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Mahatma gandhi selected political writings dennis dalton pdf

Mahatma Gandhi Selected Writings Edited, with introduction, byDennis DaltonMAHATMA GANDHISELECTED POLITICAL WRITINGSMahatma GandhiS Politicallecteds Edited, with Introduction, by DENNIS DALTON Hackett Publising Company, Inc. Indianapolis/CambridgeSelections of Gandhi's works are reimpresented here by permission from New Zealand Trust, Ahmedabad, India.M. K. Gandhi: 1869-1948Copyright © 1996 by Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.All rights reserved to The United States of America19 18 17 16 5 6 7 8 9For more information, please head to Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. P. O. Box 44937 Indianapolis, Indiana 46244-0937www.hackettpublishing.comCoil design by Listenberger & AssociatesText by Dan KirkinLibrary of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication DataGandhi, Mahatma, 1869-1948. [Selections, 1996] Mahatma Gandhi: Selected/Edited Political Writings. 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Swaraj 98Resolution on fundamental rights and economic changes 101Speech on Fundamental Rights 103True Independence 107Implications of the Constructive Programme 108Hindu-Muslim Question in India 110Hindu-Muslim Tension: Its Cause and Heal 113Hindu-Muslim Unity 114The Sin of Untouchable 118A impatient worker 121Speech at public meeting, Trichinopoly 122Caste must go 124Untouchability, Women and Swaraj 126Speech in Bhagini Samaj, Bombay 127Dones de Gujarat 130Answers in Zamindars 132Economics Equality 133Interventionist to Nirmal Kumar Bose 135Despech at the People's Workers Meeting, Nagpur 137Win is socialist? 139The realities 143Duty, Democracy and Swaraj 144Democracy and violence 148Note in Part Two 153Chronology 155Gletics 159Bibliography 163Index 165A Note on TextsThe bulky term seems like a contempt when applied to the writings of Ma-hatma Gandhis. His collected works [CWMG] constitute no less than a hundred volumes, each of more than four hundred pages of text; Gandhi wrote every word himself, as is evident above all in the intimacy of hisautobiographical writing and in thousands of letters that reveal his mind with a rather infrequent frankness in public figures. It is significant that all criticism of Gandhi's life is drawn in these texts: he kept no secrets. Less political or theoretical than the writings of leaders like Leninor Mao while struggling with Marxism problems, Gandhi's works are idling and open. However, his political thinking is there, contained above all in his basics of satyagraha and swaraj. These are not only key ideas to which he continually returns in these texts, but they are also core values that continues to go round and forth as a philosophy of life evolves. As his collected works are arranged in chronological order, moving day by day through his journalistic articles and correspondence, speeches and resolutions of parties, pamphlets and books, one can closely trace the carelessness of his thinking. This brief edition of his writings attempts to clarify his original contribution to political theory by establishing in the most succulent way possible his conceptions of power and freedom, since they relate to other aspects of his philosophy. The publication of the Indian government of Gandhi's Collected Worksin both English and Hindi began in February 1956 and ended in Octo-ber 1994 to mark Gandhi's 125th birthday. This great effort was organized by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Wide Casting, and involved Navajivan Press, the original editor of Gandhi's works, and countless researchers who found and gathered materials on four continents. I am indebted to guidance and assistance to professorsK. K. Swaminathan and C. N. Patel, editors of the Works, who discussed with me their handling and interpretations of the sources, and PyarelalNayar, Gandhi's personal secretary and biographer, who since 1965 has shared with me his own collection of Gandhi's writings before they later appeared in the Works. viIntroduction that I couldn't help thinking that if the protesters had been more disciplined, like Gandhi, they could have achieved their goal of shutting it down. Robert S. McNamaram likely and unlikely contexts, Mahatma Gandhi continues to evoke today. A British historian, Eric Hobsbawm, recently observed that this is because Gandhi invented the politician as a saint. It is the strangest of revolutionaries, representing disciplined and responsible political action rather than McNamara deplored him as he watched that 1967 afternoon from his Pentagon stronghold: an uncontrolled crowd . . . frightening but ineffective. This was the antithesis of who challenged authority remained civil, principled, restricted and not diverted into thought and action. After all, he was called Mahatma or GreatSoul for a reason. How many other national leaders have held power for three decades and a consistently dignified policy? During Gandhi's lifetime, political mass movements occurred around the world in a wide variety of cultures, politicizing millions of people. In-day's struggle for freedom from British colonial rule was the longest such move. It formally began in 1885 with the creation of the Indian National Congress and ended when India achieved inde-pendence in 1947. Gandhi assumed leadership of this movement in 1919 and quickly transformed it into a massive organization that mobilized the peoples of India. The participation of a large peasant population significantly in women at all levels. Other political giants such as Hider, Lenin and Mao used their mass movements to consolidate totalitarian regimes. Gandhi guided his nationalist movement to India's establishment as the world's largest democracy, initiating a process of decolonization that would continue for decades after his death. The most distinctive aspect of the Indian movement, however, and the main reason for the favorable judgment of Gandhis' history that he used power without violence. If it weren't for that, then neither McNa-mara nor anyone else would see Gandhi, a rebel, as establishing standard political behavior. 34 Introduction Gandhi conceived of his method of satyagraha (non-violent power) in a culture that, however, stereotypes are no less violent than American society. India today, as in the age of Gandhi, is torn apart by religious extremism. No nation has a longer history of social conflict. An American journalist, A.M. Rosenthal, deploring violence in India between Hindus and Muslims, observed that Gandhi, founder of Indian freedom, used reli-gion to combat bigotry, not promote it. More precisely, he used nonviolence to combat violence from both political extremism and religious fanaticism. He perceived at first that India's real enemy was not meritpentalism, but violence. To all those who promoted him —terrorists, communists, fascists— he replied: I do not believe in cuts of short violence to success. I am an uncompromising adversary of violent methods evento serve the most noble of causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting place between the school of violence and myself. 4 He then proceeded to demonstrate the superior power of nonviolence. This century has witnessed to an unprecedented degree the terrible cost of political violence: violence perpetrated around the world by systems parties or movements. Hundreds of millions of lives have been lost in war and revolution, in government repression and killer-tions involving the widest range of ideologies or beliefs. However, for all this he managed to establish an alternative method of resolving conflicts that commands widespread loyalty between or within nations. Gandhi's Satyagraha method offers an authentically new direction. Howard Gardner, in his studio Creating Minds, groups Gandhi with Freud, Einstein, Picasso, and some other 20th-century thinkers or artists who stood out for their originality. He writes, Gandhi was thinker of the highest order. The conception of satyagraha was carefully worked as a philosophical system, with each step and its possible con-sequences carefully calibrated. Because of Gandhi's renown as a political leader and reformer, his status as a political theorist may be lost. However, the conceptual foundations of his political practice, provided by histories of freedom and power, deserve close analysis. The outpex of his cre-ative vision is his idea of nonviolence, among the most imaginative contri-butions to modern political theory. In its current stage of development, nonviolent action in politics is not a problem; even Gandhi's strongest admirers recognize this. When NobelPrize winners such as Albert Einstein, Martin Luther King, Jr., Nelson Man-dela, Aung San Suu Kyi and the Dalai Lama praise Gandhi as the political leader of our most emulation-worthy era,' it is not because they believe nonviolence is an infallible remedy, a solution for every 5th Sconflict Introduction in all circumstances. They realize that although satyagraha is his childhood—a political technique at an early stage of experimentation—, violence has proven politically dysfunctional. In terms of cost-benefit analysis, it is priced too high for what it offers. Nelson Mandela wrote that he had determined from Gandhi's example that violence threatens our aspirations for peace and reconciliation. 7 It's too costly for a new South Africa. This realization may not easily come, especially to one like Mandela who has suffered intolerable political persecution. Think about what the Dalai Lama or Aung San Suu Kyi have experienced from the scourges of political violence in Tibet and Burma. You might think they'd want remuneration in kind. Instead, they seek non-violents as inspired by Gandhi. Martin Luther King, Jr., expressed his feelings when he said, If humanity is to progress, Gandhi is ines-capable. He lived, thought and acted, inspired by the vision of humanity evoking towards a world of peace and harmony. We can ignore it at our own risk. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 into a family of moderate media in the city of Porbandar, western India. He was the youngest of five children. His father, KabaGandhi, was an influential political figure, having served in various pub-lic positions. Gandhi on as truthful, brave and generous, tempered. Her mother is portrayed as infallible: deeply deeply the point of saintness, but with a strong common sense. She put more pressure on him with his spirit of self-building. As a devout Hindu imbued in self-purification, She would take the hardest votes and keep them without flinching. . . . To keep two or three consecutive quicks so as not to let her go. He makes it clear that the decisive influence on his life came from his mother. In his autobiography, Gandhi portrays a childhood and adolescence far from ideal, describing himself as very shy and a mediocre student betrayed by his closest friends. He recalls the feelings of acute guilt towards his son and the intense jealousy of his childhood bride, Kasturbai, as they struggled through an arranged marriage that began when they were both thirteen. Worst of all were his fears: I was a coward. He used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts and snakes. I didn't dare get out of the gates at night. Darkness was a terror for me. 1* Courage and fearless became difficult virtues to look for. Lifelong lessons were learned from each of the teenage tragedies that Gandhi reports in the early chapters of his autobiography. From an exceptional conflict with his father came redemption through a clean introduction6, producing a sudden and unexpected object lesson in Ahimsa[nonviolence]: that when such Ahimsa becomes completely embraced, trans forms everything he touches. There is no limit to his power. 12 Since the aggressor of child marriage, who had first turned her into a luxurious and potential jealous husband, she finally learned to respect the woman embodiment of tolerance, to realize that the woman is not the slave of the husband, but her partner and her helping partner, and an equal partner in all their joys and sorrows - as free as the husband to choose her own way. For a man who lived at this time in any society, this was an uncommon view, but consistent with Gandhi's subsequent commitment as a political activist for women's emancipation. At the end of the first part of his autobiography, Gandhi sums up the centre-core values he had formed at the age of eighteen, while settling to leave India for England. The synchronous spirit of Hinduism allowed him to defund religion . . . in its broadest sense, that is, self-realization or self-knowledge! This meant, on the one hand, that he had learned to twin from other religions, and, on the other, be critical of dogmatic practices in Hinduism, particularly the institution of intocation. And" Byhis in his mid-teens, had come to understand through his religion the rereia-tionship between truth and nonviolence. He concluded, first of all, that truth is the substance of all morality. The truth became my only goal. It started to grow in magnitude every day, and my definition of it has also been increasing. This understanding of truth as the sole objective means that the supreme goal of human experience is to of what Gandhi calls the essential unity of man and for that matter everything he lives. 18 The connection he then made to nonviolent conduct was crucial to everything that followed. If the highest truth is to perceive the unity of all being, then violence is impermissible because we are all part of each other, and therefore to harm one person means inflicting injury on oneself. This accomplishment came early in his education. He recalls a poem he had learned at school ingrammar that concluded: But the truly nobleman knows all men as one/And return with good kindness for wrongdoing. These wonderful lines, it caught my mind and heart and became a passion with me that I started numerous experiments on it. No wonder that a few years later, as a student in London reading the Bible, I would find and appreciate theSermon on the Mount that went straight to my heart. Gandhi left India to study law in September 1888, a month before he turned nineteen. At that time, he recalled, It was an uncommon thing for a young man from Rajkot [his locality] to go to England. His family, however, had determined that a British law degree would introduce their interests, and pooled their resources to fund it. Gandhi's high school curriculum, dictated and dominated by English teachers there and abroad, had induced in him a fear of British civilization. Once the prospect of studying in London materialized, he was overcome by a sense of adventure; My cowardice, he wrote, disappeared before thedesire went to England, which I completely owned. 2' Her mother asked to take three vows: not touching wine, woman and flesh, solemn oaths, she said, to keep me safe. 22 Not so easily was he protected in London from an infatuation with English ev-erything. Now he begins his extraordinary journey of mind and spirit, from being a colonized Indian in the British

