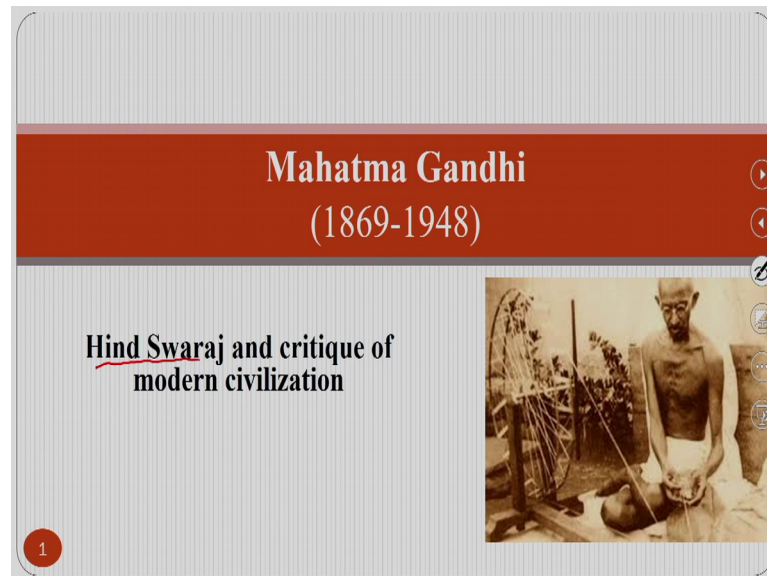


Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought
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Lecture - 13

Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) Hind Swaraj and critique of modern civilization

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Hello and welcome friends to this lecture on Mahatma Gandhi. And this is second lecture on his thought. And today we are going to discuss his views on Swaraj his critique of modern civilization and also his views on passive resistance. So, these 3 themes we will discuss through his seminal work Hind Swaraj. And Hind Swaraj is the text which he wrote in 1909. And most of his philosophy or political philosophy and also the method for attaining political independence his notion on Swaraj his views on violence or nonviolence is most articulated philosophically in the seminal text of Mahatma Gandhi, which remains a very popular text even in contemporary times.

So, we will discuss his Hind Swaraj we will situate it in the larger intellectual context, in to whom he was responding to and how he articulated his thought on Swaraj his critique on modern civilization, and also his views on passive resistance. And in the next lecture that we are going to do on Mahatma Gandhi, we will discuss his views on India or India of his dreams. And then we will conclude his thought by looking at some of the

responses that his views and articulation received from many of his contemporaries including Ambedkar Tagore and many others.

So, to begin with this text Hind Swaraj or what is called Indian home rule.

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Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule

"This is not a mere political book, I have used the language of politics, but I have really tried to offer a glimpse of dharma. What is the meaning of Hind Swaraj? It means rule of dharma or Ramarajya. We may read the Gita or the Ramayana or Hind Swaraj. But what we have to learn from them is desire for the welfare of others." - M. K. Gandhi on Hind Swaraj

- Hind Swaraj is Gandhiji's seminal work that was originally written in Gujarati in 1909 and published in two instalments in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*.
- It was written in ten days, between 13 and 22 November 1909, on board the ship *Kildonan Castle* on the author's return trip from England to South Africa.

We can begin this lecture by coating this sentence from Mahatma Gandhi, when he Wrights that this text which he was writing is not merely a political text or a political book. But it has used the language of politics, but it tried to offer a glimpse of dharma, the moral and the ethical basis of politics which Gandhi emphasized. And we have seen in the previous lecture, the search after truth and searching truth through nonviolence means remain his lifelong objective and therefore, in this Teritise he adopted the language of politics, but that adoption is to offer a glimpse of dharma, interpret dharma in the modern context.

So, what is the meaning of Hind Swaraj? It means rule of dharma or what he calls Ramarajya. We may read the Gita the Ramayana or Hind Swaraj, but what we have to learn from them is desire for the welfare of others. So, the duty the focus on the sacrifice or service towards other was deeply embedded in his philosophy of polities or Swaraj or what he characterise as Ramaraj. So, Hind Swaraj in a way while responding to many of the contemporary challenges and discourse was trying to establish the novelty or the originality of his idea of Swaraj. And there was a lots of confusion about home rule Swaraj dominion status in the political public discourse in Hind in India historically. And

there he was trying to assert or establish his views of Swaraj, which is very different from many other thinker certainly like, a Bal Gangadhar Tilak Annie Besant or many others we are also fighting for home rule or Swaraj.

So, when Gandhi was articulating his thought the Swaraj was a kind of Clisy a kind of often referred to terms in public political discourse. But of course, it has so many different kinds of interpretation that there was lots of lots of confusion about what is it to attain Swaraj. And Gandhi was trying to respond to such public political discourse and establish his meaning of Swaraj. So, this text is his seminal word which is originally written in Gujarati in 1909 and published in 2 instalments in Gujarati section of a magazine called Indian opinion which he edited. And he wrote it in the span of 10 days while he was travelling onboard Kildonan castle while returning from England to South Africa.

So, this text which he wrote within a span of 10 days was proof, and is still it is regarded as one of the best political philosophical Teritises produced by any of the modern Indian thinkers; in which he also express or exemplify the first wave of anti collonial thinking or responding or providing a thorough non-western critique to the modern civilisation, or the modern vocabulary of politics society and also the conception of state.

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- It is also a work which he himself translated from Gujarati into English: no other work of his, not even his autobiography, enjoys this privilege.
- 'Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule' is a critique of colonialism and Western civilization. It also deals with his theory and practice of non-violence.
- *Hind Swaraj* is written in the literary genre of dialogue: a dialogue between an Editor and a Reader. Where the reader is representing the 'Indian school of violence' as Gandhiji put it, or Indian revolutionaries championing the use of violence for political independence; and an editor, presenting his own ideas.

So, this text of Gandhi remains a very powerful text in so many ways. Despite of it is immediate concerned to respond to the confusions around this term Swaraj, and how to

achieve Swaraj. He was also stating a profanely philosophical basis of the critique of modern western civilisation.

So, this text which he wrote in Gujarathi. He himself translated into English, and no other work of his not even his autobiography which is my experiment with truth received so much attention as this text has received. Very recently Anthony's Paral has edited Hindu Swaraj very recently again Pradeep Suroor has translated his original Gujarati into English. So, there are multiple interpretation edition re edition of this works which received so much of a scholarly attention much after it is historical a historical context.

So, in this text Hind Swaraj or Indian home rule he provides a critique of colonialism and western civilisation. And it also deals with his theory and practice of nonviolence. So, in these texts besides responding all clarifying the confusion around this term Swaraj, he was also providing a critique theoretical critique to the modern western civilisation. And also he compare the violence or the non violence method of political action or method for political independence in India.

So, he discuss these theory and practice of nonviolence in much detail in the later part of this text. This text is written in a literary genre of dialogue where there is a dialogue between an editor which is Gandhi himself and a reader. Here the reader is representing the Indian school of violence those who champion or support violence as a legitimate tool or method for attaining political independence. And for many of them they may or may not like violence, but they justified the violence if it is done for them greater cause or for the objective of political independence.

So, for them the end justifies the means, so, a reader here represent such voice which justifies violence or any means which help in attainment of Swaraj or political independence. And of course, the editor is presenting his own idea which is Gandhi himself responding to so many of misconception or confusion around the use of violence method or the consequences of violin method on India at large.

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- It is a dialogue between Indian civilization and modern Western civilization, between civilization and its reverse, between those who see ends as justification of means, and those who see means and ends as inviolably related.
- It is in *Hind Swaraj* that we find Gandhiji first announcing his own life-mission and it was to this text that he returned throughout his career.
- He wanted to clarify the meaning of Swaraj, the concept that provides the theoretical framework of the book. This is done by introducing a distinction between Swaraj as self-government or the quest for home rule or the good state, and Swaraj as self-rule or the quest for self-improvement.

In this text, there is also a dialogue between Indian civilization and modern western civilization, between civilization and it is reverse between. So, there is a struggle in this text about them translation of civilization in Indian language to. Gandhi himself used the words Sudharo for civilization, and opposite of civilization he cause Kudharo. And so, there is a constant dialogue intellectual theoretical dialogue between Indian civilization or the basis of Indian civilization or the violence or the instrumental nature of modern state or modern western civilization; which dehumanize individual which suppress the autonomy of individual. And focus only on writes without equal emphasis on the duties.

So, in this text one can find the dialogue between Indian and western civilization also civilization and it is reverse. Between those who see ends as justification of means and those who see means and ends as inviolably related. So, for Gandhi as we have discussed in previous lecture the means and ends is interconnected and one and purity of both is necessary for creating a society which will enable the individual to attain his or her at most at most freedom.

So, for that realizes so, in this text which is around 90 page, he powerfully engages with many of the concerns of modern political or philosophical issues. And it is in *Hind Swaraj* that we find Gandhiji first announced his own life mission. That is to attain Swaraj and to attain Swaraj through nonviolence means. And how a satyagrahi is a very different kind of volunteer or agent to bring about that Swaraj, then say extremist on the

one hand or moderates on the other hands. So, moderates believing in the constitutional method or petition, where almost ineffective. On the other hand extremist using or asserting to violence was not as acceptable or not as effective as they claim.

So, in this text Gandhi establish his lifelong mission for attainment of Swaraj what does it mean to attain the Swaraj and how one can achieve Swaraj through satyagraha or non violence. And he returned to this text time and again throughout his career. He wanted to clarify the meaning of Swaraj through this text. This is the concept that provides the theoretical framework of the book. And this is done by introducing a distinction between Swaraj as self-government or the quest for home rule or the good states. So, that is one concept or the political conception of Swaraj and the Swaraj as self-rule which is one on self the quest for self-improvement or the ability to rule oneself without any external forces.

This point is very crucial to understand Gandhi's views on Swaraj, because he was writing this text in 1909. And at that point of time there was a kind of contestation going on within the Indian national congress between moderates or the extremist on the one hand. There was also Swadeshi movement which enable to think about or within the horizon of possibility to imagine about Swaraj. So, and gan Bal Gangadhar Tilak Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it. Similarly, Annie bezant's and many others we are thinking theorizing expressing their opinion on this notion of Swaraj.

So, Gandhi was responding to such discourse and debate on Swaraj. So, though this text he was also asserting his perception or his understanding of Swaraj; which means basically a kind of distinction between Swaraj nearly as a self-government though representation through consent or what it was called also as a home rule or a kind of good state or Swaraj as a self-rule which leads to self-improvement ability to govern oneself. So, Gandhiji emphasized on the other part of Swaraj as well besides political independence.

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➤ However in this book he also expressed his ideas on many concepts like modern civilization, passive resistance, education, machinery, conditions of India including railways, doctors and lawyers etc.

➤ The book is addressed to a mixed audience: the expatriate Indians greatly attracted to terrorism and political violence; the Extremists and Moderates of the Indian National Congress; the Indian nation; and 'the English'. By the Indian nation Gandhi means ordinary Indians irrespective of their religious, linguistic, regional or caste differences, as well as the new emerging middle class, referred to in the text as 'doctors', 'lawyers' and 'the wealthy'. And by 'the English' he means both the British ruling class living in India and Britishers living in Great Britain.

➤ Gandhiji believed that through *Hind Swaraj* he would be able to give Indians a practical philosophy, an updated conception of dharma, that would fit them for life in the modern world.

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In this book, he also expressed his ideas on many concepts. Like, modern civilization, passive resistance, education, machinery, condition of India including railways doctors and lawyers etcetera. So, this book besides engaging with the concept of Swaraj also deals with many other concepts like modern civilisation passive resistance education etcetera.

Now, this book is addressed or tried to address a mixed audience. And this audience is constitutive of the expatriate Indians greatly attracted to terrorism and political violence. So, Gandhiji because of his visit to England or in many other parts like Gadhar movements an US or in some other nation, where expatriate Indians believed in the method of political violence for the attainment of attainment of Swaraj. Gandhiji was responding to this section of Indians as well.

Then he was also responding to the extremists and moderates of the Indian national congress. As I saying the extremist for them the use of violence or political violence or to direct action, and the moderates constitutional or the legal method was almost ineffective. Gandhiji was responding to this 2 group of Indian national congress also, besides the Indian nation and the English.

Now, for Indian nation Gandhi means ordinary Indians. Irrespective of their religious linguistic regional or caste differences, as well as the new emerging middle class referred to in the text as doctors lawyers and the wealthy. So, Gandhiji was meticulous or very

clear in terms of differentiating between one section of Indians which he called emerging middle class English educated middle class, largely participating in Indian national congress. And they themselves were actually votary of modern civilization.

So, Gandhiji had problem with this section of society which wanted to make India modern without any Englishman. So, that is so kind of very precise response to different sections of audience of this book. And English for him means both the English British ruling class living in India. And the Britishers living in Great Britain Hatery also perhaps important to note that the British in India and British opinion in England was not often same. And Gandhiji through use of media or the global media was actually able to present the view or concerns of India to the British opinion and sometimes Gardner the support of British opinion for his political cause.

So, this book tries to addressed a kind of mixed audience of different sections different groups or different nationalities also. He believe that through Hind Swaraj he would be able to give Indians a practical philosophy. The practical philosophy of nonviolence or satyagraha and updated conception of dharma. That would fit them for the life in the modern world. So, the challenges of modern world how India by resorting to it is on civilization heritage or civilizational ethos can reinterpret dharma and fit in a way which respond or solve many of the challenges of the modern world and he thought of as Hind Swaraj as a text, which can give the practical philosophy for such reinterpretation of dharma.

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Critique of Modern Civilization

'It is not the British that are responsible for the misfortunes of India but we who have succumbed to modern civilization' - M. K. Gandhi

- Modern civilisation forms the broad historical context of Hind Swaraj. Its critique of that civilisation is one of its main contributions to modern political thought.
- According to Gandhi 'modern civilization' posed a greater threat to Indians than colonialism.
- He expressed his fear because Indians accepted modern civilization as a blessing, and colonialism as an evil, forgetting that colonialism itself was a product of modern civilization.

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Now, to discuss his critique of modern civilization, he considered the colonialism as the result of modern civilization. And without critiquing or without challenging the route, you cannot really challenged the outcome of such civilization. So , this could if we discuss that it is not the British that are responsible for the misfortunes of India but we who have succumbed to modern civilization. So, for him Swaraj is in our palm, and we can have it as and when we assert our independence and realize our capability to govern ourselves and a start non cooperating with the with the colonial colonial rule. So, he believes that the misfortunes of India is not because of the British or the colonial rule, but because of our submission because we have succumbed to the captivating effect of modern civilization.

So, he has a very fascinating debate with the reader in this text where he said ki we do not want Britain, and we hate them, we hate the British. But you do not hate the British rule or the nature of the British British administration. So, he make a analogy between we want the British system of rule without the britishers. As if you want to have a nature of tiger without without a tiger. So, such and powerful through such powerful analogy Gandhi was trying to present or express the the bankruptcy or the hollowness of the promises of modern civilization. And without challenging the root cause of this problem of colonial rule or Indian ma misfortunes, which is modern civilization one cannot realize Swaraj one cannot attain Swaraj.

So, this modern civilization forms the broad historical context of Hind Swaraj the text. It is critique of that civilization is one of the main contribution of modern political thoughts. And perhaps the original contribution from the non-western perspective towards the meaning of the ills or challenges of modern society as a result of modern civilization.

According to Gandhi modern civilization posed a greater threat to Indians than colonialism. And there is a very good analogy between this method of resistance to the operation. In many of political social movements it has been seen that one when one opposed the other.

One does not really challenge the nature of the other. So, the more we oppose other we become more like the other. Gandhiji was challenging to such political activities and political discourse. And in a way expanding the horizon of politics and interpreting it in his own unique way based on many of the cultural or civilizational heritage of India.

So, he wanted Indians to develop their own identity their develop their own own character based on their own historical or civilizational resources. And not really by imitating or blindly imitating the methods and tools of modern western civilization. And he thought and he expressed it that the ills that modern civilization has done to the country in which it emerged say England or in Europe.

The consequences were worse, but when it is imitated in a context like India, its capacity to do harm is infinite. So, one cannot imagine the misery or the misfortune that that modern civilization and its practices can enlist to Indians if it is blindly imitated. So, Gandhiji was very firm very clear in his intellectual or theoretical response to them a critique of modern civilization. And it is potentiality to do harm or to dehumanized individual.

He expressed his fear, because Indians accepted modern civilization as many Indians were followers or in a way believers in the promises which for many were more hollow promises of modern civilization as a blessing and colonialism as an evil. Forgetting that colonialism itself was a product of modern civilization, which Gandhi was trying to assert.

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- In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhiji very strongly criticised modern civilization which sometimes mislead the reader. However, it is important to note that his attitude towards modern civilisation, though critical, is not wholly negative.
- He welcomes a number of its contributions - civil liberty, equality, rights prospects for improving the economic conditions of life, liberation of women from tradition, and religious toleration. At the same time, the welcome is conditional in the sense that liberty has to harmonise with Swaraj, rights with duties, empirical knowledge with moral insight, economic development with spiritual progress, religious toleration with religious belief, and women's liberation with the demands of a broader conception of humanity.

In *Hind Swaraj* Gandhiji very strongly criticised modern civilization which sometimes mislead the reader. So, what is the alternative to modern civilization in such kind of question. But however, it is important to note that his attitude toward modern civilization though critical is not wholly negative. He also welcome some of the positive contribution of modern civilization such as civil liberty, equality rights prospects for improving the economic condition of life, liberation of women from tradition and religious toleration. So, some of the positive contribution of modern civilization Gandhiji acknowledge.

So, he do not merely have the negative views on modern civilization. But this acknowledgement is based on certain conditionalities. And these conditionality is that where has to be a kind of harmony with Swaraj. So, liberty has to harmonized with Swaraj rights with duties empirical knowledge with moral insights, economic development with a spiritual progress, religious toleration with religious belief.

So, Gandhiji has a very different politics; where the use of religion is permissible in fact, desirable and he want religious teaching to be done for the development of moral and ethical side of individual character. But this conception of religion is very different from the secular divide between religion and politics in modern west. And also many such debates in India.

So, he wanted religious toleration with religious belief and women's liberation with the demands of a broad broader conception of humanity. So, he was trying to accommodate

or acknowledge the positive contribution of modern civilization, but at the same time it has to harmonize with many of the neglected or in away secondary or marginalised expect of modern civilization as will.

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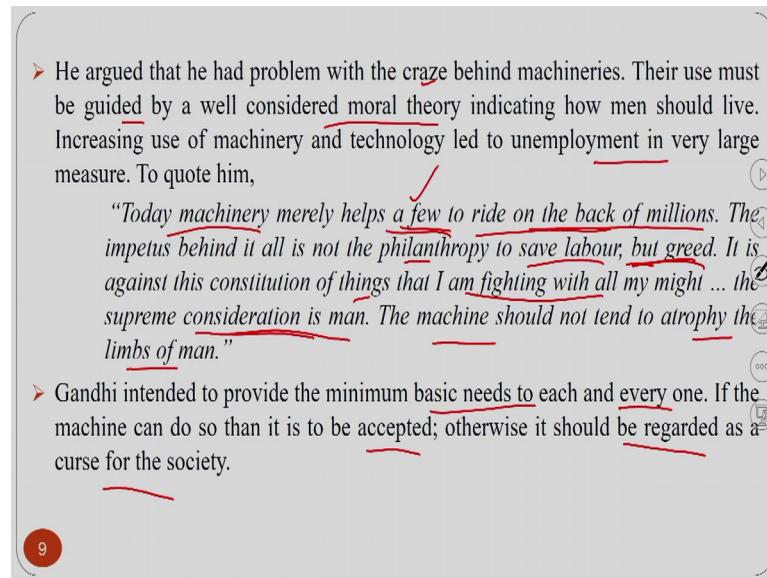
- Gandhiji has his own definition of civilisation: *'civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind our passions. So doing we know ourselves.'*
- He criticised almost every aspect of modern civilization for example the machinery, profession of doctors, lawyers, railways etc.
- Gandhiji, critical of machinery never said that he was against machines or technologies per se and he used 'charkha', a kind of machine as a tool for salvation.

In his own definition of civilization for Gandhiji civilization is that mode of conduct, which points out to the man the path of duty. And performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms to observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind, our passion so doing we know ourselves.

So, the whole purpose of civilization is to enable the man to realize is ethical and moral side and no himself better. And that to will be possible when the man follow the path of duty and not necessary the discourse on rights, and care more and more about his rights forgetting the rule of duty. And therefore, Gandhiji criticizes many or almost every aspect of modern civilization, such as machinery be machinery certainly profession of doctors and hospitals lawyers railways, which takes man from his own nature.

So, takes away the man from his immediate physical moral or ethical embeddedness or the contacts. So, although in Gandhiji we find that he was critical of machinery, but never said that he was against machines or technology per se and he used charkha a kind of machine as a tool for salvation.

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- He argued that he had problem with the craze behind machineries. Their use must be guided by a well considered moral theory indicating how men should live. Increasing use of machinery and technology led to unemployment in very large measure. To quote him,
"Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour; but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might ... the supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to atrophy the limbs of man."
- Gandhi intended to provide the minimum basic needs to each and every one. If the machine can do so than it is to be accepted; otherwise it should be regarded as a curse for the society.

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He argued that he had problem with the craze behind machinery that he shown everywhere in modern life. Their use must be guided by a well-considered moral theory indicating how men should live. Increasing use of machinery and technology led to unemployment in very large measure. And to quote Mahatma Gandhi he said that modern man or individual have become slave to the mod machinery or the technology. And forget the blissful or the broader side of his individual self.

So, he writes today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of million. So, concentration of wealth concentration of power concentration of resources, which enables the few to ride on the back of millions and that is possible through the use of masonry through the use of technology. So, the impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour. So, the use of technology or machine is also to save the labour.

But Gandhiji denies that intention is use of technology, but the greed to maximize the profit to maximize the resources or concentrate the resources is the larger motive behind the use of big machinery. So, it is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might. The supreme consideration is man for Gandhiji the autonomy of individual is supreme than anything else and he consider as the root of all prosperity and progress is the individuality. And that has to be nurtured or enabled to attain according to

it is on will or according to it is on perception or believes believe system. So, machine should not tend to atrophy the limbs of men.

So, machine in that sense enables the few to control and ride over the millions and that restrict the individuals self to realize his or her potential the way he or she will like to. So, Gandhiji intended to provide the minimum basic needs to each and everyone if the machine can do so, then if the machine can do so then it is to be accepted. So, Gandhiji was not totally against the use of machine. If it helps everyone to achieve it is basic needs, then it is acceptable. Otherwise it should be regarded as a curse to the society because it leads to empowerment of few over the millions.

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➤ He also said, “I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this body, which is not helped to salvation, and seek the liberation of the soul. From that point of view I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself, as I told you, is the purest piece of mechanism; but if it is a hindrance to the highest fights of the soul, it has to be rejected.”

➤ He argued that a proper civilization placed man at its centre and measured its greatness in terms of its ability to produce men and women possessing such distinctively human powers as self-determination, autonomy, self-knowledge, self-discipline and social cooperation. However, modern civilization did the opposite. By encouraging them to subject their powers to large organisations run by experts, it rendered men passive and helpless.

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He also said I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this body, which is not help to salvation. So, the objective the ideals of individual life to attain salvation attain salvation or freedom, in a sense which is autonomous which is self self-rule. So, the physical body for Gandhi is not as important as the salvation of the soul or the realisation of the self. So, from that point of view I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because like the body. So, the aim and objective of life is to attain salvation, but body is necessary it is inevitable.

Similarly, machines or inevitable the body itself as I told you is the purest piece of mechanism. But if it is a hindrance to the highest fight of the soul it has to be rejected. So, from bodily comfort the which is emphasized by the modern techniques and tools,

Gandhiji was focusing towards the realisation of the soul salvation of the soul has them more desirable objective rather than submitting or becoming slave of the modern machinery.

He argued that a proper civilization placed man at its centre. So, for him the man the individual is at the centre. So, for Gandhiji the proper civilization place man at the centre and measure it is greatness in terms of its ability to produce men and women possessing such distinctively human powers as self-determination autonomy self-knowledge self-discipline and social cooperation. So, this is the essential characteristic of human being.

So, for Gandhiji civilization is something which trains the men and women to realize and develop such characteristics; however, modern civilization did the opposite. By encouraging them to subject their powers to the large organisation to the big machines or experts, it rendered men passive and helpless. So, the big machines big tools big industries leads through more concentration and render million and millions of masses to the position of helpless condition.

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- Gandhiji is not criticizing either doctors or lawyers, though apparently it appears so. But Gandhi had a problem with the narrow and limited nature of these professions. About the profession of lawyer he said, “*All I am concerned is to show that the profession teaches immorality, it is exposed to temptation from which few are saved.*”
- “*A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in loss of control over the mind*”. Gandhi wants to illustrate that the doctor’s intention is to save the body but the ultimate aim was to save even the soul along with the body. But the whole modern structural set-up is restricting us.
- Thus, Gandhi said that the profession of lawyers and doctors are corrupting the moral and human influences in modern society.

So, therefore, Gandhiji was very critical of modern civilization. Gandhiji is not criticizing either doctors or lawyers though apparently it appears so. But Gandhi had a problem with the narrow and limited nature of these professions. And these professions are the tool of domination and suppression of men against men and. About lawyers he

said all I am concerned is to show that the profession teaches immorality. It is exposed to temptation from which few are saved.

So, it is not about providing justice, but more about acquiring more and more wealth. And that does not lead to the justice or serve the justice. And therefore, modern lawyers or the doctors or the hospitals even the parliament railways or the aeroplane Gandhiji was very critical of; because it does not help in realisation of the self-rule or the autonomy of the individual. It does not help the individual to realize or to focus equally on this on the soul and Gandhiji was critical of modern doctors or the practitioners of medicine because of their killing of a number of animals before it can be applied to the human self or human soul.

So, to save one life it permit the killing of a 100s and thousands of other species life beat animals. And so, Gandhiji was very critical of such medical practices as well which does not really help in realization of the soul force or the vitality of the soul in the human personality, not just the body or the bodily cure, but the cure of the soul and no medicine no doctor can really think about curing the soul or the challenges of the soul then and they focus merely on the bodily thickness or bodily injury. So, Gandhiji said that the profession of lawyers and doctors are corrupting the moral and the human influences in modern society.

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- Gandhi regarded violence un-Indian, something alien to Indian civilization and he makes his opinions clearly in Hind Swaraj.
- Gandhi mentioned that Hind Swaraj was written in order to show that his countrymen were following a suicidal policy of violence, and that if they revert to their own glorious civilization, either the English would adopt the latter and become Indianised or find their occupation in India gone.
- In Hind Swaraj Gandhiji depicted the dichotomy between the spiritual, moral superiority of Indian society, and the violent, politically corrupt nature of European states and asserted the superiority of the former.
- While condemning the 'brute force' of Western power, Gandhiji distances himself from the militant nationalists for their support to violence which he considered as a suicidal strategy as it would provoke 'an organized violence' by the ruling authority.

Gandhi also regarded violence as an un-Indian. Something which is alien to Indian civilization, and he makes this opinion very clearly in Hind Swaraj. Gandhi mentioned that Hind Swaraj was written in order to show that his countrymen were following a suicidal policy of violence. So, from 1907 there was increasing tendency to use violence as a political tool for liberation. And Gandhiji considered it as a kind of suicidal policy, and that if they revert to their own glorious civilization. Either the English would adopt the latter and become Indianized or find their occupation in India gone.

So, for Gandhi the Swaraj and attainment of Swaraj in the palms of the hand of the Englishman are there because we want them to be here. When we realize and we reserve to our own civilizational values or our own self-believe to govern ourself, a stop cooperating with the colonial rule either they have to Indianize themselves and they will be welcome, or they will go from India on their own evaluation. So, there is no need to use violence to realize Swaraj or to attain Swaraj. So, in Hind Swaraj Gandhiji also very clearly establishes the spiritual and the moral superiority of Indian society or civilization, and the violent and politically corrupt nature of European states and asserted the superiority of the farmer.

So, for Gandhiji Indians if they realize the true ethos or the true cultural resources of Indian civilization, then it may not need to learn from others. But others can learn from India including the British if they want to live and decided India can learn the ethos Indianize themselves and then they can be welcomed as many other communities can be welcomed in India. So, while condemning the brute force of the western power, Gandhiji distances himself from the militant nationalists for their support of violence which he considered as a suicidal strategy. As it would provoke and organize violence by ruling authority.

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His views on passive resistance

- Gandhi emphasized on passive resistance which is the force of love. It is method of securing rights by personal sufferings.
- He wanted to sacrifice self when the law is unacceptable to one's conscience. In that case he prefer to accept the penalty for its breach rather than obey the law. Passive resistance involves the sacrifice of self and he considers it is superior than the sacrifice of others.
- "Wherein in 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 warriors-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."

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And this he further used in many of the political movements he launch in India, be it non-cooperation civil disobedience or quit India movement. So, this text he wrote in 1909 before he started any of his major political programs in India and provided a kind of transformative leadership to the whole struggle of independence. And to a great extent time the militant or the violent side or expect of Indian political struggle.

Now, to discuss very briefly his views on passive resistance which is often regarded a weapon for the weak or the covered, Gandhiji has a very contrary views about the passive resistance as a method for political or social rules. For Gandhiji the passive resistance exemplifying the force of love which is the far more stronger force than the force of brute, or the physical force. It is me the method of securing rights by personal suffering.

So, sacrificing yourself for the realization of the goal. And that form of sacrifice without resorting to violence and doing harm or injury to the opponent or the other is the highest form of resistance for Gandhiji which he articulates through this idea of passive resistance. Of course, it was a kind of unique experiment in the political movement in many anti colonial struggles, the use of violence was followed by many many colonial colonized subjects and their leaderships.

But Gandhiji experimented with this idea of nonviolence, and nonviolence as an effective tool to realize not just the freedom, but also to create a society which is based

on love, which is based on true compassion and which enables the individual creativity or greatness in individual and also in community.

So, he wanted to sacrifice self when the law is unacceptable to ones conscience. So, the force of soul conscience is something which Gandhiji refers to again and again. And in that case he prefers to accept the penalty. So, gorilla method or any other form of political method was unacceptable to Gandhiji, because for him the satyagrahi is someone who sacrifices his self. Do not accept any laws, which is contrary to his or her conscience, and yet ready to face the consequences for breach or such resistance to him law which is unjust. So, passive resistance involves sacrifice of the self, and he considers it is superior than the sacrifice of others for the cause of political goal.

So, from this quotation we can perhaps better understand his views on the fearlessness or the strength of satyagrahi; where he writes that where in courage required in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon or a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown to pieces. Who is the true warriors? 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 man who would can never be a passive resister.

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➤ *“Passive resistance is an all sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces for reaching results.”*

➤ According to Gandhiji real home rule is possible only where passive resistance is the guiding force of the people. Any other rule is foreign rule.

➤ According to him, passive resister must observe following :

- a) Perfect chastity ✓
- b) Adopt poverty ✓
- c) Follow truth ✓
- d) Cultivate fearlessness. ✓

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So, Gandhiji the fearlessness is something which is absolutely necessary for a passive resister or a satyagrahi. So, for him this tool of passive resistance is an all sided sword. It can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it because of the ethical moral or soul

force. And him against whom it is used and Gandhiji has successfully experimented with this idea of passive resistance throughout the freedom struggle in India.

And this passive resistance without drawing a drop of blood produces the far reaching far reaching results to create a society which is more human and more compassionate and the individual realizes his true or her true potentiality according to his or his or her on voluson.

So, according to Gandhiji real home rule is possible only where passive resistance is the guiding force of the people. Any other rule is the foreign rule. So, for Gandhiji in India or in society the home rule or Swaraj is possible when passive resistance is the guiding force or any a method violence or any other gorilla or whatever is foreign rule. And according to him passive resisters must observe this 4 practises; that is, perfect chastity adopt poverty follow truth and cultivate fearlessness and he himself experimented with many of this practices in his life.

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- Gandhi was critical of the Western system of education for much of what it stood for. He felt that it was wholly unsuited to India's needs, and was a bad copy of the Western model.
- It would be erroneous to think that Gandhi rejected ideas from the modern West and remained uninfluenced by it altogether. He was aware that there were elements in modern civilization, like democratic political philosophy, that could be useful to India. In the preface to the English edition of Hind Swaraj, he even urged his countrymen to adopt such positive aspects of modern civilization to drive out the English.
- He was not totally against the modern civilization, but had a deep suspicion of the material progress in the West and its conception of modernity.

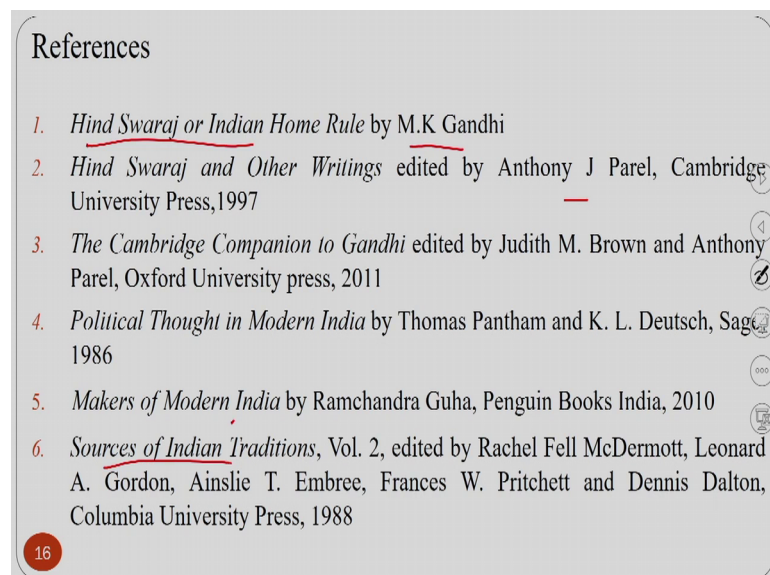
So, what you find in Gandhiji is that he was a critical of modern western system of education for much of what it is stood for. He felt that it was wholly unsuited to India's needs, and was a bad copy of the western model which focus more on material possession or the economic political side of human life and very less and less about the moral and ethical side of individual and community lifes. So, however, it would be erroneous to think that Gandhiji rejected ideas from the modern west, and reminded

uninfluenced by it altogether. As we have seen in the first lecture, many of his influence comes from many western writers. And he was aware that there were elements in modern civilization like democratic political philosophy and some other elements which we have just discussed can be useful to India and in the preface to English edition of Hind Swaraj. He even urged his countrymen to adopt such positive aspects of modern civilization to drive out the English.

So, Gandhiji has a kind of dual engagement with the modern civilization and modern west; where he is not someone narrowly limited to his own culture or civilization heritage, but accommodative of the views which is more suitable more conducive in helping his own countrymen his willing to accept that as well. So, he was not totally against the modern civilization, but he had a deep suspicion of the material progress in the west and its conception of modernity.

Because he realizes that modern civilization rendered individual helpless, suppress his autonomy and creativity, which is the basis for all progress according to Gandhiji. And therefore, he remained a kind of suspicious deeply suspicious of the many promises of modern civilization, and he was dead against its blind imitation in Indian context.

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4. *Political Thought in Modern India* by Thomas Pantham and K. L. Deutsch, Sage, 1986
5. *Makers of Modern India* by Ramchandra Guha, Penguin Books India, 2010
6. *Sources of Indian Traditions*, Vol. 2, edited by Rachel Fell McDermott, Leonard A. Gordon, Ainslie T. Embree, Frances W. Pritchett and Dennis Dalton, Columbia University Press, 1988

So, his views on Hind Swaraj or critique of modern civilization, you can follow some of these texts which is Gandhiji himself wrote his original work Hind Swaraj or Indian home rule. Then Hind Swaraj and other writings by Anthony J Parel, you can also look at

Cambridge companion to Gandhi and political thought in modern India and makers of modern India by Ramachandra Guha. And also in this text you have a chapter on Mahatma Gandhi which is also very useful.

So, that is all for today's lecture on Gandhiji's views on modern civilization and Hind Swaraj. And in next lecture we are going to discuss his views on his vision of India, and some of the responses that he received from his contemporary. So, thanks for listening. And let us know what you think about this lecture.

Thank you.