CHAPTER - IV
GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE ON 
STATE AND POLITICS.

Gandhi was well aware of the divisive consequences of politics. He was no believer in the infallibility of positive laws; he fully endorsed resisting of any unjust or immoral law. Political order inconsistent with morality has no legitimacy and right to survive. In Gandhian scheme there is no separation of politics from the spiritual and moral orders. Politics, according to Gandhi, shall never be divisive or factional in character, Truth formed its very foundation. 'Swaraj', 'Sarvodaya' and 'Satyagraha' are all active ingredients of Gandhian politics and protest. State as a political expression in society was denounced by Gandhi as an embodiment of violence. Hence, he accepted state as indispensable evil. He never believed that human nature will reach near complete perfection whereby they can live completely without state. State is to be a policeman and a reformer, it is to undertake both police and foster functions. State, since it is an
embodiment of power and violence, needs to be tamed. Gandhian perspectives on society and politics are based on the fundamental premises of perfectibility of human nature. Society and polity are important milestones in the travel from beast to the divine and they shall expedite this process, not retard or hinder it. To Gandhi the triple affliction of inequality, exploitation and domination is the outcome of 'politics of dominance' and no state centered politics can undo this affliction.

Gandhi describes politics as 'coil of the snake', it creates an enormous state and treats self-interest as the basis of politics. This argument of Gandhi logically develops into an enlightened anarchy with the explicit provision to resist the abuse of power. Thus, he observes, "what is happening today is the disregard of the law of non-violence and enthronement of violence as if it were the eternal law. The democracies, therefore, that we see at work in England, America and France are only so called, because they are no less based on violence than Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or even Soviet Russia. The only difference is that the violence of the
last three is much better organized than that of the three
democracies. ‘Power centered’ state system never formed a part
of Gandhian perspectives on politics. He did not subscribe to the
absolute sovereign authority of the state nor to the organized
power system of the legal sovereign. Sovereignty of the people
based on moral authority was more acceptable to him. Again,
reference to indigenous ideas is predominant in Gandhi, not to
Western political categories, nor his political ideas are a synthesis
of the West and the East. The uncompromising category in
Gandhi was that of non-violence. As a social and political activist
political action was as important, if not more, as political theory for
Gandhi. He had such a vision that he transcended the 20th century
liberalism, communism and fascism. And his ideas reflected
simple practical alternatives to the complex structures that
bewildered men. He held that ideas and individuals are not

1. Gandhi, M.K., "Collected Works", Publications Division, Ministry of
Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1994,
Vol. LXVIII, p-390.
infallible, center of civilization shall not be a person, but the supra-
personal notion of 'Truth' (Satya) so he preferred the 'Sanatana 
Dharma', a principle of eternal value.

The ideal society of Gandhi is defined as 'Ramarajya' or 
kingdom of God on earth. It is free from all compulsions and 
coercion of a political, economic or moral nature. In it there is 
complete non-violence, equality of sexes, bread labour, mutual aid 
and co-operation, it is devoid of starvation, affluence, intoxicating 
drinks and drugs. Special target will be uplift of the downtrodden, 
and he says that, "the strong will serve the weak, the wealthy will 
serve the poor, the learned will serve the illiterate". He was no 
total opponent of the state. Here he opines that, "there are certain 
things which cannot be done without political power". But he 
stood for less of state control in the voluntary efforts of the 
individuals. State shall provide shelter, food and clothing,

2 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, 12.11.1938
3 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, 10.01.1936.
educating and healthcare of the humblest and the lowliest is the function of the state, and shall secure justice to them. So 'Ramarajya' does not mean stateless society, nor did Gandhi repudiate the whole agency of the Government, state was acceptable so long as it remained a moral one. To explain the purpose of the state Gandhi used the word 'Sarvodaya', uplift or well-being of all, a modification of the 'Unto This Last' of John Ruskin, which means uplift of the last. State shall be informed of the spirit of 'Sarvodaya', not the utilitarian notion of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number', which stresses material side of life alone and is majoritarianism in nature. State and laws of the state shall, thus, aim at 'Sarvodaya', otherwise state and laws can be resisted, he is of the opinion that, "the law abiding instinct . . . does not involve any measure, however distasteful". Commenting on this Justice Krishna Iyer says that, "To break the

law, to make the law more just is a Gandhian vintage". But Gandhi never viewed state as a divided house between the rich and the poor, between the forward castes and the backward castes and untouchables etc. State is to be a unifying force in society. He says that, state is "a great puri where all divisions are abolished and leveled up". Gandhi was skeptical about the power component of the state system. Instead, he suggested the creation of a political order based on non-violence or Ahimsa. He expresses himself that, "I look upon an increase of the power of the state with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress". Thus politics assumes a new meaning and content in Gandhian parlance, it shows signs of rejection of


7 Gandhi, M.K., ibid., Vol.LIX, p-319
conformist tendencies as well as totalitarianism. This is presented by the following pronouncement of Gandhi, "The increasing dependence on the state is anything but a healthy symptom; it means that the whole is in a fair way to become a herd of sheep, constantly relying on shepherd to drive them into good pastures. The shepherd's staff soon becomes a rod of iron, and the shepherds turn into wolves". Hence he held that state system was not to be a pyramidal structure, but an oceanic circle with individual as the center. It shall be decentralized village community based democracy, not democracy of a super-imposed state. This is how he presents it, "in the ideal state therefore there is no power because there is no state". This is a drastic departure from the 'power centered' state system and politics of power trading. He dreamt of a stateless society, in which ideal life is to remain and thrive outside the ambit of the state. All this is due to the lack of faith for Gandhi in perfectibility of institutions, at


the same time he had abundant faith in perfectibility of the
dividual, he held that individual had a soul and counted state as
a soulless machine.

There is a thorough treatment of the relationship between
individual and political order in Gandhi’s perspectives, a proper
balance between the individual and the state is prescribed by him.
State is not to interfere in the conscience of man, into his inner life
and thoughts. Individual is a political obligor and state is the
political obligee. Political obligation is not unilateral; it has a
trilateral dimension, obligation of the citizens to the state,
obligation of the state to the citizen, and obligation between
citizens inter se. That means political obligation is reciprocal
between the ruler and the ruled. State shall hinder the hindrances
in the way of the individual performing his political obligation.
Retaining his conscience individual shall render obedience to the
just laws of the state. Gandhi says as, “it is contrary to our
manhood if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience . . . man
made laws are not necessarily binding . . . if man will only realize
that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him" 10. Thus the pervasive state system was held to be an evil liquidating the very moral existence of the individual.

Gandhian politics does not revolve around simply unifying people into nations, prompting of revolutionary changes, crumbling empires, freeing colonies and overarching modern states. Political power is not an end in itself; it is only a means for self-development of the individual and society. So, he says, "to me political power is not an end but one of the means enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representation. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation is necessary" 11. The test of

legitimacy for the state is very severe. It can claim moral legitimacy so long as it preserves, protects and promotes the self-restrained individual, motivated towards public or commonweal. There is a conscious attempt to transform the dominant (state) subordinate (people) relationship. Government should act as servant of the people, not command them, it shall obey their wishes. Gandhi declares that, "I should expect rulers to rule according to my wish". Individual society relationship is treated on a special note, it is not attributed with the mechanistic approach, nor the individualistic model is the desired pattern nor the biological animal type of the totalitarian model is acceptable. It is defined in the ethico-social context, it is both personalist and communal it is an organization of freedoms. Gandhi had an innate distrust for 'ideology' and 'organization'; both cause bondage for man and obliterate his self-fulfillment. He firmly held that true political order should promote spiritual and moral freedom also political and economic freedoms, and all-round

unhindered development of the individual. A system, social or political that dehumanizes man was not acceptable to Gandhi, also human beings have the duty to resist or oppose any order that dehumanizes him. He observes, "no society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own"  


Gandhi wanted to transform political system from democracy of interests to the democracy of justice, by reconstituting the notion of power-based politics. This can be done by joining politics with religion, not with limited sectarian religious percepts, but by bringing in of universal truth into political domain. It is a new conditioning of politics by referring to moral categories, and he says that,"it is the struggle for truth for self-expression . . . the truth force the permanent element in human nature, constantly struggling to find itself, to know its maker" 14. This shows that political realm is not an
autonomous one with its independent internal logic and laws, detached from other domains of human life and personality. Politics is something embedded in religion and coloured by morality. Politics shall be for democracy of persons, i.e. Primacy of spiritual quest is to be stressed and it involves an inward process of self-illumination. Such an order needs no hidden, restraining hands of the state, it shall have only minimal role, and its basis shall be consent. Politics shall endeavour to promote the highest realizable in life. It is evident that the greatest contribution of Gandhi is the challenging of the dichotomy between morals and politics. To him ‘means’ could never be subordinated to ‘ends’ nor morals to politics, moral principles were treated as guide to political action, this, thus, leads to a love of ‘truth’ and ‘Ahimsā’.

Gandhi never held majority rule and popular election alone as the staple of democracy. The true test of democracy is whether it can provide the same opportunity to the weakest as is provided to the strongest. Instead of being based on mere numerical strength democracy shall be illuminated by
decentralization of power and by basing economic life on agriculture and cottage industry. This is of special significance in a caste-ridden society, only that can obtain the development of the downtrodden. He found modern democracies as diluted form of Nazism and Fascism, these (i.e., democracies) operated as a cloak to hide imperialism along with this he argued that the working of legislatures in European democracies as a farce, and very negation of democracy, in 'Hind Swaraj'. He indicts Western Parliaments as having democratic form without substance. In this context he comments that, "It is very difficult to get rid of our fondness for Parliament . . . the tyranny of Parliament is much greater than that of Chengizkhan, Tamerlane and others...Modern tyranny is a trap of temptation and does greater mischief. It is difficult to cope with the tyranny perpetuated upon a people in the name of people... Even an extra ordinarily intelligent man, caught in the meshes of this civilization loses his sanity in parliament".15

Thus parliamentary practice was explained to be unsuitable,

not only for India, but even for Western Societies. Also he vehemently questioned the veracity of claim of representative governments, for representatives become representatives of specific interests instead of the people in whole. The Western type of representative democracy based on periodic elections and representative institutions is characterized by macro-viability. Gandhi stood for democracy of micro-vitality of local communities. He explains the scheme as, "it is a system where a village will with unanimity elect one representative to the district level structures, then state level and finally national level representatives, forming a federation of autonomous villages\textsuperscript{16}. These villages, basic units, are to be self-sufficient and self-regarding. Higher tiers of the political system will be entrusted with those functions that cannot be executed by the village communities. The higher tiers are preserved and nursed by the lower tier and the higher tier cannot dominate at all. He further explains that, "it is a complete

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republic, independent of its neighbors for its vital wants, and yet interdependent for many other in which dependence is a necessity. . . . The government of the village will be conducted by the panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. These will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no punishment in the accepted sense, the panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and the executive combined to operate for its year of office . . . Hence there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his Government. The law of non-violence rules him and his Government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world “17.

Violence was never accepted as a part of political process by Gandhi. He opines that, “if modern civilization stands for all

this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it Satanic and with it the present system of Government its best exponent. Hence, Gandhi gave a novel exposition for the future of Indian Politics. He was a constitutionalist and a pacifist at the same time, non-violence was not only a short-term political means for Gandhi, it was the creed of his politics, in "Young India" of 11 August, 1920, he wrote in an article titled, "The Doctrine of the Sword", that, "if India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. The India will cease to be the pride of my heart . . . my life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism". Gandhi changed the constitution of the Congress that stated that the congress shall adopt "peaceful and legitimate means" for the attainment of Swaraj, to congress shall adopt only "truthful and non-violent means" for the attainment of Swaraj.


Through the device of local autonomy Gandhi sought to strike a proper balance between social order and political authority. Evils emanating from concentration of power are to be undone by distributing power to provincial and sub-provincial levels. Village panchayat will be the primary unit of political power. The bottom was the emanating point of independence, from the village panchayat to ever widening, never ascending, circle of villages. It will be an oceanic circle whose center will be the individual always. There is no vertical political authority, no hierarchy is allowed, and it is a horizontal arrangement with equality of concentric circle of authority. An infrastructure in which micro-variability, (i.e. diversities at lowest levels will be allowed to persist) and micro-vitality, (i.e. people will have absolute and ultimate decision making power) was his dream. Political power will not assume the character of a pyramid; instead, political system will rest on order and harmony not on sanctions and impositions. Here power and responsibility, freedom and order, individual initiative and commonweal are in perfect symmetry. This portents a four tier political order of village, district, state and
nation. Thus, non-violent village community formation shall replace coercive state and uplift of the downtrodden shall be the primary task. Maximum of political power shall be dispersed and reserved for the local political communities at the village level, he held on to this as a practical, radical enlightened liberal. Hence, he pleaded that socio-political change shall be effected through the individuals, not through the state. Individual will become his own ruler, the law of non-violence and satyagraha will rule his village.

The notion of political obligation was well narrated by Gandhi, political obligation was not tantamount to slavery, it cannot be obtained under force and duress. Political obligation is a condition of mind and one's conscience. Gandhi says, "true loyalty... is not loyalty to say "Yes" to everything. True loyalty consists in expressing only what is in one's mind and acting accordingly."

the well intended and well informed obligors, it involves critical, evaluation, awareness and reflection on the part of the political obligors, it is no blind submission. Obligor, if he is not freely willing, cannot be made to render obedience. As he says, "a citizen obeys laws voluntarily and never under compulsion or fear of punishment prescribed for their breach". Gandhi subordinated 'obedience of state' to 'obedience to the voice of truth'. That is, moral convictions and 'voice of conscience' cannot be overridden by the commands of the State. 'Voice of conscience' is communicated to man through the media of the soul. He readily conceded that state has the claim prior to all associations to the obedience of citizens, and this claim of state is subordinate only to moral convictions and 'voice of conscience'. Hence withholding of political obligation is not a claim to create lawlessness or subversion, no one or no group shall have the right to execute and adjudicate the laws as per their wishes. He says that, "if people in every principality will take law into their own

hands, they will do irreparable damage to the cause." 22. Political obligation is reciprocal – between the ruler and the ruled. This involves reducing the sphere of the state to desirable limits. In his opinion, "political freedom is assured not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused." 23. It is in this context that he says that a "Satyagrahi" can disobey an unjust law, but before that he shall morally convince himself and society that the law to be disobeyed is a bad law. Thus, in the realm of power politics and morals new equations were mooted by Gandhi. He showed that Truth, Ahimsa and non-violence were not to be made exclusive categories for ennobled, saints and intellectual rishis, but also they were for the illiterate, poor common man. He proved this in reality.

The norm of 'Satyagraha' was developed by Gandhi as a cogent political theory and mode of action. It is opposing untruth

22 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, 29.7.1939.

23 Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 29.10.1925.
by truth, violence by non-violence. It abandons violence but not fighting, it is war devoid of violence. ‘Satyagraha’ is not passive resistance, it is active resistance without force, it is not resisting evil by evil, but evil by good. As a method of political action ‘Satyagraha’ was developed for conflict resolution in a peaceful way. It is meant for purifying the system, not for destroying it, it is a para-legal method of political action. It is not a mere means for conflict resolution; it becomes a non-violent method of disclosing truth through self-transformation and self-illumination. He comments that, “Satyagraha seeks to rejoin politics and religion and to test everyone of our actions in the light of ethical principles” 24. The twin exploitative process was fully grasped by him; the exploitation of India by the colonial power and exploitation of the poor and the illiterate by those educated on Western values. He used satyagraha for transforming groups in conflict, and it sought to cure the ‘cause’ of the conflict, rather than

the "symptoms" of conflict, it actually prescribed the practice of reconciliation, than a mere patch-up or compromise. Corollary to this non-co-operation was developed as a political strategy by Gandhi, it is people refusing to co-operate with the colonial set-up. Non-violent, non-co-operation was developed as a unifying device by Gandhi. No form of resistance was negative in the perception of Gandhi. He regarded civil disobedience as the heart of freedom and liberties, "without civil disobedience there is no safety and no freedom". He upheld civil disobedience as a very potential and legitimate mode of political mobilization and articulation. To him, "civil disobedience alone can save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime, since there is a party of violence in the country, which will not listen to speeches, resolution or conferences, but believes only in direct

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Any other direct violent political action, than civil disobedience, was found to be contrary to moral injunctions and collective social purposes by Gandhi.

Social segregation practiced through the differential treatment of separate groups was countered by innovative methods of political mobilization by Gandhi. This is proven by his approach to the Communal Award of 1932, creating separate electorates for the untouchables. He opined that, "I am certain that the question of separate electorates for 'untouchables' is a modern manufacture of satanic government. The only thing needed is to put them on voting list, and provide for fundamental rights for them in the constitution. Do you want the 'untouchables' to remain untouchables forever?" 27. Mobilization techniques of vehement articulation and massive non-violent mass movement was for reaching out to the peasants from the elites, to the village.


27 Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 12.11.1931.
from the urban centers. As a result the elite and the illiterate alike got de-socialized with the imperialistic colonial values. For purposes of political mobilization the rich and the middle peasantry and subsistence farmers were all tied together at the agristic or agrarian sector. Thus, politics was used for integration, not to atomize the socio-political fabric. He discarded collaborative approach, effected political mobilization on real terms, it had the twin effect of appealing to the intellect as well to the emotional or affective orientation of the native populace. The techniques of political mobilization, thus, was different from the hitherto existing style, they were wedded to the traditional ethos. From the angle of mobilization predilection Gandhi can be described as a rebel, a seditionist, a saint and a pacifist in politics at one and the same time.

Non-violence laced with 'soul force' or 'truth force' formed an important category in political action by Gandhi. It is enthused with love and compassion and it is active, also readily responsive to the issues at hand, for he observes that "the non-violence of my
conception is a more active and real fight against wickedness than retaliation whose very nature is to increase wickedness. 28. Non-violence was never a mere political strategy, knowing that force and intimidation self-perpetuating, degrading and dehumanizing in nature and effect, he developed non-violent method not only for the replacing of alien government, but also for replacing the alien method of government. It was perfected for a higher aim, for the eradication of untouchability, transformation of individual and social conscience, non-violence was shaped as an humane, emancipatory vehicle by Gandhi. As he says, "Non-violence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute". 29. Non-violence was, thus, no evasion, no cowardice, it was sufficiently brave in content and it has its own ingredients of manliness, it was non-injurious and positive. This is how he explains it, "where there is a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advice violence". 30. That is why he denounced violence and terrorism in

28. Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 08.10.1925.
29. Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 11.08.1920
politics as manifestation of moral weakness. He wrote in the *Harijan* of 27 January, 1940 that, “for what is gained through violence would be lost before superior violence” 31.

Gandhi was averse to governance controlled and dominated by political parties with attendant factionalism and dictatorial internal laws. Party dominance was bound to keep the poor in bondage, and will promote only politics of patronage and partisanship. When he found that the Congress ministries in the provinces (formed in 1937 after the first provincial election under the Act of 1935) were occupied with the same power politics of the ‘Raj’ he wanted them to vacate. This was for reconstructing the moral basis of national movement, not its power base. Political order controlled by party mechanism is an anathema to the progress of man; it is an insufficient device for representation of interests. According to him, “Members vote for their party without thought. Their so called discipline binds them to it. If any member

31 Gandhi, M.K., *Harijan*, 27.01.1940.
by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade. Sweeping changes at the level of the political system were suggested by him because political parties and groups were divisive in impact, not unifying in essence. So he advocated the avoidance of political parties from social reform movements and process of planned development. They are to be engineered through voluntary organizations.

Concomitant to the moralizing of politics and denouncing party controlled politics, Gandhi projected the proposition of 'Swaraj' where real power will rest with the people, without intermediary structures, in which morally purified individual shall have the right to govern himself. He expresses himself as, "it must be remembered that nowhere in the world does a state without government exist. If at all it would ever come into being, it would be in India, for ours is the only country where the attempt,

has at any rate, been made." Government shall be for the benefit of the uncared for and shall be based on consent. Imperial politico-administrative structures belied all these and, hence, he ardently pleaded for ‘Swaraj’. It means internal or inner transformation, not something to be achieved at the external, material realm alone. He declares as, “we often find that the laws made to grant us freedom often turn out to be shackles binding us”.

’Swaraj’ was not mere political independence, it was linked to the uplift of the downtrodden, it was non-western, non-modern agenda of Gandhi, it was not for the ‘westernized’ elite, but for one and all. With this Gandhi facilitated the hitherto neglected segments, i.e. the ‘Bahishkrit Bharath’ contradict alien rule. ‘Swaraj’ has a wider connotation, not limited to political transfer of power; it involves a moral revolution in the governed, by a reversal of the process of degeneration. It is not a change of political

guard alone, it is real control in the hands of the people. Gandhi puts it as, "we seem to be labouring under the illusion that we cannot possibility live without councils, law-courts and schools provided by the Government. The moment we are disillusioned we have Swaraj" 35. So it is presented as an ethico-moral concept, no limited socio-political or administrative dictum it is. To Gandhi, "Swaraj means the rule of dharma, if the present method of Government is replaced by another of the same description it will not be swaraj" 36. Total removal of alien politico economic structures from society and introduction of traditional ethos of moral regeneration is its crux. ‘Swaraj’ is where everything is self-regulated and where state governs the least; if not withers away in full.

The notion of ‘Swadeshi’ is an important component of Gandhian political paradigm. He was concerned with life ‘here


and now, concrete problems, not only with a metaphysics and cosmology. 'Swadeshi' to Gandhi does not denote narrow parochialism or regionalism; it is concern for the immediate neighborhood, longing for the institutions and values in our indigenous cultural milieu. The universal and global is approached by firmly footing on our own precincts. Western values and colonial state system was eroding the native value system, due to this caste and creed schisms aggravated, to counter this through 'Swadeshi' norm was his aim, so that people can get both material and spiritual emancipation. He pleaded for affinity to the 'near', for 'remoteness' causes alienation. It was meant not only for the few westernized Indians but for all the hitherto kept out outcastes as well.

Political perceptions and programmes of Gandhi were for the emancipation of the downtrodden, their socio-political uplift. Village structure assumed major importance in his scheme because the downtrodden, 'Harijans' as he called them, were tied down there. Downtrodden were never treated as recipient of
favours, but active participants in the sharing of political power. Political structural arrangements shall be oriented toward and function for the uplift and integration of the downtrodden, he suggested the installing of a 'Harijan' girl as president of the Indian Union. Distribution of power at the provincial and sub-provincial levels were arranged to prevent tyranny that will accompany concentration of power, which will grind the poor. So apt political equations were perfected by Gandhi in response to the realities of a stratified society of the poor and the rich, the privileged and the un-possessed. The emancipating overtones of his politics radiate from this observation that, "the first thing is to cultivate the mental attitude that will not have possessions or facilities denied to millions and the next immediate thing is to rearrange our lives as fast as possible in accordance with that mentality." 37 He clearly equated the attainment of self-government with the removal of untouchability otherwise it is bound to be shallow, that was his view. William Shirer quotes

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Gandhi on this aspect as, "In my opinion we have become 'Pariahs' of the Empire because we have created 'Pariahs' in our midst. We shall be unfit to gain independence so long as we keep in bondage a fifth of the population of Hinduism" 38. The freedom that Gandhi wanted was the undiluted ideal type, not freedom that was coloured by joining co-operative exploitative union with the British Empire. A futuristic order devoid of the blot of untouchability only was approved by him. He says as, "If I found that Hinduism really countenanced untouchability, I should have no hesitation in renouncing Hinduism itself" 39. Always the spirit of emancipation shone in him.
