

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Gandhi's philosophy is the religious and social ideas adopted and developed by Gandhi, first during his period in South Africa from 1893 to 1914, and later of course of India. These ideas have been further developed by later "Gandhians", most notably, in India. Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. Outside of India some of the work of, for example, Martin Luther King Jr. can also be viewed in this light. The twin cardinal principles of Gandhi's thought are truth and non-violence. It should be remembered that the English word "truth" is an imperfect translation of the Sanskrit, "Satya", and "non-violence", an even more imperfect translation of "ahimsa". Derived from "sat" – "that which exists" – "satya" contains a dimension of meaning not usually associated by English speakers with the word "truth". There are other variations too, which we need not go into here. For Gandhi, truth is the relative truth of truthfulness in word and deed, and the absolute truth – the Ultimate Reality. This ultimate truth is God (as God is also Truth) and morality – the moral laws and code – its basis. Ahimsa, far from meaning mere peacefulness or the absence of overt violence, is understood by Gandhi to denote active love – the pole opposite of violence, or "himsa", in every sense. The ultimate station Gandhi assigns non-violence stems from two main points. First, if according to the Divine Reality all life is one, then all violence committed towards another is violence towards oneself, towards the collective, whole self, and thus "self" destructive and counter to the universal law of life, which is love. Second, Gandhi believed that ahimsa is the most powerful force in existence. Had himsa been superior to ahimsa, human kind would long ago have succeeded in destroying itself? The human race certainly could not have progressed as far as it has, even if universal justice remains far

off the horizon. From both viewpoints, non-violence or love is regarded as the highest law of human kind.

Although there are elements of unity in Gandhi's thought, they are not reduced to a system. It is not a rigid, inflexible doctrine, but a set of beliefs and principles which are applied differently according to the historical and social setting. Therefore there can be no dogmatism and inconsistency is not a sin. Interpretation of the principles underwent much evolution during Gandhi's lifetime, and as a result many inconsistencies can be found in his writings, to which he readily admitted. The reader of Gandhi's works published by Navajivan Trust will notice that many are prefaced with the following quotation from an April 1933 edition of "Harijan", one of Gandhi's journals. He states straightforwardly: "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 ... 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 of my writings of mine, if he still has any faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject." That there are inconsistencies in Gandhi's writings accords with the fact that the ideas are not a system. In coming to grips with Gandhi's way of thinking it is most important to understand that the perception of truth undergoes an ongoing process of refinement which is evolutionary in nature.

In Gandhi's thought the emphasis is on idealism, but on practical idealism. It is rooted in the highest religious idealism, but is thoroughly practical. One label (and almost the only one) Gandhi was happy to have pinned on him was that of "practical idealist". The important principle of compromise is relevant here, as is the acknowledgement that perfect truth and perfect non-violence can never be attained while the spirit is embodied.

Gandhism, if it can be called an Ism, is not an intellectual doctrine. Gandhi was not an intellectual. Rather, Gandhi's thought was conceived, to a great extent, out of action and as a guide to action, by a man of action. He hesitated to write about anything of which he did not have personal, first-hand experience. In the sense of it being a call to action, Gandhi's thought can also be seen as an ideology. As a guide to action, Gandhian philosophy is a double-edged weapon. Its objective is to transform the individual and society simultaneously (rather than in sequence, as Marxism describes), in accordance with the principles of truth and non-violence. The historic task before human kind is to progress towards the creation of a non-violent political, economic and social order by non-violent struggle. The social goal was described by Gandhi as Sarvodaya, a term he coined in paraphrasing John Ruskin's book *Unto This Last*, meaning the welfare of all without exception. Its political aspect centers on the following concepts and ideals.

- a. Political decentralization, to prevent massive concentrations of political power in the hands of too few; rather, to distribute it in the hands of many. The Gandhian political order takes the form of a direct, participatory democracy, operating in a tier structure from the base village level later upward through the district and state levels to the national (and international) level.
- b. Economic decentralization, to prevent massive concentrations of economic power in the hands of too few, and again, to distribute it in the hands of many. Therefore villages, which are anyway geographically decentralized, become the basic economic units. However, where unavoidable, certain industries may be organized on a more centralized basis, and their ownership and control come under the umbrella of the State.
- c. The minimization of competition and exploitation in the economic sphere, and instead, the encouragement of

- cooperation. Production on the basis of need rather than greed, concentrating where India is concerned first on the eradication of poverty (and on the worst extreme of poverty).
- d. Recognition of the dignity of labor and the greater purity of rural life.
 - e. The practice of extensive self-reliance by individuals, villages, regions and the nation.
 - f. Absence of oppression on the basis of race, caste, class, language, gender or religion.
 - g. A deep respect for Mother Nature, necessitating an economic system based upon the preservation rather than destruction of the natural environment. Such concepts clearly represent pillars for a new social order.
 - h. A theory closely linked to the concept of Sarvodaya, also developed by Gandhi, is that of Trusteeship. Its fundamental objective is to create non-violent and non-exploitative property relationships. Gandhi believed that the concepts of possession and private property were sources of violence, and in contradiction with the Divine reality that all wealth belongs to all people. However, he recognized that the concept of ownership would not wither easily, nor would the wealthy be easily persuaded to share their wealth. Therefore a compromise was to encourage the wealthy to hold their wealth in trust, to use themselves only what was necessary and to allow the remainder to be utilized for the benefit of the whole society.
 - i. The remaining central concept of Gandhi's philosophy is Satyagraha. Defined most broadly (as Gandhi defined it), Satyagraha is itself a whole philosophy of non-violence. Defined most narrowly, it is a technique or tool of non-violent action. Because of the intention here to keep this discussion as simple as possible, Satyagraha will be described here in its latter guise.

As a technique, Satyagraha was developed by Gandhi in South Africa to give the Indian population there a weapon with which to resist the injustices being perpetrated upon it by the colonial government. But Satyagraha can be practiced in any cultural environment – provided the necessary ingredients are present, not least Satyagrahis (those capable of Satyagraha). A Satyagraha campaign is undertaken only after all other peaceful means have proven ineffective. At its heart is non-violence. An attempt is made to convert, persuade or win over the opponent. It involves applying the forces of both reason and conscience simultaneously. While holding aloft the indisputable truth of his or her position, the Satyagrahi also engages in acts of voluntary self-suffering. Any violence inflicted by the opponent is accepted without retaliation. But precisely because there is no retaliation (which can make the opponent feel his violence is justified), the opponent can only become morally bankrupt if violence continues to be inflicted indefinitely.

It is apparent Gandhi's philosophy has much in common with several Western philosophies which uphold the ideal of a more just and equitable society. For example, the Gandhian social order has been described as "communism minus violence". (However, Marxists have traditionally rejected Gandhi because of what they regard as his "bourgeois" outlook. Gandhi rejected violent class conflict and the centralization of political and economic power in the hands of the State as counterproductive to the development of a non-violent society). Nevertheless, Gandhian philosophy, particularly in the Sarvodaya ideal, does contain many socialist sentiments. In fact, such an entity as Gandhian Socialism emerged in theoretical literature during the 1970s and 1980. Gandhi's thought has been strands of Maoist thought (though not a Western philosophy), and even Western liberal thought. However, Gandhi is incompatible with many aspects of Liberalism and is virtually entirely incompatible with the modern,

intensely competitively ecologically destructive and materialistic capitalism of the West.

To sum up, Gandhian philosophy is not only simultaneously political, moral and religious; it is also traditional and modern, simple and complex. It embodies numerous Western influences to which Gandhi was exposed, but being rooted in ancient Indian culture and harnessing eternal and universal moral and religious principles, there is much in it, that is, not at all new. This is why Gandhi could say: "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills". Gandhi is concerned even more with the spirit than with the form. If the spirit is consistent with truth and nonviolence, the truthful and non-violent form will automatically result. Despite its anti-Westernism, many hold its outlook to be ultra-modern, in fact ahead of its time – even far ahead. Perhaps the philosophy is best seen as a harmonious blend of the traditional and modern. The multifaceted nature of Gandhi's thought also can easily lead to the new that it is extremely complex. Perhaps in one sense it is. One could easily write volumes in describing it! Yet Gandhi described much of his thought as mere commonsense.

This research proposal seeks to re-examine key Gandhian themes in order to indicate their potential contribution to some contemporary debates centering freedom and justice. The emphasis on place-centered knowledge, as illustrated to Gandhian thought tempered by a "post-relativistic ethic", is to be highlighted by the proposed research as a valuable resource for appreciating contemporary debates in Political Theory primarily in the West and also to draw attention to the kind of enrichment that may be brought into such debate by incorporating Gandhian ideas into them.

Those who take the view those individual rights must always come first, and, along with non-discrimination provision, must take precedence over collective goals, are often speaking from a liberal

perspective that has become more and more widespread in the Anglo-American world. Its source is, of course, the United States, and it has recently been elaborated and defended by some of the best philosophical and legal minds in that society, including John Rawls (1971), Ronald Dworkin, Bruce Ackerman, and others. Among other features, this view understands human dignity to consist largely in autonomy, that is, in the ability of each person to determine for him or herself a view of the good life. Dignity is associated less with any particular understanding of the good life, such that someone's departure from this would detract from his or her own dignity, than with the power to consider and espouse for oneself some view or other. We are not respecting this power equally in all subjects, it is claimed, if we raise the outcome of some people's deliberations officially over that of others. A liberal society must remain neutral on the good life, and restrict itself to ensuring that however they see things, citizens' deal fairly with each other and the state deals equally with all. There are some like Charles Taylor (1994) who claims that a liberal society should also respect the right of a community to be different. A society with strong collective goals can be liberal, in this view, provided it also is capable of respecting diversity, especially when dealing with those who do not share its common goals, and provided it can offer adequate safeguards for fundamental rights. There will undoubtedly be tensions and difficulties in pursuing these objectives together, but such a pursuit is not impossible, and the problems are not in principle greater than those encountered by any liberal society that has to combine, for example, liberty and equality, or prosperity and justice. A further line in this area of debate has been opened by scholars like Pettit (1996) who has been reworking the Republican tradition of freedom that tries to steer clear off the so called Liberal - Communitarian debate by taking the autonomy of freedom to be subjugation, defenseless susceptibility to interference rather than actual interference. This attempt to break away from negative-positive

dichotomy of freedom from universal and particular, needs, in our opinion, to be evaluated in the light of Gandhian contributions on the discussion of freedom. In the area of political philosophy Rorty has made his name on the anti-foundation list and anti-re-presentationist stance. In his later and most accessible work, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (1989), Rorty considers the consequences of this inevitable ethnocentrism and the tendency towards 'solidarity' with like-minded world-makers. The recognition that all claims to truth and knowledge of reality are contingent upon our spatial and temporal position in the world leads us to speak of what we believe with a strong sense of irony. The committed ironist accepts that the language of any other community could be just as real or true as our own. If this hint at relativism sounds alarm bells at the threat of might is right, then Rorty prescribes what he sees as the only social construction robust enough to avoid the threat of ethnocentric impasse: political liberalism. Part of the problem, as Rorty sees it, is the repeated attempt to fuse the private domain of self-realization, fulfillment, and perfectionism with the public domain of morality and justice. The ideal liberal society limits its concerns to the balancing of freedom, wealth, and peace whilst allowing its members the scope and opportunity to pursue their own ideas of how they ought to live. Any attempt at a fusion of the private and public tends in fact to privilege the public over the private and either redefine the private in terms of the public – and generally suppress many private practices – or make public the private practice of the strong or the majority. Rorty denies the possibility that humanity could one day be united by a common realization of the truth of how we ought to live. Indeed, he accepts that the best we can possibly open for is a consensus amongst a very large percentage of the population. What matters most is that there is a 'them' opposed to 'us' and that we are open to the possibility of changing our matters most is historical, contingent language-game to expand it to include others. Liberalism is the only political Philosophy,

to Rorty, that allows alternative language-games to co-exist side-by-side and thus keep open the possibility of us hearing the 'unfamiliar noises' of others and incorporating them into our world view. Gandhi with his reservation for this kind of relativism offers a contrast. Gandhian approach to truth is as flexible and dynamic than Liberalism. For Gandhi, theory and practice are an indivisible whole and one that only begins to make sense in the engagement of praxis. This is not to value activism at the expense of theory, or to establish them in an exclusive binary, but to stress their mutuality and interdependence. Coherence, therefore, is not to be found in theoretical comprehensiveness but in function, in the unity of ends and means – an approach that might well be utilized to lessen the degree of hostility found in some debates over freedom and also to guard against lapsing into relativism. It is suggested that a Gandhian framework can provide grounds for further explorations beyond the limitations of the foundationalism-relativism debate. The Gandhian emphasis on Swaraj and Swadeshi also open considerable potential to link to wider debates on the nature of liberation, particularly in the context of post-colonial theory (Nandy, 1987, Chakraborty, D. 1992).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

In the Oxford Handbook of political theory (2006) most of the commentators agreed on John Rawls's landmark book (1971) being an important source for current revival of political theory both by way of contribution and as an object of critical reaction. Following it political philosophers such as Sandel (1982), Taylor (1994), Walzer (1983), Barry (2001) and others continued to enrich political theory in which certain themes and issues recur prominently such as universalism vs particularism, debate over the self, citizenship, rights, democracy and now fashionable theme of social exclusion. Occasionally Gandhian concepts, principles and strategies have been brought into this animating discussion some of which we would be referring to in the subsequent section. However, illustratively we can refer to some areas

where relevance of Gandhian thought has been alluded to; namely peace studies, environmental movements and national liberation struggles. The persons who have openly acknowledged the intellectual indebtedness to Gandhi include Sukki, Martin Luther King Jr. and others. The US House of Representative (FEB 11, 2009) unanimously passed a resolution recognizing the influence Mahatma Gandhi had on Martin Luther King Jr. the great civil rights leader of America who has been source of inspiration to President Barack Obama. Passed by a roll call vote of 406 to 0, with 26 abstaining, the resolution commemorates the 50th anniversary of King's visit to India in 1959. On the question of relevance however dissenting voices have also been heard. Arundhati Roy in particular, commented sharply on the limitation that charismatic leadership imposes on the struggle for survival by local communities. To the extent Gandhian political ideas lack coherence such disparate drawing of relevance is understandable. These however are not that simple if we accept some amount of coherence or core elements in Gandhian Political ideas, particularly the relationship between theory and practice. Then we must decide whether it is an aspect of strength or weakness of Gandhian Political ideas that make way for electric use by both advocates of modernity and post modernity, foundationalism and anti-foundationalism, passivism and activist and so on. The problem that needs to be resolved is to determine whether there is something about Gandhi that makes it possible to be relevant in different ways, sometimes entirely opposed ways. Further, if there is any such quality in Gandhian thought whether it is possible to compare it in any meaningful way with other apparently coherent and systemic traditions of thought. In short the problem is to determine both the distinctiveness and generalities of Gandhian political ideas in relation to contending sides of the debates on contemporary issues. Anyone having some research interest in the area of Gandhian thought would notice a growing body of literature by way of

elaboration, clarification, revision, extension and sometimes rejection of Gandhian Political ideas. This would be clearer in course of our review of literature. But two areas have been highlighted more than any other area of Gandhian political thought, namely Satyagraha and Swaraj. To the extent these represent just two of several other major concepts it is quite possible that the question of relevance or Gandhian contribution to contemporary discussion on political theory can not be decided without making a systematic attempt at discovering the dynamic interplay or interdependence of core Gandhian concepts and comparing and contrasting these with principal traditions of political theory today. In this respect we need to first identify such areas where relatively less or no study has been undertaken along this line. We propose therefore to note by way of review of literature any possible gap in an effort to bridge the same.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In his book "Gandhi – A very Short Introduction"(1997), Bhikhu Parekh looks at Gandhi's spiritual view of Politics, his unique form of liberal communitarianism and his theories of oppression, non-violent action and active citizenship. After the publication of Bhikhu Parekh (1997), Anthony J. Parel's "Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule" (2002), Partha Chatterjee's "Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World" (1986) and similar works one need not press the claim that Gandhi cannot be studied as a political philosopher narrating serious study. However, here we would like to focus on studies that have placed Gandhi's idea in the context of major ideologies, while attempting to show the relation between those. Among the best known and early works in this connection was by Joan V. Bondurant's "Conquest of violence(1988):The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict".Bondurant discussed Gandhi in relation to the following ideologies viz. Anarchism-conservatism, Marxism etc. Bondurant also discussed Gandhi and Satyagraha, nonviolence and the Gandhian idea of

dialectic. Since the study did not place in relation to some other ideologies we may refer to some other works in this regard.

C. Sankaran Nair in his book "Gandhi and Anarchy" (1972) described about Gandhi's Anarchies Philosophy. Instead of using the term Anarchist, one could call Gandhi a "Communitarian", a term that is commonly used by to-day's post modern political thinker Nicholas F. Gier "The virtue of non-violence from Gautama to Gandhi" (2004). Bondurant uses the term "Philosophical Anarchism" in "Conquest of violence – The Gandhian concept of Philosophy" (1988). The objective of Gandhi was to attain truth while Anarchist believes in absolute liberty which Gandhi opposed. The Gandhian approach points the way towards reconcile political organization with the ideas of Anarchism. In modern political philosophy Gandhi stands apart for his unique concept of social transformation and development which avoids Standard Western Stereo-type ideas of change. Gandhi did not subscribe to Western ideas of legal constitutional reform or socialist revolutionary action of class war. Gandhi instead emphasized non-violent method and change to attain a society based upon truth and justice. As a Philosophical anthropologist Gandhi's approach is different from others. Not man but cosmos was his starting point. Gandhi maintained that since the cosmic spirit informed and structured the universe, all creation was divine and one. Human society was similarly structured. Gandhi's theory of self was the basis of his epistemological, moral and social Pluralism. Gummadi Veerraju in his book "Gandhian Philosophy – It's Relevance Today" (1999), said that Gandhi was not a system builder but with great understanding and insight. Gandhi could bring about the scheme of his concepts in an appropriate and relevant manner so as to suit the modern requirement. According to Mohit Chakraborty, "The Gandhian Philosophy of the Spinning Wheel" (2000), Gandhi makes inroads to social awareness by means of introducing the spinning wheel. It serves the three fold purpose of mankind the right use of time and

energy, arresting idleness and other social ills and stimulating the true social spirit of co-operation and harmony in one and all. According to Ravindro Varma, "The Spiritual Perception of Mahatma Gandhi" (2006), Gandhi believed the self-realization or God realization was the highest goal that human could set for himself. In the course of Gandhi's life, he made it abundantly clear that the paramount goal of Gandhi's life was the very realization of self or the realization of truth as God or Moksa. Among works that take Gandhian political ideas as important and focus on Sarvodaya there are both works by political leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan or Bhabhe and academic scholars. According to Thomas Vettickal (2002) Gandhian Sarvodaya is not a mechanistic or deterministic manual but an ideal for human kind, for individual and social relationship and for human ecological relationships is varied and changing circumstances. It enunciates principles and sets the direction approaches and guidelines. Anthony J. Parel, in his book "Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Hermony" (2006), explained, Gandhi presents a balance views of life. Wealth, Pleasure, Aesthetic beauty, Ethical integrity and Freedom of Spirit, the Purusharthas are goals that all Indians seek. Gandhi explains how and why that seeking should be the basis of modern Indian Philosophy. The aim of Madhuri Wadhwa is to synthesize eastern tradition with western modernity in Gandhi. In fact, the aim is to create an intellectual awareness amongst the people at large to views him as amoral preceptor symbolizing all that was best or valuable in the eve of the western encounter in "Gandhi between Tradition and Modernity" (1997). Gopinath Dhawan in his book "The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi" (1962) explained Gandhian political ideas and Philosophy. Shriman Narayan Agarwal, in his book "Gandhian Constitution For Free India"(1946) discussed Gandhian basic principles, democracy, village, taluka and Panchayats, the idea of provincial government, central government, the Indian State, Indian Foreign Policy and also drawing up a suitable constitution. Robert

Ludlow in his book "The Gandhian Revolution" (1950) explained different Gandhian movement and his unique ideas. Max Stirner, in his book "The Ego and His Own" (1912) explained Gandhian idea into contemporary forms, designs and direction.

There is a voluminous collection of books on Gandhian Role in National Movement, some are by Gandhi's contemporaries and freedom fighters and some are of acadmic origin. Below we focus on some belonging to the later category. Gandhi was a great political activist. S.R. Bakshi's book "Gandhi and the Mass Movements" (1988) has dealt with Gandhi's arrival in India and new ideology which he used in an enlarged scale to achieve independence for India. Dr. Ravindra Kumar in his book "Champaran to quit India Movement" (2002) has dealt with practically all the Satyagraha movements i.e. Champaran, Khilafat, Bardoli etc. Gandhi awakened the masses through the strength of Ahimsa, by utilizing Satyagraha. Mazhar Kibriya in his book "Gandhi and Indian Freedom Struggle"(1999) deals with the views and opinion of Gandhi regarding the use of non-violence as a guiding principle, as a means and method for solving all types of problems of the individual, society and the State and also the role of Gandhi in the Indian National Movement. S. R. Bokshi again in his book "Gandhi and the Congress" (1996) deals with the significant contribution of Mahatma Gandhi who emerged as a national leader after the non-co-operation movement. Gandhi led the nation since his emerged on the political range of our Indian-continent during the critical years. Soon after the First World War, D. C. Jha in his book "Mahatma Gandhi – The Congress and Partition of India"(2004) said that, Gandhi totally opposed the partition and suggested to the British Government to hand over the power of Independent. India to any Indian Party of their choice. Gandhi also announced that he was prepared to face any consequences. In "Tilak and Gandhi Perspectives on Religion and Politics" (2001), Jyoti Sharma explained religion as the dominant mode of political thinking has been an integral part of

totality of culture. It has evolved in time that specific rise, continuation, decline or transition of different social situation. In “Manu, Gandhi and Ambedkar and others Essays” (2003), Madhu Limaye, deals with some burning issues that have agitated public opinion from the beginning of the New Year. In “Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. I (1989), Madhu Limaye discussed about freedom movement drew into hits fold the finest element from the various provinces of India.

Gandhi and his idea of Swaraj represent an area of scholarly attention. In his book “Rediscovering Gandhi” Vol. I (2005), R. P. Misra said, Gandhi’s vision was different and higher than others and his goals far beyond political freedom. For him, real freedom was Swaraj, rule over one’s sense and real progress was spiritual, not material. The Gandhian concept of “Swaraj” is not a new state but statelessness. The self regulated system of Swaraj stands for rule of conscience, not rule of law. Swaraj signifies spiritually free, independent and yet interdependent individual, living in self-sufficient villages. Swaraj is not merely self government but government over self. It is not merely political and economic but also moral and spiritual. It stands for an ideal society based on non-violence, justice and freedom of conscience. Dennis Dalton in his book “Gandhi’s Power” (1993) said Gandhi was at the leader of the first mass political movement in India’s history who said Satyagraha meets Swaraj. Bidyut Chakraborty in his “Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi”(2006) focuses on the idea of Swaraj, the principles of Satyagraha and non-violence and their evolution in the context of anti imperial movements organized by Gandhi, looking at how these precepts underwent changes reflecting the ideological beliefs of the participants.

Biographies constitute a major area of Gandhi related scholarly works. Louis Fischer in his “The Life of Mahatma Gandhi” (2006) deals with the life of M. K. Gandhi. Jayant Pandya in his book “Gandhi and

his Disciples” (1994) also sketches a biography Patricia Cronin Marcello’s book “Mohandas K. Gandhi - A Biography” (2007) also an important biography. Jafar Mahmud in his book “Mahatma Gandhi” (2004) deals with the whole life of Gandhi. Bidyut Chakraborty’s book “Mahatma Gandhi – A Historical Biography” (2007) is also important. This Historical biography is a critical Gandhian response to those who tend to be little the academic feats of any kind by referring to their ‘Pipe-line’ publication Robert Payne’s book, “The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi” (1969) also an important biographical work. A. K. Chettiar’s “In The Tracks of The Mahatma: The Making of Documentary” (2007) also an important for this purpose. Richard Attenborough’s work “In Search of Gandhi” (1982) has also been an important biographical work. Anand Kumarasamy’s “Gandhi on Personal Leadership” (2006) starts with a short biography of Gandhi, which highlights some of his formative experience and few of his most important achievements. It then clearly outlines the lessons of personal growth and transformation that we can learn from his life. D.G. Tendulkar’s Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vol .I to Vol. VIII also deals with different part of Gandhi’s life. Contemporary world and Gandhi represents a distinct thrust area of research. “Gandhi’s Legacy and A new Human Civilization”(1999) edited by B. Mohanan deals with Gandhi and modern civilization, relevance of Gandhi’s legacy and a new human civilization, Gandhi’s views on the reconstruction of a new civilization, relevance of Gandhian social order etc. “The Global vision of Mahatma Gandhi” (2005), in this book Ratan Das explained Gandhi and his life, created a vision that reached all corners of the world and his vision grew more powerful in preserving the relevance after his death. Though some of his followers claim that Gandhi had certain rigid ideas, but in reality, the flexibility of his ideas enabled him to reach to the masses. Anil Dutta Mishra in his book “Challenges of 21st century”(2003) helps us firmly in the Gandhian line to fight against the challenges emerging

out of Liberalization, Globalization and Privatization and offer valuable insights on the most burning subjects of our times. "Gandhi and the world order" (1996) edited by Ramjee Singh and S. Sunderam deals with Gandhian concept of social and political change, Gandhian economics and contemporary society, Gandhi and socialist movement in India and also Gandhi and contemporary crisis. In "Gandhian after Gandhi" (1999), Anil Dutta Mishra interprets Gandhism in terms of new challenges and crisis which are gift of urbanization and globalization to mankind. Another book "Rediscovery Gandhi" (2002), Anil Dutta Mishra explained Gandhian ideas into contemporary forms, designs and direction. In "Inspiring Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi" (2008), Anil Dutta Mishra and Ravi Gupta discussed different Gandhian ideas and Gandhian movement. The chief aim of this book is to elucidate the central concepts of Gandhism. The material for this book has been drawn from number of sources like Harijan, Young India, Hind Swaraj etc. Ramjee Singh in his "Gandhi and The New Millennium" (2000) deals with Gandhi and his fight for peace. Gandhi's mission was universal interdependence and universal religion. Hence, he has been undisputedly claimed as a man of the millennium. In "Gandhian Alternative to contemporary problem" (2004) Anil Dutta Mishra, Renu Kumari Singh and Sanjeev kumar Tiwari, focuses on the idea of Gram Swaraj, poverty and underdevelopment, concept of decentralization. Gandhian alternative can provide solution to contemporary problems. He was a man of commitment that came out in his writing, speaking and work for the betterment of people. D. G. Tendulkar in his book "Gandhi in Champaran" (1957) discussed about the Champaran struggle forms an important Chapter in India's non-violent war of independence. The present book is a close-up of the earliest phase of that struggle.

In his book "Gandhian Humanism" (1992), Mohit Chakraborty explained Gandhi and his idea about humanism. Another book "Gandhian Religion" (1994), Mohit Chakraborty looks at Gandhi's idea



of Religion, Society, Nationalism, Education etc. The vision of man as Satyagraha or Daridranarayana that Gandhi most dynamically attributes in a positive approach to social revolution. In “Gandhian Non-violence and the Indian National Struggle” (1992), R. K. Sinha deals with the background of Gandhian non-violence, Political Struggle or Satyagraha. This book is a humble attempt to analyze Gandhi’s experiments, his life and works will inspire still hundreds. B. N. Roy in his book “Gandhigiri – Satyagraha after Hundred Years” (2008) deals with the birth of Satyagraha, philosophical foundations of Satyagraha, Satyagraha after independence etc. In his book “Gandhi’s Doctrine of Civil-Resistance” Dr. S.A. Bari discussed about Gandhi’s non-violence and civil resistance. K. S. Bharathi’s “The Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi” (1998) deals with the life and work of Gandhi, his influences and also his ideas on religion, State, Society and Satyagraha in South Africa. In an another book “Thoughts of Gandhi and Vinoba – A Comparative Study”(1995), K. S. Bharathi deals with Gandhi and Vinoba looked upon spiritual life as the highest life and God realization and self realization in this very lie as the greatest achievement. In his book “The Making of Modern India: Rammohan Roy to Gandhi and Nehru” (1987), Dr. G.N.S. Raghavan deals with Gandhi and mass movement, major events of the freedom struggle etc. In his “Gandhian Thought” (2008), Ravindra Kumar deals with Gandhian Philosophy of Ahimsa, Gandhi awakened the masses through the strength of Ahimsa by utilizing Satyagraha. K. D. Gangrade in his book “Gandhi’s Autobiography and other Essays” (2004) deals with M. K. Gandhi’s autobiography and Gandhian approach. B. R. Nanda in his book “Gandhi – a – Pictorial biography” (1972) also deals with Gandhi’s pictorial biography. Again Gregory Palmer in his book “Mahatma Gandhi – A Selected Bibliography” (1995) deals with the major work on Gandhi’s life and thought.

In “Mahatma Gandhi, His Life and Ideas” (2005), Charles F. Andrews deals with Gandhi’s religious ideas, Satyagraha, Tolstoy farm

and Gandhi's ideas etc. Again, in "Gandhi – The Spirit of India" (2003), K. C. Yadav deals with Gandhi, his life and work and also Gandhian thought. J. Dear in his book "Mohandas Gandhi – Essential writings" (2002), deals with Gandhi's Philosophy and Spirituality. In the book, "Education, Gandhi and Man" (2008), Akhtarul Wasey and Farhat Ehsas deal with Gandhi's ideas on education. Madhu Limaye in "Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru" (1989, 1990, 1991) deals with the ideas of Gandhi and Nehru. Ram Binod Singh, in his book "Gandhian Approach to Development Planning" (2006) discussed about Gandhi's economic thought, Gandhian concept of Man and Society, Gandhi and Environment, Gandhian Planning and Development. A. K. Sharma, in his book "Gandhian Perspective on Population and Development" (1996) explained Gandhian approach to population, planning and family planning methods at the grassroots level. R.P. Mishra and K. D. Gangrade's book "Gandhian Alternative, Non-violence in Action" (2005) deals with Gandhian idea of non-violence, peace, education etc. Lavanam Gora and Mark Lindley's book "Gandhi as we have known him" (2007) deals with Gandhi's idea of Hinduism, theism, atheism, secularism etc. J. C. Jain in his book "Gandhi the Forgotten Mahatma" (1987) discussed about M. K. Gandhi and achievement of India's Independence. This book points out how the teachings of the Mahatama are relevant to modern India. Shashi Pravha Sharma in her book "Gandhain Holistic Economics" (1992) deals with the Gandhian economic ideas. Raghavan Iyer in his book "The of Mahatma Essential Writings Gandhi" (1993) discussed about civilization, politics and religion. This concise collection could help a variety of people in different countries including India itself to form a fuller and more just appreciation of Gandhi's significant and compelling contribution to the 20th century and to the future.

Janardhan Pandey in his book "Gandhi and 21st century" (1998) said, the essence of Indian Philosophical tradition which was inherited by Gandhi and practiced for the hole of his life may be stated briefly

interns of doctrine of the Purusharthas and the goals are dharma, artha, karma and moksha. E.S. Reddy and Holger Terp's book "Friends of Gandhi" (2006) deals with Gandhi and his friends, correspondence with Gandhi including different letters. Ajay Shankar Rai, in his book "Gandhian Satyagraha an Analytical and Critical Approach" (2000) deals with the meaning and objective of Satyagraha. B. R. Nanda in his book "Mahatma Gandhi" (1958) deals with Gandhi's childhood; plunge into politics, religious quest and discovery of Satyagraha etc. It exhaustively documents the events in Gandhi's career and reveals the contours of his thought. Again B.R. Nanda in his another book "Gandhi and his Critics" (1985) deals with Mahatma Gandhi and his critics. The continuing interest in Mahatma Gandhi has generated some severe critical comments on his life and ideas. This book presents an analysis of Gandhi's work on the one hand and his critics on the other.

Anthony J. Parel in his book "Gandhi, Freedom and Self Rule" (2002) discussed about Gandhi's idea of Freedom and self rule. This book presents an original account of M. K. Gandhi's four meanings of freedom: as sovereign national independence, as the political freedom of the individual, as freedom from poverty, and as the capacity for self rule or spiritual freedom. In her book "Reading Gandhi" (2006) Surjit Kaur Jolly deals with Gandhi's different ideas-Hind Swaraj, Satyagraha, Sarvodaya, Trusteeship, Women, Untouchability, non-violence, Religion, Politics etc. This book also deals with relevance of Gandhism in modern world. R. P. Dwivedi in his book "Revisiting Gandhi" (2007) looks at Gandhi's ideas on ideal society and its' law. This book an attempt has been made to rediscover and re-interpret and revisit Gandhi and his thought. K.S. Bharati in his book "This Social Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi" (1998) discovered Gandhi's various items of the constructive work whenever he found them necessary to the historical situation in which he was placed. Thus it appears that the Gandhian constructive programmes are context

sensitive. R. P. Mishra in the book "Gandhian Model of Development and World Peace" (1988) help us recollect the values that Gandhi cherished and understand the spirit and practical wisdom underlying his thinking and work programme. Lion M. G. Agrawal, in his book "Freedom Fighters of India" (2008) discussed about women and different Gandhi based movement, women in Gandhi's struggle, feminism in British India etc. Romain Rolland's book "Mahatma Gandhi – The leader of the Universal Peace and Liberty" (1948) deals with M. K. Gandhi's different activities from South Africa and after that in India. K. D. Gandrade's book "Gandhian Approach to Development and Social Work" (2005) discussed, Gandhi was a great social activist but our social work practitioners do not find any material of relevance in Gandhi that would enrich the methods of the profession. Nirmal Kumar Bose, in his book "My days with Gandhi" (1974) describes different Gandhian views. Richard G. Fox, in his book "Gandhian Utopia" (1989) explains Gandhi and his experimenting deas. G. Ranjit Sharma, in his book "An Introduction to Gandhian Thought" (1995) deals with some important Gandhian ideas and some particular aspect of Gandhian thought. J. M. Upadhyaya's book "Mahatma Gandhi – As Student" (1965) covers the period of his childhood, adolescence and early youth and is based on authentic records. Ratan as in his book "Gandhi and Mao – in quest of Analogy" (2004) deals with Mao's ideal to eliminate hunger and poverty have to be inducted into the Gandian technique of revolution. Then only a news struggle of social change may emerge, which can be able to fight out the rampant exploitation. Jaladhar Pal in his book "The Moral Philosophy Gandhi" (2007) deals with Gandhiji and his Philosophical ideas. In his book "Satyagraha in South Africa" (1928), M. K. Gandhi said about the meaning of Satyagraha. He discovered this term during his endless non-violent resistance movement against radical discrimination in South Africa. Gandhi organized the Indian in South Africa and led a new kind of resistance movement against the unjust

laws under which they were then suffering, in his "Unto This Last" – A Para phase, M.K.Gandhi said about his idea of Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya was the title of series of nine articles, which Gandhi wrote and got published in Gujarati in the Indian opinion weekly in South Africa in 1908. In "Gandhi's social Philosophy" – Perspective and Relevance (1973), B. N. Ganguly deals with Gandhi's social Philosophy, his ideas of Anarchism, Humanism, Trusteeship, State and Social Control. The author has shown, for example interesting facts of resemblance between Gandhi, Marx and Mao as revolutionaries seeking a fundamental resolution of social conflict. A. H. Huq in his "Economics of Growth and Employment: The Gandhian Apoproach" (1981) said about Gandhian economic idea etc. In his book "Indian Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule" (1938), M. K. Gandhi located the socio-political and economic condition of India. Hind Swaraj is an alternative to modern socio-economic political thought. It is a book, which cannot be ignored in any discussion and debate on human progress socio-economic development and contemporary problems. It is a key to understanding not only Gandhi's life and thought but the present dilemmas arising out of technology, industrialization and globalization. The book, to quote Gandhi's own words has had a "Chequered Career". It is not only a book on how to win political freedom for India. It is a Magna Carta for freedom of mind and the evolution of human species from conscious and material beings to super-conscious and moral being. Nageshwar Prasaad edited "Hind Swaraj: A Fresh Look" (1985) based on Gandhi's Hind Swaraj, it still represents voice of the voiceless, voice of common man of India, and even of the common people of the world.

Devdutt in his book "Hind Swaraj: Context and Text" (1985) based on Gandhi's Hind Swaraj. The Hind Swaraj is a severe condemnation of modern civilization. It deals with Swaraj, civilization, lawyers, doctors, machinery, education, passive resistance etc.

Anthony J. Parel (edited) "Hind Swaraj and Other Writings" (1997) based on Gandhi Hind Swaraj. All other writing of Gandhi are in the form of articles, statements, letters and speeches. K. Gandhi in his book "An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth" (1927) deals with the life and different experiments of M. K. Gandhi.

Geoffrey Ostergaard and Melville Currell, book, "The Gentle Anarchists: A Study of the leaders of the Sarvodaya Movement for non-violent revolution in India" (1971) deals with Gandhian Sarvodaya movement, his ideas of Anarchism and also non-violent movement etc. M. K. Gandhi, in his books "The Constructive Programme: Its meaning and Place" (1941) deals with Gandhi's views on decentralization and politics. M.S. Patel's book "The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi" (1953) deals with Gandhi's Political Philosophies and educational ideas. Pushpa Joshi in her book "Gandhi on Women" (1988) deals with Gandhi's principles of equality, gender equality and also his idea about women, S. N. Agarwal in his book "The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India" (1944) deals with Gandhian economic ideas and economic development for India. M. K. Gandhi's, "Delhi Diary: Prayer Speeches from 10.9.47 to 30.1.48" is also important for us for his selected speeches. M.K.Gandhi's Yeravda Mandir: Ashram observances" (1945) deals with Gandhian style-terse, simple and logical ways, his spiritual exercises, self help capacities and ashram based direction etc. M. K. Gandhi's "India's case for Swaraj" is also important for his selected speeches, writings, Interviews in England and India (September, 1931 to January 1932). Again, "Speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi is important for his writings and speeches. M. K. Gandhi's "Key to Health" (1948) deals with Gandhi's ideas of health and how to keep health. R. P. Sinha in his book "Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx: A Study of selected Social Thinkers" (2008) deals with a comparative study between Gandhi and Marx, similarities and differences between Gandhian ideology and

Marxian ideology. R. M. Lohia in his book "Marx, Gandhi and Socialism" (1963) also deals with a comparative study between Marx, Gandhi and Socialism. He describes different ideas of Socialism, Marxism and also Gandhian ideas. S. Abdul Sattar in his book "quintessence of Gandhian Thought" (2007) deals with the vision of truth in Gandhi, Gandhi's ideas of Feminism, relevance of Gandhi's conception of education etc. Again, S. Abdul Sattar in his book "Humanism of Mahatma Gandhi and M. N. Roy" (2007) presents a clear account of the Philosophy and humanism in general both in the east and the west and that of Gandhiji and M. N. Roy in particular. Ramjee Singh in his book "The Gandhian Vision" (1998) said, Gandhism is not an arm-chari Philosophy but an action ideology for non-violence social change. This book also deals with the idea of nation building, world poverty and Gandhian perspective, Terrorism and the Gandhian solution, Gandhian solution to the Kashmit problem etc. Janardan Pandey (edited) "Gandhi and 21st century" (1998) said, Gandhi provided the best option of the development of the 3rd world countries. His ideas on man-machine equilibrium could change the ace of the world by eliminating hunger and poverty from the globe and help maintain a balance between man and his environment. Anzor Harvani, in his book "Gandhi to Gandhi" (1996) deals with Gandhian ideas and thoughts. Mohit Chakraborty, in his book "Fire sans Ire – A critical study of Non-violence" (2005) deals with Non-violence and social change, spiritualism, religion and mysticism. Bindu Puri's book "Gandhi and the Moral Life" (2004) deals with Gandhi and his views about morality. Dr. Ramesh S. Betai in his book "Gita and Gandhiji" (2002) said about the influence of Bhagavad Gita in molding the life and thought of Gandhi. Ashu Pasricha's book "Gandhian Approach to Integrated Rural Development" (2000) deals with Gandhain approach to rural development. Anthony J. Parel in his book "Gandhi's Philosophy and the quest for Harmony" (2006) presents the four aim of life – Politics

and Economics, Dharma, Pleasure and Spiritual Liberation. David Hardiman in his book "Gandhi – In his Time and Ours" (2003) deals with Gandhian moral activism and his global legacy. Vishwanath Tandon in his book "Studies in Gandhian Thought and Marxism with Special Reference to Vinoba Bhave" deals with Gandhi, Marx and Marxists, the boodan, gramdan movement (1951-1974) etc. C.F. Andrews in his book "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas" (1949) deals with ideas of M. K. Gandhi. Arvind Sharma's book "A New Curve in the Ganges – Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism" (2005) deals with M. K. Gandhi and the sources of Dharma in Hinduism, M. K. Gandhi and untouchability, caste system etc. Rahul Ramagundam in his book "Gandhi's Khadi – A History of contention and conciliation" (2008) deals with memories of a moral movement, Gandhi's Khadi movement etc.

Lloyd I Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph's book "Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays" (2006) making our case for Gandhi as a post modern thinker and activist. We locate his version of post modernism in the complex of meaning, many controversial, many disputed, the term postmodern has acquired. Kamalapati Tripathi, in his book "Gandhi and Humanity" (1993) deals with Gandhi and his ideas of human intelligence. Narayan Hazary, Subas Chandra Hazary and Amareswar Mishra edited "Eternal Gandhi" (1998) deals with a comparative study of the Marxist and Gandhian models, Gandhi and Lenin, Gandhi and Mao, spiritual base of Gandhi's politics, socio-economic implications of Gandhian economic system, Gandhi and the issue of socio-economic development to-day etc. Ravindra Kumar in his book "Gandhian Thoughts – An overview" (2006) deals with the relevance and importance of Gandhian thought in the modern polity, problem of communalism etc. Himangsu Roy in his book "Poverty of Gandhian Philosophy" (2001) highlights the poverty in Plenty of Gandhi's Philosophy to build up his image clean of myths surrounding him. P.A. Raju in his book "Gandhi and His Religion"

(2000) deals with Gandhi and religion, Gandhi and God etc. Dharmpal in his book "Understanding Gandhi" (2003) deals with Gandhi and his technology. Atul Chandra Pradhan in his book "Mahatma Gandhi and the Depressed Classes" (2008) deals with M. K. Gandhi and his relation with depressed classes. Bernd Pflug in his book "Self Education – A Gandhian Perspective" (2006) deals with Gandhi and the conceptual aspects of self education. Crispin Bates's book "Subalterns and Raj – South Asia since 1600" (2007) explains some Gandhian movements – like non-co-operation, civil disobedience and Quit India Movement etc. Rajmohan Gandhi in his book "Mohandas - A True Story of a Man, his People and an Empire" (2006) deals with Gandhi Satyagraha, Great March, idea and Swaraj etc. Parmeshwari Dayal's book "Gandhian Theory of Social Reconstruction" (2006) motivates the younger generation to understand the message of Gandhi's life and realize that there is some power as "Soul Force" lying dormant within them. This book also deals with Principles of Social Reconstruction of non-violent society. Shankar Dayal Singh in his book "Gandhi's First Step – Champaran Movement" (1994) deals with Gandhiji and Champaran, report of Champaran, agrarian enquiry committee, the Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918. Coonoor Kripalani's book "Mahatma Gandhi – Apostle of Non-violence" (2003) deals with Gandhi's unique strategy of Satyagraha, a non-violent struggle using soul force, his idea of social change etc. Dr. K. Munirathnam Chetty in his book "Sarvodaya and Freedom – Gandhian Appraisal" (1991) deals with Gandhi's Sarvodaya Philosophy, Gandhi's conception of man and his role in society and freedom in Gandhian Philosophy etc.

M. Maharajan in his book "Mahatma Gandhi and New Millennium" (2001) deals with Gandhi and new world order, Gandhian approach to World Peace and Communal harmony, Gandhian concept of women welfare, relevance of Gandhian thought etc. S. Narayanasamy in his book "The Sarvodaya Movement" (2003) deals with Gandhi's Sarvodaya Movement in detail. Ajit Atri in his books

“Gandhi’s view of Legal Justice” (2007) deals with Gandhi’s approach to justice, justice and Punishment in Gandhi’s view, relevance of Gandhian approach in modern times. C. C. Biswas in his book “Bengal’s Response to Gandhi” (2004) deals with the partition of Bengal in 1905, after that Gandhi came with the proposal of non-violent, no n-co-operation with Swadeshi and boycott as tools. Girja Kumar’s book “Brahmacharya, Gandhi and his women Associates” (2006) deals with the theme of Brahmacharya, Gandhiji and women etc. Sudhir Ghosh in his book “Gandhi’s Emissary” (2008) simultaneously deals with Gandhi’s quest for Peace, Gandhi the lonely pilgrim, his spiritual ideas etc. Sukhendu Majumder in his book “Politico-Economic Ideas of Mahatma Gandhi – their Relevance in the present day” (2004) deals with Gandhi’s Political Philosophy, Varma dharma, trusteeship, controversy of large versus small scale industries, decentralization etc.

Ramchandra Guha in his recent work “Gandhi before India” (2013) concentrated on the first 45 years of Gandhi’s life before he became undisputed leader of India’s nationalist movement. This long book does not ready offer any new insight about Gandhi’s ideas. Most of the things Guha discusses about Gandhi in South Africa were already covered by Gandhi himself and by different biographers of Gandhi. Guha only brings out few letters from admirers of Gandhi from the archives in South Africa. Therefore, for anyone interested in the relationship of Gandhi’s ideas with contemporary ideologies would have very little to gain from this work.

RESEARCH GAP:

The above review of literature has clearly established certain areas as centers of primary attention by Gandhian scholars that include Gandhian role in nationalist movement, Gandhian philosophy, relevance of Gandhi for social movements, environmental movements and peace studies (Brown, 2008), apart from biographies and

commentaries on Gandhi's texts. However, comparatively lesser amount of work has been done by way of comparison of Gandhian political ideas and western tradition of political theory. Even in this area certain orientations, tradition and issues have figured prominently such as conservation, Anarchism communitarians and in recent years Environmentalism, Feminism, Post-modernity and post colonial critiques. It is surprising that no significant work has been done in relation to possible Republican resources in Gandhian political thought when both liberalism and communitarians have come under critical assessment from the point of view of the Republican tradition. Despite some attention on 'authority' issues in Gandhi, no systematic comparison has been made with the Republican tradition which has been the most systematic treatment of autonomy issues in relation to liberalism and communitarians. More so when one notices series scholarly works on Gandhian disaffiliation from liberalism and affiliation to Communitarians.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

In the light of our research objectives and research gaps noted above, following could be our research questions for the present research proposal.

1. To what extent conceptual resources of Gandhian political thought can be brought to bare on major areas of controversies in contemporary western liberal thought for a balanced understanding of the debates on freedom, justice, multiculturalism and so on?
2. Whether Gandhian analysis of power/'anti power' can be constructed out of the theory and practice Gandhi in and effort to enrich the Republican tradition of political theory by supplying the Indian contribution to a predominantly. West centric discourse?

3. To what extent Holistic nature of Gandhian political thought reflected in the dynamic interaction of theory and practice has been preserved in the recent efforts of contextualizing Gandhi or drawing relevance of Gandhain ideas to widely disparate issues, movements and politics?

METHODOLOGY:

A historical mode of inquiry is inexplicable requirement for our study in as much as what Gandhi wrote belonged to a different time than the one in which we live and in view of the fact that Gandhi is being contextualized presently in widely different ways, undoubtedly then methodological aspects of historical mode of enquiry become problematic. In fact methodological arguments advocating what is characterized as a more dependable or acceptable historical mode of inquiry for understanding political ideas and recovering textual meaning have become increasingly popular in recent years. One such argument advanced by Quentin Skinner (1978) has in fact stimulated a wider debate about the actual practice of interpretation. Generally speaking there are two opposite positions illustrated by Schleiermacher and Gadamer respectively (Gunnell, 1982). The former advised that ‘... it is the primary task of interpretation not to understand an ancient text in view of modern thinking, but to rediscover the original relationship between the written text and his audience.’ The latter advised on the other hand ‘... every age has to understand a transmitted text in its own way ... the real meaning of a text, as it speaks to an interpreter, does not depend on the contingency of the author and whom he originally wrote for’. In the light of this contradictory advice how are we supposed to approach Gandhian political thought?

If Gandhian ideas were expressed through very distinctive vocabulary and Gandhian vocabulary was a particular expression of contingency how to account for their discovered relevance in recent

years? In one sense one has to grapple with the problem of particular vs. general which is not easy to resolve. Skinner was critical of textualism (such conception of 'timeless truth' or 'perennial wisdom' contained in a text) while appreciating that text is important in terms of its vocabulary. He was, also critical of contextualism (where a given text is said to 'reflect' or mirror respective societies or class positions) while acknowledging that the available vocabulary of an age sets a limit to what the author could have said. He was also critical of those authors who used to study 'History of Ideas' tracing overtime. To Skinner textualism leads to construction of 'authorial intention' by the reader, contextualism ignores "illocutionary force" of the text, and History of ideas ignores the vocabulary and its usage. His advice is to capture "authorial intention", by (i) capturing the range of description available to the author of the text and (ii) Capturing 'intention' within these terms, so as to determine what the author could have said and what he/she must have said.

Skinner's observation defends certain norm of historical investigation rather than constituting a method of interpretation. There are certain obvious facts associated with studying a text that have being neglected in Skinner's observations. Firstly, an author may inherit a set of vocabulary but far from being constrained by it; he or she may enrich the vocabulary by new insertions, as did Gandhi in the domain of Indian politics. Secondly, authorial intention is just one part of interpretation for a text. There may be a gap between author's intention as discovered in a text and the interpretations of the text as received subsequently. Here again a whole series of 'Anachronistic' readings on Gandhi illustrate the manner in which Gandhi has been globalize, that is, some of Gandhian ideas were used at different times and locations. Above considerations make the historical mode of inquiry complex and challenging. In our attempt to understand Gandhian political thought historically we would focus on the immediate context of Gandhian ideas and the context of their

receptions. Insights of 'New History' as advocated by skinner will not be ignored but specialized historiography will not be our methodological orientation rather our emphasis would be on conceptual analysis by way of comparison between those of Gandhi on the one hand and those within the traditions of political theory that we may find comparable with those of Gandhi, and the way of contextualizing in recent years, on the other. In short, while the discovery of contexts is wide open the texts are not necessarily closed either. Hence we propose to link up the Republican ideas on freedom with Gandhian texts, that may represent a goal of arriving at, through counterpoising ideas, interpretations and their contexts, to quote the memorable words of Gadamer, a 'fusion of horizons'.