making were trying to make people aware of the possible danger of overpopulation and fighting for the cause of birth control. Margaret Sanger had undergone a jail term for 30 days; I thought I must tell you this, these were the days when to speak in favor of population control was to invite a jail term, this was the context of western countries. In our own country, she had undergone a jail term for 30 days for just for holding views favorable to birth control. Today, we think that as though western countries have always been in support of birth control and for religious reasons or other reasons, we have now we have never been, but the facts are quite contrary to this. Till 1935, rules in favor of birth control was not accepted in the west.

And at that time in 1935, in his summit meeting with Margaret Sanger, Gandhi courageously spoke in favor of population control. You see how courageous and rebellious and visionary Gandhi was, if he felt that something is true, if he felt that something will promote truth and non violence, if he felt that something will be good for mankind, for the future of mankind, he will express it openly. There was so many occasions in Gandhi's life, when his closest admirers his closest supporters disagreed

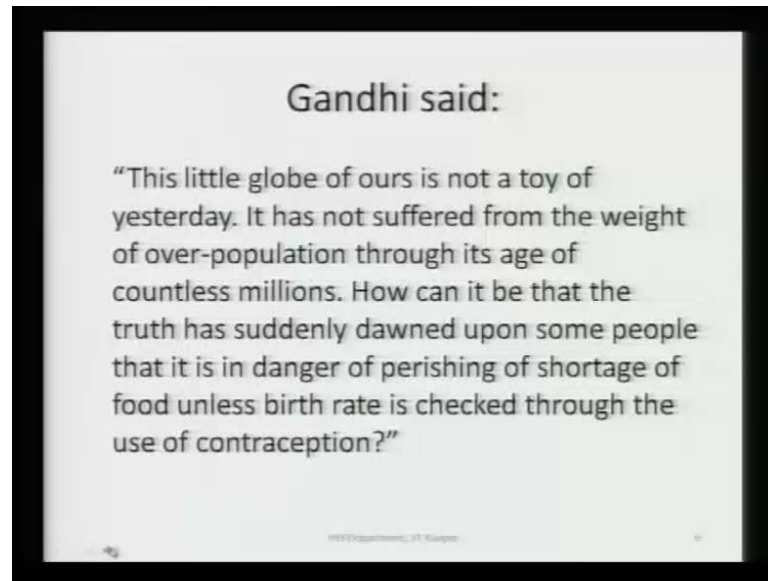
with Gandhi and requested Gandhi not to go for his experiments, but he did not listen to, he did, he would not listen to anyone. If he is convinced, if his conviction is that what he is saying or doing or planning to do is right he will go for it. So, despite the fact that at that time, so many people told gandhiji that what he was is saying in favor of population control was not acceptable to Indian masses, not even to western masses, why Indian masses. Was not acceptable to anyone Gandhi was the first person to speak courageously, clearly, forcefully, in favor of population control.

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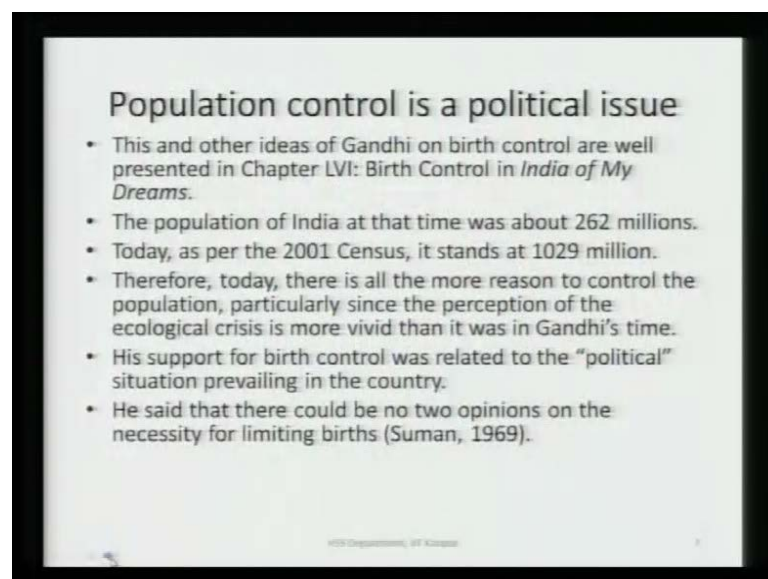
However, his argument in favor of population control was not the usual Malthusian fear of overpopulation. That population can rise in geometric growth and food at most in arithmetic growth and leading to imbalance between population and food. As early as 1925, he had written in young India that if suitable improvements could be made in the laws relating to land; means talking about land distribution or land redistribution programs and the state of agriculture and an allied occupation could be provided to rural people, India could support twice its population. So, he was not afraid of population growth although he was not afraid of population growth like Malthus, but still he favored population control.

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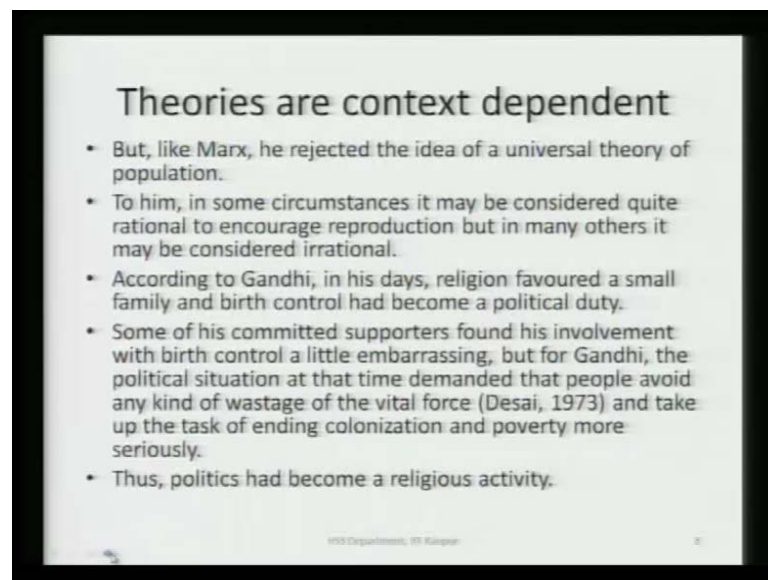
Gandhi said this little globe of ours is not a toy of yesterday. It has not suffered from the weight of overpopulation through its age of countless millions. How can it be that the truth has suddenly dawned upon some people that it is in danger of perishing of shortage of food unless birth rate is checked through the use of contraception. Then why did he speak in favor of population control? Why did he advocate population control and by what methods. This and other ideas of Gandhi on birth control are well presented in chapter on birth control in *India of my dreams*.

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The population of India at that time was about 262 millions, today as per the 2001 census, it stands at 1029 million; therefore, today there is all the more reason to control the population or to argue in favor of population control; particularly, since the perception of the ecological crisis is more vivid than it was in Gandhi's time. This I am saying that although for Gandhi overpopulation was not the issue, but if Gandhi were alive today and he had seen the population explosion of fifties and sixties and continuing population growth rate of two percent and the fact that population of India increased four times during the last century, he would have more ardently supported the population control programs; so there is no doubt about that. His support for birth control was however related to the political situation prevailing in the country. He said that there could be no two opinions on the necessity for limiting births.

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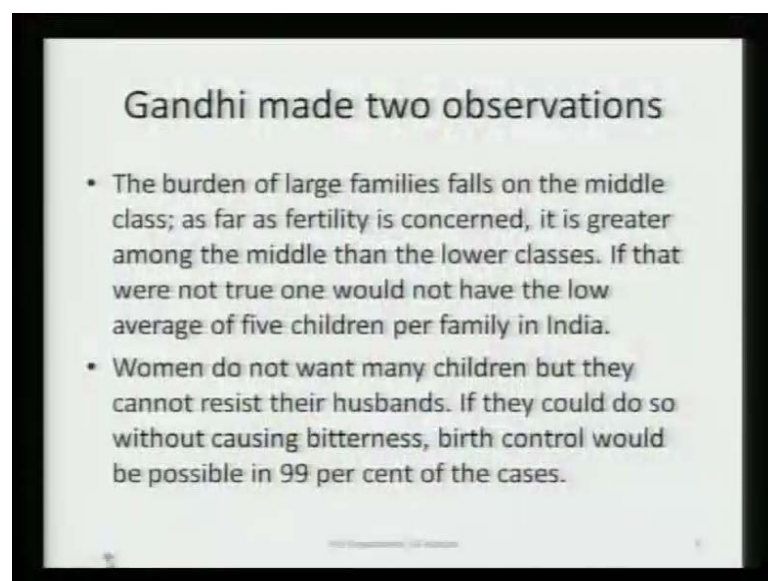


But like Marx, he rejected the idea of universal theory of population. To him, in some circumstances, he clearly mentioned all these; what I am saying is all said by Gandhi himself. To him in some circumstances, it may be considered quite rational to encourage reproduction, but in many others it may be considered irrational. So, sometime there may be situation, as we discussed optimum population reproduction, but there are other times when it may be considered irrational. According to Gandhi in his days then, religion favored a small family and birth control and it had become a political duty. This is something to be understood. In his time, for Gandhi morality and religion are inseparable; for Gandhi in his time, it has become a religious duty a moral duty to go for

birth control, it is moral, it is religious, it is political. Some of his committed supporters found his involvement with birth control a little embarrassing, but for Gandhi, the political situation at that time demanded that people avoid any kind of wastage of the vital force and take up the task of ending colonization and poverty more seriously; thus politics had become a religious activity. What was the goal of politics? The goal of politics was to fight against colonization, to fight against the British imperialism and to fight against the rural poverty.

And in this fight against colonization and poverty, rural poverty, it had become a religious duty to channelize to control and channelize your energies; and it was for this purpose that he controlled he advocated birth control; politics had become a religious activity. If you are a religious person, if you are looking for your liberation, liberation of man, Gandhi believed that you cannot achieve your liberation alone. In this way, he was not alone in those days in what way we call a period of Hindu renaissance, a large number of serious Hindu thinkers believed once liberation or once moksha or once nirvana was closely connected with liberation moksha and nirvana of others; we have to create a situation in which all of us can actualize our real and religious self. So, from that perspective politics and the aim of politics was to fight against British imperialism and to fight against poverty, it had become a religious duty.

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Gandhi made two observations, in the same document dealing with summit meeting; you have these types these writings. He made two observations, one the burden of large families falls on the middle class. Very interesting, Gandhi was a not a demographer, but he is making a statement like demographers. He is saying that if you broadly divide society into upper, middle and lower classes, the burden of large families falls on the middle class. As for as fertility is concerned, it is greater among the middle than the lower classes; this is something which can be examined or verified on the basis of empirical data. His observation was that the middle classes had more number of children than the rich and also the poor.

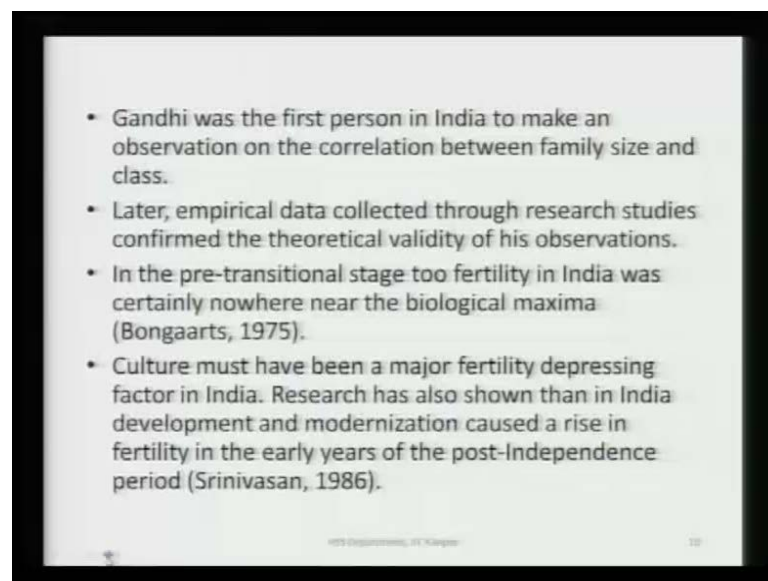
If that were not true, one would not have the low average of five children per family in India. You know, Gandhi may not have read philosophy books or serious economic theory, he had knack for data and he was aware of socio-economic, demographic situation of his time through observations, through discussions and through participations. He said that average family size in India at time was around 5, it is not possible to have an average family size of 5, if the lower classes produce a large number of children as was commonly believed. According to him, lower classes were not producing large family; he saw that the family size was actually larger in the middle classes. And therefore, something should be done about the way of thinking or psychic or visions missions or plans and strategies of the middle classes.

Another observation he makes, either women do not want many children, but they cannot resist their husbands; if they could do so, without causing bitterness, then birth control would be possible in 99 percent of the cases. I do not know, actually what documents Gandhi had read, for proclaiming these things. I can see on the basis of my reading of other works that he was right, atleast in one respect that the subsequent surveys KAP, knowledge, aptitude and practice surveys, in post independence India have shown that almost everywhere in the country, ideal family size among women has been less than the ideal family size among men; women everywhere wanted lesser number of children than their husbands.

So, if you can empower women, a women can be encouraged or developed or empowered to say no to their husbands, Gandhi says without causing bitterness, without

breaking the family bond, then birth control would be possible in 99 percent of the cases. And his first observation, our sociologists interested in population Kingsley Davis, he too observed in his famous theory of change and response that it was with the beginning of improvement in mortality, that the middle classes who were the major beneficiary of improvement of mortality, realize that family size was expanding. So, it was not that in primitive society or among the poor, among the rural, landless labourers or tribals, family size was large; it was after attaining a some kind of threshold of development and improvement in mortality that family size started expanding.

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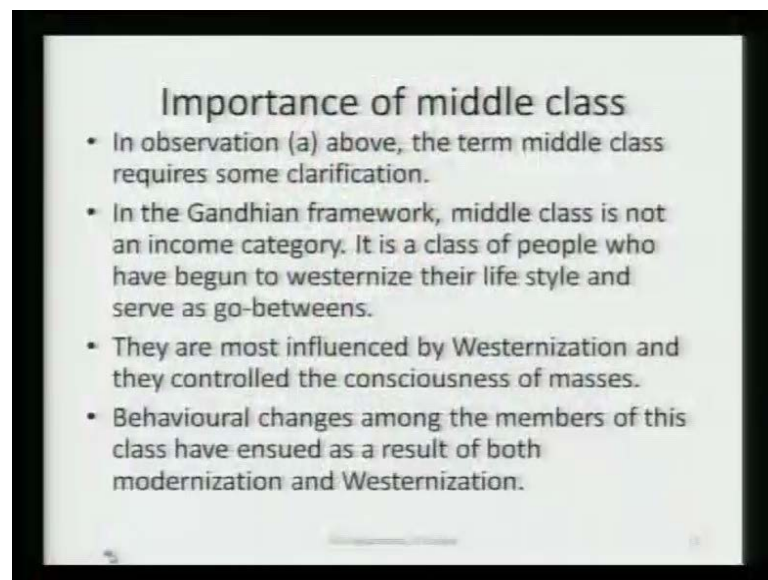
So, Kingsley Davis says that once they realize so, once educated middle class people found that the family size was expanding, then and they also found that it is not conducive to their development, so they started reacting to this improvement in family size in all possible ways, raising age of marriage, not marrying, abortions, use of birth control methods and migration. So, what Gandhi observes is not false, although Gandhi was not a demographer, but what he observes, what he wrote at that time 1935 is quite consistent with subsequent research in demography.

Gandhi was the first person in India to make an observation on the correlation between family size and class that way. Later, empirical data collected through research studies conformed, the theoretical validity of his observations. In the peak transitional stage too fertility in India was certainly a no where near the biological maxima. Bongaarts says

that biological maxima could be forty children, but the actual family size has never been more than 9 and in majority of cases it was seven. So, if India had an average family size of around 5 that shows that there were already some socio-cultural restrains on family size. And the masses of people, the lower classes or the masses of people who were more religious, more traditionalist, more conservative, conformed to those norms and it appeared that the fertility among them was lower than the fertility in modernizing or urban middle class.

Culture was a major factor in depressing fertility in India. Researches also shown that in India, development and modernization caused a rise in the fertility in the early years of the post independence period in certain regions. Srinivasan, our famous Srinivasan, demographer his works show that with improvement in economic condition with modernization, with improvement in nutrition, in several parts of India fertility first increased though not much to some, but it increased to some extent and then started falling.

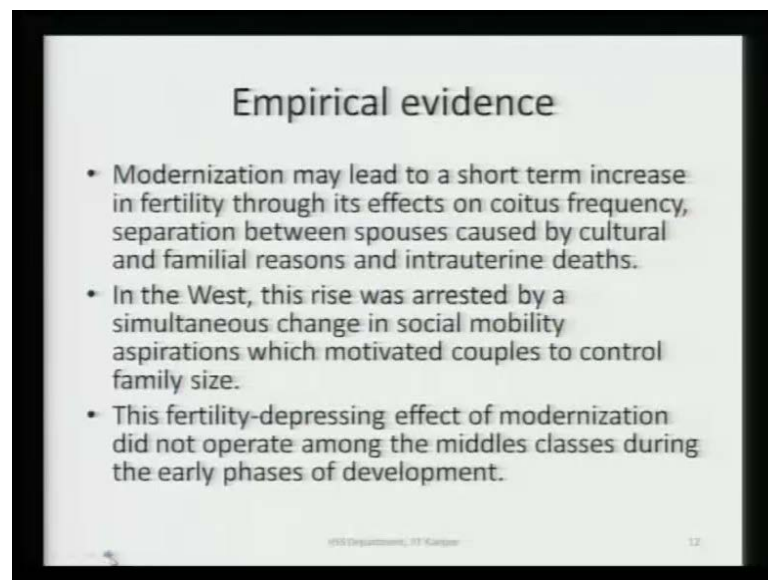
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Now, here in observation a above the term middle class requires some clarification. It is not merely an economic class defining in terms of per capital income. in the gandhian framework, middle class is not an income category; it is a class of people, who have begun to westernize their life style and serve as go betweenes, between western culture

and traditional or India culture. They are most influenced by westernization and they controlled the consciousness of masses. If they did not have much effect on the masses or on the larger population of India, their ideas would not be taken so seriously by Gandhi. The thing is that they are also the controllers of the consciousness of the masses, educated people, somewhat developed those in administration, armed forces, educated people, in trading, commerce, with exposure to western education and to west. Behavioral changes among the members of this class have ensued as a result of both modernization and westernization. The term modernization is used mostly for technological advancement and westernization for change of values, values of the western countries.

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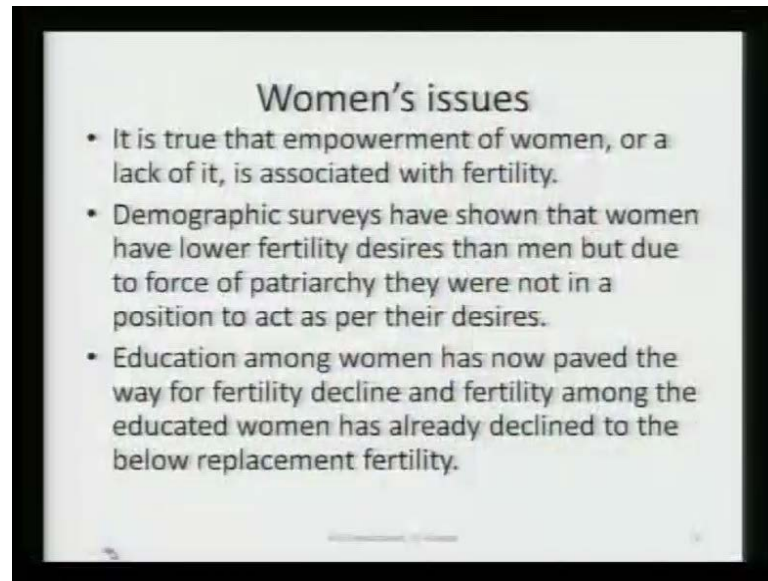
Now, there is some empirical evidence that modernization may lead to a short term increased in fertility through its effects on coitus frequency. Why should modernization improve fertility? Through its effects on coitus frequency, separation between its pauses caused by cultural and familial reasons and intrauterine deaths. Middle class is not an income category; it is a class of people who have begun to westernize their life style. In the famous volume, determinants and consequences of population by United Nations, they have shown, how in India in a year of 365 days, a large number of days were such that for religious reasons, coitus was tabooed. People will not involve in sexual activities, husbands and wives would not involve in sexual activities, because of religious reasons some rituals, some festivals, some fasting.

You know it is very common in our country, some poranasi, kasi, then days devoted to lordess durga or there are many pious and bad days during which coitus is not permitted. Then separation between spouses, it was not like today. In those days, a husbands and wives did not spend whole of their reproductive period together. When a wife goes to her native place after marriage, even if to slightly older ages in connection with marriage or some ceremony or some festival or birth or death or marriage of someone, you know she goes to native place and stays there for months and years together.

So, you know modernization has affected all these; modernization has made religious, proscription on coitus, look irrational and the separation between spouses is also vanishing. Now most of the time, after marriage husband and wife live together, in nuclear family and may be in large cities, may be in medium size cities, once in rural areas also we find, an increasing tendency for spouses to live together and if a women now goes to her native place for something, she stay there for one day or two days or at most a week and comes back very soon, may be it has something to do with nucleation of family also.

And then intrauterine death, because of malnutrition, hard life, hard physical labor, in agriculture, in tribal areas, the incidence of intrauterine death was quite high and modernization was making life easy as reduced the frequency of intrauterine deaths; so these are some possible reasons. In the west, the issue rise was arrested by a simultaneous change in social mobility, aspirations, which motivated couples to control family size. So, in west both the things were happening together, on the one hand westernization of the western countries could have increased fertility and it did increase fertility at least the effective family size. But simultaneously, because of social mobility aspirations and individualization, family nucleation, migration there was also strong motivation to limit family size and therefore, their fertility started declining. This fertility depressing effect on modernization did not operate among the middle classes during the early phases of development. So, in thirties when Gandhi is writing this or forties or fifties sixties, our fertility remained high till seventies. After seventies only our fertility started declining.

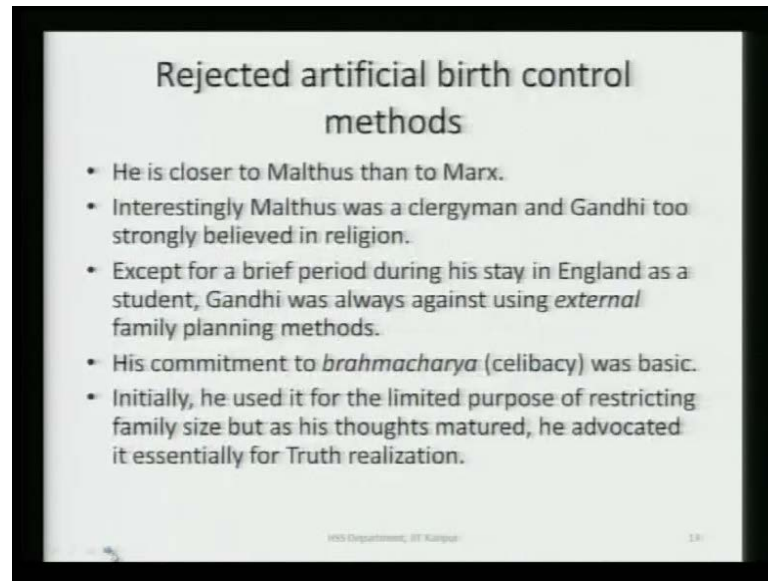
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So, maybe Gandhi has some point when he makes these observations. We can, apart from looking at fertility directly; we can also look at other issues which have indirect bearing upon fertility, women's issues. It is true that empowerment of women or a lack of it is associated with fertility, I mentioned that and a few years before that KAP studies, family planning studied by organization like operations research group one, which conducted the first all India survey of family planning in the country; I think sometime in the early seventies, all the surveys have consistently shown that women want less number of children. They have lower fertility desires than men, but due to force of patriarchy, we were not in a position to act as per their desires.

So, they did not want large family, but they had to succumb to desires of their husbands, who wanted more children or who sought pleasure in coitus without using any birth control method, natural or unnatural. Education among women has now paved the way for fertility decline and fertility among the educated women has already declined to the below replacement fertility; so education of women, empowerment of women, women's issue was a very important point of Gandhi's program, whether constructive work or gram swaraj or social work.

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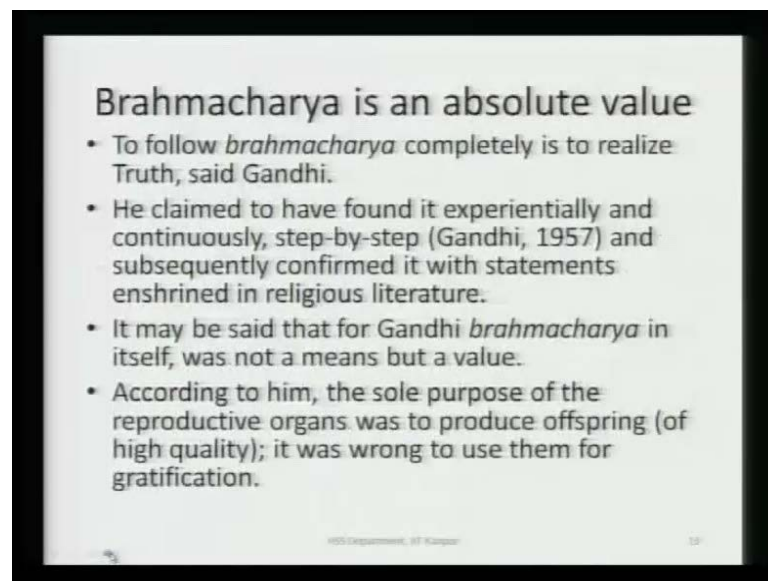
Gandhi rejected artificial birth control methods; something has to be said about that also. And from this perspective, again he is closer to Malthus than to Marx. Interestingly, Malthus was a clergyman, Gandhi too declared himself to be a religious person, he strongly believed in religion; though his religion was not the same as the religion of communalists of today. Some people saw a Christ in Gandhi, some people saw a saint in Gandhi, some people saw an avatar or an incarnation of god, you know among Hindus in Gandhi and many people thought that Gandhi was practicing Islam. For interestingly, on several occasions, people also felt that perhaps Gandhi is going to convert some people thought that he is going to convert to Christianity.

On several occasions, people thought that Gandhi is going to convert to Islam, but Gandhi said that actually from a Gandhian perspective, organized religion is not all that important. All religions present equal opportunity for man to realize himself or to be a good, perfect, virtuous man. You know, it is not that you can become a good, ideal, virtuous, great liberated man or peaceful truthful man, only by following a particular religion; he believed in a common core and he believed that the core of all religions is the same.

Except for a brief period during his stay in England, as a student Gandhi was always against using external family planning methods. In England, he had become a member of the [redacted]. Here, it is important to say something about his rejection of birth control methods, that way he seems to be closer to Malthus than to Marx as I said now. When he was in

England, he became a member of new Malthusian league and he was influenced by the idea that family planning methods can be used or should be used for birth control, he too admired that. But very soon, he found that Brahmacharya or celibacy is a better method to limit family size than the available modern methods of contraceptives. Initially, he used Brahmacharya or celibacy for the limited purpose of restricting family size for fertility control, but as his thoughts matured, he advocated it essentially for truth realization.

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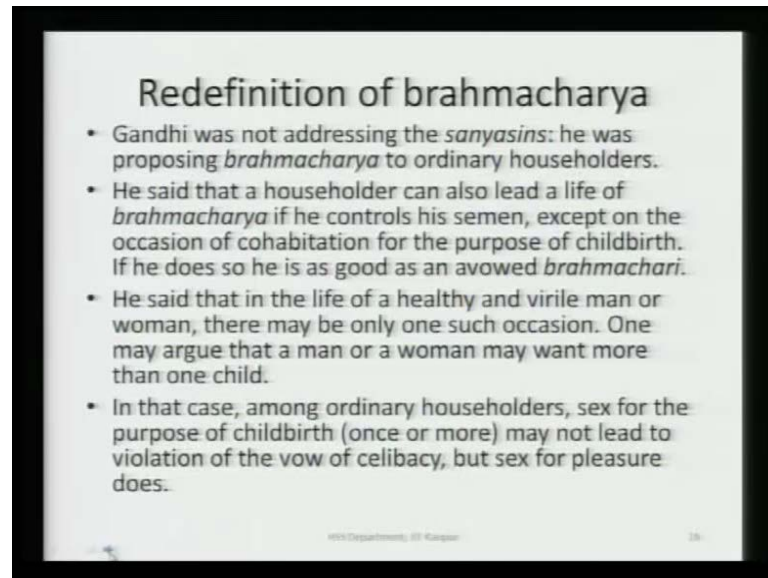


He developed interest in celibacy or Brahmacharya, initially for the purpose of birth control, this all started in England. But gradually found that Brahmacharya is great and he found that Brahmacharya is an absolute value. To follow Brahmacharya completely is to realize truth Gandhi said. He claimed to have founded experientially and continuously, step by step and subsequently conformed it with the statements enshrined in religious literature. Now, one beautiful thing in gandhian thought is that Gandhi regarding anything he will say that is what I realize, I experienced, mostly on the he says whatever he says, he says this on the basis of his own experiences.

And he also, when he finds that similar things were said in religious literature of different religions, then he will say that also that religion permits this religion approve this religion encourages this, but initially he finds anything of interest on the basis of his own experiences. It may be said that for Gandhi Brahmacharya in itself was however not

a means, but a value, according to him the sole purpose of the reproductive organs was to produce offspring of high quality, it was wrong to use them for gratification and here you find a redefinition for Brahmacharya.

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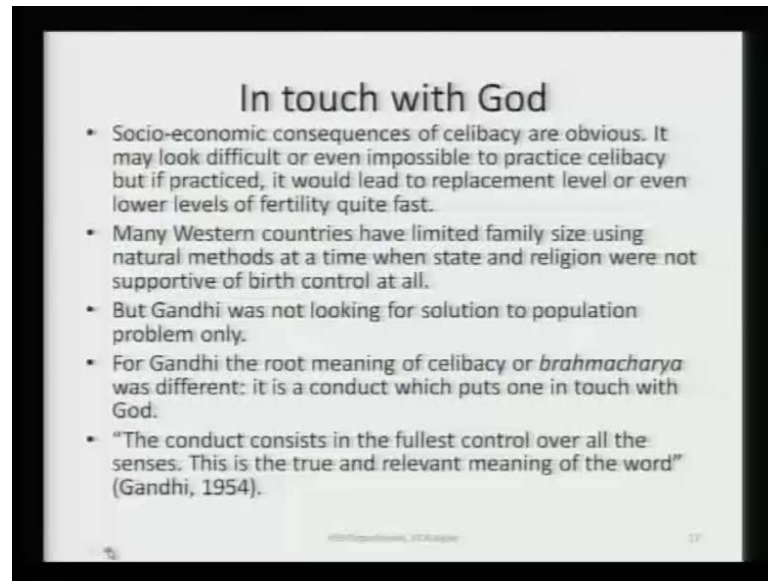
Redefinition of brahmacharya

- Gandhi was not addressing the *sanyasins*: he was proposing *brahmacharya* to ordinary householders.
- He said that a householder can also lead a life of *brahmacharya* if he controls his semen, except on the occasion of cohabitation for the purpose of childbirth. If he does so he is as good as an avowed *brahmachari*.
- He said that in the life of a healthy and virile man or woman, there may be only one such occasion. One may argue that a man or a woman may want more than one child.
- In that case, among ordinary householders, sex for the purpose of childbirth (once or more) may not lead to violation of the vow of celibacy, but sex for pleasure does.

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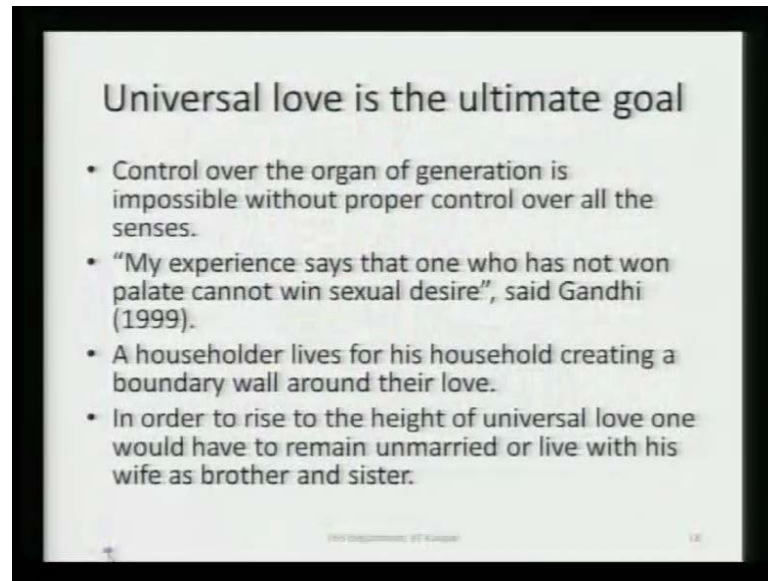
Is Brahmacharya for all? Gandhi not addressing the Sanyasins, he was proposing Brahmacharya to ordinary householders. Then how will ordinary householders maintain their, what we call vansh, what will happen to their family, their genes, their inheritance; So, he said that a householder can also lead a life of brahmacharya, if he controls his semen except on the occasion of cohabitation, for the purpose of child birth. If he does so he is as good as a vowed brahmacharya. He said that in the life of a healthy and virile man or woman, there may be only one such occasion, one may argue that a man or a woman may want more than one child, then may be Gandhi would permit to have sex second time. In that case, among ordinary householders, sex for the purpose of child birth once or more, may not lead to violation of the vow of celibacy, but sex for pleasure does.

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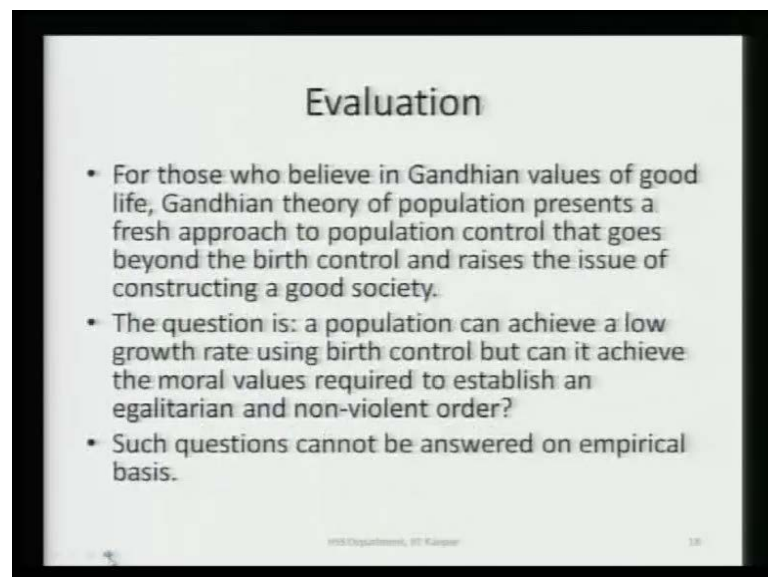
Socio-economic consequences of celibacy are obvious, it may look difficult or even impossible to practice celibacy, but if practiced, it would lead to replacement level or even lower levels of fertility quite fast. Many western countries have limited family size; you may say that what is this brahmacharya? brahmacharya as a means of birth control can India ever control fertility by celibacy. If western countries have done this, as I said in the beginning that many western countries limited their family size using natural methods of family planning, at a time when state and religion were not supportive of birth control at all, then why cannot India do it? But Gandhi was not looking for solution to population problem this has to be stressed. For Gandhi, the root meaning of celibacy or brahmacharya was different; it is a conduct which puts one in touch with god. The conduct consists in the fullest control over all the senses, this is the true and relevant meaning of the word.

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For Gandhi, control over the organ of generation is impossible without proper control over all the senses. Gandhi said that my experience says that one who has not won palate cannot win sexual desire. A householder lives for his household, creating a boundary wall around their around their love. In order to rise to the height of universal love, one would have to remain unmarried or live with his wife as brother and sister.

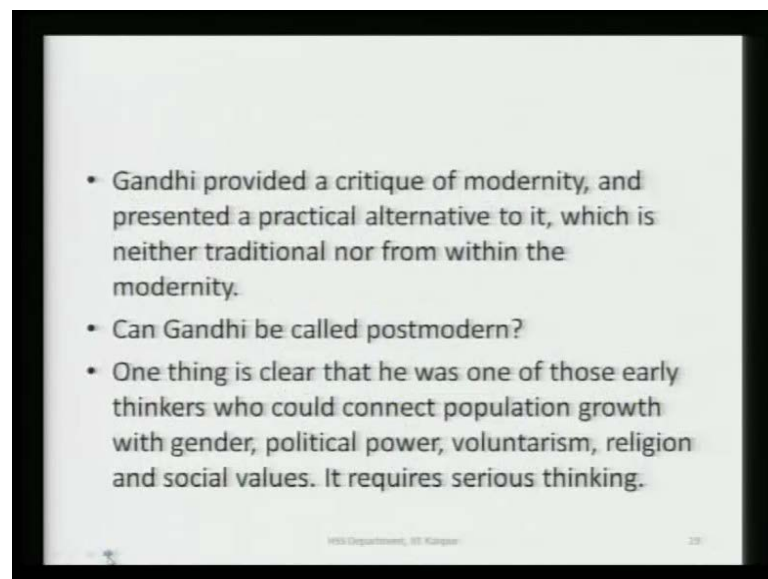
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So, ultimately and some people in freedom fight also lived like brothers and sisters Acharya Kriplani. Acharya Kriplani was known to be living with his wife as brother and

sister, due to the influence of gandhian theory. Now coming to an end, some evaluation of Gandhi for those who believed in gandhian values of good life, gandhian theory of population presents a fresh approach to population control that goes beyond the birth control and raises the issue to of constructing a good society. The question is, if population can achieve a low growth rate using birth control, but can it achieve the moral values required to establish an egalitarian and non violent order. Such questions cannot be answered on empirical basis however.

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Gandhi provided a critique of modernity and presented a practical alternative to it, which is neither traditional nor from within the modernity. Does that mean that Gandhi can be called postmodern? **Yes**, I have seen some books particularly Rudolph and Rudolph, recently they have political scientist from Chicago, they have published a book on Gandhi as postmodern. Is Gandhi a postmodern in neither traditional nor modern? One thing is clear that he is one of those early thinkers who could connect population growth with gender, political power, voluntarism, agency, religion and social values. And therefore it requires serious. I think, since today we have to end discussion of population, policies I have written these questions for you to answer may be after attending the lectures, you will be able to answer these questions. But if you have some more interesting question in your mind, please ask that or you can ask for some clarification.

Sir, if Gandhi was an idealist, because the way he was talking about the brahmacharya and other thing, it is quite impossible to implement in a large society

Gandhi would say that whether something is idealist or practical to know that the best thing is to practice, to experiment with that. Quite often what we have learned from books, radios, televisions, newspapers, or from others, you know they are the result of certain value framework or certain mind sets, whether something is idealist or practical this you can know only by experimenting with that yourself. And second thing, if something is desirable, if something is worth pursuing, then you should pursue it. Gandhi will have simply answered like, if you think that something is good and it must be pursued, then also you are pursuing; if you think that it is not good, it should not be pursued not pursued.

But whether for Gandhi, there is no dichotomy between ideas and practice or ideas and reality, you know ideas produce realities, ideas change realities and people living in different circumstances under the ages of different value framework see the same thing differently. So, it will be difficult questions to answer for, but for Gandhi there is nothing idealist, everything is practical, anything which you think is good for you or for the man mankind, can be practiced and must be practiced and the moment it is practiced it becomes practical.

But according to Gandhi, population control is a political problem. Because, at that time in 1930 that political against colonization. Then the according to him, this kind of political problem leads to duty of the people. Now, some for that he used the other religious understanding of the religious traditions, but that senses it is correct. Because, we have particular aim to tackle the colonial people, for that he use the religion for birth control; but how this is a 2010, in how what the, I do not know how do we can use this kind of, at that time he used that kind of.

Another doubt, I have regarding this that you said that celibacy as a one of the, but in my understanding, I do not know celibacy is one of the face , I think there are the some named brahmacharya, giragastha, vanaprasatha, sanyasiya, for religion is one of the ways. After that ways, you should then that to the, but how canto the, you are leading a family life giragastha, how you can follow this kind of . . I, one more doubt, I do not know. He said that sex only for producing off springs and not for gratification, it means that, to

some extent he is also correlates to the some medieval Christianity. Medieval Christianity, sex is a necessary evil, only for this kind of offspring we can have, otherwise it is not. Then these are so trying to cope up with medieval Christianity. I do not know, how can..

Actually these are you are asking so many questions. One thing I realize that this lecture on population policy of Gandhi is abrupt; we have to understand gandhian theory first. I should have talked about Hindu Swaraj. So, your question regarding India, modernization, independence, you know Gandhi for Gandhi, Swaraj did not mean removal of the Englishmen from India. Actually, his book Hindu Swaraj written in 1909, it starts with this question what is Swaraj? And he was saying that let us before fighting for Swaraj, let us first define what Swaraj is. If it is possible, Swaraj must be some ideas, some goal, some vision, if it is possible to have Swaraj even in presence of the English man, then how does it matter with the Englishmen remain in India or leave. we should strive for Swaraj.

Not only..

And suppose, the Englishman leave India and you continue with the mentality of the Englishman. He said distinguish between tiger and tiger's nature. He was warning people of India, the freedom fighters, that be careful, you are asking for tiger's nature, just that we do not want tigers. So, what will happen that if the Englishman go; but their social institutions, political institutions, there so called modernization or secular vision, you know they come to India and establish in a big way as they have already done in the western countries, then we are doomed; we have no independence and gandhiji's ideas at least in this respect are found to be true today. That we have we have so called independence, but the same institutions are continuing and the same gap between the rich and the poor, urban and rural, industry and agriculture. If you look at the data produced by the government agencies themselves, then you can see that in on socio-economic front or on political front too, in the sense of participation condition of Indian masses has worsen, because we have followed the same approach. So, Gandhi was not interested in just mere political independence.

The British people quit India and we have this separate anthem and a separate flag and a separate constitution; he was interested in civilization (()). And you know may be Gandhi know that it is possible to control births by using artificial means; he himself was member of new Malthusian league in England. What he was saying that just demographic transition or bringing fertility level to lower levels will not solve social problems; see the worldwide, are those countries in which fertility has come to a low level become good societies. Or in our country, can you say that with respect to economic equality or communal harmony or education or empowerment of women or non-violence or equality, political equality or goodness or whatever; Kerala is better than other states of India, obviously your answer will be no.

Although Kerala has the lowest fertility, but that does not mean that Kerala has become a good society; there are same communal tension, there is same problem of women, there is dowry and there are inequalities of various kinds, there is communal hatred and everything. So, for Gandhi the ultimate goal is to make a good society. And he thinks that a good society will be one, in which people will control their sense organs for their own liberation and also for maintenance of social order for the welfare of mankind. There is a fair degree of agreement not only among Catholics, but in all societies, among Muslims also there those who are really devoted, I was talking to one, I was conducting a qualitative study of Muslim fertility in Kanpur once; this paper was published in demographic demographic India long back.

And what I found interesting was that there is not a one fertility among Muslims, in Kanpur you had Muslims who had large number of children and supported large number of children; and there were also Muslims who had small number of children and supported small family. One of the, I was surprised to find this argument from some intelligent and modern and enlightened Muslims; they said that it is religious duty to have a small number of children. Because if you have large number of children large family, then you are all the time worried about family matters, worldly matters, you are all the time worried about worldly matters and where is time to pray where is time to pray? They also gave me examples from Muslim theology, Muslim text that if you look at what they call Wally ullas, all the Wally ullas of Muslims had they were either unmarried or had a small family size, one child or two children, they said that Wally ullas rarely had seven or eight children.

Because Islam also says that your most important duty is towards god, to pray, to serve people, jakart, daan, help helping others, to live a truthful life. Now, if you have a large family and you are all the time devoted to pleasure, a hedonist person cannot be religious person; this is, in other words Gandhi saying why Gandhi talking about brahmacharya, he is saying that a hedonist person, a person given to pleasures of sense organs cannot be a truly religious or spiritual person. Gandhi was envisioning a society in which everybody is a Wally Ulla, everybody is an incarnation and everybody is a Christ. He was thinking of creating that kind of good social order and that is why he talks of brahmacharya. He knows that by using artificial birth control methods, it is possible to attain low levels of fertility, but is this the goal. If lowest fertility is the goal, then you would say that countries of Sweden, Denmark, Japan, USA, they have become heaven; they have very low fertility, actually they are facing their problem of low fertility, they have not become heaven. Gandhi was looking for how we can convert this earth into heaven and that can happen only when we all work for each other's welfare by controlling sense organs, this was essentially his philosophy. Thank you.