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HEARING¹ GANDHI

FOOD, COURAGE, NON-VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

Gandhi's life and work are infused with food and dietary concerns, dilemmas and questions. But the 'dreary details' of Gandhi's dietetics are improbable. This begs the question of the significance of food in Gandhi's thought as something other than, perhaps more than a thing to eat besides, a source of nourishment for the physiological needs of the body and feeding carnal pleasures, food has implications for the soul, renunciation, and politics. Gandhi's relationship with food is not just biological; it is also intellectual, moral, ethical, and political.

The problematic of my paper is food and diet in Gandhi's *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. I wish to explore its relationship with *Swaraj*—Gandhi's life-project—as enunciated in *Hind Swaraj*, arguably, Gandhi's most widely read work since its first appearance in 1909. *Hind Swaraj* is regarded as a norm by which the significance of his other writings—including the *Autobiography*—should be assessed. My purpose in this article is to pick out the line of inquiry connecting *Hind Swaraj* and the *Autobiography*; that which helps in analyzing the significance of food.

Keywords: Gandhi, food, non-violence, courage, swaraj

INTRODUCTION

Gandhi's life and work are infused with food and dietary concerns, dilemmas and questions; but these ideas do not figure in popular food manuals, recipe columns of magazines, or cookery shows on national television. The 'dreary details'² of Gandhi's dietetics are improbable. This begs the question of the significance of food in Gandhi's thought as something other than, perhaps more than a thing to eat besides, a

¹ I borrow the idea of 'hearing' Gandhi from Susan Hoeber Rudolph:

"The Autobiography must be read with a particularly sensitive ear, one that 'hears what he has to say ...' (1963:104).

² See Kakar 1990.

source of nourishment for the physiological needs of the body and feeding carnal pleasures, food has implications for the soul, renunciation, and politics. Food acquires a symbolic charge invoking spiritual, moral, sexual and political meanings. There is a blurring of the distinctions between the questions of and about food, sex, socio-political reform.³ Gandhi's relationship with food is not just biological; it is also intellectual (he writes about it), moral, ethical (his experiments in dietetics are anchored in the search for truth and the principle of non-violence), and political (as in the salt satyagraha).

The problematic of my paper is food and diet in Gandhi's *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*.⁴ I wish to explore its relationship with *Swaraj*—Gandhi's life-project—as enunciated in *Hind Swaraj*, arguably, Gandhi's most widely read work since its first appearance in 1909.⁵ *Hind Swaraj* is regarded as a norm by which the significance of his other writings—including the *Autobiography*—should be assessed; it is the “seed from which the tree of Gandhian thought has grown to its full stature” (Parel 1997: xiii). My purpose in this article is to pick out the line of inquiry connecting *Hind Swaraj* and the *Autobiography*; that which helps in analyzing the significance of food.

My analysis is divided into three sections. *Section 1* posits the relation between *Hind Swaraj* and *Autobiography* as two inter-related modes—thought and practice—of Gandhi's experiments; *section 2* examines the food questions raised by Gandhi at three critical moments in his life-course, and his resolution of the problem in the question; *section 3* is the *conclusion* in which I highlight the relationship between courage—strength of character—and *ahimsa*—principle of non-violence—for its vital role in Gandhi's resolution of the food questions.

SECTION 1: EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH: THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

Hind Swaraj and *Autobiography* could be related as two modes of Gandhi's experiments with truth—the former in *thought* and the latter in *practice*.

The appearance of *Hind Swaraj* in 1909, predates the *Autobiography* by almost two decades. Written in dialogue form, it summons the idea of *swaraj* for liberation from the modern civilization and colonial rule. The two-fold inter-related connotations of *swaraj* are, one, *self-rule*—rule of the self by the self or rule of mind over itself; two, *swaraj* as *self-government* or home rule—rule of nation by the nation. In modern times, self-rule flourishes within the political community of nation state.

Though Gandhi's ruminations on food sweep across a variety of genres such as letters, newspaper articles and books, in this article, I will glean Gandhi's ideas on food and diet from the *Autobiography*. Reflecting on his preferred genre of autobiography, Gandhi writes:

³ Regarding the *Autobiography*, Alter notes that a distinction cannot be made between his personal experiments with dietetics, celibacy, hygiene, and nature cure, and search for truth; between his virtual obsession with health, his faith in non-violence, and his program of socio-political reform. (See Alter 1996:302)

⁴ *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* was first published in Gujarati and in English (translated by Mahadev Desai) by the *Navjivan Publishing House* in two volumes: Volume 1, 1927, Volume 2, 1929.

⁵ *Hind Swaraj* enjoys the distinction of being the only work which Gandhi himself translated from Gujarati into English. It was written on board the ship Kildonan Castle in ten days between 13 and 22 November 1909, on the return journey from England to South Africa (Parel 1997).

I understand more clearly today about the inadequacy of all autobiography as history. I know that I do not set down in this story all that I remember. Who can say how much I must give and how much omit in the interests of truth? I am not writing the autobiography to please critics. Writing it is itself one of the experiments with truth. One of its objects is certainly to provide some comfort and food for reflection for my co-workers (Autobiography: 258).

I simply want to tell the story of my numerous experiments with truth, and as my life consists of nothing but those experiments, it is true that the story will take the shape of an autobiography. But I shall not mind, if every page of it speaks only of my experiments. I believe, or at any rate flatter myself with the belief, that a connected account of all these will not be without benefit to the reader ...I should certainly like to narrate my experiments in the spiritual field which are known only to myself, and from which I have derived such powers as I possess for working in the political field (Autobiography: 14).

Gandhi was approaching sixty at the time of writing the *Autobiography*. Hence, the *Autobiography*, is a historical event. It has a purpose; it is motivated by a desire to recreate oneself in the image of one's own method. Gandhi's methodological statements on writing the *Autobiography* reveal that it first appeared in parts as a series of weekly columns written over several years (see Erikson 1966). The *Autobiography* must be read to hear what Gandhi is saying about his diet, or passion for his wife and what this means for his political style. It is a document which makes it clear that Gandhi meant to be judged privately and publicly simultaneously.⁶

The authority of the *Autobiography* lies in its intentionality and didactic underpinnings.⁷ The *Autobiography's* didactic character resorts to making public the *experiments*—demonstrations of trials and errors—conducted by Gandhi through his life course on the path to realization of his dream of swaraj.

SECTION 2: FOOD QUESTIONS: MOMENTS AND CONTEXTS

Food, diet and eating pose a problem for Gandhi in the *Autobiography* at different moments. I will discuss three critical moments when Gandhi raises food questions in the *Autobiography*. I also allude to a contrary 'no food question' moment in context of the norm-setting familial context. Gandhi's subsequent food questions are pegged onto these norms, for it is only in relation to these norms that he recognizes violations.

A. No Food Question:

Familial Context: The Religious Significance of Eating and Fasting

The first chapter of the *Autobiography*—*Birth and Parentage*—situates Gandhi in the social milieus of caste and family. Here Gandhi recounts his mother Putlibai's *saintliness* as an outstanding impression of his

⁶ See Rudolph 1963.

⁷ Gandhi's *Autobiography* lends itself to a re-examination of the character of autobiography. It is not an exhaustive account of his life; it may be regarded as a didactic (intent is moral instruction) account of certain moral and spiritual principles. (Bhiku Parekh's *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*, 1989. Cited in Roy 2002, endnote 38.)

memory.

She was deeply religious. She would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers.... I do not remember her having ever missed the Chaturmas (a vow of fasting and semi-fasting during the four months of the rains; this period is like a period of long lent (Autobiography: 20-1).

Gandhi derives the significance of food—in its opposing aspects of eating and fasting—from the religious register in the familial context through the example of his mother; food anchors her religious vow. This juncture does not raise a food question for Gandhi.

B. Food Question 1

Colonial Context: Meat, Masculinity and Modernity

Gandhi was introduced to a dietary philosophy of reform in his High School days by a friend, originally his elder brother's friend.

A wave of reform was sweeping over Rajkot at the time when I first came across this friend. He informed me that many of our teachers were secretly taking meat and wine We are weak people because we do not eat meat. The English can rule over us because they are meat-eaters...our teachers and other distinguished people who eat meat are no fools. They know its virtues... (Autobiography: 33-4)

My elder brother had already fallen. He supported my friend's argument. They were both hardier, physically stronger and more daring. My friend's exploits cast a spell over me...he would often display his exploits to me and as one is always dazzled when he sees in others the qualities that he lacks himself, I was dazzled by the friend's exploits. This was followed by a strong desire to be like him (Autobiography: 34).

Moreover, I was a coward. I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts, and serpents...how could I disclose my fears to my wife. My friend knew all these weaknesses of mine. He would tell me that he could hold in hand live serpents, could defy thieves and did not believe in ghosts. All this was, of course, the result of meat eating (Autobiography: 34-5).

This philosophy was echoed in a verse by Gujarati poet Narmad:

Behold the mighty Englishman He rules the Indian small, because being a meat eater, He is five cubits tall.

Gandhi poses the question of 'whether he should eat meat or no' early in life. Food is entangled with reform which, in turn, has implications for normative notions of masculinity—overcoming of cowardice and manly exploits—and 'being like the powerful other who is the Englishman.' Eating meat is the perfect recipe for building a strong body and a powerful modern masculinity.

Gandhi is lured into conducting experiments with the idea of 'meat eating as reform.' The context of these experiments is the imperial theory whereby the English judged Indians—particularly the Bengalis—as effeminate.⁸ Subsequent to Gandhi's abjuring of meat after tasting it, the meat-eating narrative undergoes a radical transformation. His defense is the traditions he is born and bred into.

The Gandhi's were Vaisnavas. My parents were particularly staunch Vaishnavas...the family even had its own temples. Jainism was strong in Gujarat, and its influence was felt everywhere and on all occasions. The opposition to and abhorrence of meat eating that existed in Gujarat among the Jains and Vaishnavas were to be seen nowhere else in India or outside in such strength. (Autobiography:35) ...Jain monks paid frequent

⁸ Rudolph 1963: 100-1

visits to my father—and would go out of their way to accept food from us non-Jains (Autobiography: 46).

As such Gandhi does not attribute his abjuring of meat-eating to traditions; but the currents of tradition must have shaped the ethos of his familial milieu and perpetuated the dietary philosophies through domestic practices. Gandhi accounts for his decision to abjure meat in terms of the imperatives of filial piety, guilt of lie and the cloak of secrecy surrounding the consumption of meat. He imposes a temporary moratorium on eating meat by debarring himself from its consumption during the lifetime of his parents.

A ‘culinary masculinity’ was not Gandhi’s final resolution of the meat-eating question. This food question encapsulates the tension between traditional and modern currents. Gandhi artfully *resists* and rejects the modern current of food reform i.e. colonial notions of masculinity, manliness and courage.⁹

The question of meat-eating remains unresolved; it continues to be significant in Gandhi’s life. This is revealed to the reader at the point when Gandhi arrives at an understanding of self-restraint or mastery over the sexual organ as a conduct leading to God. He writes,

The canker of suspicion was rooted out only when I understood Ahimsa in all its bearings. I saw then the glory of brahmacharya (Autobiography: 38-9).

The context of this realization is the shame and guilt of carnal lust and desire associated with the circumstances of his father’s death. Gandhi relates the two registers of eating and sex: eating meat and libidinal desire and pleasure must be mastered by self-restraint.

Food Question 2:

Student days in England: Diasporic Context 1

In the estimate of Gandhi’s family and caste group, the west was ridden with a degenerate food culture. Before leaving for England, Gandhi makes a vow to his mother that he will not touch wine, women and meat.

In his writings, Gandhi engages with European/colonial cultures through food tropes. He writes at great length about his encounter with the colonial culture in the idiom of food. His conversations— Gandhi’s attempt to overcome his shyness (*Autobiography: 54-55*) — with an English passenger on the ship to England are about meat-eating. At this point he confesses,

My food became a serious question (Autobiography: 57-58).

In this cultural context, the meanings of meat were contrary to those in Gandhi’s familial/cultural context. In a colonial context, meat was virtuous; in a diasporic context it was a necessity. The arguments in favour of meat-eating were compelling: not eating meat reeks of ignorance; it is foolish to honour a vow made to an illiterate mother; not eating meat in a cold country is playing with one’s health; avoiding meat would breed social alienation. However, these arguments, strengthened Gandhi’s resolve to resist eating meat, to stand by his decision, to keep a vow, and to stand on his feet:

⁹ Ibid.: 107

But I had found my feet now... (Autobiography: 59)

Finding the food in his landlady's house (in Richmond) insipid and insufficient owing to his own hesitation in asking for more, Gandhi was pushed to explore vegetarian public dining options. The voluntarily subscribed-to imperative of vegetarianism lured Gandhi towards public dining at a vegetarian restaurant. In the restaurant in Farringdon Street, he discovered Henry Salt's *Plea for Vegetarianism* (Anthropology: 59):

I blessed the day on which I had taken a vow before my mother. I had all along abstained from meat in the interests of truth and of the vow I had taken but had wished while every Indian should be a meat-eater and had looked forward to being one myself freely and openly someday, and to enlisting others in the cause. The choice was now made in favour of vegetarianism, the spread of which henceforward became my mission (Autobiography: 59).

Salt's book whetted my appetite for dietetic studies. I went in for all books available on vegetarianism and read them. One of these, Howard William's 'The Ethics of Diet' was a biographical history of the literature of human dietetics from the earliest period to the present day. It tried to make out that all philosophers and prophets from Pythagoras and Jesus down to those of the present age were vegetarians. Dr. Anna Kingsford's 'The Perfect Way in Diet' was also an attractive book. Dr. Allinson's writings on health and hygiene were likewise very helpful. He advocated a curative system based on regulation of the dietary of patients. Himself a vegetarian, he prescribed for his patients also a vegetarian diet. The result of reading all this literature was that dietetic experiments came to take an important place in my life. Health was a principal consideration of these experiments to begin with. But later, religion became the supreme motive (Autobiography: 61).

The class-status connotations of eating meat in the western context were not lost on Gandhi. He strived to compensate for his vegetarianism by cultivating practices associated with urbane sections of society: sartorial practices, learning etiquette and taking dance lessons; he desired to fashion himself after the proper English gentleman. This was his way of vindicating the vow made to his mother. He was convinced that to overpower the English, one did not have to be like them. One could be different. This realization de-stabilized the association between modernity, meat, masculinity and freedom for Gandhi; it also de-coupled superiority from masculinity/body/muscle.

After England, Gandhi's experiments were conducted in South Africa:

My experiments in England were conducted from the point of view of economy and hygiene. The religious aspect of the question was not considered until I went to South Africa where I undertook strenuous experiments...the seed for all of them were sown in England... A convert's enthusiasm for his new religion is greater than that of a person who is born into it. Vegetarianism was then a new cult in England, and likewise for me, because...I had gone there a convinced meat eater, and was intellectually converted to vegetarianism (Autobiography: 69).

A reversal in Gandhi's thinking is evident here: the association between meat, west, modernity, and masculinity breaks without Gandhi rejecting in entirety all that is modern and western.¹⁰ He takes membership of the Vegetarian Society in England; subscribes to its weekly journal; sets out to engage with those regarded as the pillars of vegetarianism and conduct his own experiments in dietetics.

Many such experiments taught me that the real seat of taste was not the tongue, but the mind

¹⁰ A strong body of scholarly opinion holds that Gandhi's relationship with the West was ambivalent. On the one hand, he was a relentless critic of the west; but on the other he was deeply influenced by Thoreau, Tolstoy, Ruskin — all westerners. See Lal (2009).

(Autobiography:67).

These experiments, reposition food from the register of taste to that of the mind. The power of meat is resisted by shifting the locus of food from body and palate to the mind. The 'intellect' triumphed over the 'carnal.' Gandhi rejects modern knowledge; he sees it as a source of strife. He internalizes, is guided by his mother's interpretation of the meanings of food, thus reaffirming the normative place of food in Indian tradition, in the religious domain, under the custody of women/mothers:

I came across three definitions of meat in England.(Autobiography: 67)..But I was convinced that my mother's definition was the definition binding on me (Autobiography: 68)

Interpretations of pledges has been a fruitful source of strife all over the world...one golden rule is to accept the interpretation honestly put on the pledge by the party administering it. Another is to accept the interpretation of the weaker party, where there are two interpretations possible...my mother's interpretation of meat was, according to the golden rule, the only one for me, and not one my wider experience or my pride of better knowledge might have taught me (Autobiography: 69).

D. Food Question 3

In South Africa: Diasporic Context 2

Gandhi takes up the collective cause of poor Indians in South Africa. The food question arises in context of service to fellow men and public works. In working out the enabling conditions for public service from the point of view of an individual self, he turns to *brahmacharya* (celibacy) as an essential pre-requisite of public service. Gandhi advocates that sexual life should serve only the ends of procreation:

Sexual union is not for lust. The sexual act is an independent function necessary like sleeping or eating... (Autobiography:194) ...It became my conviction that procreation and the consequent care of children were inconsistent with public service (Autobiography:196).

Gandhi's reasoning that food, sex and sleeping are primarily bodily functions, culminates in his vow of *brahmacharya* in 1906, thereby eliminating the sexual dimension from his relationship with his wife.¹¹

Every day of the vow had taken me nearer the knowledge that in brahmacharya lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul (Autobiography:198)...Brahmacharya means control of senses in thought, word and deed...A brahmachary uses his eyesight to see the glories of God whereas a non-brahmachary uses it to see the frivolity around him (Autobiography: 199). Man is man because he is capable of, and only in so far as he exercises, self-restraint (Autobiography: 290).¹²

Gandhi's experiments in dietetics, thus come to serve the goal of *brahmacharya*:¹³

Control of the palate is the first essential in the observance of the vow. I found that complete control of the palate made the observance very easy, and so now I pursued my dietetic experiments not merely from the vegetarian's but also from the brahmachari's point of view. As a result of these experiments, I saw that the

¹¹ The interpretation of 'brahmacharya' as a natural condition had implications for female sexuality; it constituted the ideal of womanhood in India as 'sister' instead of 'wife' or 'mother'. See Kishwar 1985.

¹² Celibacy or brahmacharya, is one aspect of the practices of Hindu sexuality. It is an important concept in the Hindu constructions of male identity.

¹³ Kakar (1990) in his psychoanalytical reading interprets Gandhi's experiments with food as a symbolic displacement of his pre-occupation with genital sexuality. This view is criticized by Alter (1996) according to whom sex and food do not require a meta-interpretation. Alternatively, he frames this within the bio-moral imperative of public health.

brahmachari's food should be limited, simple, spiceless, and if possible uncooked (Autobiography:198).

As an external aid to brahmacharya, fasting is as necessary as selection and restriction in diet. So overpowering are the senses that they can be kept under control only when they are completely hedged in on all sides...it is common knowledge that they are powerless without food, so fasting undertaken with a view to control of the senses is, no doubt very helpful (Autobiography:198).

His experiments in dietetics fall on a spectrum of prescriptions such as simple, spice less and uncooked food, at one end, and fasting and self-restraint at the other end.

Events were so shaping themselves in Johannesburg as to make this self-purification on my part a preliminary as it were to Satyagraha. I can now see that all the principal events of my life, culminating in the vow of brahmacharya, were secretly preparing me for it. The principle called Satyagraha came into being before that name was invented (Autobiography: 291).

The question of Gandhi's orientation to food becomes the *originary* site for recognizing and summoning self-restraint for controlling the senses—pleasures of the palate and sex—to the end of self-purification which is a *preliminary* to satyagraha. The experiments in simple communal living conducted in Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix farm, qualify as instances of the segueing of individual self in the collective self by virtue of the practice of purification:

...not just denial of certain foods/spices...but decided to live on a pure fruit diet composed of the cheapest fruit. Our ambition was to live the life of the poorest people. Fruit diet turned out to be very convenient also. Cooking was practically done away with. Raw groundnuts, bananas, dates, lemons and olive oil composed our usual diet (Autobiography: 301).

E. FOOD QUESTION 4:

National Context: Fasting, Salt, Swaraj

In the relationship between self-restraint, self-purification and satyagraha, the notion of the self extends to include the community. The political task awaiting this community is that of ending colonial rule—obtaining Home Rule—in India; what Indians need is the right means—satyagraha—to bring it about. Gandhi's means to attaining the end of swaraj is the morally defensible doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-violence. In his critique of *wrong means*, this is what Gandhi has to say to the Extremists in the Conclusion to *Hind Swaraj*:

I have already described the true nature of Home Rule. This you would never obtain by force of arms. Brute force is not natural to the Indian soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal (Autobiography: 112)

In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi defends the relative moral superiority of non-violence over violence. Nonviolence has its source in soul force; the soul can exercise forces natural to it—truth-force, compassion-force, suffering-force and justice-force—only when the mind is able to exercise control over itself and the passions. The success of the ethic of non-violence depends on the state of the soul, the mind and the passions— in one word, on self-rule (see Parel 1997:lv).

In 1930, Gandhi's call to oust the British Rule took the form of the Salt Satyagraha. 'The fact that he would make salt the centre of a widely publicised and immensely successful campaign against British rule in 1930, speaks to the ways in which he had refined a gastro-politics of long standing.'¹⁴ Making salt was a collective non-violent satyagraha, symbolizing the nation "...that is those of us who are affected by European civilization, and who are eager to have Home Rule."¹⁵

In *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi entrusted the 'nation' with the task of obtaining Home Rule by the means of non-violence. This nation was coterminous with the community of individuals—an expanded version of Gandhi himself—that had obtained Self-Rule with respect to dietetic and sexual practices.

For me the question of diet was not one to be determined on the authority of the Shastras. It was interwoven with my course of life which is guided by principles no longer depending upon outside authority (Autobiography: 407).

SECTION 3: CONCLUSION

Gandhi's project of Swaraj is unveiled in *Hind Swaraj* as a thought experiment, in *Autobiography* as a practical experiment. *Hearing Gandhi with a sensitive ear*, is to understand the intentionality and the didactic nature of what he saying to whom.

*Hind Swaraj*¹⁶ is addressed to a mixed audience of expatriate Indians attracted to terrorism, and political violence, the Extremists and Moderates of the Indian National Congress, the Indian nation and the English (Parel 1997: xiv). It is a call to non-violent satyagraha in the historical contexts of modern civilization, politics of South Africa, politics of expatriate Indians and the Indian Nationalist Movement.¹⁷ The *Autobiography* is the story of Gandhi's experiments with the precept of non-violent satyagraha in the field of dietetics (and sexuality); its intent is didactic.

In context of his experiments, Gandhi highlights two issues, that of strength and weakness and that of cultural integrity—that afflicted Indian nationalism; also himself. The issues of courage and cultural integrity were resolved by Gandhi in connection with one another. Gandhi's meat-eating experiments, in the colonial context, were intended as a rebellion in his search for courage and competence to overcome shyness and fearfulness, through following an ethic other than his familial ethic i.e. that of the mighty Englishmen and the 'martial races.' But Gandhi's attempt at Anglicization, in the diasporic context of England, failed; partly because it failed to satisfy him, for it didn't feel right to him. After three months in England, he gave up much of the Anglicization effort. He gradually returned to his personal style in line with self-denying, ascetic, and non-violent ethic—the ethic which he had left behind when he had begun his rebellion seven years ago. Exacting the courage for a different kind of strength than meat promised, he embraced vegetarianism by choice; he focused his efforts on denying himself and mastering his pleasures. Gandhi's experiments in the vegetarian

¹⁴ Roy 2002: 63

¹⁵ See the *Conclusion* to *Hind Swaraj* (115).

¹⁶ *Hind Swaraj*, chapter xx, *Conclusion*

¹⁷ Parel 1997: Introduction

restaurants and return to un-English asceticism were related to the later *techniques* of agitation and appeals in line with traditional Indian sensibilities. Gandhi found his own, also Indian courage in techniques—Salt Satyagraha—which rallied Indians to refute the western and modern definitions of courage within a military model. He countered this model with the quality of non-martial courage that is non-aggressive, internalized, involving the capacity to suffer pain without retaliation, while relying on moral sensibilities and guilt capacities. This courage is harmonious with other cultural attitudes such as vegetarianism, asceticism, self-control rather than self-expression.¹⁸

‘Hearing Gandhi’ makes transparent the vital connection between self-government or home rule and self-rule; and non-violence as means to obtaining it. Self-rule cannot be acquired without the acquisition of a *stable character*;¹⁹ the foundation of a stable character is courage.²⁰

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¹⁸ This section is extracted from Rudolph 1963.

¹⁹ See *Introduction* in Parel 1997.

²⁰ “He had instilled courage and manhood in India’s people...Courage is the one sure foundation of character; he had said, without courage there is no morality, no religion, no love.” Nehru on Gandhi in *Freedom from Fear: Reflections on the Personality and Teachings of Gandhi*. Cited in Rudolph 1963: 117.