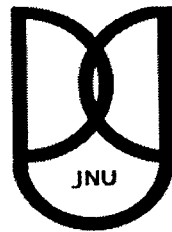


**IN SEARCH OF HIND SWARAJ:  
A STUDY IN TEXT AND CONTEXT**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of:*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**



**Supervisor  
PROFESSOR MAKARAND PARANJAPE**

**Submitted by  
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**2009  
CENTRE FOR ENGLISH STUDIES  
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### CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation titled "*In Search of Hind Swaraj: A Study in Text and Context*" submitted by Ms. **Priyanka Roy** to the Centre for English Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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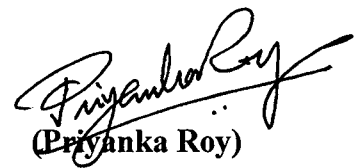
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## DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation titled "**In Search of Hind Swaraj: A Study in Text and Context**", submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.



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*To Ma and Baba*

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## CHAPTER I Introduction

### 1.1 Gandhi: A Life

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 at Porbandar. His father, Karamchand Gandhi was a member of the Rajasthanik Court and served as a Prime Minister in Rajkot and Vankaner. Gandhi says of his father in his *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, "...he was incorruptible and had earned a name for strict impartiality in his family as well as outside. He had no education, save that of experience".<sup>1</sup> His mother was a saintly woman and highly religious. She never ate without offering her prayers and paid regular visit to the temple. It was during his childhood that Gandhi acquired his religious bent of mind.

Gandhi was sent to school but turned out to be a mediocre student, though obedient to his teachers. He knew that he was slow yet held his own and once when he was prompted by his teacher to copy, he refrained. Referring to this incident he says, "I never could learn the art of 'copying'".<sup>2</sup> On completing his matriculation, he was sent to England to qualify the bar exam. His stay in London significantly contributed in determining his persona. Initially, he gave in to the English customs and manners, and started to acclimatize himself to their tradition and way of life.

It was, however, not long that he began to feel the vast gulf between him and the culture he was trying to embrace. He, therefore, abandoned this fixation with a foreign culture and in turn began to assert his Indian roots. His religious inclinations drove him past all temptations. However, it is in England that he got first-hand knowledge of the positive elements of Western thought and society.

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<sup>1</sup> M.K. Gandhi, "Birth and Parentage", *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments of Truth*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 2006) 3-4.

On his return from London in 1861, Gandhi began to practice as an advocate. After practicing in Kathiawar and Gujarat for a while, he went to South Africa. He stayed in South Africa for twenty years taking up the causes of the people who suffered from racial discrimination rampant in that country. It was in South Africa that Gandhi discovered his true creed and his purpose in life and started working for it. The period from 1893 to 1914 is crucial in Gandhi's life because it is during this period that Gandhi developed his concept of *satyagraha*, which he actively employed in the freedom struggle of India. This was also a time when Gandhi was struggling to find a balance between his professional life and his moral self. This conflict emerged after he came into contact with the thoughts of Leo Tolstoy.

During this time, he gave up his lucrative job to lead an ascetic life far from the temptations of the world. This day onwards, Gandhi started practising self-discipline and set the basic tenets of Satyagraha. His main prerogative at this point of time was to assure the Indians legal parity. Gandhi held that, as the British subjects were equal under the laws of South Africa, so the Indians should not be treated otherwise. He fought for laws relating to franchise, property, and registration among others. Gandhi was quick to realize the repercussions of subjecting the Indians to endure discrimination based on colour and race. Therefore, it was not long when his selfless work got recognized and he came to be respected for his brave stance.

Gandhi realized after witnessing the plight of the South Africans at the hands of the White rulers that it was not enough to fight this oppressive system through inferior means. He believed that one needed to conquer oneself first in order to combat external coercion. Outward action could only be challenged by the strength of the inner character. He began his experiment with himself. He reduced his requirements to the minimum. Then he went ahead to control his passions, temper and gradually his senses and showed a remarkable feat in conquering himself. Gandhi then proceeded to help his followers conquer themselves too, which proved to be very taxing. His followers found it difficult and



absurd to follow the tenets of *ahimsa* or non-violence, which is one of the fundamental elements of Gandhian thought. Gandhi stressed that in the fight for independence one shall never resort to violence under any circumstance.

The weapon, he wanted his followers to use, was the strength of the spirit as a guiding force to direct their action. He expected of his followers to observe patience, courage, the resilience to sacrifice, and compassion. In order to impart his teaching in an organized manner Gandhi founded the Phoenix Farm near Durban. He was successful to draw up a huge base of support both from the Indian and South African community, who extended their help in various ways. At last, the long drawn struggle ended on a successful note. The South African experience helped Gandhi in executing his part decidedly in the Indian war of independence. It equipped Gandhi for the Indian challenge but also contributed in developing his notion of non-violent or passive resistance. Thus, when Gandhi came to India he was already an evolved man having adopted an ideal that he completely trusted.

The period from 1914 to 1947, depict the enduring nature of Gandhi's struggle for the independence of India until its fruition in 1947 with India becoming a full-fledged sovereign power. This is the time of great achievements, a period, which saw Gandhi leading the nation triumphantly to realize independence. Next came the period that saw the emergence of many other movements until Gandhi's martyrdom on 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1948.

One of the significant moves of Gandhi was that he did not dive into politics immediately after his return to India. He was advised by Gopal Krishna Gokhale to keep "his ears open but his mouth shut".<sup>3</sup> Instead, Gokhale wanted him to join his Servants of India Society, but his death in 1915 stalled the idea. Gandhi, however, went on to establish the Satyagraha Ashram near Sabarmati in Gujarat to build on his method to its fullest

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<sup>3</sup> G.K. Gokhale, "Gandhism", A History of Political Thought: Modern, Vol. IV by J.P. Suda, (Meerut: K. Nath and Co., 2007) 168. Hereafter cited as HPT.

potential, which he had applied in South Africa successfully, and train people in it. The Sabarmati Ashram served as the base for Gandhi's mass movement until 1931 when he set off on his Dandi march. Gandhi founded another ashram at Wardha after the civil disobedience movement was called off cause of the Gandhi-Irwin pact of 1932.

Gandhi made his foray into politics in 1919 when led an agitation against the Rowlatt Act. In Champaran, he helped the poor peasants who were being exploited by European proprietors. Similarly, in Ahmedabad, he helped in organizing a strike against the mill owners. Gandhi organized a satyagraha against the government when it denied to abate land revenues in Kheda. When the First World War broke out in 1914, Gandhi asked all the Indians living in England to extend their support to the British as allegiance to the British Empire. This move was criticized by his colleagues and supporters. He, however, defended his move on moral ground stating that taking advantage of the opponent's plight was against the creed of ahimsa and "we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas". (HPT, p.169)

In 1920, Gandhi averted from his earlier stance of siding with the government and initiated his non-cooperation movement. Gandhi stated the main reasons for non-cooperating with the government as:

The first shock came in the form of Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive movement against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh (in Amritsar) and culminating in crawling orders, public floggings and indescribable humiliations...The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was whitewashed and most culprits were not punished but remained in service, and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw, too, that not only did the Reforms not mark a change

of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude. (HPT, p.169-70)

Thus, Gandhi's insistence on a non-cooperation movement was grounded on moral dictates. It was the failure of the British administration to implement adequate measures to punish those responsible for bringing about the repugnant Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and to redeem the pledge extended to the Indian Muslims. However, the non-cooperation failed to achieve its desired goal of Indian independence. There were significant incidents that led to its failure.

One of the main reasons was the incident that occurred in Chauri Chaura. This incident convinced Gandhiji that the people were not ready to follow the path of truth and non-violence that led persistently led them to seek violent means to attain their end. He withdrew the movement when it was almost at its zenith. This eventually led to his arrest and consequently, a six years' imprisonment. Though the non-cooperation movement fell short of achieving Swaraj, it did sow seeds of unity in the Congress and spread the message of Swaraj to every section of the society. More importantly, it ignited the spirits of the people and made them shed their reservations of the government apparatus. A certain degree of truthfulness seeped into the political life of the country because of the growing influence of Satyagraha.

The first and the later defunct non-cooperation movement took the form of the Civil Disobedience in 1931. This movement resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin pact, which according to Gandhi was a major achievement for both the Congress and the British Government. Later, this movement took the form of the Quit India movement in 1942 and in 1947; India finally achieved the long cherished aim of absolute independence. However, the division of the country into India and Pakistan blemished the celebratory occasion of independence.

The partition of the country augmented the growth of communalism. This resulted in the assassination of Gandhi in 1948. Gandhi worked relentlessly to unite the two factions of Indian society, namely, the Hindu and the Muslim, who had been at daggers drawn since last few years of his life. He fasted continually to bring peace to these "warring communities". Nevertheless, his death cleansed the air of tensions and bitterness, and brought the two communities closer than before. His achieved more with his death than while he was alive.

The day of 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1948 was mourned by the whole world for it had lost one of the greatest upholders of peace and ahimsa. "Never before were flags flown half mast in all the capitals of the world on the offices of the U.N. to honour a private citizen who had no wealth and no official status, no academic distinction and no title or political authority" (HPT, p.168). This respect to Gandhi was the people's homage to truth and non-violence.

## **1.2 Hind Swaraj and its Contents**

Gandhi wrote *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* in 1909 on the ship called S.S. Kildonan Castle during his return journey from London to South Africa. Gandhi not only wrote it in Gujarati, he himself translated it into English and published it in the *Indian Opinion*. Hind Swaraj is an exemplary text of its time, where Gandhi vehemently denounces Western imperialism and materialism, offering a powerful critique of modernity itself. Gandhi's objective was to seek a new kind of politics, which would be based on moral force or what he called *Satyagraha*.

Covering a wide array of social, political, and cultural issues, Hind Swaraj is not only an important document in the anti-colonial literature of the world, but also a classic

statement of Gandhi's own philosophy and praxis. It may justly called the "Bible" of non-violent revolution and its impact, both national and global, has been significant.

Gandhi after a brief stay in India went back to South Africa in 1902, where in the following year he inaugurated the *Young Opinion*, his own publication to "work against anti-Indian racial legislation" (Parel, p.xv) It was through this publication that Gandhi began to spread the germs of his philosophy. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* is discernibly divided into two distinct parts. The first part articulates his philosophy of peace and non-violence and the second part advocates his vision of Western civilization, both its intrinsic worth and drawbacks. In the first part of the text, Gandhi advances a plurality of ways to fight imperialism. To Gandhi it was of paramount importance that one should not be judged by his or her actions but by the "motive" behind that particular action. This belief stemmed from the fact that he believed it was not the Englishmen who should be prosecuted but their actions, their civilization evident when he said, "I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization".<sup>4</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi paid homage to the silence of the soul and ignored the loud cries of the external world. His fundamental ideal was to become a person of steady intellect. He had achieved a "calmness of soul and an integration of personality"<sup>5</sup> that are attained by very few. Gandhi's life was nourished by a spiritual uniformity that seeped through his myriad actions. Somewhere this contributed to make him a "modern prophet". Colonialism had created pathology in the society. Psychoanalysis is therapeutic in nature and when it is applied to an individual or to a particular history, it depicts the real cause of conflict as the ongoing turmoil within the individual.

Gandhi's message of spiritual coherence and an "integrated personality" through non-violent means is of paramount importance to the millions of distressed souls all around

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<sup>4</sup> Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 2000) 90. Hereafter cited as HS.

<sup>5</sup> V.P. Varma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*. Vol. 2. (Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, 2005) 336.

the world. Gandhi's life is a vindication of the noble truths of the Bhagavad-Gita that "one grain of truth is infinitely more powerful than mountains of falsehoods" (Varma, p.336). His faith in this spiritual outlook made him a potent force to reckon with. His pilgrimage in Bengal and the riot-affected areas of Bihar brought forth his "spirit of self-determination".

Gandhi's fundamental conception of God was as an omnipresent spiritual reality, 'an all-embracing Living Light' that could be addressed as Brahma or Rama or Truth. Gandhi got this strong faith in the existence of a deeper from his family background, especially from his devout mother. As he wrote in his *Autobiography*, "The outstanding impression my mother has left on my memory is that of saintliness. She was deeply religious" (HS, p.4). Moreover, the studies of Tolstoy, the Bhagavad-Gita, Buddha, and his contact with Raychandbhai, a Jain mystic left a deep impression on his mind. Gandhi was a metaphysical idealist and his views are on the same platform as that of the theistic seers of the Vedanta. Gandhi promulgated the spiritual truth that was the outcome of a spiritual experience, a disciplined holy life, and a persistent endeavour to concretize the principles of Ahimsa in one's actions and thought. Therefore, there is a synthesis of Jain-Buddhistic-Vaishnava ethics in Gandhi's conception of Ahimsa.

Gandhi stressed that experience is the initiation of any philosophy and thereby the more he disciplined himself the more he advanced in his search for Truth. There is a note of radicalism in Gandhi's thought because he affirmed on the "sanctity of personal experience of truth" (Varma, p.336). Great mystics since bygone ages have emphasised on the inner experience of real values. However, Gandhi does not ignore logical arguments and practical observation. In fact, he always experimented with his notion of "truth" and tried to compliment his observations with reasonable arguments. However, this scientific temperament was limited to his social and political finds, in matters of spiritual enquiry his propositions relied on spiritual intuition.

Gandhi believed that God or truth was the omnipresent being and was the sole determinant of the things in the world. Nevertheless, this determinism restricted only to the final interpretation of things, for he also practiced the activism of Bhagavad-Gita. Gandhi combined a faith in the supremacy of God with the insistence on constant actions.

Gandhi accepted metaphysical idealism and therefore, he believed in the importance of the ethical values of *Sarvodaya* or the good of all. The philosophy of Sarvodaya is constructed on the concept of the unity of existence. It seeks to fight against injustice against all living creatures. This strain of thought has roots in renowned *mantra* of the Yajurveda – *Isavasyamidam Sarvam* - i.e. "the universe is permeated by the supreme God" (Varma, p.337).

Gandhi's intense faith in God led him to regard the universe with all its creation as "the manifestation of God". It led him to believe that all life is one. Thus, adherence to *ahimsa* or non-violence was the natural outcome of this observation. Gandhi said: "When all life is one and the whole universe including myself is a manifestation of God, how may I regard anyone as my enemy, a wicked being, one whom I am free to hate"? (HPT, p.183). Mahatma Gandhi often said that a satyagrahi would never know defeat because he firmly believed that if Truth is God and everyone adhered to it then God would be on his side and he would never face failure. Therefore, the concept of Truth as God helped to revolutionise politics.

Gandhi regarded the Truth and Ahimsa as twins: "it is impossible to realize the highest Truth without ahimsa". Therefore, Truth is God for Gandhiji and according to him, whoever departs from the path of Truth, departs from God. Violence was one way of departing from the path of truth, because it connoted inflicting pain upon others. Thus, conforming to the principle of ahimsa becomes the prime object of the one who seeks Truth in life. Ahimsa literally means non-killing, but this word had a greater significance to Gandhi. To him Ahimsa symbolize, "avoiding injury to anything on earth in thought,

word or deed" (HPT, p.184). A devotee of ahimsa should not only refrain from hurting somebody in person, but should also refrain from saying or thinking ill about him. He must apply the principles of ahimsa to his thought and intention too. Therefore, ahimsa "in its active form means goodwill towards all that lives".

This concept of absolute ahimsa has been questioned by a number of scholars for its applicability in real life. Gandhi admitted man could not achieve that absolute ahimsa because he thought it was the attribute of God alone. Man has to destroy some form of life in order to sustain his own body moreover, for example if animals like snakes or tigers become a menace to the society, they have to be killed. Gandhi himself reflected on this point and said, "All life in the flesh exists by some violence. Hence the highest religion has been defined by a negative word, Ahimsa. The word is bound in a chain of destruction. In other words, violence is an inherent necessity for life in the body" (HPT, p.184).

This, however, appears to be a contradictory stance on the part of Gandhi. Therefore, a question may arise as to why employ an ideal that is limited in its applicability and to which modifications have to be made? Gandhiji said that an ideal that is attainable without much difficulty is a poor ideal. According to him, it is not the achievement that determines the validity of an ideal per se, but the constant striving after that ideal to perfect ourselves, this act itself draws us closer to that ideal which cannot be fully attained. Gandhi asserts that "what are called exceptions to the principle of non-violence are not exceptions which disapprove the validity of the principle; they are cases arising out of human imperfections" (HPT, p.185). They inspire the follower of ahimsa to strive harder "in his technique of non-violence".

Gandhi affirms that a person would be true to his faith if he shows compassion in action towards all living things. This concept of non-violence stems from Gandhi's firm belief that inside every man runs an element of divinity, irrespective of how bad one may seem



to be, and out of this divinity he feels compassion for those suffering willingly and without ill-will, like a satyagrahi. Therefore, this view upholds that when offered a choice between violence and non-violence, a large majority of the people would choose the latter over the former. Nirmal Kumar Bose said, "The non-violent way is thus the way of democracy. Self-suffering also brings the power of spreading one's own opinions, by actually living it, within the reach of even the physically weakest individual or community".<sup>6</sup> Thus, Gandhi's view of human nature runs in contrast to that of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli, who believed man, is incurably selfish and violent in nature. However, Gandhi's view seems to depict a better picture of man than that highlighted by Hobbes and Machiavelli.

The true religious attitude, to Gandhi, meant the voluntary acceptance and fulfillment of the duties that came one's way – *Swadharma*. "In the spirit of the Bhagavad-Gita, he felt that lived with a sense of detachment and disinterestedness the life of Karmayoga could lead to the attainment of *moksha*" (Varma, p.338). If one leads, a life dedicated to the service to one's kind that it does not lead to self-righteous altruism, but will lead to the expansion of the human self which will help to understand the intricacies of the humankind.

There were three eminent people who tremendously influenced Gandhi and his thoughts, they being Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, and Shrimad Rajchandbhai. As Gandhi himself stated: "Three moderns have left a deep impress on my life and captivated me: Raychandbhai by his living contact; Tolstoy by his book, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*; and Ruskin by his *Unto the Last*".<sup>7</sup> Of these three Leo Tolstoy's influence was the most pronounced one. However, it is John Ruskin's *Unto the Last* published in 1860 whose influence is perceptible in *Hind Swaraj*. Ruskin's book is considered a very important work of the Victorian Age in which he "seeks to banish to limbo the abstract

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<sup>6</sup>Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Studies in Gandhism*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1972) 12.

<sup>7</sup>Gandhi, *Autobiography* 83.

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'economic man' of the economist, and to establish the principle that the only man whom science can consider is the whole man. He seeks to moralize political economy".<sup>8</sup>

Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* has striking semblance to Ruskin's work *Unto the Last* in that they both preach a moralistic approach to political problems. While the former employs the dialogic manner to present his thoughts, Ruskin on the other, forwarded his arguments in the form of points. The dialogic form provides Gandhi with the flexibility, openness, and conversational quality that lacks in Ruskin's work. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi is addressed as "The Editor" and his addressee known as the "The Reader". This editor-reader equation reminds one of the Socrates dialogues, or the dialogues of the Upanishads, where matters of truth, spirituality, and morality are put in the form of questions and answers.

What Gandhi puts forth can be summed up in two questions, firstly, what is one striving for in life? Secondly, does "swaraj" only relate to political emancipation? In Gandhian praxis, attainment of freedom through violence will produce an order that will be detrimental for the nation. This is the reason he advocated the attainment of freedom through "passive resistance". He believed that dishonest means could never achieve positive results, for violence end in violence and the desired solution gets misplaced.

Gandhi states, "Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms" (HS, p.69). It involves the dissolution of the self for the cause and such a "sacrifice of the self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others". Gandhi supports the notion of self-sacrifice to the sacrifice of others. To him, self-sacrifice called for greater mental and spiritual strength than ignorant sacrifice of others. Sacrificing others can only make the culprit repent. Whereas by sacrificing oneself for others instigates penance within the wrongdoer.

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<sup>8</sup> Nischal, "Introduction" in *Ruskin: Unto the Last*, ed. Narendra Nischal, (New Delhi: Bookhive, 1961) v.

Gandhi foregrounds a stance in his *Hind Swaraj*, which is midway between the moderates and the extremists. Though he proposes bold conjectures, he cannot be called a "radical," for something like Passive Resistance cannot be incorporated within the gamut of radicalism, but he definitely adopts a morally superior stance, which was never before professed or practiced. Gandhi also goes on to say that in order to practice passive resistance one needs to observe chastity, truthfulness, and fearlessness.

There are many points of convergence between Gandhi and Ruskin, more prominently because Gandhi was highly influenced by Ruskin and this is largely evident in *Hind Swaraj*. Ruskin in his work reiterated the need to "...every man may know, and most of us do know, what is just and unjust act. And all of us may know also, that the consequences of justice will be ultimately the best possible, both to others and to ourselves..".<sup>9</sup> In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi desires for self-rule of the masses, which will be based on justice. However, he is quick to reprove the impatience on the part of the Indians to attain 'swaraj' and questions its urgency. He queries as to why one would require swaraj if one is well provided for by the English? Thus, Gandhi states that by 'swaraj' he meant self-rule and not merely rule by the Indian people. He desired a form of governance that would be original in its conception and practice and not an exact replica of the English model of governance. As he says, "it means this that we want English rule without the Englishman. You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger...This is not Swaraj that I want" (HS, p.26). He further states:

It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands. Do not consider this Swaraj to be like a dream...The Swaraj that I wish to picture is such that, after we have once realized it, we shall endeavour to the end of our life-time to persuade others to do likewise. But such Swaraj has to be experienced, by each one for himself (HS, p.56).

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<sup>9</sup> John Ruskin, "The Roots of Honour", *Ruskin: Unto the Last*, ed. Narendra Nischal, (New Delhi: Bookhive, 1961) 11.

Gandhi was right to condemn the British stating that they wished to convert the whole world "into a vast market for their goods". He knew that "English" was "a nation of shopkeepers," they were in India to exploit the nation's resources to their advantage. They exploited the masses to rake up the profits. Thus, the true religion of the English civilization was to accumulate the resources of the colonized nations and getting rich. He further says "fair means alone can produce fair results". Gandhi's foreboding lexis reverberate Ruskin's words: "He that oppressteth the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want...Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them" (Ruskin, 1961, p.40). Both Ruskin and Gandhi's rationale behind imparting education to the masses was; "Habit of gentleness and justice; and the calling by which he is to live," (Ruskin, 1961, p.40), which according to them outline the core of education.

Modern civilization, Gandhi said, hinge on a flawed conception of man as a materialistic, limitless consumer of resources. Such a faulty perception of man places higher precedence to material and sensual concerns over spiritual or moral concerns. It assumes individuals as self-centred atoms intent on gratifying his materialistic aims with no respect to spiritual obligations. Therefore, once again we see Gandhi condemning Western materialism in the same strain as Ruskin: "Our science is simply the science of getting rich. So far from being a fallacious or visionary one, it is found by experience to be practically effective. Persons who disobey them become poor. Every capitalist of Europe has acquired his fortune by following the known laws of our science...It is vain to bring forward tricks of logic...Every man of business knows...how money is made, and how it is lost" (Ruskin, 1961, p.25).

However, Tolstoy and Ruskin were not the only ones to inspire Gandhi; Henry David Thoreau also had a considerable amount of influence on him. It was Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience," his political chronicle that became the source of Gandhi's campaign of Civil Disobedience against the British rule. Gandhi had said, "I actually took the name of

my movement from Thoreau's essay, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience"...Until I read that essay I never found a suitable English translation for my Indian word, *Satyagraha*...There is no doubt that Thoreau's ideas greatly influenced my movement in India".<sup>10</sup> Gandhi adopted Thoreau's ideas in resisting oppressive government contrivance.

The essay, "Civil Disobedience," starts with the idea, "That government is the best which governs the least".<sup>11</sup> Thoreau did not want to abolish the government completely, what he wanted was a better government. According to Thoreau, a government should implement proper measures to ensure better life to its people and "to treat the individual with respect". Thoreau asserted that political action should be guided by individual conscience. In matters like voting, Thoreau says, "All voting is a sort of gaming...a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions".<sup>12</sup> What Thoreau implies is that the very act of voting "for the right is *doing* nothing about it". It is a complacent act as it leaves the work to be done on the option of *expediency*, for a man who really wants to help society in eradicating it of its ills will not rely on an expedient practice of voting. To bring about change, says Thoreau, a "wise man" will never depend on the decision of the majority to take action for by the time the majority reaches a decision; the force of the issue is most likely to be gone.

Thoreau, further asks the people not to blindly extend support to the government, which is likely to forward its narrow interests. He thought the government plays the role of "divide and rule" so one needs to be on his guard. He said one should rather applaud a soldier who "refuses to fight an unjust war" and show one's contempt for the government that perpetuates such unjust wars.

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<sup>10</sup> Gandhi, "Henry David Thoreau", A History of American Literature, by Mary S. David and R.L. Varshney, (Bareilly: Student Store, 2003) 109. Hereafter cited as HAL.

<sup>11</sup> Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience", Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau, ed. Brooks Atkinson, (New York: Random House, 1950) 635.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p.641.

Prison is the right place for a "just place" to live than under a state that is unjust. Thoreau places a higher value. Thoreau prefers the "imprisonment of the offenders" than the "seizure of his goods," however, he goes on to say that "more money, less virtue; for money comes between a man and his objects...and it was certainly no great virtue to obtain it" (Thoreau, 1950, p.648). However, he also believed that the plight of the people living under the prevalent system of government is so appalling that it is taxing for a man "to live honestly". He also targeted the churches for extending to the grievances of the people.

Thoreau recounts his imprisonment due to non-payment of poll-tax for six years. He thought this step of the government to be similar to that of the behaviour of the underbred and that "of a lone woman with her silver spoons". He ended up feeling pity for it. Thoreau regarded the state as not "armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength". He thought that man's nature was similar to a plant which when denied freedom, perishes. In Thoreau's view the political leaders and legislators were far removed from truth and wisdom, who stuck to the government for their protection. They were, in fact, conformists clutching to their "Bible and the Constitution".

According to Thoreau, "No man of genius for legislation has appeared in America. They are rare in the history of the world" (Thoreau, 1950, p.658). There were numerous orators, politicians and eloquent persons but all of them lacked the knowledge to deal with the burning problems of the day. They lacked the requisite expertise to ascertain the value of "freedom, of union, and of rectitude, to a nation". The legislators added Thoreau, further lacked the knowledge to deal with "questions of taxation and finance, commerce and manufactures and agriculture" (Thoreau, 1950, p.658). Thoreau insisted that those experienced and the people, in general, to come forward and through their individual appraisal help America progress among the ranks of other nations.

Thoreau thought of the "authority of the government" to be "an impure one". However, in order to be just this government should "have the sanction and consent of the governed". He asserts that the government should move progress toward a democracy, which truly respects the individual for it "the individual" who is the "basis of the empire".

Thoreau professed was not anarchism per se but relevant reforms in the functioning of the government. Thoreau's essay, "Civil Disobedience" tremendously influenced Gandhi. He spoke very highly of Thoreau: "You (the Americans) have given me a teacher in Thoreau, who furnished me through his essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" a scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa" (HAL, 2003, p.111).

Thoreau's basic postulations were to reform the government, freedom of the individual, conscience as the guide to political action, opposition of slavery, increased citizen's rights, and ensuring justice to all as the sole motive of the government. He failed to comprehend the existence of government that was ruthless in dealing with individuals like Christ, Copernicus and Washington. Thoreau's thought, though serrated, is bold enough to break the traditional mould and think out of the box and bringing to light many of the important issues that go unnoticed in the functioning of the government.

Thoreau's take on culture and self-determination helped Gandhi in turn to find a true definition for civilization. Thoreau in his essay "Life Without Principle" affirmed:

With respect to a true culture and manhood, we essentially provincial still, not metropolitan...We are provincial, because we do not find at home our standards; because we do not worship truth, but the reflection of truth; because we are warped and narrowed by an exclusive devotion to trade and commerce and manufactures and agriculture and the like, which are but means, and not the end (Thoreau, 1950, p.728).

Thoreau asserted that a man should "better starve" than "lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread". In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi defines true civilization on an analogous note:

Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance or morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means "good conduct" (HS, p.53).

Gandhi further goes on to state that the truly civilized conduct demands for, limiting our wants; shunning life-corroding competition; preventing condition that will engender immoral practices such as prostitution, smuggling, and other vices; and placing the moral concern over and above materialistic concern and subordinating "brute force" to "soul force". In other words, he wanted to make our social and political orientation conform to the principles of morality and ethics vis-à-vis the principles of *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (non-violence).

Gandhi always stressed on the moral well-being of the individual, which according to him depends upon one's capacity for ethical conduct that which places the human being above the brute, for true civilization measures the moral development of the individual rather than pure materialistic and industrial intensification. Swaraj is a word that has resonance and it denotes self-realization or striving for the purification. It is about empowerment but not through the oppression of the others. Swaraj is twice blessed, for it liberates the oppressed and the oppressor.

Gandhi condemned modern civilization not because it West oriented or scientific in temperament but because of its acute materialistic and manipulative outlook. Addressing the Meccano Club in Calcutta, in August 1925, he said:



Do not for one moment consider that I condemn all that is Western. For the time being I am dealing with the predominant character of modern civilization, do not call it Western civilization and the predominant character of modern civilization is exploitation of the weaker races of the Earth. The predominant character of modern civilization is to dethrone God and enthrone Materialism. I have not hesitated to call this system of Government under which we are labouring 'Satanic.'<sup>13</sup>

Gandhi time and again clarified that he was not against scientific advancement or development in the field of 'machinery.' On the contrary, he admired the spirit of scientific enquiry of the West and asserted that the world needs "the marvellous advances in science and organization that the Western nations have made". One of the mistakes of the Western, post-Enlightenment modernity, he said, was the exploitation of "the weaker races of the earth"<sup>14</sup> and the destruction of the "lower orders of creation" in the name of science and humanism.

Thus, the so-called "modern people" acting as the vibrant consumers of "utilities" resort to the industrial production of goods where the villages were the sole provider of raw materials and other resources. The produced goods, however, were meant for the towns and cities. In such circumstances, the villages suffered at the expense of the towns and the cities. "Industrialization on a massive scale," wrote Gandhi, "will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in".<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in *Hind Swaraj* he wrote:

When I read Mr. Dutt's *Economic History of India*, I wept; and as I think of it again, my heart sickens. It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that

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<sup>13</sup> "Mahatma Gandhi", 25 September 2008 < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma\\_Gandhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi) >.

<sup>14</sup> "Mahatma Gandhi", 25 September 2008 < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma\\_Gandhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi) >.

<sup>15</sup> "Gandhi: A Seer", 25 September 2008 < <http://www.gandhiserve.org/Gandhiaseer.htm> >.

Indian handicraft has all but disappeared...Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin (HS, p.81).

Gandhi reiterates that modern civilization seeks to increase our "bodily comforts" through better housing facilities, easier modes of travel and communication, increased mechanisation in industry and others. However, these have failed to bring solace to the individuals, who daily undergo inhuman working conditions and oppressive working policies. Moreover, modernization has given rise to new diseases and relegated the life of the workers by creating an environment detrimental to the growth of human beings and their moral self. "Formerly," writes Gandhi, "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...This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion...Civilization seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so" (HS, pp.32-33). Estranged from morality, the modern individual is left at the mercy of brute force, violence, avarice and other vices to fend for himself. Modern man, thus, feels no pangs while exploiting other men to realize his selfish aim. Fascism and imperialism epitomized the satanic rudiments of modern civilization to Gandhi.

The modern practice of separating morality from politics is the prime target of Gandhi's deliberation. The dichotomy of the 'private' and the 'public' in the life of the individual did not appeal to Gandhi. "Morality or public sphere is supposed or expected to operate, not according to any moral or spiritual values, but according to the criteria of expediency or pragmatism. In this way, modern political institutions and political representatives or agents are supposed to be morally neutral "procedural" or "methodical" functionaries or instruments".<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> "Swarajya", 07 September 2008 < <http://www.mkgandhi.org/swarajya.htm> >.

According to Gandhi, this modern practice of separating politics from morality has precipitated the process of exploitation and manipulation of politics and government by the rich to seek their self-centred aims at the cost of the poor. The so-called impartiality of the state and equality before the law, he said, only serve to intensify already existing socio-economic inequalities. The politicians, bureaucrats, and lawyers further intensify these socio-economic inequalities. Gandhi is critical of the modern profession of law, which according to him, in place of disentangling conflicts further promotes them. He states, "It is within my knowledge that they (lawyers) are glad when men have disputes. Petty leaders actually manufacture them. Their touts, like so many leeches, suck the blood of the poor people" (HS, p.48). He reiterates Thoreau's words; "The lawyer's truth is not Truth, but consistency or a consistent expediency. Truth is always in harmony with herself, and is not concerned chiefly to reveal the justice that may consist the wrongdoing" (Thoreau, 1950, p.657). Moreover Gandhi stated that the colonial state which professes to be neutral in matters of caste and other such social discriminations, in reality only serve to perpetuate these divisions further.

Gandhi strongly denounced the parliament, the beacon of modern functioning democracy, comparing it to a "sterile woman" that had no deep-rooted knowledge of the working of the democracy but acted upon "external force".

Carlyle has called it the "talking shop of the world". Members vote for their party without a thought. Their so-called discipline binds them to it. If any member, by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade...The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power that about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party (HS, pp.28-29).

than ;

According to Gandhi, the separation of morality from the workings of the modern civilization gets further accentuated by modern medicine that has only helped in creating many newer diseases.

I have indulged in vice, I contract a disease, a doctor cures me, the odds are that I shall repeat the vice. Had the doctor not intervened, nature would have done its work, and I would have acquired mastery over myself, would have been freed from vice and would have become happy...Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin. Men take less care of their bodies and immorality increases (HS, p.51).

Gandhi found the Western civilization fundamentally flawed, he concluded that the Indian freedom struggle did not rest on the mere assumption of transfer of political power from the British rulers to the Indian rulers, who would then follow the same modern Western module of governance. Therefore, Gandhi stood for more than political independence, he stood for Indian "swaraj".

He defined swaraj as self-rule or self-restraint, as the "autonomy" of the moral self, referring to who has acquired the mastery over his senses. According to Gandhi, the word "swaraj is a sacred Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint, which 'independence' often means," Swaraj thus is an "all-satisfying goal for all time".<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the major constituents of swaraj are decentralized representative democracy and the moral approach to politics and Indian economy. Thus, Gandhi wanted to integrate politics and economy with the principles of *satya* and *ahimsa*. To quote Gandhi:

Let there be no mistake about my concept of swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have

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<sup>17</sup> "Swarajya", *op.cit.*

political independence, at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma i.e. religious in the highest sense of the term (HS, p.52).

Swaraj had different connotation for Gandhi. Firstly, it denotes "national independence" signifying the "collective freedom from alien rule".<sup>18</sup> Political freedom is the second facet of Gandhi idea of swaraj. Economic and self-rule are the third and fourth aspects respectively. The need for these four aspects of freedom emanates from "the content of history", which "placed before him two traditions, modern Western and ancient Indian".<sup>19</sup>

Can there also be a  
Indian perspective?

In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi commended Mazzini's people-centred rather than king-centred concept of Italian nationalism, Gandhi vividly asserted that his aim was not to merely transfer political power from the British rulers to the Indian elite, but securing self-rule for the masses.

Gandhi preached a return to the simple values of nature. In *Hind Swaraj*, he vehemently opposed industrialization, mechanization and denounced Western imperialism and commercialism as "disease". He did to an extent preached the return to an agrarian economy, for according to Gandhi, it is in the villages that the real soul of India lay and they upheld truth and non-violence. Gandhi faced widespread criticism for this stance.

as they  
maintain

One of the prominent critics was Jawaharlal Nehru who said:

I do not understand why a village should necessarily embody truth and non-violence. A village, normally speaking, is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward environment. Narrow-minded people are much more likely to be untruthful and violent.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Anthony J. Parel, Gandhi, Freedom, and Self-Rule, (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2002) 18.

<sup>19</sup> Parel, Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule 18.

<sup>20</sup> J. Nehru, "Nehru's Reply to Gandhi: October 9, 1945", A Bunch of Old Letters, (London: Asia Publishing House, 1958) 507.

Gandhi believed that people cannot live in peace in the towns and cities, for towns and cities signified avarice and upheld the destructive principles of modern civilization having at its root violence and untruth. According to him, only "the simplicity of village life" can help in realizing the path of truth and non-violence. He felt that the modern civilization headed the wrong path. Gandhi felt that humanity was being lured by materialistic ambition to attain bodily comforts and this, in turn, was making them irreligious. Gandhi, thus, stressed that one needs to be satisfied with fulfilling his needs and be content, evident when he said, "man should rest content with what are his real needs and become self-sufficient. If he does not have this control he cannot save himself".<sup>21</sup>

Education is a major ingredient to attain Swaraj. Gandhi supported compulsory education but he insisted that "character-building" should be the prime objective of education. Macaulay's Minute had a damaging influence on the growth of the Indian languages but more so it preached the spread of English education with a negative agenda.

No Hindu, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence.<sup>22</sup>

Macaulay clearly did not want English language to play a unifying role but stressed on creating "class" divisions to separate the English-educated elite from the "great mass of population". Macaulay's stated objective about the aim of English education in India was:

<sup>21</sup> Nehru, Letters 507.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Macaulay, "The Consolidation Phase: The Grand Design", The Story of English in India by D. Krishnaswamy and Lalitha Krishnaswamy, (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006) 31.

*Wot true*

*Cities as centres of development  
villages as the mainstay of the masses*

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to redefine the vernacular dialects in the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

However, the British were shrewd enough to emphasise the moral aspect of education without introducing English liberal thoughts to the natives; "to aim at moral improvement of the subjects without having to worry about the possible danger of inculcating radical ideas that would upset the British presence in India".<sup>23</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi was intent on reversing this phenomenon by stressing on the vernaculars. He wanted good books written in the English language to be translated into the various regional languages, thereby, enriching the Indian languages. He asserted that English language should be used as a surrogate language and not as the primary language in India. He insisted that children be first taught their mother tongue, and when they grow up, they may learn English knowing "the ultimate aim being that we should not need it". Gandhi had stated, "I therefore regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon children a tongue other than their mother's for their development".<sup>24</sup> However, Gandhi further said that, "I do not want my house to be walled in all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."<sup>25</sup>

In order to improve a society its drawbacks must be highlighted and education plays an important role in foregrounding these faults. Hideous practices like untouchability,

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<sup>23</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, "English Literary Study in India", The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, (London: Routledge, 1997) 433.

<sup>24</sup> Gandhi, "The Dissemination Phase", The Story of English in India 89.

<sup>25</sup> Gandhi, The Story of English in India 89.

ignoble jobs extended on the basis of caste cannot exist in a society that upholds virtues like equality for all. Education enlightens one and raises the level of awareness among the people of a nation. It teaches one to rise above caste distinctions, social stigmas and move away from an exclusive, individual domain towards a more inclusive, community awareness. According to Gandhi, this should be the real purpose of education.

Gandhi also called for soul-force, which was rooted in the thought of "holding on to truth". According to Gandhi, its basic constituents were ahimsa, non-cooperation with immorality, and fasting. Gandhi developed his theory of cooperation as against the notion of competition. This notion of "cooperation" was a direct challenge to Charles Darwin's theory of evolution; where he postulated the dictum of "the survival of the fittest", and Adam Smith's theories based on competition. Gandhi propounded the concept of theory of the oceanic circle to determine the nature of cooperation. It signified "maximum autonomy with maximum interdependence".<sup>26</sup>

It stresses on Truth-force and articulates that an adherent of this Truth-force would not resort to violent means to achieve his end. The devotee of truth was also expected to undergo personal suffering in order to make the adversaries be penitent for their mendacious actions. Socrates preferred to drink hemlock instead of yielding to the pretensions of the society. Satyagraha, therefore, called for a high creed, which required of its supporters to endure pain and sacrifice to protect the truth from getting lost in the web of lies and malice. To Gandhi, the use of physical and military force signified inherent weakness of the individual.

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<sup>26</sup> R.P. Misra, "'Cooperation' Pervades all Walk of Life", Rediscovering Gandhi: Hind Swaraj: Gandhi's Challenge to Modern Civilization, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 2007) 72.



### 1.3 Methodology

Textual criticism aims to find and study all the evidence of authorship, editing, copying, printing, and distribution in order to discover the group, authenticity, and purpose of textual deviation and the significance of variant material forms of textual transference. "Textual scholarship might result in a history of the text, a newly edited text, or a critical essay employing textual history as evidence influencing interpretation. It identifies the sources of change and usually indicates whether changes are errors, revisions, censorship or editorial interventions. Its approach is often neutral - holding that any text "will do," but also insisting that not all texts of a work "will do" the same things".<sup>27</sup>

Textual criticism is not an exact tool for analysis as it deals with matter not rigid and constant, like lines and numbers, but fluid and variable; namely the anomaly of the human mind. It therefore is not susceptible of hard-and-fast rules. Therefore, it is not always an easy job, and scholars do sometimes disagree. However, the purpose of this research is to work with the materials available, to reconstruct the original text of a document with as much accuracy as possible in order to arrive at the one "authoritative" text, which contained the "final intentions" of the author at the end of his composing or revising a text.

The method of textual criticism has been in use since time immemorial. Its first proponents were the Greek and Latin editors who examined the authenticity of a text by the way of recension and emendation. Recension is the selection, after examination of all available material, of the most trustworthy evidence on which to base a text. Emendation is the attempt to eliminate the errors, which are found even in the best texts. This process includes the deletion of grammatical errors that are made by the author in the process of composing the text. The text is further emended to include any later additions or deletions that have been authorized by the author himself and therefore may be assumed to embody the author's final intentions.

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<sup>27</sup> Peter Shillingsburg, "Textual Scholarship: A Brief Introduction", 10 Nov. 2008  
<<http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/index.php?q=researchguide.html>>.

This concept of 'final intentions' is perhaps an offshoot of the Intentional School of Textual Criticism, which was established by Fredson Bowers and is now professed by G. Thomas Tanselle. This school of criticism is concerned in discerning the intention of the text, more specifically the 'author's intention'. Tanselle states that "Authorial intention, can be initial, medial or final, but more often than not editors dedicate all their energy to recover the 'final authorial intention' which becomes the center of their editorial projects".<sup>28</sup>

The principle that governs textual criticism largely is to select a "base-text"; which is one of the existing texts and closest to the author's vision, and then to apply the process of recension and emendation. The "resulting published document is known as the *eclectic text*, in that it accords with no existing model, but is constructed by fitting together materials from a variety of existing texts - materials that are sometimes supplemented by the editor's own conjectures".<sup>29</sup> As the motive for this research to establish a single authoritative text of Hind Swaraj, so the process of establishing the same is done by adopting the twin process of recension and emendation.

This research, however, departs from the existing practice of choosing a "base-text" since it 'textually' criticizes all the existing editions of the work whereas the aim of this research is textually analyze *two* editions of Hind Swaraj. The rationale behind choosing two editions is to examine the challenge posed by the publication of Anthony Parel's *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, where Parel has reverted to the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj in place of the 1938 Navjivan edition of the text, which until now was held as "the authoritative text".

This research commences with the detailed textual analysis of the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj employing the tools of textual criticism i.e. recension and emendation. Foremost,

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<sup>28</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention", Selected Studies in Bibliography, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979) 322.

<sup>29</sup> M.H. Abrams, "Textual Criticism", A Glossary of Literary Terms, (New Delhi: Harcourt, 2000) 318.

the various prefaces are studied to decipher their socio-political milieu and to realize the specific need they served. This exercise also takes into account the prefaces appended to the 1910 edition in order to mark out how and in what respect they were similar or different from the prefaces and testimonials of the 1938 version of the text. Finally, the 1938 edition is subjected to rigorous textual analysis to highlight the additions and deletions introduced in the text and if they impart a difference to the text in respect to the 1910 text. This research will follow a chapter-wise study of the text in order to highlight the significant variations in the text.

The third chapter follows a similar pattern beginning with the study of Anthony Parel's take on Hind Swaraj with special emphasis on his 'introduction' to the text. The first part of this chapter entitled " Re-creating Hind Swaraj: Parel's Account" tries to locate the essence of Parel's stand on Gandhi, his thought, the seminal text and the manner in which he introduces the text to the reader. Does his foreword echo the prefaces written by Gandhi or Desai, or does he manage to engender a distinct path? These are few of the points that this section tries to underscore. The second part of the chapter textually analyzes three editions of Hind Swaraj: The International Printing Press's edition of Hind Swaraj as published in 1910; Parel's edition of Hind Swaraj and the 1938 Navajivan edition of Hind Swaraj, by bringing out the distinctness of its composition and examining the footnotes furnished by Parel. In order to bring to light the credibility of Parel's claim of the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj as being the "authoritative" text, it was imperative to revert to the 1910 edition of The International Printing Press, which had published the first edition of the text in South Africa. This endeavour was particularly aimed at discerning the differences, if any, between Parel's version of the text and the 1938 edition.

The last chapter, Conclusion, is divided into two sections. The first part entitled "Hind Swaraj Examined" attempts to scrutinize few of the questions raised in the search for an authoritative text of Hind Swaraj, which ensued due to the various tribulations and dilemmas confronted in the process of research. How authoritative is, an "authoritative text" and what are the parameters that need to be scrutinized in order to obtain a single

text which represent the author's true aim. Why different editions cannot be true to the author's intent? On the other hand, how in spite of having different editions, a text can be nearer to the author's real intentions? These are few of the questions that this chapter tries to answer. Then it concentrates in a close study of Parel's claim of the 1910 edition being the "authoritative" text, and if so, then why.

Finally, "Future Projections" draws attention to the problems that arises when seminal texts in the line of Hind Swaraj are put forth to scrutiny. The biases that operate in national psyche play an important role in influencing the due process of research. The chapter ends with charting out the numerous avenues left for future considerations and the relevance of Gandhi and his thoughts in present times.

The aim of this research is to establish the 'Hind Swaraj' that is truly representative of Gandhi's deliberation that has greater relevance in contemporary times; which is replete with racial discrimination, terrorism, and religious profiling. The emergence of 'Hind Swaraj' and its astute thoughts in the national discourse is de rigueur to curb the growing unrest in India and all over the world. Therefore, this research will try to ascertain a single "authoritative" text of *Hind Swaraj* that is more authentic in character and true to its form is imperative to understand Gandhi and his philosophy of life.

## CHAPTER II      A Critical Analysis: Navajivan Edition of Hind Swaraj (1938)

### 2.1 A Study of the Prefaces

A preface is a sort of an introduction that sketches the basic structure of the text. It pre-emptly the thought, philosophy, and vision of the author. It rather anticipates the text to the reader. The prefaces to the Hind Swaraj do something like this, perhaps even more. They not only outline Gandhi's thought processes but also give a detailed account of the incidents and the happenings that prompted Gandhi to write the seminal text. A preface or a foreword is meant to introduce the crux of the book to the reader and present a brief history about the composition of the work. However, it can also act as the mouthpiece for defending the views and ideas highlighted in the book. The prefaces to the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj serve the latter purpose. They are not just a foreword to the text but also a codicil that reflect Gandhi's afterthought on both the influence and criticism faced by the text. The text was first published in English in 1910 followed by the Indian edition of the text that was published in 1919. Natesan and Co. and Tagore and Co. published two respective editions of the text in 1919. In 1921, the English edition was released with a new title "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule". The 1924 edition of Hind Swaraj published in American was called *Sermon on the Sea*. Being the seventh edition of the English version of the text, it had witnessed a flurry of comments that emphasized different aspects of the text. Some of these comments were disparaging in nature while others heartening. The 1938 edition, in view of these developments, was given a balanced quality by supplementing writings of Gandhi and Desai that specifically addressed the criticisms waged against the text.

The 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj is significant in a number of ways. Firstly, it has four prefaces: two prefaces to the edition were written by Mahadev Desai and the other two by Gandhi. This is in stark contrast to the 1910 edition of the text, which had only two. However, it is important to note that the both these two prefaces were written by Gandhi himself.

The preface to the 1938 edition points not so much to the text itself but rather tilts towards the philosophy ingrained in the text. This is reinstated by Mahadev Desai, who in the "Preface to the New Edition" of the 1938 text said, "Though Gandhiji's views as expressed in the first edition of *Hind Swaraj* have remained in substance unchanged, they have gone through a necessary evolution" (HS, p.5). This "evolution" is more syntactical than philosophical. The text of *Hind Swaraj* having been published a number of times in the past; the 1938 edition begins with Gandhi's foreword originally published in *Harijan* in the year 1933 entitled "To The Reader":

I would like to say to the diligent reader of my writings and to others who are interested in them that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my search after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am of age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment, and, therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same object (HS, p.4).

Desai compiled in the preface criticisms made by prominent people of the time, which appeared in the *Special Hind Swaraj Number* of the *Aryan Path*. These criticisms form an integral part of the 1938 edition for it provides a more comprehensive picture of *Hind Swaraj*. These comments by the various stalwarts of the time only reinforce the purity and strength of Gandhi's thoughts and vision.

One of the eminent people who commented on *Hind Swaraj* was John Middleton Murry. He questioned Gandhi's views on machinery. He felt that Gandhi went overboard with his criticism of the machinery without realizing that the machines were made and operated

by men. Therefore, it would be judicious to change the moral fiber of the men rather than blindly denouncing the machines. He asserted that it was only love or the "soul-force", which could provide respite from the potential harm of the machine. Therefore, instead of destroying the machines one could use this "soul-force" to control the apposite functioning of these machines.

G.D.H. Cole addressing Gandhi's critique of Western civilization believed that the Western civilization was not at war with the human soul. He also stated held that science, which according to Gandhi had created more evils than anything substantial, was not a "curse", but rather an agency to develop a more humane society. Cole felt that India had a lot of issues such as child marriage, child widows, and sacrificial offerings to appease the Gods in the name of religion; but all these are the mere defects of the society and not the spirit of India.

Similarly, Cole states that "the horrors of in Spain and Abyssinia, the perpetual fear that hangs over us, the destitution in the midst of potential plenty – even the money-grubbing that we have allowed to become the master of our lives – are defects, grave defects, of our Western civilization, but are not of its very essence, however much appearances may seem to-day to make against this defense".<sup>30</sup> Cole stresses that it is because of the sense of "perpetual fear" that Gandhi believed that he should work in "any movement that involves cooperation of many for a common end, for something that falls far short of his ideal. Alone, he can aim directly at his ideal - for its realization in himself".<sup>31</sup>

Frederick Soddy, the renowned and economist, was more critical of Gandhi's stand on the English language. He criticized Gandhi's perception that by driving out the English language from the country he would be able to do away with the evils of Western civilization. Soddy, who modeled his account in the form of dialogues, asserts, "By receiving English education we have enslaved the nation. Is it not the sign of slavery that

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<sup>30</sup> G.D.H. Cole, "Hind Swaraj Analyzed", Aryan Path September 1938: 430.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* p.431.

English, not the mother tongue, is the language of the courts of justice?"<sup>32</sup> He believed that the English language could provide India with a rare opportunity to bridge the gap between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Soddy felt that the presence of numerous languages in India would be detrimental in the country's quest for unity and harmony. Therefore, he remarks in a satiric vein, "We have to improve all our language[s] and get translations of valuable English books. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with optional Persian or Nagari characters to cultivate closer relations between Hindus and Mahomedans, and we can drive out the English Language in a short time".<sup>33</sup> Here, Soddy clearly referring to the translations of various English classics in various regional languages in order to spread the messages of liberalism and other progressive thought of Europe.

In his critique of Gandhi, Soddy did overlook the fact that Hindi did provide a common ground for many to come as one in their fight against colonialism. Nevertheless, he was right in his opinion that the English language would continue to have a pervasive influence in the Indian scene, as the presence of countless regional languages would challenge the influence of Hindi, in both north and south of the country.

C. Delisle Burns was critical of Gandhi's intricate use of the English words that, according to her, created confusion in the minds of the perceptive reader. She insists, "...in the conscious use of the 'soul force' Gandhi proposes to identify it with 'passive resistance'. In his discussion of policy he implies that a refusal to obey the law in passive resistance rests upon an obedience to a "conscience" which is morally superior to the law".<sup>34</sup> Here she emphasizes that such an appeal to the subjective dictates of the conscience will give rise various problems, "but here again it may be merely a matter of words". Burns, however, is generous in her estimate of Gandhi, for she believed that the

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<sup>32</sup> Frederick Soddy, Aryan Path 427.

<sup>33</sup> Soddy, Aryan Path 427.

<sup>34</sup> C. Delisle Burns, Aryan Path 435.



influence of Gandhian thought would be of "great advantage in English and American politics as well as in the conduct of industry and common life in the West".

Gandhi in "A Word of Explanation", which was appended to the 1938 edition, commends on the reach and influence of the book. Gandhi after a brief stay in India went back to South Africa in 1902, where in the following year he inaugurated the *Young Opinion*, his own publication to "work against anti-Indian racial legislation"(Parel, 2005, p.xv). It was in the columns of this publication that *Hind Swaraj* was first published. It received widespread attention followed by notoriety eventually leading the Bombay Government to ban it. The government not only banned *Hind Swaraj* but other influential publications of the International Printing Press such as the *Universal Dawn*; the Gujarati rendering of John Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, *Mustafa Kamel Pasha's Speech*; an Egyptian patriot's speech, and *Defence of Socrates or The Story of a True Warrior* is Plato's work on virtue and the nature of passive resistance in Gujarati.

In this foreword, Gandhi fleetingly mentions the banning of the text by the Bombay Government. He does not make any real accusations as such against this act by the government. He only goes on to suggest that the text "teaches the gospel of love in place of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force". It is also noteworthy that it is in this foreword that Gandhi talks about *swaraj*, stressing upon parliamentary *swaraj*. He not only condemns modern civilization and its various ills but also defends his views on railways and machinery, which had come under scathing attack from numerous quarters.

There is, nevertheless, a grave tone lurking behind his words which is perhaps due to the fact that 1919-1922 was a period marked by pervasive violence. The year 1922 was especially significant because of the Chauri Chaura incident where twenty-one Indian police officers were butchered to death by a horde of rowdy men, which led Gandhi to suspend the Satyagraha movement. Due to the prevalence of widespread violence,

Gandhi withdrew the civil disobedience movement twice, in 1919 and 1922. This course of action convinced him that the Indian people were not fully ready to adopt the selfless path of swaraj and carry it in its true spirit.

Gandhi's apprehensions were not without a cause. He was quick to realize that if the nationalist movement continued in a mode of extensive bloodshed then this would highly jeopardize its validity and being snubbed as barbaric by the international comity. This would furnish the British government with an excellent opportunity to suppress the movement and establish their legitimate right to rule in India.

In this foreword, Gandhi does mention of the deletion of the word "prostitute" in connection with the British parliament "in deference to a lady friend" (HS, p.15). This, he, also mentions in his "Foreword to Indian Home Rule", where he writes, "there is only one word I would alter in accordance with a promise made to an English friend. She took exception to my use of the word "prostitute" in speaking of the Parliament".<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, the word nonetheless remains in the text: "That which you consider to the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute...It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time" (HS, p.27).

The prefaces to the 1938 edition seem to suggest that in spite of its "crude" character and hastily conceived form, the text could and would stand tall in face of its scathing criticism. They were defensive in nature and hence, overlooked the relevance of throwing light on the germination of the thought behind "Hind Swaraj". The prefaces to the 1910 edition however throw considerable light on the origin and content of the text. Noteworthy is the fact that it has a preface that is distinctly addressed to the English translation of the text written by Gandhi himself.

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<sup>35</sup> Mahatma Gandhi, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol.15, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1958-89) 330. Hereafter cited as CWMG.

The "Preface to the English Translation" contains a tone of earnestness reflective of the changed circumstances created by the seizure of the copies of the original Hind Swaraj at Bombay. This act hastened Gandhi's decision to publish the English version without much delay. Gandhi in the preface readily accepts the imperfections present in the text, which he stressed, were because of his incompetence to convey the exact connotation in the English language. Moreover, he wrote the original text in dialogic form in Gujarati, whereas the English rendition of the text, though contains the 'dialogic' form, fails to capture the same 'thought-movement' as the original.

Are there any other...  
other than  
Gandhi's  
writing  
before  
and  
+...

Gandhi then briefly mentions the names of people like Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, Henry David Thoreau, and Ralph Waldo Emerson among the numerous writers who exercised considerable influence on Gandhi and his thoughts rendered in the pages of Hind Swaraj. Unlike the preface to the 1938 edition where Gandhi adopted a more subtle tone in criticizing the British government for banning the text. In this foreword, however, Gandhi vehemently criticizes the Bombay Government for its move to ban the original edition of the book. He saw the seizure as "a further condemnation of the civilization represented by the British Government". He also highlighted that the book spread the message of passive resistance and non-violence and did not promote violence, as the government would have liked to believe.

It was this doctrine of "passive resistance" which seemed to strike the wrong cord with the British administration. The government saw through this message of passive resistance a clarion call to all the people to mass boycott the main channels of British administration. They soon realized that if the word got out of hand, than soon the people of India, especially the people in service of the government would shun their work and resort to systematic strikes. They realized that such acts would greatly undermine the roots of their empire by striking at the main channels of their dominion namely the

railways, telegraph, etc. Passive resistance gradually became the strength of the Gandhian movement.<sup>36</sup>

It is in this preface that Gandhi likens the modern civilization, as represented by the British in India, to the "Kingdom of Satan", which was engaged in a struggle with an "Ancient Civilization, which is the Kingdom of God", and that in this struggle, the modern civilization would soon meet its end. This message of the ancient tradition standing its ground against the onslaught of modern civilization with its scientific apparatus runs through almost all the forewords of Gandhi. This seems to be the leit motif of his work. The modern world with its denigrating stand towards tradition and religious beliefs seem to irk Gandhi to bits. This is clearly discernible when he says:

My notion of loyalty does not involve acceptance of current rule or government irrespective of its righteousness or otherwise. Such notion is based upon the belief – not in its present justice or morality but – in a future acceptance by governments of that standard of morality in practice which it at present vaguely and hypocritically believes in, in theory....I am not so much concerned about the stability of the Empire as I am about that of the ancient civilization of India which, in my opinion, represents the best the world has ever seen.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, the prefaces to the 1938 edition of *Hind Swaraj* in addition to providing a broad historical and political graph of the text, introduces us to the various criticisms that were waged against the text.

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<sup>36</sup> Judith Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990) 70.

<sup>37</sup> Parel, *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* 7.

## 2.2 Emendation of 1938 Edition

*Hind Swaraj* is divided into two distinct parts. The first part articulates his philosophy of peace and non-violence and the second part advocates his vision of Western civilization, both its intrinsic worth and drawbacks. In the first part of the text, Gandhi advances a plurality of ways to fight imperialism. To Gandhi it was of paramount importance that one should not be judged by his or her actions but by the "motive" behind that particular action. This belief stemmed from the fact that he believed it was not the Englishmen who should be prosecuted but their actions, their civilization evident when he said, "I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization" (HS, p.90).

The 1938 edition is significant in more than one way. It set forth a standard text that came to be accepted by scholars all over the world. This text set the final intentions of Gandhi and was held as the "authoritative text", which embodied the comprehensive thoughts of Gandhi. This Navajivan edition was later reprinted as the "Revised New Edition" in 1939, which, however, is misleading as it is the exact copy of the 1938 edition with no revisions as such. The 1938 edition also occupies a pivotal position because with no further revisions to the book, it came to be seen as the final edition of the text that contained the vision of Gandhi with the apposite amendments done with his approval.

The text of 1938 edition did away with many of the precarious parts of the work. It deleted many of the things, which directly or indirectly, offended few sections of the society. The text was composed in haste and therefore, naturally, it did contain many errors that were overlooked by Gandhi in the process of its composition. This edition was the edition that contained all the subsequent changes made to the 1910 text. It embodied the final installment of Gandhi's thought because largely all the major confusions and errors were rectified. By the time this edition was published, the text had already acquired repute for itself both in India and abroad. The 1938 edition, not having undergone any major revisions after its publication, became the standard text for one who wanted to get

acquainted with Gandhi's concept of *swaraj* and *ahimsa*. This is the prevalent view prevails among the Gandhian scholars.

The text of the Navajivan edition of *Hind Swaraj* published in 1938 follows the same pattern as the previous editions. However, unlike the 1910 edition, which begins with Gandhi's "Preface to the English Translation" and "Foreword", the 1938 editions commences with Gandhi's note "To The Reader" followed by Mahadev Desai's prefaces. "A Word of Explanation" written by Gandhi, which was originally published in *Young India* in 1921, is also appended to the 1938 edition.

The text of the 1938 edition did undergo syntactical and grammatical modifications. Nevertheless, it is a faithful rendition of the 1910 text of *Hind Swaraj*. However, there were few factual errors that did get amended in this edition and few other changes were done to avoid hurting the sentiments of certain communities. This was imperative because Gandhi knew his opponents for their malicious means would misquote him. This was, perhaps, one of the reasons why he allowed the repeated amendments to his text. He was careful not to hurt the feelings of any community, especially because of his ingenuous errors. The text, therefore, did undergo few modifications that were purely related to grammar and sentence structure and also few factual corrections were made to the text. However, the factual corrections did not, in any way, alter Gandhi's stance in the book. It only made his vision more lucid and cleared whatever confusions manifest in the text. Few important amendments made to the text need to be carefully studied.

Few important changes made to the 1910 text are evident in the eighth chapter, where at least ten modifications have been identified. However, it the deletion of the word "Assamese" that is significant in this context. Gandhi used the term "Assamese" in reference to the "wild tribes" that form a part of India and its peoples. Gandhi was highly apologetic about this act and this fact is evident from the numerous instances where he regretted to have made this mistake. This mistake was further embellished by the British

officials, who made frequent mention of this slip, to put forward a twisted account of Gandhi's views about the north-eastern tribes.

One such instance is his note entitled, "Lovely Assam" written in 1921 where Gandhi states: "I understand that some Government officials have made use of a slip I have committed in ray booklet *Hind Swaraj*, in which I have bracketed the Assamese with the *Pindaris* and other wild tribes have made ample amends to the people. It was certainly on my part a grave injustice done to the great Assamese people, who are every whit as civilized as any other part of India" (24: 147). Gandhi blamed this mistake on his inaccurate grasp of an account of the Malipur expedition of Sir John Gorst. He was apologetic for this mistake and said, "Being an indifferent reader oh history, I retained with me the impression that the *Assamese were jungli*" (24:147). However, this slip on his part rendered him with the opportunity to extend his "tribute to the simple and natural beauty of the Assamese sisters and of enlisting them on the side of India and Swadeshi" (24: 147).

Another sensitive issue that was skillfully handled in the English edition of *Hind Swaraj* was the issue of Hindu-Muslim relation in the tenth chapter entitled "The Condition of India (Continued): The Hindus and The Mahomedans". The original work in Gujarati contains the lines: "*What is stated above also applies to the saying, 'A Mahomedan has no use for Mahadev.' Some sayings live and cause mischief. Misled by the sayings, we do not even remember that many Hindus and Muslims had the same ancestors and have the same blood*" (10: 28). These lines, however, have been edited out in all the subsequent English editions. Gandhi was well aware of the prevailing tension between the two communities and the last thing, he would have wanted, was his words to be misrepresented by his opponents to ignite communal tension. Gandhi again raises the issue of communalism in the eighth and tenth chapters of the text but adopts a voice of caution in dealing with the whole issue. He delineates the gory side of communalism that has contributed in creating factions within the country. He further stresses that it is the

Gujarati Version vis a vis English version  
51 Question that arise

British who in the end stand to gain from the growth of communalism in the country, and neither the Hindus or the Muslims.

The changes made to the English edition of 1910 were mostly syntactical and grammatical. However, there were few other factual errors as well which were corrected subsequently. One such major amendment is the substitution of "Shevetbindu" by "Setubandha" in ninth chapter on railways. This mistake, in a way, highlights Gandhi's limited knowledge of the Indian geography. Nonetheless, its correction made the text more factually accurate and structurally intact.

The importance of the 1938 text can also be judged by the fact it is the text of this edition, that was reprinted as the 1939 edition, that forms a part of the *Collected Works* of Gandhi and no other previous edition. Since this edition follows the proper rules of syntax and punctuation, there is a kind of formality to the language and structure. It lacks the crudity of language as evident in the 1910 text. This crudity is replaced with refinement by adhering to the language structure, spelling, deletion of factual errors and other such modifications. A text of such high repute had to be complete in structure and form and that is what the 1938 edition seeks to do. It was final rendition of Gandhi's seminal text and the changes made herein are final and absolute. However, this edition like the 1910 edition does suffer from few errors of its own as well.

The errors referred to, are ironically, those related to grammatical structure and punctuation marks. However, the words and sentence structure expressed here not so much bad English as bad style but the common errors of hasty writing. The proper correction is not the replacement of one set of words with another but the replacement of vague generality with definite sentence structure. The English language has a fluid style and therefore, no hard and fast rules apply to it. But the endeavour of pointing the following slips in the 1938 edition is to show that even well-intended corrections can sometime turn around to become grammatically incorrect. There is ample evidence that



support this fact. The sentences, in order to look more formal and less emotive, have been made more formal by deleting the commas. The commas, which denote the proper pauses at important junctures of a sentence to highlight the stress while reading a work, have been extensively deleted in the 1938 edition. For instance, the sentence "If you believe that because Italians rule Italy the Italian people are happy, you are groping in darkness". In the 1910 edition, this sentence reads as "If you believe *that*, because Italians rule *Italy*, the Italian people are happy, you are groping in darkness". The sentence is correct in the latter case because the first part of the sentence "If you believe *that*", directly points to the Italian people and "because the Italians rule *Italy*", is a reference to the *person* who *believes that since Italy is ruled by Italians so the people of Italy must be happy*. Therefore, the two phrases signify two different ideas and have to be separated by two distinct commas. In this case, the sentence is grammatically correct in the 1910 edition. Another example is a sentence from the 1938 text: "The lawyers, therefore, *will*, as a rule, advance *quarrel* instead of repressing them". In the 1910 edition the sentence reads as "The lawyers, therefore, *will* as a rule, advance *quarrels*, instead of repressing them". Technically "lawyers" cannot forward "quarrel" since a plural noun cannot denote a singular verb, unless it is a neutral clause. Therefore, we see that the sentence in the 1910 edition is correct in this respect. Moreover, the use of comma after the verb *will* in the 1938 sentence is incorrect because it is preceded by an adverb that is already punctuated with a comma; so stress is already present in the sentence, and *will as a rule* denote one singular clause that needs no punctuation. Other such instances are - "At that *time*, the feeling ran high" which was changed to "At that *time* the feeling ran high" in the 1938 edition. "Is all this *effort, then*, of no use?" being modified to "Is all this *effort then* of no use?" and "If it simply means a knowledge of *letters, it* is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused" altered to "*It* simply means a knowledge of *letters. It* is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused".

There are other instances as well where question marks have been replaced by full stop. A case in point would be "You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a

child from thrusting its foot into *fire*?" This same sentence in the 1938 edition reads as: "You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a child from thrusting its foot into *fire*". The sentence is in passive voice, nevertheless, it is a question in the form of summon. There are other times when a long sentence has been severed to form two sentences. A case in point would be the sentence "You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, you would make India English, *and*, when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan" from the 1910 edition, which was emended to "You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, you would make India English. *And* when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan".

The editing of the 1938 edition is poor in many aspects and present amendments in a very matter-of-fact way. Many amendments in the text damage the flow of the work since the spirit of the words and sentences are arbitrarily cut short with no logic at all. There are other instances where long sentences are stripped off the punctuation marks that render emotive stress to the syntax. Thus, often we see sentences that look barren with no format. The reader often confuses the context of the sentences as the references and clauses are all muddled up. In spite of all these shortcomings, the text does have its own merits as well.

One important thing discernible in the text of the 1938 edition is its controlled cadence. For a text like Hind Swaraj, which was instrumental in foregrounding the thoughts of a man who was not only a model but an exemplar of his message, a measured tone and rhythm was imperative to make the text acquire an unbiased footing. Gandhi in his moment of enlightenment on board the Kildonan Castle wrote the text wherein he took a passionate stand and gave vent to his compelling ideas and beliefs. In this exercise, Gandhi got carried away by his earnestness and made few errors while composing the 1910 text of Hind Swaraj, which late<sup>t</sup> came to haunt him. A text needs to adopt a disciplined approach while forwarding ideas that accentuate the intrinsic worth of a true civilization, the virtues of truth, and ahimsa.

A writer can be carried away with the thought of giving an exact rendition of his or her feelings and this is when the problem arises. In this stage of composition a writer needs to exercise restraint to avoid making mistakes that could have serious repercussions. For Gandhi these repercussions arose in the form of indictment from certain quarters of the society. However, it was the genius in him that made him see the silver lining in the accusations, which he turned around to his own advantage. Others, however, may not be as lucky. The 1938 text is significant in this context. The text, in spite of being similar to the 1910 edition in practically every aspect, adopts a judicious tempo that seeks to circumvent any of the problems faced by the 1910 edition.

The measured tone of the 1938, perhaps, facilitates its categorization with the great classics of the world. It presents the thought of Gandhi in a more reserved manner that does not give away to any unrestrained emotion that could impede the flow of the discourse. Therefore, the text of 1938 is easier to read, as it stays clear of the confusions and slip-ups evident in the 1910 edition of *Hind Swaraj*. Moreover, the thing to be kept in mind while reading Gandhi is that he wrote to get his message across to his audience, and was not concerned about the style and diction of the text. His simple expressions and forceful tempo was his way of making his statements, which could be comprehensible to all sections of the society alike. Gandhi wrote with conviction, he believed in "the truth and worth of the scrawl, in the ability of the reader to receive and decode the message. No one can write decently who is distrustful of the reader's intelligence, or whose attitude is patronizing".<sup>38</sup> After all "writing is an act of faith, not a trick of grammar" (Strunk and White, 120).

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<sup>38</sup> William Strunk Jr. and E.B. White, "An Approach to Style", The Elements of Style (New York: Penguin Books, 2007) 120.

CHAPTER III      A Critical Analysis: Anthony J. Parel's *Gandhi:  
Hind Swaraj* (2007)

**3.1 Re-creating Hind Swaraj: Parel's Account**

Anthony J. Parel's *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* published in 1997 is a work depicting the transformation of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi into the Mahatma. Parel, who is an accomplished professor in his own right, dwells on the various significant incidents that had an indelible effect on Gandhi. The "Editor's Introduction" to the book richly depicts the historical and political context of 'Hind Swaraj', highlighting the various historical and socio-political factors imperative in its creation, and also afford information about the numerous sources that directly or indirectly played a part in influencing the thought processes of Gandhi. The introduction to the text is exhaustive in nature and successfully unravels various facets related to the evolution of Hind Swaraj, as a commanding text in the Indian tradition of thought.

A detailed analysis of the "Editor's Introduction" to *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* makes it evident that Parel, perhaps like the Mahadev Desai before him, tried to portray the real Gandhi by positing him in the larger historical and political milieu. The introduction tries to trace the growth of Gandhi, the man, by recounting the historical happenings and the social setting of which he was a part. The tone of the 'introduction' is one of quiet reverence, which paints a picture of the rise of the saviour who would redeem us all from the scourge of modern civilization.

The "Editor's Introduction" is further categorized into various subdivisions highlighting different facets of Gandhi's life, especially in relation to the thought ingrained in the pages of Hind Swaraj. "Gandhi's Intentions" is first of these subdivisions where Parel recount the various plausible reasons, the "exalted aims", behind Gandhi's need to compose this significant text. Parel in his attempt to introduce the text to the readers

draws an ideological sketch of Gandhi settling on those particular incidents that significantly influenced the creation of Hind Swaraj.

It is important to note that these "exalted aims" of the text can be grouped in to three categories, namely, personal, political, and philosophical. The personal reason was Gandhi's own need to express his ideas that were "brewing" in his mind. He said, "Just as one cannot help speaking out when one's heart is full, so also I had been unable to restrain myself from writing the book since my heart was full" (32: 489). This reason seem to substantiate the fact that he wrote the book in ten days on board the ship Kildonan Castle en route from England to South Africa. The political reasons would include his need to address the methods of extremism resorted to by the expatriates. He was quick to realize that the use of violent means would not only prove false the validity of the nationalist movement but also portray the Indians as callous and unapprised to the West. Another reason was his strong dislike for the 'modern civilization' that relegated the moral growth of the individual to the materialistic aspirations of the 'modern-day man'. However, Gandhi did aspire to contribute to the "reconciliation of the Indians and the Britons". The philosophical reasons comprised of Gandhi's intent of developing a viable concept of *dharma* that would help provide a sacred refuge in the modern world and challenge the status quo. Parel states that the concept of Dharma forwarded by Gandhi has three different but significant connotations: "dharma as religion", dharma as duty", and "dharma as ethics".

Parel in the section entitled "Gandhi's Intentions" puts forth the basic reasons, which impelled Gandhi to develop the kind of ideas, which would promote the growth of humanism in a world tarnished by amounting violence and debauchery. Parel in this section pays lip service to the essentials, which, perhaps, were expounded by many people before him like Nageshwar Prasad, BR. Nanda, and others.

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In "Historical Context: Modern Civilization", Parel concentrates on Gandhi's condemnation of the modern civilization. However, Parel does insist that Gandhi was "critical" and "not wholly negative" in his attitude towards modern civilization. Parel, in a way, justifies Gandhi's stand by pointing out that Gandhi, in his abhorrence to towards the disparaging effects of the modern civilization, was appreciative of the British constitution. In this section, Parel juxtaposes the liberal notions propounded by Gandhi with those forwarded by the so-called harbingers of liberalism like J.S. Mill and James Fitzjames Stephen. Parel argues that even those people who defended the innate superiority of European morality, political economy, and property overlooked the macabre side of colonialism. These people overlooked the fact that man's foremost concern is freedom from external forces and required a society that provided him with conditions conducive to his growth as an individual. However, Gandhi did not lose faith in the English nation: "You, English, who have come to India are not good specimens of the English nation...If the English nation were to know all you have done, it would oppose many of your actions" (HS, p.87).

Nonetheless, Parel himself refrains from taking any critical stand against Gandhi's notion of modern civilization. Modern civilization does have its vices, but it does have its virtues also. The growth of industrialization has advanced the growth of cities, which in turn have seen huge influx of people migrating to these centres of development. Gandhi's critique modern day life was not unfounded but to wind up the industrial establishments that were imperative in the growth of the economy was inopportune according to some. Jawaharlal Nehru had said that "Gandhiji has said repeatedly that he is not against machinery as such; he seems to think that it is out of place in India today. But can we wind up the basic industries, such iron and steel, or even the lighter ones that already exist?"<sup>39</sup> Nehru was one of those who believed that in order progress development in the industrial sector was necessary. With the growth of city life, many people have managed

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<sup>39</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, "Back Home and War-Time Politics in India", Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004) 544.

to get rid of the various caste and religious afflictions surrounding their lives. The *untouchables*, in particular, largely benefited from the modern industrial advancements as it provided them with an alternative outlet to claim a better social standing.

Similarly, in the "Historical Context: South Africa", Parel dwells on the experience of Gandhi in South Africa and how it enabled him play the part of "critical outsider" in India.. Parel emphasizes on South Africa because it was South Africa, which provided Gandhi first hand experience of the flaws of the modern civilization. Parel puts forward three important issues that are; firstly, it was in South Africa that Gandhi realized that "modern civilization was at the root of the colonial problem"; secondly, it offered "relative social freedom" to Gandhi to conduct socio-political experiments, which were to be implemented in India; and, finally, it facilitated his lobbying missions to London in 1906 and 1909.

In "The Politics of Expatriate Indians" Parel concentrates on the "extremists", who were unsympathetic to Gandhi's ideas. These extremists sought to violence to achieve their end, totally rejecting calls for moderation and temperance. In this section, Parel gives an overview of the various "extremists", who had acquired widespread notoriety as well as prominence. Parel sketches the activities of Shyamji Krishnavarma, Madan Lal Dhingra, V.D. Savarkar, and other dissidents like Taraknath Das and V. Chattopadhyaya.

The section on "The Indian National Movement" deals with the issues of violence, the tussle between the Moderates and the Extremists, the economic exploitation of the country at the hands of the colonizer, and the peculiar standing of the Indian Muslims in a pluralist society like India. Parel highlights the rising tide of the nationalist movement especially the ways in which extremism spread to allure the minds of the youth of the country. This phase of the Indian national movement also saw the vehement declaration of many 'extremists' to shun the calls for 'passive resistance' and take up arms to fight for the emancipation of their motherland. Prominent among them was Sri Aurobindo, who in

Modern civilization in the work of Gandhi's times is not  
the same as it is now, Parel's line.<sup>59</sup>

many occasions had called for armed rebellion against the colonizers. He was a staunch critic of 'passive resistance'. He claimed:

Men in the mass are strong and capable of wonder-working enthusiasms and irresistible movements; but the individual average man is apt to be weak or selfish and, unless he sees that the mass are in deadly earnest and will not tolerate individual treachery, he will usually, after the first enthusiasm, indulge his weakness or selfishness to the detriment of the community.<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, this section brings forth the tension existing between the moderates and the extremists. Gandhi, who was predisposed towards the moderates, lavishes praise for Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale in Hind Swaraj but refrains from naming even one of extremist leaders. This tension becomes all the more evident when Gandhi and Aurobindo professes two different viewpoints with regard to the idea of passive resistance. Gandhi's idea of 'passive resistance' is:

Wherein is courage required – in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior – he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister (HS, p.71).

This view of Gandhi is defied by Aurobindo's denigrating stance on 'passive resistance' and he, instead, calls for more aggressive measures to vindicate the human anguish:

...the new politics must recognize the fact that beyond a certain point passive resistance puts a strain on human endurance which our natures cannot endure.

This may in particular instances where an outrage is too great or the stress of

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<sup>40</sup> Sri Aurobindo, "The Doctrine of Passive Resistance", Bande Mataram: Early Political Writings. (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1973) 113.



tyranny too unendurable for anyone to stand purely on the defensive; to hit back, to assail and crush the assailant, to vindicate one's manhood becomes an imperious necessity to outraged humanity (Aurobindo, 1973, p.116).

Therefore, Gandhi could never comprehend the need to vindicate oneself by the use of violence, and, therefore, he could never understand the rationale of resorting to violence by the extremists. Gandhi's statement: "...even a man weak in body is capable of offering this resistance...It does not require the training of an army" seems to anticipate M.N. Roy's call to establish "a national militia to replace the standing army".<sup>41</sup> He saw it as a "cowardly" act and asserted that "control over the mind" is imperative to comprehend the true meaning of passive resistance, and "when that is attained, man is free like the king and his very glance withers the enemy". Parel in the section also highlights the economic exploitation. He mentions the Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and R.C. Dutt's *Economic History of India* as the works which enlightened Gandhi on the economic plight of the country. Romesh Dutt in his work vividly described the 'annual economic drain theory'. To quote Dutt:

India had to meet a heavy drain which flowed annually into Great Britain without a direct commercial equivalent; she was unable to meet this demand by manufactured articles; and she met it therefore with the food supply of the people to a larger extent than she would have otherwise exported.<sup>42</sup>

Growing factions marked this period in every quarter of the country. In relation to the Indian Muslims, Gandhi never for once doubted that their interests were in "would turn away from the general direction that Indian nationalism was taking" (Parel, p.xxxi). This is one of the prime reasons that led him to support the Morley-Minto Reforms, which

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<sup>41</sup> M.N. Roy, "Manavendra Nath Roy", Modern Indian Political Thought. Vol. 2. (Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, 2005) 484.

<sup>42</sup> Romesh Dutt, "Trade and Manufacture", The Economic History of India, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950) 348.

were implemented by the Indian Councils Act, 1909. The most striking feature of these reforms was that "it provided, for the first time, for separate representation of the Muslim community and thus sowed the seeds of separatism that eventually led to the lamentable partition of the country...this idea of separate electorates for the Muslims was synchronous with the formation of the Muslim League as a political party [in 1906]".<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, many saw this development as a direct outcome of the failure for the emergence of a Muslim middle class and the gnawing issue of the caste discrimination. Nehru sums up this predicament of India impeccably:

There were many reasons, many contributory causes, errors and mistakes on every side, and especially the deliberate separatist policy of the British Government. But behind all these was this psychological background, which itself was produced, apart from certain historical causes, by the delay in the development of a Muslim middle class in India.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, on the one front, India was struggling against foreign rule and on the other hand, "in between the remnant of feudal order and modernist ideas and institutions". India was fighting the twin battle of preserving the 'traditional' against the onslaught of the 'modern' and at the same time, was trying to do away with numerous insinuating 'traditional' practices in order to forge a better future. This conflict further intensified the socio-political situation of the country.

"The Intellectual Context: Western Sources" and "The Indian Sources" as the title suggest discusses the various western and Indian influences in the making of Hind Swaraj. In this part, Parel tries to give us an idea about the diverse nature of the sources and how they conditioned Gandhi's thought processes. He tried to show how people from John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy, and Henry Maine to Thoreau, Emerson, and Mazzini exercised their

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<sup>43</sup> D.D. Basu, "The Historical Background", Introduction to the Constitution of India, (New Delhi: Wadhwa and Company, 2008) 5.

<sup>44</sup> J. Nehru, "The Last Phase - I", The Discovery of India, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004) 385.

influence on him. Gandhi himself stated, "Now I have read a great deal in the prison. I have been reading Emerson, Ruskin and Mazzini" (9: 208). Tolstoy plays a very important part in molding Gandhi's thought towards a certain direction. Tolstoy conditioned Gandhi's thoughts on the most important issues. Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" also exercised a major influence on Gandhi's perception.

Civil disobedience was Thoreau's "definition of a peaceful revolution". He said when the conscience is wounded, then through this wound "a man's real manhood and immortality flew out". This was the main assumption of Thoreau's political deliberation. Thoreau's individualism was a remonstrance against the proliferation of the modern culture of materialism with its adverse on the individual. However, Thoreau's individualism was limited in its practical usage and instead of proposing measure to control industrialism, he out rightly denounced it.

Interestingly, he devoted a whole chapter to Italy to study their approach to fight foreign belligerence, where the influence of Mazzini is quite perceptible: "Mazzini has shown in his writings on the duty of man that every man must learn how to rule himself" (HS, p.58). The growth of English education facilitated the spread European ideas in India and thereby ignited the minds of the Indian youth. Gita Srivastava affirms, "The national literature in India became a vehicle of freedom. The fertilizing effect of Italian *Risorgimento* could be seen in such regional literature as Tamil, Bengali and Marathi".<sup>45</sup>

It was Mazzini who raised the idea of nationalism from a being mere concept to a 'religion'. Moreover, Mazzini's nationalism with its emphasis on "humanism, spirituality and cosmopolitanism" was analogous to the Indian tradition. Nonetheless, Parel avers that Gandhi's conception of freedom was more comprehensive than that of Mazzini's. However, the importance of Mazzini and his ideas can be judged by the fact that Lala Lajpat Rai wrote his biography in Urdu in 1896 and borrowed Mazzini's phraseology to

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<sup>45</sup> Gita Srivastava, Mazzini and His Impact on the Indian National Movement. (Allahabad: Chugh Publications, 1982) 188.

name his book *Young India* from Mazzini's society called 'Young Italy'. Surendra Nath Banerjea wrote Mazzini's biography in English, whereas in 1907, V.D. Savarkar wrote on the life of Mazzini in Marathi. Parel, in this section, limits himself to recounting the sources mentioned by Gandhi in the Appendix of Hind Swaraj.

"The Literary Genre, the Structure and The Argument of Hind Swaraj" draws attention to the dialogic structure of the text. The editor-reader equation is in the fashion of the Socrates dialogues and the Upanishads. Parel forwards his own personal take on Hind Swaraj in this part. He does not critically deal with the text but sketches, in a very matter-of-fact way, the relevance, and applicability of the theory inherent in the text. "Whoever enjoys self-rule transforms himself or herself in some measure. Self-rule without self-transformation is not Gandhian. Hence swaraj is not, and is not intended to be, a utopia" (Parel, p.lviii). Such is the conviction of Parel. This section, in spite of being Parel's own account of Hind Swaraj, has a very measured tone and does not provide any insightful thought regarding his understanding of the text. His comments are more like an extended annotation to the text.

"The Reception of Hind Swaraj" Parel gives a general view of the reception of the text in India and abroad. He illustrates the denouncing of the text as representing "Christian piety" by the proponents of Marxism in India, namely M.N. Roy and S. Dange. Roy was a staunch critic of Gandhi. He rejected Gandhism as "a reactionary social philosophy teaching the impracticable concept of social harmony".<sup>46</sup> He viewed non-violence as a façade to hide the macabre nature of social exploitation. Roy regarded *ahimsa* as "an intellectual device for concealing the capitalist exploitation of the country".<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, he did pay rich tributes to Gandhi in his book *One Year of Non-Cooperation* (1923), where he compared Gandhi to St. Thomas Aquinas, Savonarola and Francis of Assisi. Among others who exalted Gandhi's ideas in Hind Swaraj was Nageshwar Prasad. He particularly drew attention to Gandhi's "world-view". He said,

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<sup>46</sup> M.N. Roy, Modern Indian Political Thought 487.

<sup>47</sup> M.N. Roy, Modern Indian Political Thought 487.

"The moral sensibility that lies behind Gandhi's condemnation of modern civilization is his world-view"<sup>48</sup>, one that is marked by compassion and forbearance.

"*Hind Swaraj* in Relation to Gandhi's Contemporary Influence" discusses Gandhi's influence in academic, social and political field. If to people like Partha Chatterjee, Gandhian thought refuted "entire edifice of bourgeois society",<sup>49</sup> then to Aijaz Ahmad, Gandhian thought debunked Marxism on every account: "If Marx raved against the slow ('vegetative') pace of change in India, Gandhi admires precisely that kind of stasis".<sup>50</sup> Ashis Nandy saw Gandhi's views as a great blow to the theory of imperialism. He believed Gandhi attacked imperialism on "two planes". He judged colonialism by Christian values and exposed its evil counterpart. "At the second plane", Gandhi made his estimation "of the gains and loses from colonialism a part of his critique of modernity and found the British wanting in both ethics and rationality".<sup>51</sup>

On the other hand, persons like George Catlin, in spite of being critical of Gandhi's stance on machinery, asserted that Gandhi's "counsel must be judged as a reaction against an abuse".<sup>52</sup> Margaret Chatterjee highlights the importance of "religious pluralism"<sup>53</sup> as professed by Gandhi and its need in today's world that is immersed into religious fanaticism and bigotry. As Brown rightly claimed that Gandhi affirmed to be "to be guided by an inner voice", and his readiness to undergo pain and also the prospect of death for what he believed to be the 'Truth', only vindicated "the reality of his inner guidance and [it] was neither charlatan nor humbug, covering the tracks of self-seeking

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<sup>48</sup> Ramashray Roy, "Moral Foundation of Hind Swaraj and Non-violence", Hind Swaraj: A Fresh Look, Nageshwar Prasad, ed. (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1985) 44.

<sup>49</sup> Partha Chatterjee, "The Moment of Manoeuvre: Gandhi and the Critique of Civil Society", Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996) 90.

<sup>50</sup> Aijaz Ahmad, "Marx on India: A Clarification", In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006) 237.

<sup>51</sup> Ashis Nandy, "The Uncolonized Mind", Exiled at Home, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005) 100.

<sup>52</sup> George Catlin, In the Path of Mahatma Gandhi, (London: Macdonald and Co., 1948) 220.

<sup>53</sup> Margaret Chatterjee, Gandhi's Religious Thought, (London: Macmillan, 1983) 46.

ambition with the cloak of religion".<sup>54</sup> However, there were other people like G.D. Birla<sup>55</sup> and N.K. Bose<sup>56</sup>, who gave expression to their personal experience of coming in contact with the Mahatma himself and how they felt a momentous change in their disposition.

Parel forwards significant facts in the copious footnotes to the 1910 text in his book. A close study of those footnotes helps in discerning the spirited atmosphere of the imminent Indian National Movement and the direction of Gandhi's thoughts and outlook. These footnotes seek to elucidate many of the observations of Gandhi that he made to denote a particular event of that time. These footnotes help in creating the image of the emerging nationalist thought among the people of the time and give a hint of Gandhi's own leanings in the end.

In the very first chapter, "The Congress and its Officials", Parel provides three important facts. First, Parel refers to the Congress and its foundation in the year 1885. The Congress or the Indian National Congress was formed to act as a constitutional outlet for the growing restive populace. The second reference with regard to the Home Rule Movement is significant because the Indian National Congress had split into the Moderates and the Extremists. Subsequently, the Moderates were disappointed with the constitutional mechanism and swayed by the rhetoric of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and other extremist leaders, who were keen to return in the Congress.

Tilak had famously stated that, "...we are trying in India, as the Irish Home-rulers have been doing in Ireland, for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of Government, and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which had been committed in different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded to a great extent, the pace of our political

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<sup>54</sup> Brown, "Gandhi's Politics", Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 383.

<sup>55</sup> G.D. Birla, In the Shadow of the Mahatma: A Personal Memoir, (Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1953) 58.

<sup>56</sup> N.K. Bose, "Introduction", My Days with Gandhi, (Calcutta: Nishana, 1953) x.

progress".<sup>57</sup> Finally, Parel mentions the Drain Theory as forwarded by both Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt in their works *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and the *Economic History of India* cogently illustrated the exploitative character of the British rule. The drain theory was "the high water mark of the nationalist leaders' comprehensive, inter-related and integrated analysis of the colonial situation".<sup>58</sup>

In the second chapter, "The Partition of Bengal", reference is made to the Swadeshi movement as it emerged to oppose the decision of the British Government to 'partition' Bengal. Parel highlights the "political intention" behind this act. In order to check the growth of nationalism partition was deemed a perfect solution. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy (1899-1905) stated the motive behind the partition was "to dethrone Calcutta" from acting as the "centre from which the Congress Party is manipulated throughout Bengal, and indeed, the whole of India...The centre of successful intrigue," and "divide the Bengali speaking population".<sup>59</sup> Gandhi's stance on *Swadeshi* was:

Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined by the present age. Spiritual laws, like Nature's laws, need no enacting; they are self-acting...That is why the Gita says: 'It is best to die performing one's own duty or *svadharma*: *paradharma* or another's duty is fraught with danger'. Interpreted in terms of one's physical environment, this gives us the law of Swadeshi. What the Gita says with regard to *svadharma* equally applies to Swadeshi, for Swadeshi is *svadharma* applied to one's immediate environment. A true votary of Swadeshi will never harbour ill-will towards the foreigner...Swadeshi is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service, that has its roots in the purest *ahimsa*, i.e. Love.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Bipin Chandra, "The Home Rule Movement and Its Fallout", India's Struggle for Independence: 1857-1947. (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1989) 160.

<sup>58</sup> Chandra 97.

<sup>59</sup> Chandra 125.

<sup>60</sup> M.K. Gandhi, "Swadeshi", From Yeravda Mandir: Ashram Observances, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 2007) 35-38.

The partition of Bengal ignited the minds of the Indian especially the Bengali intellectuals to unite and join hands and arms against the British rule. The Bengal Partition was the "real awakening" in this regard as it jolted the people of Bengal out of their years' of slumber to the socio-political degradation they were subjected to. The partition made the people fearless in many ways. They no longer shivered at the sight of the Englishmen nor feared to raise their voices of dissent in public. The voiceless masses of India in a way found their voices after the Partition. The Partition produced not only positive results, but also a few negative ones. Foremost it created the desired 'rift in the English ship' but it also created a wide gap between the Moderates and the Extremists. Gandhi viewed this division sympathetically, though he knew this rift was temporary.

Jawaharlal Nehru fittingly stated, "Politics was confined to the upper strata. The nationalist movement in Bengal from 1906 onwards had for the first time shaken this up and infused a new life in the Bengal lower middle-class and to a small extent even the masses. This process was to grow rapidly in later years under Gandhiji's leadership...".<sup>61</sup> Therefore, this chapter was inevitable keeping in mind the fact that the partition of Bengal was the next most important even after the formation of the Congress in 1885 that evoked widespread response.

The third chapter, "Discontent and Unrest", extends the discourse on the partition of Bengal and its aftermath. This chapter is suggestive of Gandhi's concern with the growing incidents of extremism in the country with the killing of numerous Englishmen and Indians and the subsequent deportation of their murderers. It was in the year 1909 that Ganesh Savarkar was sentenced to be deported for life for writing seditious verses and Madan Lal Dhingra had shot dead Sir Curzon Wylie in London. The only significant footnote of this chapter refers to people like Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt and signifies the impact their work had on Gandhi. Dutt had asserted that "taxation raised by a king...is like the moisture sucked up by the sun, to be returned to the earth as fertilizing

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<sup>61</sup> Nehru, *An Autobiography* 32.



rain; but the moisture raised from the Indian soil now descends as fertilizing rain largely on other lands, not on India" (Chandra, 1989, p.97).

In "Italy and India", Gandhi draws a comparison between Italy and India. He succinctly elucidates the argument that India should follow a path of non-violence to achieve its ends because violence spawns more violence and no one stands to gain from bloodshed. He chiefly refers to the act of Madan Lal Dhingra, whose love for his country led him the wrong path and generated both iniquitous and effectual results<sup>62</sup> for India. The statement of Gandhi that "Mazzini has shown in his writings on the duty of man that every man must learn to rule himself" is directly aimed at the extremists, who projected Mazzini as a man, whose national ideas "were an antithesis of imperialism" and called for aggressive measures to deal with the perpetrators of crime. Gandhi attempts to project Mazzini as a morally responsible person rather than a revolutionary man devoid ethical compunction.

"Passive Resistance" is one of the most significant chapters of the text, this section highlights Gandhi's apparent faith in the passive resistance i.e. soul-force. Satyagraha is highlighted in the footnotes. Gandhi coined the term Satyagraha in keeping with the long-standing tradition of non-violent resistance made prominent by figures like that of Jesus Christ, John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy and Henry David Thoreau. In referring to the formative years of Satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhi said:

None of us knew what name to give to our movement. I then used the term "passive resistance" in describing it...As the struggle advanced, the phrase "passive resistance" gave rise to confusion and it appeared shameful to permit this great struggle to be known only by an English name...A small prize was therefore announced in Indian Opinion to be awarded to the reader who invented the best designation for our struggle. One of the competitors suggested the word 'sadagraha', meaning "firmness in a good cause". I liked the word, but it did not

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<sup>62</sup> The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 was the upshot of numerous acts of terror by Indian extremists, prominent among them was the killing of Sir Curzon Wylie by Madan Lal Dhingra in 1909 in London.

fully represent the whole idea I wished it to connote. I therefore corrected it to "Satyagraha". Truth (satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. I thus began to call the Indian movement Satyagraha, that is to say, the Force that is born of Truth and Love or non-violence...<sup>63</sup>

Gandhi had stressed that Satyagraha facilitates both character and nation building. It meant that in order "realize the Truth by a judicious combination of constructive work and civil disobedience. This endeavour of pursuit of truth by cultivating 'swaraj' through promotion of goodness in society around the 'ideal of universal brotherhood was community oriented and state-centered'. He seeks Truth, not in isolation, self-centredly, but with the masses".<sup>64</sup>

It is imperative to mention that Brown felt that Gandhi was a man who compromised with his ideals when situation demanded so without "a sense of defeat"; not because he did not have faith in his own ideals, but because he believed that these were important steps "on the road to the final goal as promoting resistance to the raj as civil disobedience" (Brown, 1977, p.383). In "Dharma as Religion,"<sup>65</sup> Parel asserts that the purpose of religion is to bridge the gap between the ethical and the spiritual, without identifying completely with either. In "Dharma as Ethics", Parel said that non-violence is "an ethic in itself and a derivative of truth". When non-violence stands as an ethic "in itself" it does so in relation to the 'eleven'<sup>66</sup> moral virtues listed by Gandhi.

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<sup>63</sup> Anand Kumar, ed, Satyagraha Centenary International Conference: Globalization of the Gandhian Way: Sociology, Politics and Science of Satyagraha Between 1906-2006, November 13-20, 2007, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi: Center for Social Research, 2007: p.4.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* p.5.

<sup>65</sup> Parel, "Dharma as Religion", Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony, (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 99.

<sup>66</sup> Gandhi listed 'eleven' moral virtues, which are: truth, non-violence, courage, celibacy, non-stealing, freedom from greed, control of the appetite, manual labour, Swadeshi, opposition to Untouchability, and equal respect for all religions.

In the chapter, "Education", Gandhi, for the first, introduces his idea of basic education for India. In "Basic Education", he draws out a plan to educate the village children "into model villagers...It develops the body and the mind, and keeps the children rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realization of which he or she begins to take his or her share of from the very commencement of his or her career in school".<sup>67</sup> As for adult education, Gandhi felt that the first imperative was "true political education of the individual by word of mouth...Side by side with it will be the literary education. This is itself a speciality".<sup>68</sup>

Gandhi concludes his proposition on 'swaraj' on a positive note and calls for "its attainment". He describes the vitality of the Indian people and their ancient civilization. 1. Gandhi's critique of colonialism attested the misplaced notion of the British that their imperialistic designs were not, in any way, belittling the principles of Christianity. Gandhi did approve of the humanitarian works of the missionaries but he derided their acts of proselytizing.

Gandhi's views call for a more humane approach in all aspects of life – be it political, social, cultural, or religious life.

Gandhi's world-view projects an outlook, which enfolds empathy, compassion, and fellow-feeling...He therefore insists on choosing a concrete path of making it possible for the value commitment to be universally manifested. Such a concrete path offers itself in the principle of Swadeshi...Each individual or unit has to strike a universal concrete in terms of the milieu of his own cultural heritage. Only by proceeding from whatever we are – geographically, spiritually

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<sup>67</sup> M.K. Gandhi, "New or Basic Education", Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 2006) 14.

<sup>68</sup> Gandhi, Constructive Programme 15.

or emotionally – can we make the integral effort needed for the progress and peace of the whole community.<sup>69</sup>

Parel also presents significant variations between the 1910 edition of *Hind Swaraj* and that of the Gujarati text originally published in 1909. Interestingly, the tenth volume of the *Collected Works* of Gandhi contains the Revised New Edition of the *Hind Swaraj* published in 1939. However, this Revised Edition is the exact replica of the 1938 text, with no amendments whatsoever. The tenth volume has highlighted the major deviations from the Gujarati original that have been deleted from the first English text and in the subsequent editions of *Hind Swaraj*: “Significant variations between the Revised New Edition of 1939 and the Gujarati original published in *Indian Opinion* in December 1909 are indicated in the footnotes” (10: 245). Parel has adeptly and profusely presented these deviations in his footnotes. For instance, “The original has: ‘It would be improper for others to claim that honour...’” (10: 251). Parel reproduces this as: “The Gujarati text reads: ‘It would be improper for others [the Indian revolutionaries] to claim that honour...’” (Parel, p.18). Another instance is: “The original has: ‘one of them practises satyagraha against the other...’” (10: 292). Parel quotes this very statement: “The Gujarati text has: ‘one of them practises satyagraha against the other...’” (Parel, p.90).

The footnotes in Parel’s book *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* follow a similar pattern that of the footnotes of the *Hind Swaraj* in the tenth volume of the *Collected Works*. One can also discern the fact that Parel substitutes the information as provided in the footnotes in the tenth volume with more elaborate accounts of, ironically, the same facts. Therefore, in spite of having written an elaborate introduction that wonderfully traces Gandhi’s intentions behind composing the seminal text, one can easily discern the apparent similarity of the material provided in the tenth volume of the *Collected Works* in relation to *Hind Swaraj* and the footnotes to the 1910 text offered in Parel’s book. What Parel has

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<sup>69</sup> Ramashray Roy 440.

done is, perhaps, dug deeper into the social and political materials to render a better and innate perception of the workings of the time.

### 3.2 Textual Analysis of 1910 and 1938 Editions of Hind Swaraj

The text of the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj was edited but it was largely limited to syntactical modification without affecting Gandhi's philosophy as such. This is apparent from the fact that even after revision the text is a true rendition of the original in its essence and structure. Desai's genius as an editor is manifested here, as the text of the 1938 edition is almost an exact replica of the English translation of Hind Swaraj. Desai chooses to edit only those sections of the text, which according to him "stood out" of the movement of the text and replaced them with a more subtle expression. This becomes all the more evident when we do a close reading of the individual chapters of the text.

Interestingly, the fact that needs some reflection is that Parel vehemently states that he has used the 1910 edition of the "English text (with its Foreword and Preface), which the present editor [Parel] believes to be the most authentic of all the existing English texts",<sup>70</sup> which was published by The International Printing Press (IPP) on 20<sup>th</sup> of March, 1910. He asserts that the edition used by him in his book, *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* is this 1910 edition, which he has "re-issued here for the first time since 1910 with the permission of the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad".<sup>71</sup> Therefore, here Parel implies that he is employing the IPP's edition for his study, without actually mentioning it anywhere in his work. Nevertheless, on close inspection of the 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1910 edition of the IPP and the one used by Parel for his study makes one aware that these two editions are *not the same*. There are a few important differences apparent in both the texts and those have been duly highlighted in the following table. Therefore, several questions

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<sup>70</sup> Parel, *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* Ixiv.

<sup>71</sup> Parel, *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* Ixiv.

arise as to how a text can be deemed to be "authentic" when it does not even correspond to the original 1910 edition of the IPP and suffers from many drawbacks of its own.

The comparison, presented below, is carried out by a page-to-page inspection of the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj as published by the IPP, the alleged 1910 edition of the text as published in Parel's book and the 1938 edition of the Navajivan Trust.

Chapter No. & Heading	1910 Edition of <b>The International Printing Press</b>	1910 Edition used by <b>Anthony Parel</b>	1938 Edition of the <b>Navajivan Trust</b>	Nature of <b>Emendation</b>
Chapter I: The Congress and Its Officials	Indians seem to be eager <i>after</i> <b>acquiring</b> rights. (p.9)	Indians seem to be eager <i>after</i> <b>acquiring</b> rights. (p.13)	Indians seem to be eager <i>to</i> <b>acquire</b> rights. (p.17)	Syntactical amendment. The adverb "after" has been replaced to suggest a verbal use by inserting "to".
	You <i>have well put</i> the question, but the answer is not easy. (p.9)	You <i>have well put</i> the question, but the answer is not easy. (p.13)	You <i>have put</i> the question <i>well</i> , but the answer is not easy. (p.17)	Order of words is emended to enhance the syntax.
	Professor <b>Gokhale</b> , in order to prepare the <b>Nation</b> , embraced	Professor <b>Gokhale</b> , in order to prepare the <b>Nation</b> ,	Professor <b>Gokhale</b> in order to prepare the <b>nation</b> , embraced	Comma has been deleted and the emphasis on

	poverty and gave twenty years of his life. (p.10)	embraced poverty and gave twenty years of his life. (p.14)	poverty and gave twenty years of his life. (p.18)	nation has been done away with, leaving the noun "nation".
	The late Justice <i>Buddrudin</i> Tyebji was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. (p.10)	The late Justice <i>Buddrudin</i> Tyebji was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. (p.14)	The late Justice <i>Budrudin</i> Tyebji was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. (p.18)	Spelling Correction.
	All <i>other wise talk</i> will not satisfy me. (p.10)	All <i>other wise talk</i> will not satisfy me. (p.14)	All <i>other talk</i> will not satisfy me. (p.18)	The adjective "wise" has been deleted.
	The fact that you have checked <i>me</i> , and that you do not want to hear about the well-wishers of <i>India</i> , shows that, for you at any rate, Home Rule is yet	The fact that you have checked <i>me</i> , and that you do not want to hear about the well-wishers of <i>India</i> , shows that, for you at	The fact that you have checked <i>me</i> and that you do not want to hear about the well-wishers of <i>India</i> shows that, for you at any rate, Home Rule is yet	Comma has been deleted after the pronoun "me" and the proper noun "India".

	far away. (p.11)	any rate, Home Rule is yet far away. (p.14)	far away. (p.18)	
	What has he whom you consider to be the <i>father of the nation</i> done for it ? (p.11)	What has he whom you consider to be the <i>father of the nation</i> done for it ? (p.15)	What has he whom you consider to be the <i>Father of the Nation</i> done for it? (p.18)	Emphasis on the soubriquet “Father of the Nation” has been added and the space between “it” and “?” has been emended.
	He says that the English Governors will do <i>justice</i> , and that we should co-operate with them. (p.11)	He says that the English Governors will do <i>justice</i> , and that we should co-operate with them. (p.15)	He says that the English Governors will do <i>justice</i> and that we should co-operate with them. (p.18)	Comma after the noun “justice” has been deleted.
	It is a mark of wisdom not to kick <i>against</i> the very step from which we have risen higher. (p.11)	It is a mark of wisdom not to kick <i>against</i> the very step from which we have risen higher. (p.15)	It is a mark of wisdom not to kick <i>away</i> the very step from which we have risen higher. (p.19)	Enhancing the meaning of the syntax by replacing the preposition “against” by the adjectival “away”.
	We must admit	We must admit	We must admit	Emphasis on



	that he is the author of <i>Nationalism.</i> (p.12)	that he is the author of <i>Nationalism.</i> (p.15)	that he is the author of <i>nationalism.</i> (p.19)	the noun form of “nationalism”.
	We believe that <i>those</i> who are discontented with the slowness of their <i>parents</i> ,... (p.12)	We believe that <i>those</i> who are discontented with the slowness of their <i>parents</i> ,... (p.16)	We believe that <i>those,</i> who are discontented with the slowness of their <i>parents</i> ... (p.19)	Comma has been inserted after “those” and removed after “parents”.
	Only men of mature thoughts are capable of ruling <i>themselves</i> , (p.12)	Only men of mature thoughts are capable of ruling <i>themselves</i> , (p.16)	Only men of mature thoughts are capable of ruling <i>themselves</i> ... (p.19)	Comma has been deleted.
	I verily believe what Professor Gokhale <i>does</i> he does with pure motives... (pp.12-13)	I verily believe what Professor Gokhale <i>does</i> he does with pure motives... (p.16)	I verily believe what Professor Gokhale <i>does,</i> he does with pure motives... (p.20)	Comma has been added to enhance the syntax structure.
	Our chief purpose is not to <i>cry down</i> his work, but to believe that he is infinitely greater	Our chief purpose is not to <i>cry down</i> his work, but to believe that he	Our chief purpose is not to <i>decry</i> his work, but to believe that he is infinitely greater	The verb “decry” replaces the verb “cry down”, which

	<p>than <i>we</i>, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, our is infinitesimal. (p.13)</p>	<p>is infinitely greater than <i>we</i>, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, our is infinitesimal. (p.16)</p>	<p>than <i>we are</i>, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, our is infinitesimal. (p.20)</p>	<p>ideally should have been “cry off”. The pronoun “we” is modified by the verbal use of “be” i.e. occur or exist and it, thereof, becomes the subject of the plural verb “are”. This emendation is purely an ornamental exercise.</p>
	<p>I shall have to think the matter <i>over, but</i> what you say about <i>Mr.</i> Hume and Sir William Wedderburn is beyond comprehension. (p.13)*</p>	<p>I shall have to think the matter <i>over, but</i> what you say about <i>Mr</i> Hume and Sir William Wedderburn is beyond comprehension. (p.17)</p>	<p>I shall have to think the matter <i>over. But</i> what you say about <i>Mr.</i> Hume and Sir William Wedderburn is beyond <i>my</i> comprehension. (p.20)</p>	<p>Modification in sentence structure. Parel’s version carries the wrong denomination of “Mr”, whereas the IPP and 1938 edition do not. The</p>

				adjective “my” has been added in 1938 edition.
	Sir William does not wish ill to <i>India-that</i> should be enough for us. (p.14)*	Sir William does not wish ill to <i>India - that</i> should be enough for us. (p.17)	Sir William does not wish ill to <i>India, - that</i> should be enough for us. (p.14)	Different hyphenation in the IPP and Parel’s version. Incorrect use of comma in 1938 edition.
	To <i>pass</i> time over it is useless. (p.14)	To <i>pass</i> time over it is useless. (p.17)	To <i>spend</i> time over it is useless. (p.21)	Enhancement of the syntax structure by the insertion of the verb “spend” to denote qualitative use of time.
	It is well that I should say unpleasant things at the <i>commencement, it</i> is my duty patiently to try to remove your prejudice. (p.14)	It is well that I should say unpleasant things at the <i>commencement</i> , <i>it</i> is my duty patiently to try to remove your prejudice. (p.17)	It is well that I should say unpleasant things at the <i>commencement. It</i> is my duty patiently to try to remove your prejudice. (p.21)	Modification in sentence structure.

	The Congress brought together Indians from different parts of India, and enthused us with the idea of <i>Nationality</i> . (p.14)	The Congress brought together Indians from different parts of India, and enthused us with the idea of <i>Nationality</i> . (p.17)	The Congress brought together Indians from different parts of India, and enthused us with the idea of <i>nationality</i> . (p.17)	Emphasis on the noun form of "nationality".
	...Congress gave us a <i>fore-taste</i> of Home Rule. (p.15)*	...Congress gave us a <i>foretaste</i> of Home Rule. (p.18)	...Congress gave us a <i>foretaste</i> of Home Rule. (p.21)	Difference in word structure between the IPP and Parel's versions, though the latter's and the 1938 edition's word structure correspond..
	To treat the Congress as an institution inimical to our growth as a <i>Nation</i> would disable us from using that body. (p.15)	To treat the Congress as an institution inimical to our growth as a <i>Nation</i> would disable us from using that body. (p.18)	To treat the Congress as an institution inimical to our growth as a <i>nation</i> would disable us from using that body. (p.21)	Emphasis on the noun form of "nation".
Chapter II:	At the time of the	At the time of	At the time of the	Commas have

The Partition of Bengal	Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but, in the pride of <i>power</i> , he disregarded all their <i>prayers—he</i> took it for granted that Indians could only prattle,... <i>and</i> , in the teeth of all <i>opposition</i> , partitioned Bengal. (p.16)*	the Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but, in the pride of <i>power</i> , he disregarded all their <i>prayers – he</i> took it for granted that Indians could only prattle,... <i>and</i> , in the teeth of all <i>opposition</i> , partitioned Bengal. (p.19)	Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but, in the pride of <i>power</i> he disregarded all their <i>prayers. He</i> took it for granted that Indians could only prattle,... <i>and</i> in the teeth of all <i>opposition</i> partitioned Bengal. (p.22)	been deleted in the 1938 edition and the syntax has been modified.
	At that <i>time</i> , the feeling ran high. (p.16)	At that <i>time</i> , the feeling ran high. (p.20)	At that <i>time</i> the feeling ran high. (p.22)	Comma has been deleted.
	It is <i>well nigh unquenchable</i> ; (p.16)*	It is <i>well nigh unquenchable</i> ; (p.20)	It is <i>well-nigh unquenchable</i> ; (p.22)	Hyphenation in the 1938 edition. The space after “unquenchable” and the space present in the

				IPP text is missing in Parel's version of the text.
	<i>Partition</i> will go, Bengal will be re-united, but the rift in the English barque will <i>remain</i> ; it must daily widen. (p.16)*	<i>Partition</i> will go, Bengal will be re-united, but the rift in the English barque will <i>remain</i> ; it must daily widen. (p.20)	<i>The Partition</i> will go, Bengal will be re-united, but the rift in the English barque will <i>remain</i> ; it must daily widen. (p.22)	Article "the" has been added. Another difference, between the IPP and Parel's version, in the use of semicolon.
	<i>Demand</i> for abrogation of Partition is tantamount to demand for Home Rule. (p.16)	<i>Demand</i> for abrogation of Partition is tantamount to demand for Home Rule. (p.20)	<i>The demand</i> for <i>the</i> abrogation of <i>the</i> Partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. (p.22-23)	Article "the" has been added in three places.
	Nations are not formed in a <i>day</i> ; <i>the</i> formation takes years. (p.16)*	Nations are not formed in a <i>day</i> ; <i>the</i> formation takes years. (p.20)	Nations are not formed in a <i>day</i> ; <i>the</i> formation takes years. (p.23)	Difference between the IPP edition and Parel's version in the use of the semicolon.
	People, young and old, used to run	People, young and old, used to	People, young and old, used to	Difference between the IPP

	away at the sight of an English <i>face</i> ; it now no longer <i>awed</i> them. (p.17)*	run away at the sight of an English <i>face</i> ; it now no longer <i>awed</i> them. (pp.21-22)	run away at the sight of an English <i>face</i> ; it now no longer <i>awes</i> them. (p.23)	edition and Parel's version in the use of the semicolon. Adjectival use of "awed" has been replaced by the verbal "awes".
	Hitherto we have considered <i>that, for redress of grievances</i> , we must approach the <i>Throne, and, if we get no redress</i> , we must sit still, except that we may still petition. (pp.16-17)	Hitherto we have considered <i>that, for redress of grievances</i> , we must approach the <i>Throne, and, if we get no redress</i> , we must sit still, except that we may still petition. (pp.20-21)	Hitherto we have considered <i>that for redress of grievances</i> we must approach the <i>throne, and if we get no redress</i> we must sit still, except that we may still petition. (p.23)	Commas have been deleted. The capital form "Throne" is modified to "throne".
	The spirit generated in Bengal has spread to the <i>North</i> to the Punjab, <i>and</i> , in	The spirit generated in Bengal has spread to the <i>North</i> to the	The spirit generated in Bengal has spread to the <i>north</i> to the Punjab, <i>and</i> in the	Capitalizations of "North" and "South" have been altered and commas have

	the <i>South</i> , to Cape Comorin. (p.17)	Punjab, <i>and</i> , in the <i>South</i> , to Cape Comorin. (p.22)	<i>south</i> to Cape Comorin. (p.23)	been deleted.
	At the time of the Surat <i>Congress</i> , there was almost a fight. (p.17)	At the time of the Surat <i>Congress</i> , there was almost a fight. (p.22)	At the time of the Surat <i>Congress</i> there was almost a fight. (p.23)	Comma has been deleted. Ideally the comma should have been retained.
Chapter III: Discontent and Unrest	...we do not continue in a comatose state, <i>but</i> , according to our ability... (p.18)	...we do not continue in a comatose state, <i>but</i> , according to our ability... (p.24)	...we do not continue in a comatose state, <i>but</i> according to our ability... (p.24)	Comma has been deleted to enhance the syntax.
	During the <i>Congress-period</i> it was labelled <i>discontent</i> ; <i>Mr.</i> Hume always said that the spread of discontent in India was necessary. (p.18)*	During the <i>Congress period</i> it was labelled <i>discontent</i> ; <i>Mr</i> Hume always said that the spread of discontent in India was necessary. (p.24)	During the <i>Congress period</i> it was labelled <i>discontent</i> . <i>Mr.</i> Hume always said that the spread of discontent in India was necessary. (p.24)	Difference between the IPP and Parel's edition of Hind Swaraj in relation to hyphenation. The corrupted form "Mr" is again repeated in Parel's version of Hind



				Swaraj.
	<i>So</i> long as a man is contented with his present lot, so long it is difficult to persuade him to come out of it. (p.18)	<i>So</i> long as a man is contented with his present lot, so long it is difficult to persuade him to come out of it. (p.24)	<i>As</i> long as a man is contented with his present lot, so long it is difficult to persuade him to come out of it. (p.24)	The conjunction “so” has been replaced by the conjunction “as”, which improves the syntactical context.
	All these may be considered good <i>signs</i> , but they may also lead to bad results. (p.19)	All these may be considered good <i>signs</i> , but they may also lead to bad results. (p.25)	All these may be considered good <i>signs</i> but they may also lead to bad results. (p.25)	Comma has been deleted.
Chapter IV: What is Swaraj?	I fear that our interpretation is not the <i>same</i> . (p.19)	I fear that our interpretation is not the <i>same</i> . (p.26)	I fear that our interpretation is not the <i>same as yours</i> . (p.25)	The IPP edition and Parel’s version are correct since “as yours” is redundant here because of the presence of the adjective “our”.
	Then we would understand that, in	Then we would understand that,	Then we would understand that,	Parel’s 1910 version of the

	<p><i>our</i> language, the word "<i>gone</i>" is equivalent to "<i>remained.</i>" (pp.19-20)*</p>	<p>in <i>our</i> language, the word '<i>gone</i>' is equivalent to '<i>remained.</i>' (p.26)</p>	<p>in <i>their</i> language, the word "<i>gone</i>" is equivalent to "<i>remained.</i>" (p.25)</p>	<p>Hind Swaraj employ single quote throughout the text, whereas the IPP and the 1938, double quotes.</p>
	<p>If, as you assume, they retire, it seems to me we shall still keep their <i>constitution</i>, and shall carry on the <i>government</i>. (p.20)</p>	<p>If, as you assume, they retire, it seems to me we shall still keep their <i>constitution</i>, and shall carry on the <i>government</i>. (pp.26-27)</p>	<p>If, as you assume, they retire, it seems to me we shall still keep their <i>constitution</i> and shall carry on the <i>Government</i>. (p.25)</p>	<p>Comma has been deleted to make the sentence crisper and "Government" is used as a proper noun, to denote the British Government.</p>
	<p>If they simply retire for the <i>asking</i>, we should have an army, etc., ready at hand. We should, therefore, have no difficulty in carrying on the <i>government</i>.</p>	<p>If they simply retire for the <i>asking</i>, we should have an army, etc., ready at hand. We should, therefore, have no difficulty in carrying on the</p>	<p>If they simply retire for the <i>asking</i> we should have an army, etc., ready at hand. We should, therefore, have no difficulty in carrying on the <i>Government</i>.</p>	<p>Comma has been deleted to keep the flow of the sentence. Same use of the word "Government" as the previous sentence.</p>

	(p.20)	<b>government.</b> (pp.26-27)	(p.25)	
	They behave insolently towards <b>us</b> , and disregard our feelings. (p.20)	They behave insolently towards <b>us</b> , and disregard our feelings. (p.27)	They behave insolently towards <b>us</b> and disregard our feelings. (p.26)	Comma has been deleted.
	...whether there is any harm in associating with a <b>tiger</b> , if he changes his nature. (p.20)	...whether there is any harm in associating with a <b>tiger</b> , if he changes his nature. (p.27)	...whether there is any harm in associating with a <b>tiger</b> if he changes his nature. (p.26)	Comma has been deleted. Ideally the comma should have been retained.
	We may get it when we have <b>arms and ammunition even as they have. But, when we have</b> the same powers, we <b>shall</b> hoist our own flag. (p.21)	We may get it when we have <b>arms and ammunition even as they have. But, when we have</b> the same powers, we <b>shall</b> hoist our own flag. (p.27)	We may get when <b>we have the same powers, we shall then</b> hoist our own flag. (p.26)	This emendation imply the intentional deletion of the words “arms” and “ammunitions”. These words would have undercut Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence.
	You want the tiger's nature, but	You want the tiger's nature,	You want the tiger's nature, but	Difference between the IPP

	<p>not the <i>tiger</i> ; that is to say, you would make India English, <i>and</i>, when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan. (p.21)*</p>	<p>but not the <i>tiger</i>; that is to say, you would make India English, <i>and</i>, when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan. (p.28)</p>	<p>not the <i>tiger</i>; that is to say, you would make India English. <i>And</i> when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englistan. (p.26)</p>	<p>and Parel's version of Hind Swaraj in the utilization of semicolon. Modification in the sentence structure is evident in the 1938 edition.</p>
	<p>...I certainly think that we should copy the English people, and this to such an <i>extent</i>, <i>that</i>, just as they do not allow others to obtain a footing in their country, <i>so should we not</i> allow them or others to obtain it in ours. (p.21)</p>	<p>...I certainly think that we should copy the English people, and this to such an <i>extent</i>, <i>that</i>, just as they do not allow others to obtain a footing in their country, <i>so should we not</i> allow them or others to obtain it in ours. (p.29)</p>	<p>...I certainly think that we should copy the English people, and this to such an <i>extent</i> <i>that</i>, just as they do not allow others to obtain a footing in their country, <i>so we should not</i> allow them or others to obtain it in ours. (p.27)</p>	<p>Comma has been deleted and a change is made to the order of words.</p>

Chapter V: The Condition of England	...the English nation would be occupying <i>to-day</i> a much higher platform. (p.23)*	...the English nation would be occupying <i>today</i> a much higher platform. (p.31)	...the English nation would be occupying <i>today</i> a much higher platform. (p.28)	Difference in hyphenation in the IPP and Parel's version.
	<i>The</i> Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. (p.23)	<i>The</i> Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. (p.31)	Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. (p.28)	Article "the" is edited out.
	If they are considered to be honest because they do not take what <i>is</i> generally known as <i>bribery</i> , let them be so considered, but they are open to subtler influences. (p.24)	If they are considered to be honest because they do not take what <i>is</i> generally known as <i>bribery</i> , let them be so considered, but they are open to subtler influences. (p.32)	If they are considered to be honest because they do not take what <i>are</i> generally known as <i>bribes</i> , let them be so considered, but they are open to subtler influences. (p.29)	Noun "bribery" is replaced by "bribes".
	They take their cue from the <i>newspapers</i> ,	They take their cue from the <i>newspapers</i> ,	They take their cue from the <i>newspapers</i>	Comma and the noun "latter" has been

	which <i>latter</i> are often dishonest. (p.25)	which <i>latter</i> are often dishonest. (p.32)	which are often dishonest. (p.29)	deleted.
Chapter VI: Civilization	Formerly, <i>the fewest</i> men wrote books that were <i>most valuable</i> . (p.27)	Formerly, <i>the fewest</i> men wrote books that were <i>most valuable</i> . (pp.35-36)	Formerly, <i>only a few</i> men wrote <i>valuable books</i> . (p.31)	Order of words.
	Formerly, men travelled in <i>waggon</i> s ; now they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. (p.27)*	Formerly, men travelled in <i>wagon</i> s; now they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. (p.36)	Formerly, men travelled in <i>waggon</i> s; Now they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. (p.31)	The IPP and Parel's version use different spellings for the word "wagon". However, both "waggon" and "wagon" are correct.
	<i>Now</i> , thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. (p.28)	<i>Now</i> , thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. (p.36)	<i>Now</i> thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. (p.32)	Comma has been deleted.

	<p>Formerly, men were made slaves under physical <i>compulsion</i>, now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. (p.28)</p>	<p>Formerly, men were made slaves under physical <i>compulsion</i>, now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. (p.36)</p>	<p>Formerly, men were made slaves under physical <i>compulsion</i>. Now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. (p.32)</p>	<p>Syntax has been modified.</p>
	<p>Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send <i>letters</i> ; <i>to-day</i>, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. (p.28)*</p>	<p>Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send <i>letters</i>; <i>today</i>, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. (p.36)</p>	<p>Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send <i>letters</i>; <i>today</i>, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. (p.32)</p>	<p>Here again, the IPP text and Parel's version highlight difference in their use of the semicolon. A common error that pervades the IPP edition is the space before a semicolon, subsequently corrected in Parel's version and the 1938</p>

				edition.
	According to the teaching of <i>Mahomed</i> this would be considered a Satanic <i>civilisation.</i> (pp.29-30)	According to the teaching of <i>Mahomed</i> this would be considered a Satanic <i>civilisation.</i> (p.37)	According to the teaching of <i>Mahommed</i> this would be considered a Satanic <i>civilization.</i> (p.33)	Spelling correction, though the prevalent spelling happens to be "Mohammed".
	<i>I, therefore,</i> respect them. (p.30)	<i>I, therefore,</i> respect them. (p.38)	<i>I therefore</i> respect them. (p.33)	Commas have been deleted.
Chapter VII: Why was India lost?	If I am in the habit of drinking <i>Bhang,</i> and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame the him or myself? (p.31)	If I am in the habit of drinking <i>Bhang,</i> and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame the him or myself? (p.40)	If I am in the habit of drinking <i>bhang</i> and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame the him or myself? (p.34)	The word "Bhang" is in altered to lowercase in the 1938 edition.
	<i>Now,</i> I think you will not have argue much with me to drive your conclusions home. (p.31)	<i>Now,</i> I think you will not have argue much with me to drive your conclusions	<i>Now</i> I think you will not have argue much with me to drive your conclusions home. (p.34)	Comma has been deleted.



		home. (p.40)		
	...in spite of your enthusiasm, as we proceed <i>further</i> we shall have differences of opinion. (p.31)	...in spite of your enthusiasm, as we proceed <i>further</i> we shall have differences of opinion. (p.40)	...in spite of your enthusiasm, as we proceed <i>further</i> , we shall have differences of opinion. (p.34)	Comma has been deleted.
	This, too, gave the Company its <i>opportunity</i> , and thus we created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. (p.32)	This, too, gave the Company its <i>opportunity</i> , and thus we created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. (p.40)	This, too, gave the Company its <i>opportunity</i> and thus we created the circumstances that gave the Company its control over India. (p.35)	Comma has been deleted. Ideally, the sentence should be “opportunity, and thus, we created...” Therefore, the IPP edition and Parel’s text are partly correct.
Chapter VIII: The Condition of India	It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground <i>down</i> not under the English <i>heel</i> but under that of modern civilization. (p.34)	It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground <i>down</i> not under the English <i>heel</i> but under that of modern	It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground <i>down</i> , not under the English <i>heel</i> , but under that of modern civilization. (p.36)	Commas have been deleted. The comma after “heel” should have been retained because the adverb “not” accentuates the

		civilization. (p.42)		“English heel”. Therefore, there is a direct stress on the conjunction “but”.
	Here I am not thinking of the <i>Hindu, the Mahomedan,</i> or the Zoroastrian <i>religion,</i> but of that religion which underlies all religions. (p.34)	Here I am not thinking of the <i>Hindu, the Mahomedan,</i> or the Zoroastrian <i>religion,</i> but of that religion which underlies all religions. (p.42)	Here I am not thinking of the <i>Hindu or the Mahomedan</i> or the Zoroastrian <i>religion</i> but of that religion which underlies all religions. (p.36)	Consequential commas are deleted and replaced by the conjunction “or”.
	We have accepted the charge and <i>we, therefore,</i> wish to change our condition. (p.34)	We have accepted the charge and <i>we, therefore,</i> wish to change our condition. (p.42)	We have accepted the charge and <i>we therefore</i> wish to change our condition. (p.37)	Commas have been deleted. Ideally the syntax should read as “charge, and therefore, we wish...”
	Many a cheat <i>has</i> by talking in a similar <i>strain</i> led the people astray.	Many a cheat <i>has</i> by talking in a similar <i>strain</i> led the	Many a cheat <i>has,</i> by talking in a similar <i>strain,</i> led the people astray.	Commas have been added.

	(p.35)	people astray.  (p.43)	(p.37)	
	We <i>will</i> certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion. (p.36)	We <i>will</i> certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion. (pp.43-44)	We <i>shall</i> certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion. (p.38)	Auxiliary verb “will” is replaced by another auxiliary verb “shall”.
	I assure you that our agriculturalists sleep fearlessly on their farms even <i>to-day, and the English, you and I</i> , would hesitate to sleep where they sleep. (p.37)*	I assure you that our agriculturalists sleep fearlessly on their farms even <i>today, and the English, you and I</i> , would hesitate to sleep where they sleep. (pp.44-45)	I assure you that our agriculturalists sleep fearlessly on their farms even <i>today; but the English and you and I</i> would hesitate to sleep where they sleep. (p.38)	Difference between the IPP edition and Parel’s version is discernible in the hyphenation of the word “to-day” in the former, which is missing in the latter. Semicolon is used in place of comma in the 1938 edition.
	Moreover, I must	Moreover, I	Moreover, I must	Significant is

	remind you who desire Home Rule that, after all, the Bhils, the Pindaris, <i>the Assamese</i> and the Thugs <i>are</i> , own countrymen. (p.37)*	must remind you who desire Home Rule that, after all, the Bhils, the Pindaris, <i>the Assamese</i> and the Thugs <i>are</i> own countrymen. (p.45)	remind you who desire Home Rule that, after all, the Bhils, the Pindaris, and the Thugs <i>are</i> own countrymen. (p.38)	the deletion of the word "Assamese" in the 1938 edition.
Chapter IX: The Condition of India (Continued): Railways	People become <i>careless</i> , and so the pressure of famines increases. (p.38)	People become <i>careless</i> , and so the pressure of famines increases. (p.47)	People become <i>careless</i> and so the pressure of famines increases. (p.40)	Comma has been deleted.
	<i>Nowadays</i> , rogues visit them in order to practise their roguery. (p.38)	<i>Nowadays</i> , rogues visit them in order to practise their roguery. (p.47)	<i>Nowadays</i> rogues visit them in order to practise their roguery. (p.40)	Comma has been deleted.
	What do you think could have been the intention of those <i>far-seeing</i> ancestors of ours	What do you think could have been the intention of those <i>far-seeing</i>	What do you think could have been the intention of those <i>farseeing</i> ancestors of ours	Hyphen has been removed to make "farseeing" one word.

	who established the <i>Shevetbindu Rameshwar</i> in the South, <i>Juggernaut</i> in the <i>South-East</i> , and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? (p.40)	ancestors of ours who established the <i>Shevetbindu Rameshwar</i> in the South, <i>Juggernaut</i> in the <i>South-East</i> , and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? (p.48)	who established the <i>Setubandha (Rameshwar)</i> in the South, <i>Jagannath</i> in the <i>East</i> and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? (p.41)	Factual errors like the Jagannath in the "South-East" have been corrected to "East" and "Shevetbindu" is modified to "Setubandha". Spelling corrections are also made in this section.
Chapter X: The Condition of India (Continued): The Hindus and the Mahomedans	Man has <i>therethrough</i> gone further away from his Maker. (p.42)	Man has <i>therethrough</i> gone further away from his Maker. (p.51)	<i>Owing to them</i> , man has gone further away from his Maker. (p.42)	"Owing" is used in the adjectival sense and it also marks a change in the sentence structure.
	The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the <i>nation</i> , they merge in it. (p.42)	The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the <i>nation</i> , they merge in it.	The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the <i>nation</i> ; they merge in it. (p.43)	Use of semicolon.

		(p.52)		
	The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the <i>Parsees</i> and the Christians who have made India their country are <i>fellow-countrymen</i> , and they will have to live in <i>unity</i> if only for their own interest. (p.42)	The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the <i>Parsees</i> and the Christians who have made India their country are <i>fellow countrymen</i> , and they will have to live in <i>unity</i> if only for their own interest. (pp.52-53)	The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the <i>Parsis</i> and the Christians who have made India their country are <i>fellow-countrymen</i> , and they will have to live in <i>unity</i> , if only for their own interest. (p.43)	Spelling correction. Again another difference is discerned between the IPP edition and Parel's version in the use of the hyphenation mark in the compound word "fellow-countrymen". Comma is added in the 1938 edition.
	The fact is that we have become <i>enslaved, and</i> , therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party. (pp.43-44)	The fact is that we have become <i>enslaved, and</i> , therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party. (p.54)	The fact is that we have become <i>enslaved and</i> therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party. (p.44)	Commas have been deleted. Ideally, the sentence should read as "The fact is that we have become enslaved, and therefore, quarrel and like to have our

				quarrels...”
	The cow is the protector of <i>India</i> , <i>because, it</i> being an agricultural country, <i>is</i> dependent on the <i>cow's progeny</i> . (p.44)*	The cow is the protector of <i>India</i> , <i>because it</i> , being an agricultural country, <i>is</i> dependent on the <i>cow's progeny</i> . (p.54)	The cow is the protector of <i>India because</i> , being an agricultural country, <i>she</i> is dependent on the <i>cow</i> . (p.44)	Comma is variably used. A semicolon should have been used after “country”. The IPP edition and Parel’s version again show different use of commas.
	In doing so, I would become an enemy <i>as well of the cow as of the Mahomedan</i> . (p.44)	In doing so, I would become an enemy <i>as well of the cow as of the Mahomedan</i> . (p.54)	In doing so, I would become an enemy <i>of the Mahomedan as well as of the cow</i> . (p.44)	Order of words.
	It is not written that a follower of the religion of <i>Ahinsa</i> (non-killing) may kill a fellow-man. (p.45)	It is not written that a follower of the religion of <i>Ahinsa</i> (non-killing) may kill a fellow-man. (p.55)	It is not written that a follower of the religion of <i>Ahimsa</i> (non-killing) may kill a fellow-man. (p.45)	Spelling of “Ahinsa” is altered to “Ahimsa”. The word “Ahinsa” is mentioned four times in Hind Swaraj.

	They have <i>a</i> habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples. (p.46)	They have <i>a</i> habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples. (p.56)	They have habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples. (pp.45-46)	The indefinite article "a" is edited out.
	Those who do not wish to misunderstand things may read up the Koran, and <i>will</i> find therein hundreds of passages acceptable to the Hindus; and the <i>Bhagavad-Gita</i> contains passages to which not a Mahomedan take exception. (p.46)	Those who do not wish to misunderstand things may read up the Koran, and <i>will</i> find therein hundreds of passages acceptable to the Hindus; and the <i>Bhagavad-Gita</i> contains passages to which not a Mahomedan take exception. (p.56)	Those who do not wish to misunderstand things may read up the Koran, and <i>they will</i> find therein hundreds of passages acceptable to the Hindus; and the <i>Bhagavadgita</i> contains passages to which not a Mahomedan take exception. (p.46)	Use of the pronoun "they" as the subject of the auxiliary verb "will". A different spelling of "Bhagavadgita" is used in the 1938 edition.
	A <i>clay-pot</i> would	A <i>clay-pot</i>	A <i>clay pot</i> would	Hyphenation is



	break through <i>impact</i> ; if not with one stone, then with another. (p.47)*	would break through <i>impact</i> ; if not with one stone, then with another. (pp.56-57)	break through <i>impact</i> ; if not with one stone, then with another. (p.46)	missing in the 1938 edition
	They are superior in <i>numbers</i> , they pretend they are more <i>educated</i> , they are, therefore, better able to shield themselves... (p.47)	They are superior in <i>numbers</i> , they pretend they are more <i>educated</i> , they are, therefore, better able to shield themselves... (p.57)	They are superior in <i>numbers</i> ; they pretend they are more <i>educated</i> ; they are, therefore, better able to shield themselves... (p.46)	Commas in the IPP edition and Parel's version is replaced by semicolon in the 1938 edition.
	<i>But</i> , when we do <i>quarrel</i> , we certainly do not want to engage counsel and to resort to English or any law-courts. (p.48)	<i>But</i> , when we do <i>quarrel</i> , we certainly do not want to engage counsel and to resort to English or any law-courts. (p.57)	<i>But</i> when we do <i>quarrel</i> we certainly do not want to engage counsel and to resort to English or any law-courts. (p.47)	Commas have been deleted.
Chapter XI: The Condition of India	The lawyers, therefore, <i>will, as a rule</i> , advance <i>quarrels</i> , instead	The lawyers, therefore, <i>will as a rule</i> , advance	The lawyers, therefore, <i>will, as a rule</i> , advance <i>quarrel</i> instead of	Difference between the IPP and Parel's version is again

(Continued): Lawyers	of repressing them. (p.49)	<i>quarrels,</i> instead of repressing them. (p.59)	repressing them. (p.48)	noted here in the use of comma for the auxiliary verb "will". Grammatically, the IPP edition and Parel's version are correct.
Chapter XII: The Condition of India (Continued): Doctors	I <i>overeat</i> , I have indigestion, I go to a doctor, he gives me medicine, I am <i>cured, I overeate</i> again, and I take his pills again. (p.53)*	I <i>over-eat</i> , I have indigestion, I go to a doctor, he gives me medicine, I am <i>cured, I over-eat</i> again, and I take his pills again. (p.63)	I <i>overeate</i> , I have indigestion, I go to a doctor, he gives me medicine, I am <i>cured. I overeate</i> again, and I take his pills again. (p.51)	Difference between the IPP edition and Parel's is observed here. Sentence structure has been modified in the 1938 edition.
Chapter XIII: What is True Civilization?	This is her <i>beauty ;</i> it is the sheet-anchor of hope. (p.55)*	This is her <i>beauty;</i> it is the sheet-anchor of hope. (p.67)	This is her <i>beauty :</i> it is the sheet-anchor of our hope. (p.53)	Semicolon is variably used in the IPP text and Parel's version. It is, however, replaced by a colon in the 1938 text.

	<p>Each followed his own occupation or <i>trade</i>, and charged a regulation wage. (p.56)</p>	<p>Each followed his own occupation or <i>trade</i>, and charged a regulation wage. (p.68)</p>	<p>Each followed his own occupation or <i>trade</i> and charged a regulation wage. (p.53)</p>	<p>Comma has been deleted.</p>
	<p>...but it is also India where are hundreds of child widows, where <i>two-year old</i> babies are married, where <i>twelve-year old</i> girls are mothers and housewives, where women practise polyandry, where the practice of <i>Niyog</i> obtains...<i>and where</i>, in the name of <i>religion</i>, sheep and goats are killed. (pp.57-58)</p>	<p>...but it is also India where are hundreds of child widows, where <i>two-year-old</i> babies are married, where <i>twelve-year-old</i> girls are mothers and housewives, where women practise polyandry, where the practice of <i>Niyog</i> obtains...<i>and where</i>, in the name of <i>religion</i>, sheep and goats are</p>	<p>...but it is also India where are hundreds of child widows, where <i>two-year old</i> babies are married, where <i>twelve-year old</i> girls are mothers and housewives, where women practise polyandry, where the practice of <i>Niyoga</i> obtains...<i>and in the name of religion</i> sheep and goats are killed. (pp.54-55)</p>	<p>The extra hyphens are edited out. Spelling correction. The interrogative adverb "where" is deleted.</p>

		killed. (pp.70-71)		
Chapter XIV: How can India Become Free?	But such Swaraj has to be <i>experienced</i> by each one for himself. (p.60)	But such Swaraj has to be <i>experienced</i> by each one for himself. (p.73)	But such Swaraj has to be <i>experienced,</i> by each one for himself. (p.56)	Comma is added.
	What <i>it</i> was possible for Mazzini and Garibaldi <i>to do</i> , is possible for us. (p.61)	What <i>it</i> was possible for Mazzini and Garibaldi <i>to do</i> , is possible for us. (p.74)	What <i>was</i> possible for Mazzini and Garibaldi <i>is possible</i> for us. (p.57)	The pronoun "it" is replaced by "was", which is the singular past of "be".
Chapter XV: Italy and India	If you believe <i>that</i> , because Italians rule <i>Italy</i> , the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. (p.62)	If you believe <i>that</i> , because Italians rule <i>Italy</i> , the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. (p.75)	If you believe <i>that</i> because Italians rule <i>Italy</i> the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. (p.58)	Commas are deleted.
	By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole, <i>and</i> , if I could secure it at the hands of the English... (p.63)	By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole, <i>and</i> , if I could secure it at the hands of the English... (p.77)	By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole, <i>and</i> if I could secure it at the hands of the English... (p.59)	Comma has been deleted.

	<p>You are <i>over-assuming</i> facts. (p.64)*</p>	<p>You are <i>over-assuming</i> facts. (p.77)</p>	<p>You are <i>over-stating</i> the facts. (p.60)</p>	<p>The exercise of replacing the verb “assuming” with “stating”, seeks to impart a tone of formality and affirmation, and replace the feeling of presumption from the utterance.</p>
	<p>We may have to lose a quarter of a million men, more or less, but we <i>will</i> regain our land. (p.64)</p>	<p>We may have to lose a quarter of a million men, more or less, but we <i>will</i> regain our land. (p.77)</p>	<p>We may have to lose a quarter of a million men, more or less, but we <i>shall</i> regain our land. (p.60)</p>	<p>The auxiliary verb “will” is swapped with the auxiliary verb “shall”.</p>
	<p>We <i>will</i> undertake <i>guerilla</i> warfare, and defeat the English. (p.64)*</p>	<p>We <i>will</i> undertake <i>guerrilla</i> warfare, and defeat the English. (p.77)</p>	<p>We <i>shall</i> undertake <i>guerilla</i> warfare, and defeat the English. (p.60)</p>	<p>Replacement of one auxiliary verb for another. Spelling of “guerilla” is correct in the</p>

				IPP edition and the 1938 edition, but not in Parel's version.
Chapter XVI: Brute Force	You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a child from thrusting its foot into <i>fire?</i> (p.66)	You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a child from thrusting its foot into <i>fire?</i> (p.80)	You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a child from thrusting its foot into <i>fire.</i> (p.61)	The erasure of the question mark alters the earnest tone of the syntax.
	Somehow or <i>other</i> , we have to gain our end. (p.66)	Somehow or <i>other</i> , we have to gain our end. (p.80)	Somehow or <i>other</i> , we have to gain our end. (p.61)	Comma has been deleted.
	Henceforth, you, therefore, keep your doors and windows <i>open</i> ; you change your sleeping place... (p.70)*	Henceforth, you, therefore, keep your doors and windows <i>open</i> ; you change your sleeping place... (p.84)	Henceforth, you, therefore, keep your doors and windows <i>open</i> , you change your sleeping place... (p.64)	Semicolon has been replaced by comma in the 1938 edition. The IPP text and Parel's version differs.
	The robber comes <i>again</i> , and is <i>confused</i> , as all this is new to	The robber comes <i>again</i> , and is <i>confused</i> , as all	The robber comes <i>again</i> and is <i>confused</i> as all this is new to	Commas have been deleted. The IPP text and Parel's

	<i>him</i> ; ... (p.70)*	this is new to <i>him</i> ; ... (p.84)	<i>him</i> ;... (p.64)	version differs.
	...at least in the majority of cases, if <i>not, indeed</i> , in all, the force of love and pity is infinitely greater... (p.71)	...at least in the majority of cases, if <i>not, indeed</i> , in all, the force of love and pity is infinitely greater... (p.84)	...at least in the majority of cases, if <i>not indeed</i> in all, the force of love and pity is infinitely greater... (p.65)	Commas have been deleted.
Chapter XVII: Passive Resistance	You cannot expect <i>silver-ore</i> in a <i>tin-mine</i> . (p.74)	You cannot expect <i>silver-ore</i> in a <i>tin-mine</i> . (p.89)	You cannot expect <i>silver ore</i> in a <i>tin mine</i> . (p.67)	Hyphens are edited out.
	Those people who have been warred against have <i>disappeared, as</i> , for instance, the natives of <i>Australia</i> , of whom hardly a man was left alive by the intruders. (p.74)	Those people who have been warred against have <i>disappeared, as</i> , for instance, the natives of <i>Australia</i> , of whom hardly a man was left alive by the intruders. (p.89)	Those people who have been warred against have <i>disappeared as</i> , for instance, the natives of <i>Australia</i> of whom hardly a man was left alive by the intruders. (pp.67-68)	Commas are deleted.
	<i>"Those</i> that <i>wield</i>	<i>'Those</i> that	<i>"Those</i> that <i>take</i>	Double quotes

	the sword shall perish by the <i>sword.</i> " (p.74)*	<i>wield</i> the sword shall perish by the <i>sword.'</i> (p.89)	the sword shall perish by the <i>sword.</i> " (p.68)	are missing in Parel's version of Hind Swaraj.
	With <i>us</i> , the proverb is that professional swimmers will find a watery grave. (p.74)	With <i>us</i> , the proverb is that professional swimmers will find a watery grave. (p.89)	With <i>us</i> , the proverb is that professional swimmers will find a watery grave. (p.68)	Comma has been deleted.
	History does <i>not</i> , and <i>cannot</i> , take note of this fact. (p.75)	History does <i>not</i> , and <i>cannot</i> , take note of this fact. (p.90)	History does <i>not</i> and <i>cannot</i> take note of this fact. (p.68)	Commas are deleted.
	<i>But</i> , if the two brothers, through the intervention...of some other <i>reason</i> ,...they would be the talk of their <i>neighbours</i> ,... (p.75)	<i>But</i> , if the two brothers, through the intervention...o f some other <i>reason</i> ,...they would be the talk of their <i>neighbours</i> ,... (p.90)	<i>But</i> if the two brothers, through the intervention...of some other <i>reason</i> ...they would be the talk of their <i>neighbours</i> ... (p.68)	Commas have been deleted.
	<i>If</i> , by using <i>violence</i> , I force the <i>government</i> to	<i>If</i> , by using <i>violence</i> , I force the <i>government</i>	<i>If</i> by using <i>violence</i> I force the <i>Government</i>	Commas are deleted.



	repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. (p.76)	to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. (p.90)	to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. (p.69)	
	No man can claim <i>to be</i> absolutely in the <i>right</i> , or that a particular thing is <i>wrong</i> , because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate <i>judgment</i> . (p.76)*	No man can claim <i>to be</i> absolutely in the <i>right</i> , or that a particular thing is <i>wrong</i> , because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate <i>judgement</i> . (p.91)	No man can claim <i>that he is</i> absolutely in the <i>right</i> or that a particular thing is <i>wrong</i> because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate <i>judgment</i> . (p.69)	Syntactical change. Commas have been deleted. The IPP edition and the 1938 edition of Navajivan Trust have the correct spelling of "judgment", whereas Parel's version does not.
	That we should obey laws whether good or bad is a <i>new-fangled</i> notion. (p.77)	That we should obey laws whether good or bad is a <i>new-fangled</i> notion. (p.91)	That we should obey laws whether good or bad is a <i>newfangled</i> notion. (p.69)	Hyphen has been done away with in the 1938 edition.

	It is contrary to our <i>manhood</i> , if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. (p.77)	It is contrary to our <i>manhood</i> , if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. (p.91)	It is contrary to our <i>manhood</i> if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. (p.70)	Comma has been deleted.
	Such teaching is opposed to a <i>religion</i> , and means slavery. (p.77)	Such teaching is opposed to a <i>religion</i> , and means slavery. (p.91)	Such teaching is opposed to <i>religion</i> and means slavery. (p.70)	Comma has been deleted.
	Even the <i>government do</i> not expect any such thing from us. (p.77)	Even the <i>government do</i> not expect any such thing from us. (p.92)	Even the <i>Government does</i> not expect any such thing from us. (p.70)	The verb “do” is switched with the singular present “does”. This act enhances the syntactical context.
	It is a superstition and <i>an ungodly</i> thing to believe that an act of majority binds a minority. (p.77)	It is a superstition and <i>an ungodly</i> thing to believe that an act of majority binds a minority. (p.92)	It is a superstition and <i>ungodly</i> thing to believe that an act of majority binds a minority. (p.70)	The adjectival use of “an” is done away with.
	If among a band of <i>robbers</i> , a	If among a band of <i>robbers</i> , a	If among a band of <i>robbers</i> a	Comma has been deleted.

	knowledge of robbing is obligatory... (p.78)	knowledge of robbing is obligatory... (p.92)	knowledge of robbing is obligatory... (p.70)	Ideally, the sentence should have been “If among a band of robbers, knowledge of robbing...”
	...both the rulers and the ruled become like so many <i>mad men, but</i> , where they learn soul-force... (p.80)	...both the rulers and the ruled become like so many <i>mad men, but</i> , where they learn soul-force... (p.94)	...both the rulers and the ruled become like so many <i>madmen; but</i> where they learn soul-force... (p.72)	Commas have been deleted. The adjective “mad” and the plural noun “men” are merged into a compound word. Semicolon is judiciously used in the 1938 edition.
Chapter XVIII: Education	Is all this <i>effort, then</i> , of no use? (p.84)	Is all this <i>effort, then</i> , of no use? (p.100)	Is all this <i>effort then</i> of no use? (p.75)	Commas have been deleted.
	Carried away by the flood of western <i>thought</i> ,...without weighing pros and <i>cons</i> , that we	Carried away by the flood of western <i>thought</i> ,...with out weighing pros and <i>cons</i> ,	Carried away by the flood of western <i>thought</i> ... without weighing pros and <i>cons</i> that	Commas have been deleted.

	should give this kind of education to the people. (p.84)	that we should give this kind of education to the people. (p.101)	we should give this kind of education to the people. (p.76)	
	<i>If</i> it simply means a knowledge of <i>letters, it</i> is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused. (p.84)	<i>If</i> it simply means a knowledge of <i>letters, it</i> is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused. (p.100)	<i>It</i> simply means a knowledge of <i>letters. It</i> is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused. (p.75)	The conjunction “if” is swapped with the pronoun “it”. Again this could be interpreted as a bid to rid the text of the suppositions and impart a solemn outlook. Syntactical modification.
	We daily observe that many men abuse <i>it</i> , and very few make good use of <i>it, and</i> , if this is a correct statement... (p.85)	We daily observe that many men abuse <i>it</i> , and very few make good use of <i>it, and</i> , if this is a correct statement... (p.101)	We daily observe that many men abuse <i>it</i> and very few make good use of <i>it; and</i> if this is a correct statement... (p.76)	Commas have been deleted. Semicolon enhances the arrangement of the syntax.
	If this <i>be</i> true education...	If this <i>be</i> true education...	If this <i>is</i> true education...	The singular present of “be”

	(p.86)	(p.101)	(p.77)	i.e. "is" is used here to accentuate the imperative of "true education".
	It does not make <i>of us men.</i> (p.86)	It does not make <i>of us men.</i> (p.102)	It does not make <i>men of us.</i> (p.77)	Order of words.
	...I am trying to give you the benefit of my <i>experience, and,</i> in doing so, I am demonstrating the rottenness of this education. (p.87)	...I am trying to give you the benefit of my <i>experience, and,</i> in doing so, I am demonstrating the rottenness of this education. (p.102)	...I am trying to give you the benefit of my <i>experience and</i> in doing so, I am demonstrating the rottenness of this education. (p.77)	Commas have been edited out. Preferably, a semicolon should have been used after the adverb "so".
	Those who have studies English will have to teach morality to their progeny through their <i>mother-tongue</i> and to teach them another Indian <i>language</i> ; but	Those who have studies English will have to teach morality to their progeny through their <i>mother-tongue</i> and to teach them another	Those who have studies English will have to teach morality to their progeny through their <i>mother tongue</i> and to teach them another Indian	Hyphen is deleted in the 1938 edition. The IPP text has spacing error while this is corrected in the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj.

	when... (p.89)*	Indian <i>language;</i> but when... (p.104)	<i>language;</i> but when... (p.79)	
	A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or <i>Nagri</i> characters. (p.90)	A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or <i>Nagri</i> characters. (p.105)	A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or <i>Nagari</i> characters. (p.80)	Spelling correction.
	All this is necessary for <i>us</i> slaves. (p.90)	All this is necessary for <i>us</i> slaves. (p.106)	All this is necessary for <i>us,</i> slaves. (p.80)	The comma accentuates the pronoun "us" in the 1938 edition. This titivates the syntax.
	Rank atheism cannot flourish in <i>that</i> land. (p.90)	Rank atheism cannot flourish in <i>that</i> land. (p.106)	Rank atheism cannot flourish in <i>this</i> land. (p.90)	Pronoun "that" is replaced by another pronoun "this", which is more attuned to the specific "land".
	The Mullas, the <i>Dasturs,</i> and the	The Mullas, the <i>Dasturs,</i> and	The Mullas, the <i>Dasturs</i> and the	Commas have been deleted.

	Brahmins hold the key in their hands, <i>but</i> , if they will not have the good sense... (p.90)	the Brahmins hold the key in their hands, <i>but</i> , if they will not have the good sense... (p.106)	Brahmins hold the key in their hands, <i>but</i> if they will not have the good sense... (p.80)	Ideally, the comma after “Dasturs” should have been retained as per punctuation rules.
Chapter XIX: Machinery	When I read <i>Mr. Dutt's Economic History</i> of India, I <i>wept</i> ; <i>and</i> , as I think of it <i>again</i> , my heart sickens. (p.91)*	When I read <i>Mr. Dutt's Economic History</i> of India, I <i>wept</i> ; <i>and</i> , as I think of it <i>again</i> , my heart sickens. (p.107)	When I read <i>Mr. Dutt's Economic History</i> [italicized in the text] of India, I <i>wept</i> ; <i>and</i> as I think of it <i>again</i> my heart sickens. (p.81)	Difference between the IPP text and Parel’s version of the text is evident. Comma has been deleted.
	There are no <i>cloth-mills</i> in that <i>Presidency</i> . (p.91)	There are no <i>cloth-mills</i> in that <i>Presidency</i> . (p.107)	There are no <i>cloth mills</i> in that <i>presidency</i> . (p.81)	Hyphen has been erased in the 1938 edition and lowercase is used for “presidency”.
	By using Manchester <i>cloth</i> , we <i>would only</i> waste our <i>money</i> , <i>but</i> , by reproducing Manchester in	By using Manchester <i>cloth</i> , we <i>would only</i> waste our <i>money</i> , <i>but</i> , by reproducing	By using Manchester <i>cloth</i> we <i>only</i> waste our <i>money</i> ; <i>but</i> by reproducing Manchester in	Commas are erased and semicolon is used to give the sentence precision of thought.

	India... (p.92)	Manchester in India... (p.108)	India... (p.81)	
	...and we will make wicks, as of old, with home-grown <i>cotton</i> , and use <i>hand-made</i> earthen saucers for lamps. (p.93)	...and we will make wicks, as of old, with home-grown <i>cotton</i> , and use <i>hand-made</i> earthen saucers for lamps. (pp.109-10)	...and we will make wicks, as of old, with home-grown <i>cotton</i> , and use <i>handmade</i> earthen saucers for lamps. (p.82)	Comma has been deleted.
	So doing, we shall save our eyes and <i>money</i> , and <i>will support Swadeshi</i> , and so shall we attain Home Rule. (p.93)	So doing, we shall save our eyes and <i>money</i> , and <i>will support Swadeshi</i> , and so shall we attain Home Rule. (p.110)	So doing, we shall save our eyes and <i>money</i> and <i>support Swadeshi</i> and so shall we attain Home Rule. (p.82)	Commas have been deleted and the auxiliary verb "will" is also erased to give the sentence firmness.
	But, if the thought is sound, we <i>will</i> always find out what we can <i>give up</i> , and <i>will gradually</i> cease to use it. (p.94)	But, if the thought is sound, we <i>will</i> always find out what we can <i>give up</i> , and <i>will gradually</i> cease to use it. (p.110)	But, if the thought is sound, we <i>shall</i> always find out what we can <i>give up</i> and <i>gradually</i> cease to use it. (p.82)	Syntactical amendment.



Chapter XX: Conclusion	<p>These <i>demands</i> are not demands, but they will show our mental state. We <i>will</i> get nothing by <i>asking</i> ; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the <i>effort</i>, and that strength will be <i>available to him only who</i></p> <p>1. <i>will</i> only on rare occasions make use of the English <i>language</i> ;</p> <p>2. <i>if a lawyer, will</i> give up his profession, and take up a <i>hand-loom</i> ;</p> <p>3. <i>if a lawyer, will</i> devote his knowledge to enlightening both</p>	<p>These <i>demands</i> are not demands, but they will show our mental state. We <i>will</i> get nothing by <i>asking</i>; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the <i>effort</i>, and that strength will be <i>available to him only who</i></p> <p>1 <i>will</i> only on rare occasions make use of the English <i>language</i>;</p> <p>2 <i>if a lawyer, will</i> give up his profession, and take up a <i>hand-loom</i>;</p> <p>3 <i>if a lawyer,</i></p>	<p>"<i>These are</i> not demands, but they will show our mental state. We <i>shall</i> get nothing by <i>asking</i>; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the <i>effort</i> and that strength will be <i>available to him only who will act thus</i>:</p> <p>1. <i>He will</i> only on rare occasions make use of the English <i>language</i>;</p> <p>2. <i>If a lawyer, he will</i> give up his profession, and take up a <i>hand-loom</i>;</p>	<p>Quotation marks are used to provide a tone of exigency. Significant variations are evident between The International Printing Press edition of Hind Swaraj and the 1910 edition used by Parel in his book.</p>
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	<p>his people and the <i>English</i> ;</p> <p><b>4. if a lawyer,</b> <i>will</i> not meddle with the quarrels between parties, but will give up the courts and from his experience induce the people to do <i>likewise</i> ;</p> <p><b>5. if a lawyer,</b> <i>will</i> refuse to be a judge, as he will give up his <i>profession</i> ;</p> <p><b>6. if a doctor,</b> <i>will</i> give up medicine, and understand that, rather than mending bodies, he should mend <i>souls</i> ; ...(pp.100-01)</p>	<p><i>will</i> devote his knowledge to enlightening both his people and the <i>English</i> ;</p> <p><b>4 if a lawyer,</b> <i>will</i> not meddle with the quarrels between parties, but will give up the courts and from his experience induce the people to do <i>likewise</i> ;</p> <p><b>5 if a lawyer,</b> <i>will</i> refuse to be a judge, as he will give up his <i>profession</i> ;</p> <p><b>6 if a doctor,</b> <i>will</i> give up medicine, and understand that, rather than mending</p>	<p><b>3. If a lawyer,</b> <i>he will</i> devote his knowledge to enlightening both his people and the <i>English</i> ;</p> <p><b>4. If a lawyer,</b> <i>he will</i> not meddle with the quarrels between parties, but will give up the courts and from his experience induce the people to do <i>likewise</i> ;</p> <p><b>5. If a lawyer,</b> <i>he will</i> refuse to be a judge, as he will give up his <i>profession</i> ;</p> <p><b>6. If a doctor,</b> <i>he will</i> give up medicine, and understand that rather than</p>	
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		bodies, he should mend <i>souls;</i> ... (p.116)	mending bodies, he should mend <i>souls;</i> ... (p.88)	
	4. What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or <i>that we want to retaliate,</i> but because it our duty to do so. (p.103)	4 What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or <i>that we want to retaliate,</i> but because it our duty to do so. (p.118)	4. What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or <i>because we want to retaliate</i> but because it our duty to do so. (p.90)	The conjunction “that” is replaced by the customary conjunction “because”.

The reason behind doing a three-text-based textual analysis and moving away from the simple task of doing a two-edition-based study was to examine Parel’s claim of the 1910 text of Hind Swaraj as being the “authoritative text” more conscientiously. The reason for including the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj, published by The International Printing Press of Gandhi, was to locate the nature of amendments made to the first English text of Hind Swaraj. Moreover, Parel does not specifically mention, if, he used The International Printing Press edition in his work or not, so it was thought to be imperative to look into this rare edition. This exercise has, however, proved beneficial in providing a better

picture of the nature of amendments, and whether this process of emendation connotes anything significant to the structure and content of the decisive text.

Strikingly, the 1910 edition of The International Printing Press and the 1938 version of the Navajivan Trust of Hind Swaraj do not have much variation in terms of language. The few that it does have are all pertaining to grammatical rules and punctuation. Many amendments have not been incorporated in the close study of the three editions because those modifications are trifling and thereby, by the discretion of the research scholar, do not warrant a great deal of consideration. The difference between the editions is trivial to think of adopting one over the other.

In terms of factual and syntactical competency, one can say that the 1938 edition is a better edition. It does have a few errors of its own but overall it is a better edition of the two. Structurally, both the editions are almost identical barring the additions and deletions of the different prefaces to the text. In terms of chapter contouring, formatting, and content nothing significant have been added or deleted from either of the two editions. Therefore, the claim of Parel as the 1910 edition being a better rendition of Gandhi's thoughts seem dubious and implausible, for so far it is the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj that seem to present a better interpretation of Gandhi's "final intentions".

It is, however, not quite clear that the edition used by Parel is the original The International Printing Press edition of Hind Swaraj or not, and in spite of indicating that "spelling, punctuation have been brought up to date; other editorial changes to the 1910 text have been duly noted in the footnotes" (Parel, p.Ixiv), the text is found wanting in more than one occasion. So the question is, if Parel has not used the 1910 IPP edition then which edition has Parel used for his work? However, this research scholar cannot claim to have deciphered the ambiguity behind the edition used by Parel for his book and anything stated would be nothing more than conjecture at this point of time. But it appears that the edition used by Parel was modified and so it does not agree with many of

the important syntactical aspects of the IPP text. Nevertheless, if the IPP edition is the one which Parel worked with then in the name of correcting the “spellings” and “punctuation”, he took more liberty than was warranted. There are instances where the punctuation marks used in the IPP is correct and is duly represented in the 1938 edition as well, but that same punctuation marks are wrong in the Parel's version of the text. For instance, double quotes are used to denote quotations in both the IPP and 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj but single quotes are employed in Parel's version. For instance, in the sentence: Then we would understand that, in our language, the word "gone" is equivalent to "remained"; double quotes are used in both the IPP and 1938 editions of Hind Swaraj but in Parel's book, this sentence reads as: Then we would understand that, in our language, the word 'gone' is equivalent to 'remained.' There is a significant use of hyphenation in the IPP edition, which has been corrected in the subsequent editions of Hind Swaraj, and these corrections are clearly visible in the text used by Parel. In this respect, the text used by Parel resembles the 1938 edition more closely, and substantiates the soundness of the grammatical and other syntactical amendments of the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj.

One of the major advantages of a three-text based textual analysis of Hind Swaraj was that it made it obvious and indubitable, that the nature of emendation that the text was subjected to was insignificant, as it did not touch upon the content or structure of Gandhi's work.

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## CHAPTER IV      Hind Swaraj Examined

*Hind Swaraj* is a seminal text in its own right. It has gone through many editions, and read and appreciated the world over. The reason for its never waning popularity is its simplicity, commanding ideas, and farsightedness. Naturally, the task of finding an authoritative version of the text is a daunting task in itself. The 'authoritativeness' of a text is usually established by editing out the 'original' composition from amongst the edited material. In textual analysis, the search for "the authoritative text", several editions are referred. The purpose of this feat is to select piece by piece the original rendition of thought jot<sup>ed</sup> down by the author. The problem of having numerous editions is that sometimes the fundamental essence of the text is lost in the way through numerous revisions and modifications.

The issues that arise in the search for an authoritative text are numerous. Perhaps the most important reason of all is locating the 'authorship' of the text. In the formative years of literary criticism, the methods employed to locate the 'author' were derived largely from the Christian exegesis. Few criteria that facilitated this process were, first; unvarying quality of work, secondly; consistency of thought and absence of ambiguity between works, thirdly; chronological homogeneity, and finally, uniform style.

Michel Foucault asserts that the process of modern criticism works in the similar pattern. According to Foucault, the author denotes the "principle of unity in writing" so that any irregularity between texts can be explained. The author also "serves to neutralize the contradictions that are found in a series of texts" and he or she is a "particular source of expression who...is manifested equally well...in a text, in letters, fragments, drafts".<sup>72</sup> Foucault, however, affirms that the function of the author does not bear simple reference to the individual author who speaks in the text. The first person, the "I" may not refer

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<sup>72</sup> Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, ed. and trans. Donald F. Bouchard, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977) 128.

directly to the author but to a "second self". This kind of schism arises out of the splitting up of the "two selves". This phenomenon stresses Foucault, applies to all forms of discourse that confer this kind of function to the author and is, "characterized by this plurality of egos".<sup>73</sup>

It is often seen that the 'editor' significantly influences the quality of books, which undergo numerous editions. The position of the editor is a complex one. There are several cases where the editors have managed to bring out the beauty and ingenuity of the text with their skillful editing and better cataloging. A perfect example of this would be Nettleship's edition of Plato's writings. It is often seen that writers tend lose track of their thought and digress into issues unconnected to the main theme of the text. Here the editor can enhance the quality of the text by eliminating inconsequential and protracted details giving firmness and unity of thought to the work. An able editor is one who not only presents the ideas of the author factually, but one who understands the author and his priorities entirely. This kind of understanding between the author and the editor enables the editor to add character and vitality to the work.

Many times, there is a complete reversal of this situation. More often than not the ideology of the editor compromises the whole process of a detached and equitable editing. This clearly takes away the sharpness of the text, which dampens the author's intended satirical or critical standpoint. The downside of having umpteen number of editions is that the fundamental objective is misplaced in the labyrinth of 'political' censorship. Many a times it is seen that whenever an author treads the uncharted path, and filled his or her composition with communal or sexual innuendos, he or she has faced dire consequences. People like Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasreen are no strangers to writers anywhere. Their works *Satanic Verses* and *Lajja* drew scathing criticism from various quarters of the society. Therefore, whenever there is a hint of the 'unconventional' in the text, editors try to tone it down so that it does not upset any quarter of the society.

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<sup>73</sup> Foucault 130.

'Moral' and 'political' censorship was not unheard of in the times of Gandhi. People were as judgmental then as they are now, especially when it came to political writings. Gopal Krishna Gokhale's reaction to the English translation of *Hind Swaraj* epitomize<sup>s</sup> the average reaction to this seminal text in its initial years: "he thought it so crude and hastily conceived that he prophesied that Gandhiji himself would destroy the book after spending a year in India".<sup>74</sup>

The problem with having numerous editions is that often the ideology of the time and the people associated with it seeps in the work. This problem is further compounded when one has to deal with materials that are considered to be "corrupted" for their lack of authenticity and arbitrary deletions and additions to the text. The collected works of Gandhi suffers from this predicament. A Gandhian scholar named Tridip Suhrud first noticed the issue. He stated that the revised edition of the collected works of Gandhi is "corrupted" as a significant number of Gandhi's letters and other such pieces are missing from omnibus. An official associated with the publishing division of the Government of India also reiterates this view. La Su Rengarajan, a Tamil writer and formerly the Deputy Director, Publications Division of Union Information and Broadcasting Ministry, which was assigned with the task of compiling and cataloging Gandhi's works, asserted that "a national heritage involving homage to the memory of Gandhi had been mauled in the revised edition".<sup>75</sup>

It is stated that the imperative to preserve the writings of Gandhi was first felt in the 1950s. In 1956, the Government of India formed an advisory board to collect and catalog Gandhi's writings under the title *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. This daunting task of compiling and then cataloging the wide expanse of Gandhi's work was assigned to K. Swaminathan. The first edition of the *Collected Works* published under the supervision of

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<sup>74</sup> Mahadev Desai, "Preface", *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 2000) 13.

<sup>75</sup> "Work on Gandhi mauled in revised edition, alleges ex-I & B official," *The Hindu News Update Service* 28 October 2004, 10 January 2009 < <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/ht.html> >.



Swaminathan has since its inception been widely recognized as a fine specimen of editorial scholarship. It had been accepted as the standard compilation of Gandhi's works where his writings were organised in keeping with three principles: first, "to reproduce Gandhi's actual words"<sup>76</sup>; second, his interviews, speeches and conversations in indirect form would also be reproduced after their authenticity were established; and finally, to gradually acquire the other works of Gandhi that were not available at the time of compiling the *Collected Works* and these would be later published as supplementary volumes. However, the problem arose when in 1998 the publishing division of the Government of India decided to publish the *Collected Works*, only this time it was decided to be re-edited in accordance with chronology of their composition.

The exercise of re-editing the *Collected Works* called for the strict adherence to sequencing the works according to proper time-line. This act meant that the preface to the 1956 volumes of the *Collected Works* would be discarded as they would be redundant in this context and similarly there were other such materials that would not find a place in the new "revised edition". The proposed aim of the bringing out the revised edition was to "reproduce Gandhiji's actual words as far as possible; reports of his speeches, interviews, conversations which did not seem to be authentic have been avoided, as also the reports of his statements in indirect form."<sup>77</sup> But, as Suhrud highlights, this exercise of bringing out the revised edition is erroneous in more than one way.

The Revised Edition of the *Collected Works* that were published in 2001 not only omitted many of the pieces written by Gandhi but also misplaced a significant number of his letters, which were addressed to many of his friends and colleagues the world over. Around 300 entries have been misplaced and the source for each individual volume has been lost. Errors are, however, not only limited to works of Gandhi but even names of prominent people have suffered poor and callous editing. An example being Vinoba

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<sup>76</sup> Tridip Suhrud, "Re-Editing' Gandhi's Collected Works," *Economic and Political Weekly* 20 November 2004, 10 January 2009 < <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/epw.pdf> >.

<sup>77</sup> Tridip Suhrud < <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/epw.pdf> >.

75 an elaborate document of  
collected materials  
- the early 1950s

Bhave and Bhave, Vinoba are treated as two separate persons. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also known as the "Frontier Gandhi", shares this same fate.

These mistakes epitomize the kind of indifference and languor the works were subjected to. Moreover, no one seems to know who was responsible for compiling and editing the revised edition of the collected works. Such overt display of unconcern for a man's lifetime of work, who sacrificed his life with the sole intention of making the lives of his countrymen better and achieve true swaraj, is highly disappointing and sad.

A text, which has undergone numerous editions and translations in practically all the principal languages of the world, is bound to be influenced by them in turn. But one thing that has to be kept in mind is that having numerous editions of a work does not necessarily mean that the book loses its essence thereof. The essence of the text is an integral part of its very existence, therefore foregoing it would imply misplacing the text itself. Therefore, it is often seen that few of the major works in the world, in spite, of going through innumerable editions and reprints remain true to their form and uniformity of style.

A text that was initially written in Gujarati and then translated into English suffers from the regular disparities existing between two distinct pedagogic and cultural language groups. Perhaps this predicament is best expressed in the now hallowed words of the renowned novelist Raja Rao: "One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language...yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up – like Sanskrit and Persian was before – but not of our emotional make-up".<sup>78</sup> Even Gandhi was aware of this problem. He stressed the reason behind this to be "that the Gujarati language readily lends itself to such treatment and that it is considered the best method of treating difficult

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<sup>78</sup> Raja Rao, "Foreword", Kanthapura, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) v.

subjects. Had I written for English readers in the first instance, the subject would have been handled in a different manner". This dilemma of being incapable of baring one's souls and thoughts in 'another' language is discernible in the English translation of *Hind Swaraj*, first published in 1910.

The language of *Hind Swaraj* is striking in many respects and at times quite baffling for being winded, unpunctuated and multifaceted use of words. For instance, "Truth-force" seems to be used by Gandhi for what is commonly called truthfulness as the moral quality of a person".<sup>79</sup> The text is also marked for its frequent backward and forward movement in the narrative of the text to put forward his views. This practice is innate to the Indian folk tradition but conspicuously absent in the English tradition.

The back and forth movement of the narrative forms the essence of Indian story telling. As U.R. Anantha Murthy rightly said, "To tell a story is to move forward and backward in time your sweet will and, in this unrestrained movement, to conquer time and reconstruct what otherwise would be irrevocably lost. It is this sense of continuity of lived time, preserved through memory, that makes us human. It is literature in one's language that makes this continuity possible".<sup>80</sup> Perhaps this was his way non-conforming with the English literary convention. His decision of supplementing the English title of *Indian Home Rule* with the Gujarati title of *Hind Swaraj* can be interpreted as his method of incorporating his terminology and phraseology in the English language. Arvind Mehrotra states that "Gandhi developed neologisms and words of his own invention, the most famous being satyagraha...[and by]..incorporating such words (as well as others like khadi, swadeshi, and ahimsa) into his English writing, he suggested the irreducibility of his vocabulary into English".<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Burns, *Aryan Path* 435.

<sup>80</sup> U.R. Anantha Murthy, "Being a Writer in India", *Prose Selection*, ed. S.S. Sharma, (Delhi: Doaba Publications, 2007) 57.

<sup>81</sup> Sunil Khilnani, "Gandhi and Nehru: The Uses of English", *A History of Indian Literature in English*, ed. Arvind Krishna Mehrotra, (London: Hurst and Company, 2003) 139.

The question, therefore, remains that if the differences between the two editions are so insignificant than what is the big idea behind reverting to the 1910 edition of the text. Clearly, the 1938 edition of the text aptly represent Gandhi's ideas and it is, in fact, more attuned to his vision. The text of 1938 edition does away with many of the problematic areas in the text and corrects few factual errors evident in the text. Parel in arbitrarily selecting the 1910 text has overlooked the fact that the revisions made to the text of Hind Swaraj were not done at random according to the whim of an editor. Moreover, the modifications to the 1938 text, in fact, all the subsequent revisions of Hind Swaraj had the tacit approval of Gandhi himself.

In the case of *Hind Swaraj* the text in itself is intact, the only modifications that is undergone is few syntactical amendments. Therefore, in order to accomplish the "authoritative" edition of Hind Swaraj, one must return to Parel's arguments for reverting to the 1910 edition of the text. In his book, Parel forwards his claim that "The 1910 English text (with its Foreword and Preface), which the *present editor* (emphasis added) believes to be the most authentic of all existing English texts" (Parel, Ixiv).

Parel in *Gandhi: Hind Swaraj* forwards his reasons for selecting the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj. These are, firstly, it was translated into English by Gandhi himself and no other work of Gandhi commands this feat; Secondly, this was the edition, which "Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Nehru and Rajaji" commented on; Thirdly, this was the text by which Gandhi wanted to transmit his ideas to the world; and Fourthly, this was the text that Gandhi always referred to. The reasons put forward by Parel needs to be studied more closely.

The first reason is a well-known fact that *Hind Swaraj* i.e. the Gujarati version was written by Gandhi in 1909 and on being banned by the Bombay Government, Gandhi hurriedly translated it into English and published it. In spite of facing stiff opposition from the Bombay Government, Gandhi ardently asserted that:

...we have no right to complain. We consider this activity on the part of the Government of India a passing phase. They are in a state of panic and, and wishing to do something, they intend to stop the circulation of literature that shows the slightest independence of spirit. This is over-zeal is bound to kill itself...In these circumstances, we, who are uncompromising advocates of passive resistance, have only one course to left open to us. The repression cannot affect us. Our views can only remain the same, and they must find expression on every due occasion, regardless of personal consequences (10: 175).

Therefore, Gandhi went ahead and published the formative work that foregrounded a strong nationalistic plea and upheld the high caliber of passive resistance and soul-force.

The second claim of Parel that 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj enjoys the privilege of being commented on stalwarts like Tolstoy, Rolland, and Nehru also hold ground. Gandhi, in one of his correspondence with Tolstoy dated 4 April 1910, did send the text of Hind Swaraj to him and asked for a review of the book. Gandhi stated in the letter: "As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing" (10: 210). Tolstoy was obliging with his reply to this letter, which is of significance because he not only affirms that he 'read' the book, but also comments on its altruistic content: "I read your book with great interest because I think that the question you treat in it – the passive resistance – is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for the whole humanity" (10: 505).

Even in his correspondences between Nehru and Gandhi, Nehru's references to Hind Swaraj point to the 1910 edition of the text. In one of his letters to Gandhi dated 9 October 1945, Nehru mentions reading the text "20 or more years ago"<sup>82</sup>, which evidently sweeps the 1938 edition out of the scene. Romain Rolland also commented on the first

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<sup>82</sup> Nehru, Letters 509.

edition of the text. He saw the thoughts, as presented in the book, as "the negation of Progress and also of European science".<sup>83</sup> However, one must remember that this argument is flawed in that the 1938 edition received the views of not few but many celebrated people of the time. Prominent among them were G.D.H. Cole, Irene Rathbone, Claude Houghton and John Middleton Murray. It was witness to a wide range of political and social phenomenon and thereby, the interpretation it received was more pronounced and fundamental than the unsullied text of 1910.

The third reason is upheld by the fact that this text, more than anything else written by Gandhi, played a crucial role in spreading his message of ahimsa and truth to every nook and corner of the world. As for the fourth rationale, Gandhi time and again stood by the ideas first preached in the text. Whenever there was a call for a new edition, he did express his will against the revision of the text theoretically, though modifications in the language did not vex him. Nevertheless, here, we see that there is considerable restraint in making even few trivial amendments. Gandhi never for once doubted his ideas and even after many editions, we find his thoughts and ideas to be intact and consequential. Gandhi's conviction was, perhaps, one of the reasons behind the retention of the word "prostitute" in the text even though Gandhi fervidly called for its deletion "in accordance with a promise made to an English friend" (15: 330).

In "A Message to Aryan Path" in 1938, Gandhi averred, "I might change the language here and there if I had to rewrite the booklet. But after the stormy thirty years through which I have since passes, I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it" (67: 67).

Gandhi himself, therefore, provides the affirmation that the first published edition of Hind Swaraj was indisputable in structure and conception, and it did not necessitate the superfluous revisions to suit the taste of the select few. Gandhi was more concerned in

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<sup>83</sup> Romain Rolland, Mahatma Gandhi: A Study in Indian Nationalism, trans. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar, (Madras: S. Ganesan, 1923) 37.

transmitting the ideas professed by the book, and not by the format and styling of the text. He was aware of the discrepancies present in his work but asked the reader to overlook these irregularities and grasp the message that this book was trying to convey. This is apparent when he avows: "What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of truth, my God, from moment to moment, and, therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the latter of the two on the same subject" (HS, p.4). Therefore, we discern a certain aversion to the repeated revisions to his text. Nevertheless, it is important to note that all the revisions made to the text are not superfluous. Few factual errors too were also corrected namely "Shevetbindu" was replaced by "Setubandha".

Gandhi, moreover, always went back to the 1910 edition whenever he wished to revisit his ideas, for not only it was that text that he translated himself but it was the text, which he felt, was more proximate to the original in Gujarati as it had not undergone any emendation.

Therefore, in the context of Hind Swaraj, one can say that even though it went through many editions, the text itself saw hardly any revisions, especially theoretical. Therefore, its essence remains the same in both the 1910 and 1938 edition of the text. However, there are a few points of departure between the two editions. Firstly, the 1910 edition is an exact rendition of Gandhi's thoughts. It is Gandhi's thoughts unedited and untainted. The text, in spite of having few grammatical snags, is almost perfect and reflects Gandhi's creative brilliance that led him to produce a text as complex and momentous as Hind Swaraj. The 1938 edition did undergo few amendments and, interestingly, the snags apparent in the 1910 edition were the ones that underwent editing. The thought, as professed by the text, was left untouched.

Secondly, the language of the text in both the edition is the same: simple and cogent never giving way to verbosity. Gandhi presents his thoughts in simple language that is

comprehensible not only to the most erudite section of the society but also to those who were sparsely literate. This is, perhaps, one of the greatest achievements of Hind Swaraj. However, the language of the 1910 edition carries few syntactical problems, which were subsequently corrected in the 1938 edition.

Thirdly, the narrative style of the text is fluid with no sticking point anywhere in the flow of his ideas. Gandhi was aware of his audience for whom he was writing and under what conditions, so in this book he undertook to choose content over perfect lexical expression and proper rules of syntax. Therefore, this edition is all about "Hind Swaraj", the fundamental thought of Gandhi and a guide to the true meaning of "Swaraj". This rapid flow of thought, as evident in the 1910 text, is largely checked by proper rules of grammar and punctuation in the 1938 edition.

The text of Navajivan edition of Hind Swaraj of 1938 is similar to the 1910 edition in almost every aspect, barring the few textual modifications. Desai's ingenuity as an editor of this edition lies in his ability to limit the modification only to the sentence structure and not upsetting the flow of the thought process of Gandhi. He tries to keep the text true to its original form and avoids unwarranted alterations to the text. The 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj is; however, comfortable to read as it is more in tune with the rhyme and rhythm of the English language. The unpunctuated and continuous flow of ideas, that is apparent in the 1910 edition of the text, is lashed with proper punctuation marks and other rules of syntax. However, this exercise though imparts a kind of primness to the text; and it does, to an extent, take away the dynamism and earnestness of tone that is quite evident in the 1910 text.

The search for the "authoritative" text of Hind Swaraj draws us nearer to the thought of Gandhi and his message of non-violence and soul-force. For long, the 1938 edition of Hind Swaraj was considered the lone text when it came to realizing Gandhi's thoughts on *swaraj* and *ahimsa*. The events around the year 1938 were determining in many ways and



may be; because of one of these reasons, the need to reprint Hind Swaraj emerged. This was the time of rising extremism in every quarter of the country, and then came M.A. Jinnah's rise as a political leader. His ascend began to strike at the roots of the Congress. His clarion call of "Islam in Danger" met with an immediate response from the vast majority of the Muslim populace. In 1937, the Congress leaders<sup>84</sup> failed to challenge the rising communal radicalism of Savarkar and the RSS on the one hand and the religious fanaticism of Jinnah, Fazl-ul-Haq, on the other.

It was in this background that Hind Swaraj was re-issued. Its impact was extensive and absolute. The text received more popularity than it did when it was published in 1910. In spite of the timing of their publication, the two texts are true to Gandhi's vision and philosophy.

The question, however, remains that if the differences between the two editions were syntactical and not in their content, then why the need arose to revert to the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj. While Parel gave his reasons for selecting the 1910 edition over the 1938 edition for his work, but one needs to understand that by arbitrarily selecting one edition over the other does not substantiate its "authoritativeness". There are more than five standard editions of the text of Hind Swaraj and each edition made few corrections to the text in keeping with the essence of the work. In spite of having so many editions the text is true to Gandhi's thought and that does reflect the discipline exercised during the process of making amendments.

Parel's rationale for selecting the 1910 text of Hind Swaraj is flawed because he comprehended the act of editing to be making significant changes to the text and thereby, affecting the essence of the text. This is clearly not the case with the 1938 text of Hind Swaraj. The text is not only true to Gandhi's thoughts but it presents them in its original

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<sup>84</sup> Madan Mohan Malaviya, Iqbal, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and N.C. Chatterjee.

format with minor changes. It presents the text in a complete form that is devoid of any factual errors and appropriate sentence structure.

Parel, in stating that the first English edition of the text is true to the original in Gujarati, overlooks the fact that even if the English edition was a true rendition of the original, the crux of the matter is that it was factually flawed. Therefore, the point is, how can a text be branded to be "true" that was factually flawed in the first place. Even if one overlooks the sentence structure and the customary punctuation marks, is it correct for a work of such standing as *Hind Swaraj* to hold on to the slip-ups that are not only coarse in nature but also offensive to some.

Parel seem to imply that Gandhi was concerned with the 1910 edition of the Hind Swaraj as it was free from revisions, and thus, presented his views in their novel form. This stance is reflective of Parel's limited understanding of Gandhi's vision and thoughts. How can a man of Gandhi's stature be so ignorant and arrogant at the same time to overlook that his text did have few imperfections that badly reflected on his struggle for truth? Parel certainly did misunderstand the motive behind the revisions of Gandhi's works. The amendments were not intended to take away the genuineness of Gandhi's works, but to add conceptual clarity and to afford appropriate syntactical arrangement, to take it to the level of the classics of our literature. If the successive editions of the text were destroying the essence of the work then surely Parel cannot assume that Gandhi would have assented to the repeated revisions of his work. Gandhi was aware of the shortcomings of his work and may be that is the reason why these editions came into existence. Therefore, Parel's arbitrary selection of the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj over the 1938 edition for his work is acceptable but his claim that the 1910 edition is the standard text seem to be far fetched and uninformed.

Let us for a minute accept Parel's contention that the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj is the standard text, then it would signify that it is the text that represents Gandhi's final

intentions. It would then be the version that captures Gandhi's main reason for composing the text; that of spreading the message of truth and non-violence. For obvious reasons then the 1910 edition would be regarded as the "authoritative" text. On second thought, should an alleged "authoritative" text be allowed to spread erroneous information? The implication of subsequent editions is to correct the errors that passed on in the first few editions. The successive editions of Hind Swaraj were to serve this very purpose. If the 1910 version of Hind Swaraj had been the "final" text then it would not be imperative to subject it to importunate revisions.

The errors found in the 1910 edition of Hind Swaraj were not only noteworthy but also contentious. For once, it became clear that revisions were essential as Gandhi had not only foundered on syntactical structures but also had offended few people by his naïve comments in the book. An instance is his reference to the Assamese people as being part of the "wild tribes". One man's meat is another man's poison. This slip-up by Gandhi proved beneficial for the British authorities who used it to depict Gandhi in bad taste. However, being the sharp tactician that he was, he turned around the situation to his advantage and rendered a heartfelt apology to the Assamese people. He not only managed to gain ground with the Assamese people but also succeeded in making them an integral part of the Swadeshi movement. Therefore, the text would have been denounced by many people and accredited by few if not for timely and apposite modifications.

Gandhi, however, has nowhere mentioned which of the two editions he considered the authoritative text. Despite the fact that his aversion to repeated editions is well-known, he never revealed which edition of the text, according to him, embodied his "final intentions". Although when one goes through his works, one may assume, like Parel did, that may be Gandhi favoured the 1910 text more than any other editions; for one must remember the fact that the text did undergo almost six editions in Gandhi's life span itself.

Gandhi, however, in spite of his apparent dislike for revisions never actually barred the act itself. When he was asked by Sophia Wadia to write a foreword for the edition she was bringing out, Gandhi said, "The reader may know that I could not revise a single idea. I had no desire to revise the language. It is a fair translation of the original in Gujarati" (70: 242). The numerous revisions depict his inclination to profess the message of Hind Swaraj without altering the content of his thought. He never for once stated his aversion to reprints, but what he did state was his dislike for unnecessary modifications. Gandhi, nevertheless, stated his convictions thus:

"...I find that the convictions I stated in the book have grown stronger. If only I had the time, I could set forth the same ideas more elaborately, with additional arguments and illustrations. *I see no reason at all for revising them* (12: 411).

The innumerable amount of additions and deletions to his text, possibly, made Gandhi feel cut off from his original work and, perhaps, this was the reason behind his leaning towards the English translation of the original published in 1910 over the 1938 version.

Nonetheless, the reader who wants to be acquainted with Gandhi's ideas and views, perhaps would do well, to select any one of the text liberally without being entangled in the technicality of the text, as both are faithful rendition of the original in Gujarati and most importantly, Gandhi himself sanctioned both these texts. Thus, "to ascertain a single "authoritative" text of *Hind Swaraj* that is more authentic in character and true to its form" may not be imperative to understand Gandhi and his philosophy of life, because different editions of a text can be as genuine as the original, if only it respected the writer's "final intentions" and produced the writer's thoughts in a faithful and coherent manner. However, in keeping with the purpose of this research, one can state that the text of 1910, nevertheless, is a bona fide rendition of his ideas and free from the nuisance of censorship of its lexis. It also resembles the original *Hind Swaraj* in Gujarati in its uninterrupted flow of thought and verve. It is reminiscent of the Indian folk traditions. The 1938 edition of the text is structurally more formal and grammatically more

consistent, but it is also factually accurate. Therefore, to quote Makarand Paranajape, "Given that Gandhi himself wrote a "Message" on the occasion of the 1938 edition, it is clear that he was aware of and endorsed the process of revising the text for the discussion in *The Aryan Path*. Reverting to the 1910 edition thus creates more confusion than clarity. What is more, Parel's text, published by Cambridge University Press, is so much more expensive than the Navajivan edition, which still sells for ten rupees or about twenty cents! It is obvious which of the two is more 'Gandhian'".<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Makarand Paranajape, "Introduction to the Brazilian Edition of Hind Swaraj", Unpublished article, 2009.

## CHAPTER V: Conclusion

### 4.1 Future Projections

Gandhi and his thoughts always had a rebellious and visionary characteristic about them. He was never one of those to be cowed down easily. *Hind Swaraj* is one such creation of his, which he wrote within ten days of his journey from London to South Africa, but interestingly, this is perhaps the only work of his that rose as a great critique of colonialism and modernity. It enjoys as much popularity, as it did back in Gandhi's lifetime, if not more.

*Hind Swaraj* underwent more than five major editions and though no significant changes were made to the text, it still did undergo few revisions. This research is primarily based on only two of these several major editions. Therefore, this study lacks the overall knowledge of all the editions and the various amendments that went into each individual edition. Possibly a close study of these various editions in keeping their contemporary times could be carried on in the near future. This would give a broad perspective of when and how the errors of the text were recognized and if it had played a role in giving a different bend to Gandhi's thought.

A study based on all the editions of *Hind Swaraj* would be ideal to uncover the various strands that went on to impart a distinctive characteristic to the text. Such a study would facilitate in providing a comprehensive view about the ways in which every individual edition improved the superiority of the text. It would also draw attention to the fact that in spite of the numerous versions of the text, Gandhi's views never took an alternative path. His views became more pronounced and clear with the passage of time. This would testify the strength of the ideas and message advocated in the text.

A feminist critique of *Hind Swaraj* would do well to fill the gap between the feminists' view of Gandhi's ideas and the real assertions of Gandhi pertaining to 'the other sex'. One

can also explore the various strands of Gandhi's thought more elaborately, exploring the diverse sources that played an influential part in shaping his thought processes drawing theoretical apparatus such as Intertextuality; examining how the text is made up other texts through its covert testimonials and allusions. The binary oppositions of 'man' and 'woman' are coercive in nature, for instance as M.A.R. Habib observes, "according to Aristotle's laws, either one is a man or one is a woman; a person is either black or white, either master of slave".<sup>86</sup> Feminism have rejected these divisive categories and stresses on the various shades between black and white and urged for unity rather than of opposition. Therefore, Gandhi's constant stress on attaining "manhood" and his frequent references to "prostitute" and derogatory significance of being "effeminate" can also be better analyzed. This depiction of women in male literature either as a goddess or as a whore highlights an integral means of perpetuating the divisive ideologies of gender. Perhaps by the help of a comprehensive study of the gender categorization in Hind Swaraj, one could well capture the flow of Gandhi's thoughts and attempt to explore the movement of Gandhi's deliberation and discern, if any, contradictions or concurrence of the gender roles in them.

Gandhi has always been a favourite subject for the psychoanalysts. His thoughts, his life, and he himself, have been the focus of numerous psychoanalytical experiments. The results, however, have often been varied and inconclusive. Studying Gandhi through the lens of psychoanalysis can be appealing but also taxing. For Gandhi was a person whose personality swiveled around the defined and limited categories of "man"; his accepted wisdom went beyond the restricted domain of social psychology; and his childlike inquisitiveness and forthrightness often questioned the limited vision of the Indian psyche. In the Indian context, religiosity advances a certain degree of fluidity when it comes to stringent gender roles.

In the Indian tradition, the depictions of the Gods are softer and lissome as compared to their Greek variants, which are represented with sturdy and chiseled bodies. These

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<sup>86</sup> M.A.R. Habib, "Feminist Criticism", *A History of Literary Criticism: From Plato to the Present* (New Delhi: Blackwell Publishing, 2006) 668.

representations have significantly affected the gender roles in both the Western and Indian context. Perhaps, this also influenced the viewpoint of the British in the colonial period. The Indian belief system allows a certain amount of liberty to the rigid category of gender in religion. We have often seen a beautiful blend of the masculine and the feminine in our Gods, who are not only daring at the time of hostilities but also overtly compassionate, a characteristic that is typically referred to as "feminine".

Studying Gandhi as a person who epitomised the kind of fervour often reserved for the gods can be engaging and also unique if his stance of soul-force and compassion were analyzed from the psychoanalytical perspective of the Indian mind. The Indian culture, as Sudhir Kakar stated, "is a culture where in superior human beings feminine traits are joined to the masculine ones. So a cultural hero like Gandhi can publicly proclaim that he had mentally become a woman...and take it for granted that he will strike a responsive chord in his audience".<sup>87</sup> Gandhi's reiteration on the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity is closely connected to his understanding of the threat to one's social identity.

Gandhi knew that this looming tension was a result of "the threat to identity that is being posed by the forces of modernization and globalization to peoples in many parts of the world as a root cause for Hindu-Muslim conflict. There are feelings of loss and helplessness accompanying dislocations and migrations from rural areas to the shanty towns of urban megalopolises, the disappearance of craft skills that underplay traditional work identities, and the humiliation caused by homogenizing and hegemonizing impact of the modern world, which pronounces ancestral cultural ideals and values outmoded and irrelevant".<sup>88</sup> Gandhi challenged the practice of denouncing the "ancestral cultural ideals and values" by the West. His inquisitiveness and openness helped him to question both the Western and the Indian concept of change and development. Therefore, with the tools of psychoanalysis one can attempt to decipher the numerous strands of thought and

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<sup>87</sup> Sudhir Kakar and Katharina Kakar, "The Indian Mind", The Indians: Portrait of a People (New Delhi: Viking, 2007) 203.

<sup>88</sup> Kakar, The Indians 155.



the 'gaffes' as enumerated in *Hind Swaraj* that assisted in realizing a better understanding of Gandhi the person and his thought processes.

*Hind Swaraj* is one of the foremost and important texts in its criticism of modernity and colonialism. His emphasis on the latent role of the Indians in losing their independence and the resultant colonial state is vital to the discourse on colonialism. He said, "The English have not taken India; we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them" (HS, p.34). His insistence on the need for the marginalized and the colonized to raise their voice against their oppressors were imperative in the development of colonial discourse largely. Its influence on the postcolonial discourse was no less significant.

The approaches to study Gandhi are innumerable and exhaustive. He was one person whose thought and work influenced almost all the major theories that cropped up in both pre- and post-independent India. Therefore, the future holds a myriad of alternatives to study the works and ideas of Gandhi.

#### **4.2 Gandhi in Contemporary Times**

Reading Gandhi can be quite a challenge for one's wits. One cannot but help wonder that a world where aeroplanes and fast trains have become the chief mode of transport; a world where fast cars have become the must-haves for the filthy rich; a world that would perish without cheap and effective medicine, and the rising shafts of the emerging factories that have become the life-line of the burgeoning middle-class, where would Gandhi fit in all this? Gandhi's teachings do appear to be out of touch with the ground realities of present day world. His ideas seem to tell us to return to a pre-modern age, an age where village economies exist and agriculture is the source of one's livelihood. However, this kind of vision was extreme when one recalls the fact that when Gandhi

wrote this book; India was on her way to industrial revolution and socio-political development.

A time that was marked by progress in every aspect of life, Gandhi asked for retreat. Gandhi, however, did not stop there. He denounced the use of the English language and started spreading his message in Hindi. A time that was marred by two successive world wars, he preached the message of non-violence. At a time that brought the charms of English life to the elite of the Indian subcontinent, Gandhi preached the virtues of Swadeshi.

The present world does not present a very different picture. Even today, we have the burgeoning consumer-oriented culture, where brands define the worth of an individual; this is time of Levis 501 jeans, crash-diet and anti-aging solutions. The budding IT sector, on the other hand, seeks to take the concept of "communication" to a completely new level; faster trains, faster cars, faster aeroplanes delineate a country's developmental stage; and nuclear weapons and biochemical weapons have substituted the concept of non-violence with "nuclear détente". In between this complex web of consumer-oriented culture, where practically everything is available just a click away, Gandhi's message of moderation and patience seem to be outdated.

A time that was witness to the rise and growth of the modern city-culture, Gandhi was preaching a return to nature; a return that was not only impossible but also absurd. How could a man, who was engulfed in the modern ways, possibly fit into the mundane life of the village? A person who is used to commuting in trains and accustomed to having his meals served in front of him could adjust with having to travel in bullock-carts and turn to cultivation for his regular meal. Was not this an impracticable vision on Gandhi's part?

A close look at Gandhi, the person, reveals few striking contradictions evident between his teachings and his life. For instance, he denounced the use of the English language, but

interestingly he himself made extensive use of the language to communicate with his allies the world over. Even his correspondences within India were, by and large, limited to the use of Gujarati and English. His abhorrence for the modern machinations like the railways were well-known, yet ironically, the means that helped him to travel at length all over the country were the railways. Even his concept of the village economy appeared to be hollow. For one thing, Gandhi himself was not a true Gandhian. Then why do we need him? What is the relevance of his thoughts today?

India is a nation of movie-lovers and therefore, watching movies forms an important part of our "time pass culture". While watching the movie *Rang De Basanti*, one cannot but think of the consequence the four fervent youngsters met in the end of the movie. Their peaceful candlelight marches in the movie were thrashed by police brutalities. Moreover, their valiant attempt to draw justice met with more violence and a sad ending. Whether it ignited the minds of the masses is a different story, what it really upheld was if violence was the apt rejoinder to injustice or is there another way to seek righteousness. Well another movie revealed the way and gave it the name, "Gandhigiri".

The Munnabhai movies did not popularize Gandhian thought, but it definitely showed how the thoughts of the Mahatma could be put to practice in our daily life to fight injustice and crime. One instance was the candlelight march of numerous people at the India Gate to seek justice for Jessica Lal, a woman murdered in a fit of rage. This march signified the commencement of a new era of forwarding one's grievances without striking a soul. Moreover, this candlelight march did not meet a sad end like in *Rang De Basanti*. The culprits of the Jessica Lal murder case did meet their just end. Therefore, one need not always resort to violence to get his point across.

The problem with any debate on Gandhi is that we immediately equate him with non-violence and the debate is reduced to non-violence. This is not fair to the man who emphasized the virtues of truth, passive resistance, and non-violence. Gandhi's thoughts

and messages range over a wide array of topics, and non-violence happens to be just one of them. Gandhigiri might be the invention of the creator of the Munnabhai sequel, but non-violence is not Gandhi's creation.

Non-violence was a political tool that Gandhi used to perfection in the fight for independence. If he had chosen violent means like many of the extremist leaders then today he would have been just another name in the long list of martyrs. He repeatedly emphasized the importance of adopting proper means to achieve the desired end. Gandhi's workings were nothing much but amusement to the British authorities. They could never comprehend the extent to which the "naked fakir" could influence the course of the Indian National Movement. The British authorities initially even refrained to respond to him, as they did not see him as an impending threat. Non-violence and fasting were the two techniques that Gandhi employed to attain his political ends.

Gandhi was a complex person, yet he was simplicity personified. Gandhi had many facets to his personality; he was a master strategist, diplomat, and a role model for the masses. He was a leader of the masses, yet a loner. Most importantly, he had the courage of conviction to walk the tough terrain alone. Non-violent response might be interpreted as a sign of a soft state in today's society that is satiated with violence, but still one can safely vouch that this fact alone does not make Gandhi irrelevant.

Gandhi's message of Satyagraha is all about endurance and patience. It is about one's conviction to fight for the truth and not to give in to violence. Nevertheless, in a world where strife marks the order of the day, where can one find people who believe in the concepts of non-violence and truth? Surprisingly, it turns out that such people do exist in these conflicting times as well. Irom Sharmila Chanu is one such person. She is on a mission to fight against the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 that vests undue powers in the security forces. The brutalities that are carried on a daily basis in Manipur have made her more determined and resolute in her fight for justice. Time will tell

whether her moral courage manages to stir the workings of the political elite or not; her courage of conviction, however, has inspired more souls to follow her lead in their fight against injustice and crime.

Other famous *satyagrahis* that worked in their respective countries to fight against prejudice and injustice were Martin Luther King Jr. of America, Nelson Mandela of Africa, Aung San Suu Kyi from Burma, Lech Walesa of Poland, Václav Havel of Czech Republic, Petra Kelly of Australia, among others. These individuals have shown that with faith in oneself and in one's purpose, no aim can be too high to scale. These individuals have highlighted the true spirit of passive resistance. They have revealed that the concept of passive resistance is not for the coward but for those who can brave any situation and any authority. They have achieved full control of themselves, and therefore, no external pressure can mold their belief. Gandhi aptly expresses this undaunted quality of a passive resister:

Wherein is courage required – in blowing others to pieces from behind a canon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior - he who keeps death always as a bosom friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister (HS, p.71).

Horace Alexander, a close associate of Gandhi and who had seen him in action, says of a nonviolent resister addressing his opponent: "On your side you have all the mighty forces of the modern State, arms, money, a controlled press, and all the rest. On my side, I have nothing but my conviction of right and truth, the unquenchable spirit of man, who is prepared to die for his convictions than submit to your brute force. I have my comrades in armlessness. Here we stand; and here if need be, we fall."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> M.K. Gandhi, "Non-violence", 10 October 2008  
< [http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/gandhi\\_and\\_non.htm](http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/gandhi_and_non.htm) >.

The strength of a passive resister is greater and more pronounced than that of his opponent. Passive resistance is not cowardice for it calls for greater sacrifice – the sacrifice of oneself. "Far from being a craven retreat from difficulty and danger, nonviolent resistance demands courage of a high order, the courage to resist injustice without rancour, to unite the utmost firmness with the utmost gentleness, to invite suffering but not to inflict it, to die but not to kill".<sup>90</sup>

In a world that speaks the language of advanced technological weaponry, nuclear warheads and ICBMs or Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles, that could wipe off any place on the face of the earth within its minimum operating radius i.e. 5000 kilometers, how relevant are the virtues of "compassion" and "soul-force" in such times? Perhaps Gandhi knew that if we do not gain control of the "self", then the materialistic instincts in man would take over. He knew the world would never survive on the basis of weapons and warheads. It needed something more potent than that. It needed love, compassion, tolerance, and *ahimsa*. These were qualities that humanity required to cultivate to stand the test of time and overcome the avarice for things that did not contribute to the wellbeing of man in the long run. In this regard, Gandhi's vision concerning the conservation of nature is paramount to his thought.

Gandhi's stance on the need to preserve the environment was significant for its moral aspect. Many criticized his stress on the voluntary restraint on materialistic yearning and foregoing one's greed for land and its resources. This is because people by nature are greedy and therefore, to assume that man will surrender his apparent quest for property is unnatural and dreamlike. However, to Gandhi, man was innately good and capable of overcoming the greed for property. To him, propertied man was to be seen as a trustee, who was responsible for taking care of the land, to help those who had none. Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha succinctly sums the Gandhian way to environmental movement:

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<sup>90</sup> Gandhi, < [http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/gandhi\\_and\\_non.htm](http://www.mkgandhi.org/nonviolence/gandhi_and_non.htm) >.

(a)...people should be given far greater access to and control over the natural resource base of their localities. Ecosystem people should also be given an important role in a new, largely decentralized system of governance... (b)...people should be remain content with their requirements of subsistence, without aspiring to greater access to material goods... (c) The process of building up human-made capital at considerable cost to natural capital should be halted... (d) and (e) Omnivores should not aspire to enhance their own material consumption, and in consequence give up their attempts to establish stronger hold over the nation's natural and human-made capital. (f) India should check the drain of its natural capital to the outside world by doing away with the need for foreign exchange through acceptance of a way of life with very low material demands, and a foreign policy based on non-violence leading to low military demands.<sup>91</sup>

These facets of Gandhi's thoughts depict his insight into the situation that would arise if man's materialistic desires were left unchecked. His enduring struggle for the wellbeing of the farmers and other such indigenous people was the main reason behind the implementation of the Panchayati Raj system in 1993 in our Indian governance. It was instrumental in bringing about a revolution in the Indian economy. Even the framers of our constitution instituted the Directive Principles of State Policy to honour the principles of Gandhi, who insisted on socialistic principles; the revival of the cottage industries; and the protection of the cow, which Gandhi considered to be the "protector of India because, being an agricultural country, she is dependent on the cow" (HS, p.44) and viewed it with "affectionate reverence".

The significant environmental movements carried out by the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations echo the same concern as Gandhi did in his time. He was ahead of his time to realize the devastating impact of sightless industrial

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<sup>91</sup> Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, "Conservative-Liberal-Socialism", Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1995) 118.

development. The recent phenomenon of global warming due to the increased amount of carbon emissions in the atmosphere can be traced to the growing surge of industrialism in the early twentieth century. The problem of global warming is further compounded by the depletion of the ozone layer, due to the increased carbon emission, which in turn, has engendered numerous forms of cancers. Whether it is the Kyoto Protocol or the Cartagena Protocol, one thing is apparent, that is Gandhi's words of caution, articulated a hundred years ago, were not any bunkum but the perceptive vision of a righteous man.

When there were persons like Sun Tzu, who forwarded his strategies to conquer one's enemies by thus: "seize what he loves, and he will heed you!"<sup>92</sup> Then there was Machiavelli who supported the notion that the end justifies the means and professed that the material wellbeing occupied the prime objective of any ruler. He encouraged the spread of fear, if need be, to gain the support of the people since "fear holds by the apprehension of punishment, which never leaves men"<sup>93</sup> and thus, helps the prince to rule over his men. These were the kinds of thoughts that primarily influenced the western mindset. On the contrary, Gandhi stressed that "fair means alone can produce fair results, and that, at least in the majority of the cases...the force of love and pity is infinitely greater than the force of arms" (HS, p.65).

According to the western mindset, qualities like peace, love, and compassion are often viewed as "soft" and "incapable" of being the virtues fit for a ruler, who had to be incredibly valiant and pitiless. Such stereotypes still persist in modern-day world, for there are few groups of people, who believe that the world still operates on the language of power and force. These factions insist on the material advancement as the sole indicator of prosperity and growth. This mode of thought was the derivative of the rise of the mechanical and materialistic point of view of life, whose chief exponent was Herbert Spencer. Spencer's "system [was] the culminating expression of this mechanical point of

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<sup>92</sup> Sun Tzu, "The Nine Grounds", The Art of War: The Denma Translation, trans. The Denma Translation Group (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2002) 201.

<sup>93</sup> Niccolo Machiavelli, "Of Cruelty and Clemency, and Whether it is Better to be Loved or Feared", The Prince, trans. C.E. Detmold (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2005) 78.



view...he was more truly the reflex and exponent of industrialism; he endowed industry with glories and virtues which to our hind-sight seem ridiculous; and his outlook was rather that of a mechanic and an engineer absorbed in the motions of matter, than that of a biologist feeling the élan of life".<sup>94</sup> When such materialistic machinations rule the discourse, then it is, but natural for Gandhi's creed of moderation and non-violence to seem outmoded.

In relation to military demands and foreign policy, Gandhi always stood for cooperation and compassion. He stressed on the better understanding of human relations and was highly abhorrent of the use of force of any kind. The principle of non-violence was his touchstone in every facet of his life and all his policy decision.

The influence of Gandhi and Hind Swaraj has always been influential and complex at the same time. When on the one hand, Gandhi stressed on the need for having faith on the English rule and their sense of justice; then on the other hand, he emphasized the imperative to assert one's need for Swaraj. Strangely, in 1911, two years after writing Hind Swaraj, one of Gandhi's scathing critiques of the West and modernity; he was seen urging the Indians to tender support to the newly elected George V. This incident took place following John Strachey's haughty statement that "there is not, and never was an India, nor ever any country of India, possessing according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious; no nation, no 'people of India' of which we hear so much" (qtd in Khilnani, p.154).

Gandhi's response to such declarations of the British was by founding his own concept of a society, where religion played the binding factor, uniting people by calling on to their moral accountability, not only to themselves but also to their fellow human beings. He "manufactured his own eclectic and pluralist morality from different religious

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<sup>94</sup> Will Durant, "Contemporary European Philosophers", The Story of Philosophy: The Lives and Opinions of Great Philosophers, (New York: Pocket Books, 2006) 585.

traditions".<sup>95</sup> His distinctive view of religion helped him bridge the gap between the two major religious communities of India, namely the Hindus and the Muslims. Unfortunately, it was this commitment of his that distanced him from the Hindu nationalists, who viewed him as having a "soft corner" for the Muslims that ultimately led to his assassination by a Hindu fanatic. Sadly even after sacrificing his life for the cause of religious tolerance, we still find the exclusion of Muslims from the comprehensive definition of the Indian nation. They are still referred to as the "outsiders". Khilnani rightly states that the Hindu nationalists in early 1990s not only viewed the Muslims as foreigners but also "characterized the sixteenth-century Muslim emperor Babar, who supposedly destroyed the temple in Ayodhya, as an invader, but even described the Bangladeshi Muslim immigrants as 'infiltrators'".<sup>96</sup>

A world that is marked by racism and other inhuman forms of prejudice like the ones based on religion, caste, etc., Gandhi knew that until people from different denominations could be guaranteed safe existence and identity, tension and prejudice would always prevail. Therefore, he began his movement to rid the Hindu religion of the various vices. Gandhi's fasts were helpful in that they made him realize the prevalent attitude of the Indian society. The concept of fasting was to make aware the caste Hindus of their moral responsibility towards the social advancement of the untouchables. Caste "exists in India and plays a dynamic factor in the life of the Indian people. It regulates the daily life of the entire Hindu population and has undoubtedly affected the outlook of other communities".<sup>97</sup> Gandhi always knew that the Indian society would suffer until the brewing tension between the two major religious communities, namely the Hindus and Muslims, were resolved; till then peace would not reign in this land.

Mahatma Gandhi was one person whose message of non-violence and truth will never be too old or redundant to put into practice. His "one central motive" was "the ceaseless

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<sup>95</sup> Sunil Khilnani, "Who is an Indian?" *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999) 154.

<sup>96</sup> Amrita Basu, "The Dialectics of Hindu Nationalism", *The Success of India's Democracy*, ed. Atul Kohli (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 173.

<sup>97</sup> K.M. Panikkar, *Caste and Democracy* (New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2007) 3.

quest after Truth...one of the bases of spiritual progress".<sup>98</sup> According to Judith Brown, Gandhi "did not ask for ask for self-government or Home Rule, but he urged his listeners to regenerate themselves",<sup>99</sup> for a "reformed self", was the true *mantra* of his creed.

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<sup>98</sup> M.A. Buch, "Gandhi's Attitude towards Modern Civilization", Rise and Growth of Indian Nationalism: Non-Violent Nationalism: Gandhi and His School (Baroda: Atmaram Printing Press, 1939) 64.

<sup>99</sup> Brown, "Gandhi's Thought", Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972) 45.



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