



Discipline course - 1

Semester - 2

Paper – Nationalism in India

Lesson - Gandhi and Mass Mobilization

Lesson Developer: Jyoti Trehan Sharma

**College /Department: Indraprastha College for Women,
University of Delhi, Delhi / Political Science**

CONTENTS

- Introduction
- Influences on Gandhi
- Inspiration from Indian Sources
- Gandhi's Philosophy in Action
- Gandhi and Hind Swaraj
- Gandhi and the Masses
- Notes and References
- Bibliography
- Exercises



NATIONALISM IN INDIA

GANDHI AND MASS MOBILISATION

INTRODUCTION

The changing time have spoken innumerable about Gandhi as the interpreter of India to the outside world. But on a closer view, it is more significant and equally true that he was actually the interpreter of India to herself. He knew that the true heart of India resided not in her sophisticated and westernized Cities but in her thousands of Villages, and it was to them that he addressed his Appeal, appease and argument. Without doubt, it is recognized, that Gandhi controlled and led the Indian masses for almost three decades, and thus transformed the Indian Society. His image of charismatic leader enjoyed boundless loyalty of the Indian People. He himself believed that he was born to show people the better way. As he wrote, 'God..... has chosen me as his instrument for presenting non-violence to India.....'¹ There are only a few leaders in human history who have appealed to all sections of the diverse population as Gandhi did, as he could rise above conflicts and envisage perfect harmony in the midst of diversity. He actually had a deep inside into the mass psyche, and thus wanted the Indian people to rise morally, economically and spiritually. He believed that it was moral degradation that had condemned them to political subjection. In an unprecedented and unparalleled struggle, Gandhi transformed India's weakness into a source of strength by transmuting the inertia that had griped the Indian masses. India found in Gandhi a unique leader who had no enemy and who created no enemy. He was totally committed to the people and depended on them for his movements. He understood people and situations, and this became the hallmark of his leadership. He first

ventured out to the masses and adopted techniques and varied from time to time and from situation to situation. His techniques were not a presentation of his impersonal religious or moral course, but as a series of his personal experiments with truth, for which he never claim either finality or universal validity. He touched the mass mind so deeply that when he travelled from place to place wearing only a loincloth, thousands of people ran to get a “darshan” of Gandhi. The alien imperialist only sought to ridicule Gandhi as a “half-naked fakir”.²

Judith Brown has described the nationalist movement in India before the arrival of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, soon to be known as Mahatama Gandhi, from South Africa in 1915 as ‘politics of studied limitations’. Ravinder Kumar described it as ‘a movement representing the classes’ as opposed to the masses.³ Nationalist politics was addressed only by a limited group of western-educated professionals and bourgeoisie, who were more concerned about creating a new elite society and cultural for themselves and were influenced by the ideas and ideals of the British aristocracy or the middle classes. The imperialist government took relief in the fact that the Congress was actually being run as a closed shop by a ‘microscopic minority’, and as limited in its ultimate goals. After the Surat split in 1907, the moderates demanded colonial self-government, while the Extremists put forth their demand of complete independence.⁴ A few historians opined that both these groups lost credibility as they failed to achieve their stated goals. Gandhi, in his classic ‘Hind Swaraj’, referred to them as the ‘slow party’ and the ‘impatient party’ respectively and believed that the division was not a good thing for the Country.⁵ As centers of extremism, namely Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab, gradually began to witness the outbreak of terrorism, the government got an opportunity to unleash repression. With Tilak in prison and moderate-dominated Congress getting submerged in total inactivity, these were nothing much left to manoeuvre politically. The ground was ripe for a fresher who was not a stained by the failure of these groups. Destiny inevitably prepared the ground to shift power from the western-educated elites to the hands of the masses in an age of political despondency and moral vacuum.

The First World War showcased the ugly face of the western civilization; a period that also greeted Gandhi with his background of her successful encounter with the British in South Africa. Judith Brown has

argued that Gandhi's novel political ideology 'appealed to few wholly, but to many partially'.⁶ But, what is remarkable is, that everyone could find in it something to identify with. Truth, non-violence, self-sacrifices, self-abnegation, peace, tolerance, universal love, equality and liberty were the ingredients of his technique and strategy. And he took utmost care not to alienate any of the Indian classes or community as he considered them to be the construct of Indian pluralism. Religion had a stronger influence on the popular mind, Gandhi believed and not the institution of class. Thus, began the era of the successful use of the popular religious idioms that could mobilize the masses. India had entered the phase of religious morality. Recognizing the diversity of India, Gandhian politics came to be identified as one of 'Inclusivism'.⁷

INFLUENCES ON GANDHI –

Various sources have been reasonably responsible for Gandhi to create his own set of political ideas. He derived inspiration from the writings of Henry David Thoreau, John Ruskin, Ralph Waldo Emerson and also Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was greatly influenced by the words and deeds of Thoreau, the well-known American anarchist who had refused to pay his taxes as a protest against slavery in the United States of America. Thoreau was the first to use the term civil disobedience in one of his speeches in 1849. But Gandhi did not derive his idea of civil disobedience from Thoreau's writings. The resistance to authority in South Africa was clearly well-advanced before he could get Thoreau's 'Essay on Civil Disobedience'. The movement was then known as 'passive resistance'. Gandhi did begin to use Thoreau's phrase to explain the struggle, but he realized that even 'civil disobedience' could not convey the full meaning of struggle. So, he adopted the phrase 'civil resistance'. Gandhi liked the classical statement of Thoreau that 'that government is best which governs the least'.⁸

The most characteristic example of the foreign influence on Gandhi was John Ruskin's 'Unto This Last', that shaped his views. Gandhi was especially influenced by Ruskin's ideal of manual labour, from whose he drew three lessons:-

- that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
-

- that a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work, and
- that a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the only life worth living.⁹

Gandhi read Emerson's essays as he saw in Emerson's essays, as he put it, 'the teaching of the Indian wisdom in a Western garb. These essays contained writings on history, self-reliance, spiritual laws, heroism and art.'¹⁰ Last, but not least, the influence of Leo Tolstoy on Gandhi has also been widely recognized. Gandhi read 'The Kingdom of God is within you' for the first time in 1894, and he recorded in his autobiography that he was extremely overwhelmed to read it. He was impressed by the fact that through it Tolstoy presented Christianity as an ethical system, and not as a dogmatic one. Gandhi found the Sermon on the Mount at the heart of Christianity, which, according to Tolstoy teaches the doctrine of non-violence and the ultimacy of the conscience. It also reflects on the question of violence in the world. This work of Tolstoy was a mandatory reading for the members of the Phoenix Settlement, and later Gandhi had it translated in Gujarati.¹¹

INSPIRATION FROM INDIAN SOURCES –

Apart from the writings of Thoreau, Ruskin, Emerson and Tolstoy, Gandhi was equally influenced by Jainism and Vaishnavism. It was this Indian philosophy and religiosity that enabled Gandhi to integrate Western ideas into a coherent whole. He began to read the Indian philosophy texts in London, starting with 'The Song Celestial', Sir Edwin Arnold's translation of the Gita. Soon others followed, like 'The Light of Asia', the biography of Buddha, also by Sir Edwin Arnold, 'Life of Mahomet and his Successors' by Washington Irving, Carlyle's life of the Prophet in 'Heroes and Hero Worship', and a book of the Parsi religion, 'The Sayings of Zarathustra'. But it was Raychandra Ravjibhai Mehta, a Gujarati Jain mystic and diamond merchant, who guided Gandhi in the development of his thought in Indian philosophy. Raychandra is the one who also explained the meaning of the notion 'Dharma'. 'Dharma does not mean any particular creed or dogma. Nor does it mean reading or learning by rote books known as Shastras (sacred texts) or even believing all that they say. Rather, dharma is a quality

of the soul present in every human being. Through it we know our duty in human life and our true relation with other souls..... dharma is the means by which we can know ourselves'.¹²

However, despite Raychandra's influence on Gandhi, he went much beyond the intellectual horizons, and by the first decade of the 20th century, was focusing on the spiritual life, and more and more on the 'Bhagwad Gita' and the 'Ramayana' of Tulsidas. Both these texts were theistic in orientation. In his classic work 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi quoted Tulsidas in Chapters 14 and 17, and the technical definition of Swaraj as self-rule, understood as the rule of the mind over itself and the passions, is derived from the Gita. Thus, the mind emerged principally as the key-faculty in Gandhi's political philosophy.¹³

Gandhi's approach to the Gita differs markedly from the method of many traditional interpreters who expend great effort on textual interpretation and on establishing the internal logic of the various theoretical statements and practical directives of the text. But in one important way Gandhi's approach is in close conformity with a major, traditional rule of interpretation. He identifies the central, the key passage in the text; the *mahavakya*, "The great statement" that gives the central message, in terms of which all the rest of the text must be explained. For Gandhi the last twenty stanzas of chapter two constitute the Gita's *mahavakya* in the description of the *sthitaprajna*. This passage in fact expresses most succinctly, without any mythical, ritual, or dogmatic paraphernalia, without "imagination," the essence of religion as he saw it. His concept of the nature of the scripture was largely inherited from Raychandra. Jainism, moreover, gave Gandhi the basic theoretical structure that best fitted his own deepest nature, that of a "religious activist," with its dualism of *jiva-ajiva*, spirit and matter, its inexorable law of *Karma*, and its conception of the gradual purification of the *Atman* necessary on the highroad to self-realization.¹⁴

GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY IN ACTION –

Gandhi professed a form of Hinduism, no doubt, but deviated so far from orthodoxy as to equate God and Truth, as rationally perceived, and to emphasize the validity of all religious beliefs on

the basis of their moral worth. Truth was the supreme value not only for Gandhi, but has been a key concept in the Indian traditional ethico-religious thought. However, Gandhi accepted Truth not merely as a concept, but sought to realize it in practice as the 'sovereign principle' of life and conduct, and as a reality. And since God is also thought of as being the only Eternal Reality, He is, for Gandhi, the same as Truth. The two have been essentially equated, for Gandhi found in Truth the quickest and the easiest way to realize God. Gandhi made truth paramount. Nonetheless, in his search for Absolute Truth, he was fully aware that the absolute cannot be known by the yet unfulfilled human mind.

In Gandhian philosophy, closely connected with the ultimate or absolute end was the problem of means. Gandhi laid surpassing emphasis on the use of right means for achieving objectives. For him, means and ends were convertible terms. The two were inseparable and should be equally pure. As Gandhi himself said: "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."¹⁵ Specifically speaking thus, non-violence as a means became the supreme value for Gandhi. Not only this, but Gandhi's interpretation of *ahimsa* (non-violence) is also striking for its unparalleled richness of significance because, for Gandhi, it did not stand for pacifism, but as an inspiration for the individual and the nation to achieve complete harmony with all the impulses of human nature. However, the impression that one gets is that Gandhi believed in non-violence as creed, as an eternal virtue and as a supreme way of life to which even the freedom of the country could be subordinated. But still, a more careful analysis of his activities would betray a tendency on Gandhi's part to equate expediency with principle. The pain that he took to emphasize the extreme intimacy of the inter-relation between truth and non-violence is a remarkable feature of Gandhi.

Another clear contribution of Gandhi is the way he practiced and understood fasting – as a heightened moment in the practice of *ahimsa*. He used it, on the hand, to achieve social objectives and, on the other, for the realization of his essential, identically with others. In fact, he illustrated how fasting is being very close to God.

Gandhi also found a needful and continual self-expansion of every concept in the setting of practice in his knitwork of vows, namely,

- (i) *Brahmacharya*: This is not isolated control of sex, but simultaneous control of all the senses. And in the practice of *brahmacharya*, Gandhi stressed the role of will, as against mere instinctual thoughts. It ought to be observed in thought, word and deed.
- (ii) *Asvada*: Though it is not merely bodily in significance, *brahmacharya* vitally depends on the control of the palate. Gandhi, therefore, turned *asvada* into a distinctive vow, thus enriching the Hindu ethical tradition.
- (iii) *Asteya*: Though *asteya* literally means not to commit theft, Gandhi interpreted it in a far subtler way. He described the essence of non-stealing as stealth (or the tendency to conceal) and not mere abstention from theft of others' property. Like *asvada*, *asteya* has a positive significance. It calls for definite effort to abstain from conditions which bar the manifestation of truth.
- (iv) *Aparigraha*: Though the literal meaning of *aparigraha* is not to possess property; it has (like *asvada* and *asteya*) a distinct positive significance in Gandhian thought. Gandhi's treatment of this vow is the idea that *aparigraha* requires one to be non-attached even to the body which too is a kind of possession. Gandhi believed that if one looks upon the body merely as an instrument of service, one can attain real happiness and the beatific vision in the fullness of time.
- (v) *Abhaya*: Following the *Gita*, Gandhi gave the place of pre-eminence to the observance of *abhaya* or fearlessness. He regarded this vow as indispensable for the growth of other noble qualities. Nonetheless, instead of extolling fearlessness categorically, Gandhi cared to say that one does not need to fear the inner foes.
- (vi) Apart from the above vows, Gandhi also insisted on the four distinctive vows of Removal of Untouchability, Principle of Bread-labour (fruits of labour accrue only to him who has worked for it), *Sarvadharmā Samābhava* (equal respect for all religions) and *Swadeshi*.¹⁶

Ethical religion brought about a distinctiveness in Gandhi. Gandhi did not accept the orthodox interpretation of religion though he employed the concept to convey his own philosophy, but like the

Buddhists, he taught a universalized religion on *ahimsa*. He also interpreted religion or *dharma*, as selfless service of others, mastery over passions fearlessness and most important of all, devotion. Accordingly, *dharma*, for Gandhi, became an embodiment of the content that was shaped by one's own special gifts, the discipline a man voluntarily undertakes, and a moral insight which leads a man beyond the performance of his customary duties.

In his description of *dharma*, one of the main things Gandhi emphasized was that caste had nothing to do with religion. It was a later excrescence on what had originally been basically the principle of labour and of duties. What remained was an outstanding feature of the Hindu social system, but this should in no way be confused with religion, with *dharma*, with the life it was good and reasonable for men to lead. Gandhi realized that the caste system was opposed both to his principle of universal *ahimsa* and his programme to abolish untouchability. He demanded the abolition of caste as unjust and immoral, and the substitution of a non-religiously-sanctioned occupational, but hereditary class structure.¹⁷

Gandhi turned the tables on Swami Vivekananda's formula that all men should be *brahmins*, by saying that all should be *sudras*. *Sudras* are those who serve, and nothing more was needed than service, whether in Indian society or elsewhere. Gandhi thus, attempted to incorporate the duties of scavenging and bread labour in the concept of *dharma*. He tried working out his ideas in a society where dirty work was the lot of the untouchables, the outcastes of the Hindu society, and where manual work was considered inferior to the work of the scholar, lawyer and teacher. Thus, Tolstoy's therapeutic value of manual work and Ruskin's views on the equal value of different kinds of work to society became the basis of Gandhi's thought that trusted for the good of society.

Gandhi interpreted his own life as being guided by the *dharmas* of social service, poverty, harmlessness, vegetarianism and celibacy, whose practical applications, were, for him, no more than mere experiments with truth. As he himself said: "The instruments for the quest of truth are as simple as they are difficult. They may appear quite impossible to an arrogant person, and quite possible to an innocent child. The seeker after truth should be humbler than the dust. The world crushes the dust under its feet, but the seeker after truth should be so humble himself that even the dust could crush him. Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of truth."¹⁸ However, what has been unique in Gandhi's

experiments with Truth was that they were carried out not in the seclusion of an *ashrama*, but in the arena of life. And when the scene shifted to the political front, religion became a means of mass-mobilization.

Gandhi considered his own philosophical system superior to the Hindu art of politics. He endeavoured to develop a sense of unity by employing traditional terms, but was far more successful in communicating to the masses through his personality and ways of life, appearing as he did as a modern *sanyasi*, and this traditional appearance especially influenced the Indian women, chiefly devotees of *Bhakti* worship.

The combination of religion with politics or religious politics is the very essence of Gandhism, and on its legitimacy or otherwise depends the whole significance of the fact of Gandhi. Gandhi himself asserted: "Yes, I still hold the view that I cannot conceive politics as divorced from religion. Indeed religion should pervade every one of our actions. For me there is no politics without religion not the religion of the superstitious and the blind, religion that hates and fights, but the universal religion of toleration. Politics without morality is a thing to be avoided."¹⁹ Here Gandhi claimed to be in stark contrast of Machiavelli's concept of complete separation of religion and politics.

That, Gandhi was opposed to Machiavellian approach to politics seems plausible. His exhortations with regard to the restoration of moral values in political practice might appear utopian in the present context when politics has gone downhill. But for him, it was a practical proposition. His periodic reference to conscience in dealing with decision-making in day-to-day functioning was an indication of his faith in the corrigibility of man. That is why, Gandhi was disturbed by the emergence of religious intolerance, communal frenzy and the like, which marred peace and harmony in society.

Gandhi repeatedly asserted the oneness of life. It was one continuous whole and could not properly be conceived as compartmental. Therefore, it was not a matter of "mixing" religion and politics, for they were already rightfully one. However, there is a probability that Gandhi himself experienced a dichotomy between his religious pursuits and political endeavours, which was never completely resolved. But in spite of such a tension, he succeeded in evolving a well-integrated personality, especially religiously-oriented.

Gandhi felt that spiritual values had no relevance unless they were put into social practice by those who professed them. As such, it was not very difficult for a semi-clad contemplative *sanyasi* to

become a *karma-yogi* in the field of politics. Gandhi's actions may also be justified in the sense that in the Hindu tradition, religion is such an integrative force that there is bound to be a close relationship between religion and politics. It can also be said that historically, culture, politics and religion have been synonymous with Hinduism. One may recall that both Gautama Buddha and Mahavira, founders respectively of Buddhism and Jainism, were of the ruling or warrior caste. Part of the *shastras* are political texts, such as the *Arthashastra* attributed to Kautilya and parts of the Laws of Manu. Nevertheless, tension was not entirely absent between religion and politics, for the latter often took a ruthless turn and, thereby stimulated transcendental speculation in Indian religious life.²⁰

Gandhi's religious quest helped him to mould not only his personality, but the political technique with which he confronted racialism in South Africa and colonialism in India. Gandhi inherited *Swaraj* as the political objective of the Congress; however, he felt compelled to find a moral issue upon which to base his campaigns of political agitation, and he finally succeeded in being able to rationalize that, while *Swaraj* was not a self-justifying objective in the traditionalist sense, the immortality of the British Raj made Indian *Swaraj* a morally justifiable goal.

Gandhi felt that, in India, the masses had no political consciousness. Their politics was confined to bread and salt and to communal adjustments. Therefore, he wanted that the politicians must represent the masses in opposition to government. "But if we begin to use them before they are ready we shall cease to represent them."²¹ And for this, he stressed the necessity of using the imagination when making moral decisions. To be capable of moral judgement and moral conduct on a significant scale, one has necessarily to put oneself in the place of other people and imagine sympathetically how they feel. Gandhi recognized no God except the God that is found in the hearts of the "dumb millions". Anything that millions can do together is, he believed, charged with a unique power, the magical potency of collective taps or moral fervour, the cumulative strength of generally shared sacrifices.²²

GANDHI AND HIND SWARAJ –

In *Hind Swaraj* (1909), Gandhi offered a civilizational concept of the Indian nation. According to him, the Indians constituted a nation or 'praja'; and the ideal of *swaraj* could only be achieved in the modern times in a United Indian nation or *praja*. *Swaraj* and home rule must meet in a

newly constituted Indian praja. Gandhi's philosophy differed significantly from the earlier nationalists in as much as that he began with a trenchant critique of the 'modern' civilization. He roared, 'The English have not taken India; we have given it to them'.²³ Gandhi proclaimed that Indians themselves were responsible for their enslavement, as they embraced capitalism and its associated legal and political structures. By offering an ideological critique of the Western civilization, Gandhi effectively contested the moral legitimacy of the British rule that rested on a stated assumption of the superiority of the West. In the process, the application of his methods gave him immense maneuverability in terms of real politics, sometimes on the grounds of non-violence while, at other time, on the issue of means and ends. Gandhi, thus, throughout his life, remained a negotiator. He began constructing those broad roads whose map was already drawn by Tilak in Maharashtra in the 1890's, by the activities of the Punjab extremists, and above all, the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905-08. Annie Besant and Tilak prepared the ground for the success of Gandhi's initial satyagraha movement and mass mobilization. Gandhi had arrived.

GANDHI AND THE MASSES –

In a political space that was clearly divided between the Moderates and the extremists, Gandhi took a very safe centrist position, and succeeded in uniting both of them on a common political platform. He adopted the moderates' goal of Swaraj, but his method of satyagraha looked very much like the passive resistance of the extremists.²⁴ However, his insistence on non-violence always made the moderates apprehensive. But beyond the ranks of nationalist politics and leadership, Gandhi was capacitated to create an appeal amongst the masses and unleash their vast reservoir of energy. Judith Brown has, however, argued that Gandhi's rise did not symbolize a radical restructuring of political life or opening of modern politics to the masses: rather it signified the rise of Western-educated and regional language literate elites of backward areas, in place of the Western-educated leaders of the presidency towns. It was the loyalty networks of these local elite leaders, or the so-called "sub-contractors", which mobilized popular support for Gandhi in the Indian Country-side and small towns.²⁵

It would be grossly unfair to underestimate Gandhi through these interpretations. His persona rested on a popular appeal that emerged sometimes out of his simple attire, while, at other times, through his reference to the popular allegory of the Ramrajya. His charisma arose out of the skillful use

of religious idioms and symbols, Masses began to believe he was a healer, and soon became a symbol of power for the powerless. He was the Messiah. He prescribed a path, and they walked behind him. Many times, they deviated from his path, but soon returned to his fold and his hold. It was the era of the Mythical Mysticism of the Mahatma, the great Soul.

Gandhi entered into a world of politics that created many occasions for his transition from local to national leadership. His personality, his novel approach to politics and his new techniques of struggle gave him an access to power, enabling him to become the focus of multifarious local grievances. From getting involved in fighting the local wrongs at Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad, in no time, Gandhi reinforced his claim to the all – India leadership by his decision to champion the Khilafat issue and seek redress of the Punjab wrongs, from locals to peasantry, to industrial workers, and then to the Muslim support, Gandhi became a symbol of mass-mobilisation. Nambudiripad, in his work ‘The Mahatma and the Ism’, summed up that it was a combination of three factors, namely,

- His independent organization of a band of satyagrahis around himself,
- His successful affiliation with the living political issues that were uppermost in the minds of the people, and
- His reliance on the Muslim divines on the issue of Khilafat,

enabled Gandhi to assume the reigns of all – India leadership and emerge as the undisputed leader of the masses. His style claimed a new status in politics – a style that could not be ignored but was difficult to comprehend.²⁶

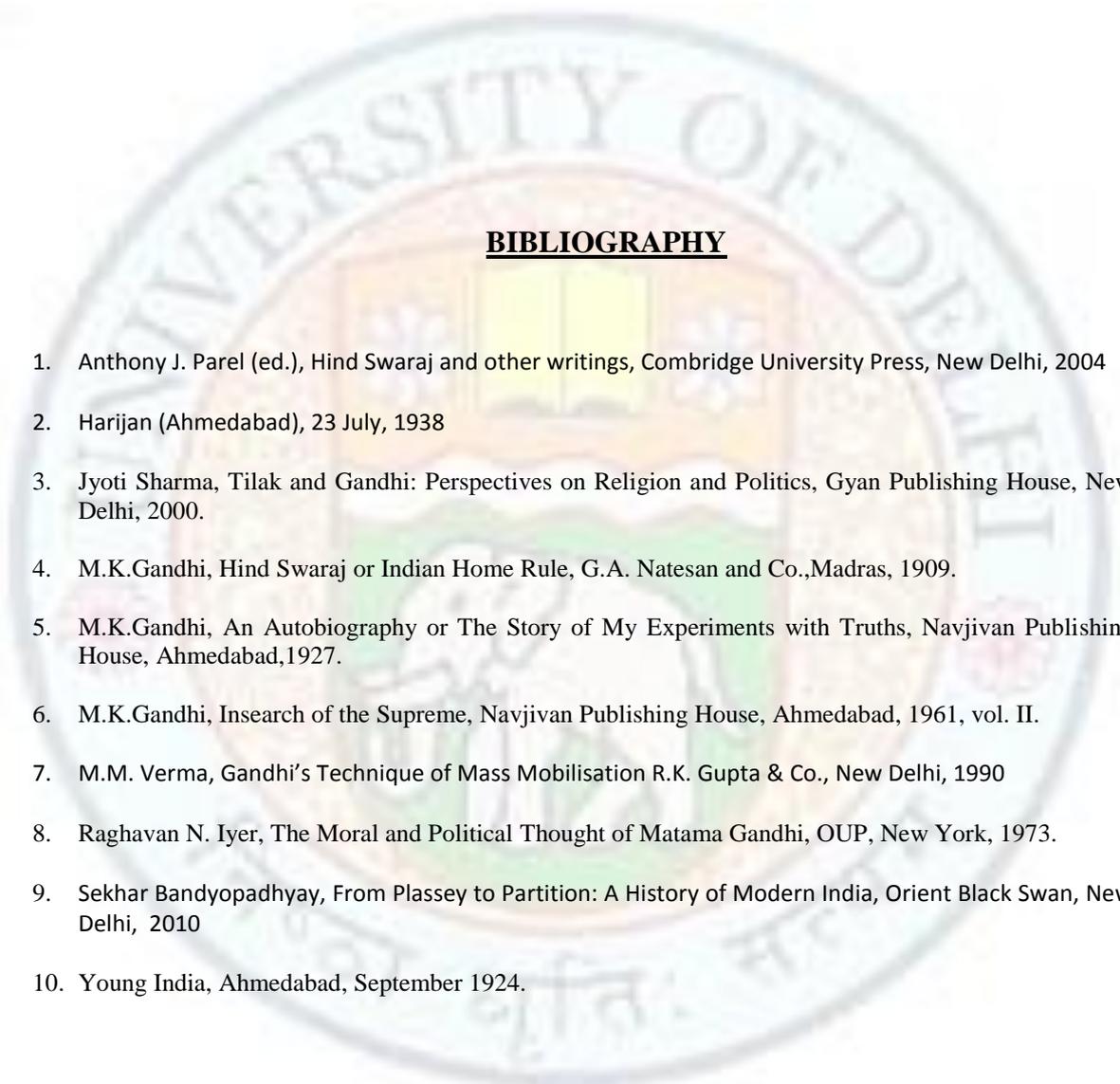
Gandhi worked as if under a compelling sense of urgency. He declared, ‘I am impatient to break the British bondage’. It was under this sense of urgency that he said in 1920, ‘Swaraj in one year’, and in 1930, ‘now or never’. Even the previous failures did not deter him from raising the slogan ‘do or die’ in 1942. It was this sense of urgency that made him swear not to return to his ashram alive until India got freedom. He could also be ruthless at times if he found this to be necessary for his mission, as in the case of boycott of foreign cloth. He advised the nation to burn cloth. He challenged the mightiest empire of the world with no weapon available to him except non-violent non-cooperation.²⁷ Actually, Gandhi sought to transform India’s weakness itself into a source of strength by transmuting the inertia and inaction which had gripped the masses. He broke the barrier of fear in the minds of the people. At times, he also admitted to have committed blunders by offering the weapon

of satyagraha without sufficiently training them, but the hallmark of Gandhian politics is that it transformed Indian nationalist politics from being the politics of restricted classes to becoming politics of the masses.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Harijan (Ahmedabad), 23 July, 1938, p. 193
2. M.M. Verma, Gandhi's Technique of Mass Mobilisation R.K. Gupta & Co., New Delhi, 1990, p.8
3. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2010, p.284.
4. Ibid., p.285
5. Anthony J. Parel (ed.), Hind Swaraj and other writings, Combridge University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 23.
6. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, p.288.
7. Ibid
8. M.M. Verma, p.70.
9. Ibid., p.71
10. Anthony Parel, p. xivi
11. Ibid., p xxxvii
12. Ibid., p. xiix

13. Ibid., p. l.
14. Jyoti Sharma, Tilak and Gandhi: Perspectives on Religion and Politics, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 200, p.177.
15. M.K.Gandhi, Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, G.A. Natesan and Co.,Madras, 1909, p.60.
16. Jyoti Sharma, p.180.
17. Ibid.
18. M.K.Gandhi, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truths, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad,1927, p.xi – xii.
19. M.K.Gandhi, Insearch of the Supreme, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1961, vol. II, p.308.
20. Jyoti Sharma, p.183.
21. Young India, Ahmedabad, September 1924.
22. Raghavan N. Iyer, The Moral and Political Thought of Matama Gandhi, OUP, New York, 1973, p.16 – 17.
23. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, p.289.
24. Ibid., p.292.
25. Ibid
26. M.M.Verma, p,19.
27. Ibid, p.20.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Anthony J. Parel (ed.), Hind Swaraj and other writings, Combridge University Press, New Delhi, 2004
2. Harijan (Ahmedabad), 23 July, 1938
3. Jyoti Sharma, Tilak and Gandhi: Perspectives on Religion and Politics, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2000.
4. M.K.Gandhi, Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, G.A. Natesan and Co., Madras, 1909.
5. M.K.Gandhi, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truths, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1927.
6. M.K.Gandhi, Insearch of the Supreme, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1961, vol. II.
7. M.M. Verma, Gandhi's Technique of Mass Mobilisation R.K. Gupta & Co., New Delhi, 1990
8. Raghavan N. Iyer, The Moral and Political Thought of Matama Gandhi, OUP, New York, 1973.
9. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2010
10. Young India, Ahmedabad, September 1924.

EXERCISES

- Ques.1. Do you think Gandhi was a mass leader? Give reasons for your answer.
- Ques.2. What has been Gandhi's approach in preparing the masses for Satyagraha movements?
- Ques.3. What have been the various influences on Gandhi's life that shaped his personality and prepared him to become a leader of the masses?

