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ON
GANDHI AND HIS THOUGHT
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Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic Studies
Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

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Special Issue
Gandhi and His Thought

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Editorial

‘And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scale from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, but most of all the working of people’s minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India speaking their language.... The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth, an action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view....’ (Jawaharlal Nehru)

Born to lead with his estimable qualities and exceptional principles rooted deep in his ideals of truth and non-violence, utmost nobility of spirit and action; positive and cheerful mental attitude, Mahatma Gandhi persistently advocated the need of developing merits and virtues such as belief in one’s own abilities, power of self-improvement, courage to brave hardships with fortitude and resolution to struggle conscientiously to achieve the ends through fair means. His life and practices vigorously boost the mental and emotional energy, affording enlightenment, dynamism, warmth and sensitivity to bond and relationship. Both studiously and unstudiedly, he boosted his people ‘whom he drew into his work’ to cultivate the habit of reception and acceptance, forbearance and self-denial.

Gandhi’s uncompromising commitment to his principles, self-abnegation and altruism – the earnest concern for others’ welfare, earned him well-meaning and faithful people. During his long arduous journey, Gandhi passed through trying situations with his unmistakable grim determination, calmly enduring the pain with his distinctive perseverance and steadfast adherence to his ideals for the attainment of his aims and objectives which also included keen initiatives for reconstruction of thoughts and social order with the help of approbation and establishment of the values of truth and non-violence. He taught

his people to cast away timidity because it enervates the strength of will and resoluteness.

Gandhi's loyalty to human rights and welfare, and his profound interest in equitable and egalitarian order; and passionate concern for the promotion of grit, self-discipline, fearlessness, social and cultural pluralism, which are incidentally the essentials of the Indian ethos, enabled him to emerge as the most 'powerful current of fresh air' providing his people with stimulus and energy necessary to emerge victorious in every battle of life. He inspired the entire nation, or rather the nations, and served as a beacon to them, for he was able to embody in him the refined spirit and incredible power of the youth; sagacity, wisdom and resilience of the seasoned. The best part was that he had in his temperament and make-up not even a shadow of the murky and dirty politics that often wreak havoc in the societies, shaking established norms, values and ethos to their roots. The role of crucial importance that he played – his time-tested principles still play vital roles in every sphere of life, will always be treasured by generation after generation. He clearly stressed the fact that the universe and everything it contains are for the good of all the creatures of God. God's bounties proceed from Him to His creatures without any discrimination and distinction. So, no one should be compelled to stay deprived of these rewards.

No one should feel puffed up, running with the notion that they are the masters sent down to lord it over others. Such notions are opposed to the real and profound conception of life and its lofty aims. Nothing in this world has an absolute existence, for everything comes to decay, disintegrate and fall into ruin with the passage of time. So, as good human beings, and as forces of truth and righteousness entrusted with some fortune, physical and mental prowess and other gifts of God, we should, like true trustees of God, nurture the propensity of sharing the gifts and fortune with other fellow country people and other needy creatures. It is incumbent upon us to refrain from indulging in insidious pleasure and sinister tendency of raging against the widely recognized and accepted norms and laws of Nature. 'The central evil, asserts Louis Fischer, 'of the modern world, Gandhi felt, was materialism. Matter or materialism, in Gandhi's sense, was not only wealth but power, accumulation of 'brute-force' to crush the spirit of freedom, the building of a machine whose motor fuel is hate. Gandhi never urged anyone to

renounce wealth or power. He taught a set of values that might make happiness less dependent on material possessions...'

It is only pertinent to mention here that for the attainment of his objectives Gandhi devised scrupulously moral ways and followed simple living with high thinking and golden principles for the benefit of his fellow country people, even for the fellow human beings. He made people believe that the evil recoil, sour and embitter life. He stirred his people through his soul-force, dynamic thinking and unwavering allegiance to his truth, accepted norms and values. He inculcated in them that the motivation and interest arising from excessive concern for oneself and one's own benefits traps one to get stuck into clutch of mundane and narrow cycle of worldly pursuits. It neglects the better side of life and world. At the same time, he warned that dependence on others is bound to cause exploitation, bondage and abject poverty. Thus, he brought it home to people that both excessive concern for oneself and careless dependence on others have the potential to vitiate the physical and mental strength and moral fiber. Meaning hereby is that human beings should neither look with favor at the material well-being, preferring ease and luxury to freedom and independence, nor stay contingent on others' support. It is always better to nurture self-sufficiency and self-reliance. It was due to these things in his mind that he promoted cottage industries, the trend of rearing livestock, handicrafts for the generation of employment and meeting daily necessities of life.

The world in which Gandhi lived was full of misery, pain and ruthless cruelties inflicted by the callous oppressors. His fellow country people put up with the oppressors' psychotic heartlessness without daring to voice their anxieties and apprehensions. They lived in the grip of very unpleasant and disturbing feelings. The robust boon in the form of Gandhi came to the people when, as Jawaharlal Nehru puts forth, '...the dominant impulse in India under the British rule was that of fear – pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of army, the police, the widespread secret service, fear of official class; ... fear of the unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: be not afraid....' Gandhi appeared as the fountainhead of rejuvenation and regeneration providing the people with zest for new life, and aspirations for the new order. 'A fervent, lifelong champion of

non-violence, Gandhi stated', as Louis Fischer quotes, 'where there is a choice between cowardice and violence I would choose violence', for cowardice, or fear, makes a small man who will yield to pressure and not defend his freedom, his principles, or himself.'

The fearless and daunting courage of Gandhi brought the people to realize that soldiers do not fear enemies because they are trained, most importantly they are ready to rise above their personal considerations, needs, greed and vanity. This is the reason that they do not behave like weak-willed and spineless people in the face of any intimidating or dangerous situations. Together they emerge as an inalienable might and force guaranteeing their selfless and dedicated support to each other. Gandhi easily succeed in his mission by virtue of such qualities which enabled him to value every individual and bring them together to form a whole. Louis Fischer aspires to enumerate Gandhi's qualities in his essay in 'Gandhi and the Western World', wherein he says, 'Gandhi preached what he practiced and practiced what he believed....Most of Gandhi's ideas can be ascribed to some quality of his mental eyesight which kept him from seeing people as a mass. He never saw or judged Indian or French-men or Christians or Moslems in millions. He considered each human being too holy, too important to the mere instrument of a remote impersonal terrestrial power called the state. He loved people individually and in multitudes. Everybody who came in contact with him felt it and paid him back with love. This was the source of his authority and effectiveness. He had no power, he could not punish or reward materially; his only weapons were warmth and truth; with these he liberated India.'

Of course, Gandhi distinguished himself due to his unique personal merits required to emerge as a social and moral force effecting change in attitude and thoughts. He envisioned his Gram Swaraj and other programs just because he had a staunch faith in self-reliance and self-rule. He encouraged people for reconstruction of the thoughts and the society, rather India on the whole, through unity among the people of various religious denominations, through eradication of the social evils like untouchability, promotion of provincial languages, national language, economic equality, education, health and hygiene, and introduction of New Education, adult and women education and so on.

In his New or Basic Education Gandhi wished the educational institutions to sincerely endeavor for all-embracing growth of the students with the help of creating stimulating environment conducive to proper growth of physical, intellectual and moral qualities, thinking, social and emotional skills along with the consolidation of the art of living together. He had visualized the New Education program as a unity stimulated by psychologically friendly and affable philosophy. Jamia Millia Islamia adopted Gandhi's Basic Education and promoted it through its projects like book bank, dehaat project, subzi mandi project, sehat aur safai project. Gandhi had an abiding association with Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. Once, when Jamia, in the face of financial crisis, was on the verge of being shut down for ever, Gandhi said that he would not let it close even if he had to go door to door with a begging bowl in his hands.

Gandhi's concept of Swaraj aimed at eradicating notion of high and low people rife like a deadly disease in the Indian society. He believed that Swaraj would refute and negate domination, and serve as an ideal antidote to exploitation and abuses of every sort. 'Gandhi', said Nehru, 'has straightened our backs and stiffened our spines.' Gandhi had won universal approbation and acclaim due to his liberal, progressive and modern beliefs, thoughts and sincere warmth and concern for others. As quoted by Louis Fischer, 'when the news of the Mahatma's death reached him, Leon Bium, the former Premier of France said, 'I never saw Gandhi. I do not know his language, I never set foot in his country, and yet feel the same sorrow as if I had lost someone near and dear. The whole world has been plunged into mourning by the death of this extraordinary man.' Pearl Buck called it 'another crucifixion'. Louis Fischer rightly says, 'He was an Indian. He belongs to the world.' Such are the reasons why Gandhi 'affects eternity'. The interesting and thought-provoking articles in this issue of Islam and the Modern Age can't wait until tomorrow... I feel beholden to the valued contributors for their wonderful pieces.

A. NASEEB KHAN

PROF. S.M. AZIZUDDIN HUSAIN

Sufism's Impact on Mahatma Gandhi – An Analysis

Sufism is the path of piety and righteousness. The main aim of Sufism is to serve humanity. Sufis believed in equality and fraternity of mankind. They abjured narrowness of mind and opposed communal, sectarian and caste barriers, which cause conflict and destroy social harmony. Sufis have been poets and have written in Persian on these aspects. Sufis like Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, Maulana AbdurRehman Jami, Shaikh Sadi Shirazi, Hafiz Shirazi and others. Shaikh Sadi said: -

Persian

Those sons of Adam are links of each other. Having been created of one essence, when clarity of the time afflicts one limb, the other limb cannot remain at rest.

Maulana Jami said:-

Persian

Jami, you have become the slave of love, so you just forbade pride in genealogy, because in the path of love, you are the son of such and such is meaningless.

Indian Sufis explained in Hindustani. Shaikh Alauddin Ansari Alaudi (D.1673) said:

Persian

Your grave is full of horror and dark like mid night and there nobody asks about your caste.

Qurbi a Deccani Sufi poet said:

Persian

The gnosis of God has nothing to do with genealogy. It is given by

God. In the path of love, genealogy does not work at all.

Bulleh Shah (B.1680) a Sufi poet of Punjab said

Persian

Reject duality and don't make any noise, Hindus and Muslims are not two.

Mir Anis, an Urdu poet of Lucknow said:

Persian

Each who bears the splendor of your essence, whichever flower I smell, the fragrance is yours. Mirza Ghalib a poet of Delhi said:

Persian

Ghalib highlighting the doctrine of unity of Being and one creed is to renounce all formalities (of faith) the (different) communities, when obliterated, became ingredients of (my) faith.

The fundamental ideology of Sufis is God, man and relation between them which is love. The Sufis helped in developing a move toward humanitarian approach in religious life with their stress on service to mankind and their belief that love of God is not possible without the love of mankind.

The Sufis promoted communal harmony with their devoted activities and attracted caste – ridden and oppressed lover sections to their organizational fold. In retrospect, we can see that just as the basic ideas and attitudes of Sufism were translated from Arabic to Persian, so were they expressed in Hindavi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Bengali, Deccani and Malyalam. Sufis impressed people from their practice.

Sufis played a dynamic role against Imperialism since 661 AD because Islam does not believe in monarchy. Sufis kept themselves aloof from Umayyad and Abbasid monarchies. When these Sufis came to India, they also maintained distance from Sultans and Emperors. They always declined to accept any land grant offered by Sultans or Mughal Emperors. They saved their freedom from following the path of resignation and poverty. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya explained the meaning of *Tark-i-Duniya* (rejection of the world). One should use the means to live but he or she should not place his or her heart in the

worldly interests. Sufis had taken lesson of freedom from the tragedy of Karbala. Imam Husain, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammed (pbuh), declined to do baiyat with Yazid, a hereditary monarch and accepted martyrdom in 680 AD.

Sufis of India kept themselves away from the British generous. This attitude was based on various considerations, psychological, legal and religious. Sufis developed an attitude of contempt and indifference towards the British government and refused to support them. Saiyad Sibghatullah Shah (D.1831) was fighting against the British and he named his *murids* as Hur, a person who was in the army of Yazid and on 10th Muharram 680 AD, he shifted to Imam Husain's camp and then fought against the forces of Yazid and got martyred.

Sajjada Nashins of Sufi dargahs also supported and fought India's first war of independence in 1857. Britishers killed some of the Sufis and confiscated the land grants of the *dargahs*. We are having an example when people of Vellore against the British in 1806 and a Sufi Saiyad Abdul Lateef Qadri Vellori were arrested and jailed in Chitur Jail but later on released. The role played by Sufis before 1857 and in 1857 is missing from the books written by Western and Indian historians covering the period. Minds of the Sufis entertained the deepest distrust of the British and Western culture.

Mahatma Gandhi draws the inspiration from the tragedy of Karbala in 680 AD. He considers Imam Husain as a role model to fight against the Imperialist forces. Mahatma Gandhi talks about the courage of Imam Husain as he asked Indians to follow him in their struggle against the British Raj.

Mahatma Gandhi must have drawn inspiration from the role and contribution of Indian Sufis. From 12th century to 19th century, the role and contribution of Sufis were very much visible. It reflected in the society and the culture of India. The institution of Urs played a constructive role in the propagation of Sufi spirit. Sufis of Deccan wrote *Charkha Nama* which was sung by women while thread at the *Charkha*. *Charkha Nama* has been the most widespread forms of Deccani folk poetry. *Charkha Namas* were composed by the Sufis of Deccan. It played an important role between women, *Peer* and the *dargah* life. Women, stayed by far, played the dominant role in all aspects of *dargah* life. Mahatma Gandhi must have drawn inspiration from the *Charkha*

Namas written by Sufis of Deccan for popularizing Sufism among women. Women, originally attracted to the *Peers* and the *dargahs* of the 17th century, were participating in the social life at the *mazars* of the Sufis of Deccan. At the closing time of *Charkha Nama*, the following is read.

You are the maid-servant in your Dervaish's house.
Say Allah and the Prophet's name on every breath.

We can see the impact of Sufis life on Gandhi's policies. We can see a sigh of spiritualism in Gandhi's message of Charkha, he says, "I have already written about my host in Faridpur. His wife and children were devotees of the wheel".¹ Gandhiji and his followers did not see *Charkha* just as a tool to counter colonial policy but also as a symbol of Hindu – Muslim unity. Regarding this, Sardar Joginder Singh wrote to Gandhi, "let *Charkha* be a symbol for practical purpose ... the greatest problem you have is to bring harmony between Hindus and Musalmans Charkha had the potential to rally all communities together".² The way Gandhi was using Sufi songs, seems that Gandhiji was very much influenced by the teachings of Sufis.

Gandhiji visited the *dargah* of Shaikh Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (D.1235), a Sufi of Chishti silsilah, whose dargah is located in Mehrauli, Delhi. He delivered a speech on the occasion of the *Urs* of Shaikh Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki on 27th of January, 1948, and said, "I have come here on pilgrimage. Some days ago, I heard that it might not be possible to hold the *Urs* at Mehrauli as in the previous years. Had it been so, I would have been deeply distressed. I request you – Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims who have come here with cleansed heart to take a bow at this holy place that you will never allow strife to raise its hand, but will live in amity, united as friends and brothers". "We are the offshoots of the same tree. We are not going to arrange it by killing any one". It is quite similar as Shaikh Sadi had said long back. I have quoted Shaikh Sadi's verses. Two days after attending the *Urs*, Mahatma Gandhi was killed on 30th January, 1948.

NOTES

1. M.K. Gandhi—A Baseless Charge, Young India, 4th June, 1927.
2. Young India, 25th June, 1925.

On the Centenary of the Non-Cooperation Movement in India: Exploring the Conceptions of Civil Disobedience and of Non-Cooperation

During his South African years, M.K. Gandhi (1869–1948) and his associates had developed a technique of mass struggle based on passive resistance or what he preferred to call *Satyagraha* (pursuit of truth). In July 1914, Gandhi left South Africa for England, returning to India in January 1915. On the advice of the Indian statesman, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, he spent a year touring India, involving himself thereafter successively in causes of peasants in eastern India and textile workers and peasants in western India. Within months of this, the Colonial Government came forward with legislation (which came to be known as the Rowlatt Bills after the judge whose Committee had recommended the laws) directed at curbing what were described as anarchical and revolutionary crimes. The legislation foreclosed arguments, defense lawyers and appeal. In response, Gandhi called for a nation-wide protest strike or ‘hartal’ slated for 6th of April 1919 (in Delhi the protest took place, on account of a communication issue, a week earlier on 30th of March 1919). This was widely observed, becoming the first ever nation-wide protest in India on a democratic rights issue. The year 1919 was to prove a turning point in India’s history.

The colonial massacre of unarmed civilians who had gathered at a protest meeting at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, took place on 13th of April 1919. Aerial bombing in parts of the Punjab and martial law followed. In the following year, 1920 began India’s somewhat unique and epochal “Non-cooperation Movement” whose centennial anniversary is currently on. The Non-cooperation movement of the 1920s, as led by the Indian National Congress, was based on three issues: Redressal of the ‘Punjab wrongs’ of 1919, that is the military violence and repression in the area, the demand for Self-rule (or *Swaraj*) and support for the Muslim grievances related to the Caliphate (or *Khilafat*) based in Turkey

and the breach of assurances that had been given regarding this and the conduct of the War. The last point, though known by the shorthand term of 'Khilafat', involved not simply the religious question of the Caliphate but the impropriety of the continued use of Indian troops to crush and dismember countries towards which India had no animosity.¹

The conception and logic behind Non-cooperation as stated by Gandhi was that Colonial rule over India had been possible only with the co-operation of Indians. Non-cooperation with that rule would hasten its end. It is necessary to appreciate a conceptual distinction between Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. The former involved a voluntary withdrawal from association with the Colonial Government. The latter, on the other hand, related to defiance of specified laws or actions.

The distinction between the notion of Non-cooperation and that of Civil Disobedience was maintained by Gandhi throughout the Non-cooperation Movement from 1920 onwards.

This did not mean that Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience could not occur simultaneously. But Gandhi made an effort to ensure that Civil Disobedience was restricted to areas where those participating in the defiance were properly trained in the discipline of non-violence.

Thus Civil Disobedience at Kheda and Bardoli in west India, and in Guntur in South India and elsewhere would be contemplated within the framework of Non-cooperation, but involved programs apart from or in addition to Non-cooperation.

How did this distinction come about?

Non-cooperation can potentially be resorted to, in the first instance, by a larger number of persons and can therefore generate a wider participation across the land. For example, any politically conscious person wishing to non-cooperate with the Government could withdraw from association with it by resigning from Government-related employment and from its affiliated institutions. Ordinarily, such withdrawal could not by itself be visited by any kind of punishment. Civil Disobedience, on the other hand, would be more likely to be resorted to by sections of the people who, in addition to being politically awake or being exposed to a process of political awakening, were willing also to suffer serious adverse consequences like seizure of property and incur the risk of arrest and even being shot down.

Non-cooperation has a creative element inasmuch as withdrawal from Government institutions necessarily entails the creation of alternate institutions. For example, Jamia Millia Islamia, the Gujarat, Bihar and Kashi Vidyapiths and several other educational institutions emerged across the country in the course of the Non-cooperation movement. The creation of alternate institutions can also present a challenge to the existing system of governance. As Gandhi explained:

Non-cooperation in itself is more harmless than civil disobedience, but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than civil disobedience. Non-cooperation is intended so far to paralyze the Government, as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.²

When does Gandhi start distinguishing between Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience? The answer seems to be that the distinction emerges with the conception of Non-Cooperation itself.

In a telegram sent on March 12, 1919 to Henry Polak, an associate from his South Africa days, Gandhi indicated, in the context of protesting against the Rowlatt Bills, the decision to initiate Civil Disobedience against selected laws.³ This is also how Gandhi, for the most part, understands Civil Disobedience then and later.

Non-cooperation was not yet on Gandhi's mind. Nor was it on his mind when he indicated his desire to agitate and also drew up plans for Satyagraha (or 'Passive Resistance' to use an expression he was not always satisfied with) against the Rowlatt Bills throughout February 1919 and March 1919.⁴

On 7th of April 1919, again in the context of the Rowlatt legislation, Gandhi issued a statement on the laws identified for Civil Disobedience.⁵ This statement, issued after the successful all-India protest of 6 April 1919, contained detailed instructions on the laws that were to be civilly disobeyed. Again, non-cooperation is still not on Gandhi's mind. On his way to Delhi from Bombay by train Gandhi was served on 9th of April 1919 with orders restraining him from entering Punjab and Delhi.⁶ On his electing to defy the prohibition, he was arrested and sent to Bombay. An all-India protest against his arrest followed.⁷

In the wake of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, on 13th of April 1919, the aerial bombing of Gujranwala and the proclamation of Martial

law in Punjab on the next day and firing in Delhi on April 17, 1919, Gandhi announced, on 18th of April 1919, a temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience.⁸ After a fortnight's pause, Gandhi issued on 2nd of May 1919 the Satyagraha Leaflet no 12 in which he declared that "My confidence in satyagrahis has led me to assume that we shall be fitted for resuming civil disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime, we may resume civil disobedience by the beginning of July next."⁹ The Leaflet emphasized that this was contingent on the protesters maintaining complete non-violence.

It is said on 24th of June 1919, in a cable to E.S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, that Gandhi serves notice to the British Government, inter alia, in the following terms:

I feel I ought to inform you that unless circumstances alter situation, I propose resuming Civil Disobedience early July.¹⁰

Through this cable, he asks for withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation and seeks an inquiry into the Punjab happenings and into the administration of Martial law there.

In addition, a new element enters into this message sent a couple of months after the enormities in Punjab about which information had been coming out in bits and pieces. Gandhi now indicates that by Civil Disobedience, he intends something more than mere defiance of certain laws. In his cable, Gandhi declares that by Civil Disobedience he means also "partial or total withdrawal of support by Civil Resisters from Government in an orderly manner and without anger or ill-will."¹¹ Thus by this time, a germ of the idea of Non-cooperation has occurred in Gandhi. The notion has been conceived and what has precipitated it appears to be the repression in Punjab. The idea slips into the cable (even while retaining the language of Civil Disobedience) where Gandhi speaks of withdrawal of support from the Government. The expression "Non-cooperation" is still not used. That happens five months later at a conference in Delhi on 23rd and 24th of November 1919 in a context apart from the Rowlatt legislation.¹² Once that happens, Gandhi (and most of the Congress) maintains a conceptual distinction between Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. Referring to Non-cooperation, Gandhi explains: *It is a man's privilege to withhold co-operation when*

*he likes...*¹³ In a Gujarati language article written a week later, Gandhi continues the argument:

In my opinion, subjects have this right. No one is bound to accept titles or employment from the Government. This is a matter of one's own free choice. It is clear that there can be no obligation to help anyone whose actions are not for our good.¹⁴

By the summer of 1920, India had been alienated further not only by the Turkish Peace terms but also by the Hunter Committee Report and the sympathy expressed in various circles in England for Brigadier General Dyer who had personally overseen the firing at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar on April 13, 1919.¹⁵

Nationalist opinion in many parts of India now committed itself to Non-cooperation even before the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920. On the eve of the Special Session, a political conference held at Ahmedabad in August, presided over by Abbas Tyabji (1853–1936), who had been one of the Commissioners in the Congress Punjab Inquiry, lent its support for Non-cooperation.¹⁶ Tyabji, the Grand Old Man of Gujarat as he was known, declared that “non-cooperation was the last and legitimate resource for the weak nation against the strong”.¹⁷ A similar conference was held in Bhagalpur, Bihar. This too endorsed non-cooperation expressly including also the demand for Swaraj as one of the objects of Non-cooperation.¹⁸

By the time the famous Non-cooperation Resolution was passed by the Special session of the Congress in Calcutta (now Kolkata) in September 1920 and endorsed at the regular session at Nagpur in December 1920, the three issues, *swaraj*, redressal of the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat grievances, whose attainment had hitherto been considered more or less individually, had converged. Soon after the Non-cooperation resolution was approved at the Special Session in September 1920, Gandhi observed:

It is as amazing as it is humiliating that less than one hundred thousand white men should be able to rule three hundred and fifteen million Indians. They do so somewhat undoubtedly by force but more by securing our co-operation in a thousand ways and making us more and more helpless and dependent on them as time goes forward.... They want India's billions and they want India's manpower for their imperialistic greed.¹⁹

Such co-operation ought to be withdrawn, Gandhi reiterated in March 1921, on the second anniversary of the protest (hartal) and army and police firing that had taken place in Delhi in 1919:

The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the will of the Government, in other words to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the Government must obey our will or retire.²⁰

In pursuance of this understanding, on October 4, 1921, a Manifesto was famously issued from Bombay by Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Abbas Tyabji, Sarojini Naidu, Konda Venkatappayya, M.A. Ansari, Lajpat Rai, S.E. Stokes, Yakub Hasan, B F Bharucha, Vallabhbhai Patel, Vithalbhai Patel, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Anasuya Sarabhai, Mahadev Desai and others declaring:

... it is contrary to national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian, and more especially as a soldier, under a system of Government, which has brought about India's economic, moral and political degradation and which has used the soldiery and the police for repressing national aspirations, as, for instance, at the time of the Rowlatt Act agitation, and which has used the soldiers for crushing the liberty of the Arabs, the Egyptians, the Turks and other nations who have done no harm to India. We are also of opinion, that it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood.²¹

In response to the resolution passed in the September 1920 Congress calling, inter alia, for a boycott of Colonial Councils, elections to these Councils held in November 1920, were successfully boycotted. The Council Boycott clause was not included in the Nagpur Congress resolution passed at the end of December 1920 as the elections were by that time more or less over.

The Calcutta and Nagpur resolutions were also called for the boycott of educational institutions, law courts and foreign goods. These resolutions led to a number of "National Schools" being established as part of the movement to provide alternative educational avenues. Gandhi kept the emphasis in the movement on boycott of foreign cloths rather than on foreign goods as a whole. This led also to a nation-wide movement of hand-spinning and hand-weaving to help meet indigenously the clothing requirements of the people.

There was a spate of resignations from Colonial Government posts

in the wake of the struggles of 1919 and in response to the call for Non-cooperation from 1920. Even politically 'moderate' figures in India's national life had not remained unaffected by the movements since 1919. There is, for example, a record of the following conversation between the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and Sankaran Nair, a Member of his Council who resigned:

Viceroy : Have you anyone to suggest as your successor?

Nair : (pointing to his peon) : That man there, Ram Parshad.

Viceroy: What?

Nair : Why, he is tall, he is handsome, he wears his livery well; and he will say 'yes' to whatever you say. Altogether he will make an ideal Member of Council.²²

Although the number of lawyers who suspended practice in response to the call for non-cooperation was not large, several leading men did so.²³

There were bonfires of foreign cloth.

The visit of Britain's Prince of Wales to India in the winter of 1921 was met with a near universal boycott, giving a shake-up to the Government. "He was boycotted wherever he went", recalled Syed Mahmud.²⁴

The Government responded to Non-cooperation by banning various organizations, with a spate of arrests of leading figures all over India. Recourse was taken by the Government to the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 to declare volunteer organizations illegal. The Seditious Meetings Act was also invoked in an attempt to stamp out political activity. Notifications under one or more of such laws were issued in Bengal, Assam, Delhi, Punjab, United Provinces and other places.²⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "The U.P. Provincial Congress Committee was arrested en bloc (55 members) as they were actually holding a committee meeting. Many people, who had so far taken no part in any Congress or political activity, were carried away by the wave of enthusiasm and insisted on being arrested."²⁶ Many women were also arrested, though soon released. On learning of the women courting arrest, Gandhi became even more confident that 'swaraj was round the corner', and his 'spirit was roused as never before'.²⁷ C.R.

Das, the President-elect of the Congress, was arrested as were Maulana Azad, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, C. Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru and several other leaders.²⁸ Other leading figures too were arrested and before the end of the third week of December 1921, Gandhi told his readers:

“Five hundred fighters in Bengal have been arrested within the last ten days. Between two and three hundred persons must have been arrested in U.P., and about a hundred have been arrested in the Punjab. If the number of arrests is not larger in these two provinces, it is not the fault of the non-cooperators there. From the letters which I have received, I find that in all these three provinces the Governments get as many fighters as would please them to arrest. If the number of arrests so far appears small, it is due to the Government’s own laxity. Hundreds are ready in every province to make the pilgrimage to jails.”²⁹

The arrest or imprisonment for various reasons of Khwaja Abdul Majid, Asaf Ali, Khaliqzaman, Babu Bhagwandas, E.V. Ramaswami Naiker, Baba Kharak Singh, Harkaran Nath Mishra, Purushottamdas Tandon, Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi, Jitendralal Banerjee, Prasanna Kumar Sen, Jairamdas Daulatram, Vesumal Tejumal, Maulvi Fattah Mahomed, Maulvi Syed Abbas, Acharya Kripalani and George Joseph, among others, were referred to in the issue of *Young India* that appeared four days later.³⁰

With increased repression, official attempts to scotch political activity, associations and meetings, Gandhi re-stated his priorities after the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress in December 1921 which had invested him, subject to certain conditions, with wide decision-making power between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee. “We must,” he wrote in his journal, “first make good the right of free speech and free association before we can make any further progress towards our goal.”³¹ Gandhi continued:

“The safest and quickest way to defend these rights is to ignore the restriction. We must speak the Truth under a shower of bullets. We must band together in the face of bayonets. No cost is too great for purchasing these fundamental rights. And on this there can be no compromise, no parleying, no conference.... We must be content to die, if we cannot live as free men and women.”³²

He was prepared in that context to conceive of aggressive civil disobedience:

“Civil disobedience, therefore, becomes a sacred duty when the State has become lawless, or which is the same thing, and a citizen that barter with such a State shares its corruption or lawlessness. It is, therefore, possible to question the wisdom of applying civil disobedience in respect of a particular act or law; it is possible to advise delay and caution. But the right itself cannot be allowed to be questioned. It is a birthright that cannot be surrendered without surrender of one’s self-respect. At the same time that the right of civil disobedience is insisted upon, its use must be guarded by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against an outbreak of violence or general lawlessness. Its area as well as its scope should also be limited to the barest necessity of the case. In the present case, therefore, aggressive civil disobedience should be confined to a vindication of the right of free speech and free association.”³³

Gandhi himself would be arrested for sedition in March 1922 and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment.³⁴ Yet there had been a sea change in the mood of the country in the years of struggle from 1919 to 1922. That change was reflected in the attitude adopted towards the legal onslaught launched by the Colonial regime. Those arrested in 1921-22 movement largely declined to defend themselves and declared themselves openly to be seditious. They were non-cooperating with the imperial system.

Commenting on Maulana Azad’s trial statement, Gandhi remarked on this transformation:

“What a change between 1919 and 1922 -- nervous fear of sentences and all kinds of defenses in 1919; utter disregard of sentences and no defense in 1922! In 1919 the nation could have done no otherwise; in 1922 it could have done no less without deserving execration of the world. The effect of the boycott is not to be measured by the number of suspensions of practice. The true measure is to be found in the departure of the halo that only two years ago surrounded the courts of law. They still remain the haunts of money-changers and speculators. They are no longer repositories of national or even individual liberty. That is to be found in the stout hearts that the nation is fast developing.”³⁵

After the Nagpur resolutions in December 1920 and in the lead up to the Bezwada (now Vijayawada) session of the Congress held in March 1921, a continual refrain among many people was : “When do we resume Civil Disobedience?”

A program which would come to be known as the Constructive Program was initiated in steps accompanying the moves towards Civil Disobedience and Non-cooperation. The Instructions for Satyagrahis issued on 30th of June 1919 contained the first formal use of the expression 'Constructive Program'; it continued to be developed in the All India Congress Committee meeting held in Bombay in October 1920 and the widely attended Bezwada Congress in March 1921, coming to be honed in subsequent Congress Committee sessions held during the latter year and in the Working Committee Resolutions at Bardoli on 11th and 12th of February 1922.³⁶ That program had been conceived as an accompaniment of and also a connecting link between Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience.³⁷ In 1921 Gandhi had emphasized that Civil Disobedience, as distinct from the Non-Cooperation envisaged by the earlier resolution passed by the Congress in 1920, would be initiated once there was substantive evidence of a sincere commitment to the Constructive Program. The program required strict adherence to the discipline of non-violence, promotion of swadeshi (that is use of indigenous goods, principally handspun and hand-woven cloth), national education, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the eradication of the social prejudice represented by Untouchability.

In the coming intensification of the movement, Gandhi expected some specific districts of India in Andhra in the south and Gujarat in the west to play an active role as arenas of struggle. Having received requests to visit various parts of Gujarat, he made his tour to Gujarat districts dependent on the degree of readiness for struggle in the relevant area and in October 1921 specified the conditions precedent:

“Even if we have only one district well prepared, we shall be able to put up a strong fight and win. I shall be ready to encamp in such a district. For that, however, the following conditions must first be fulfilled:

1. Hindus and Muslims should be living there like blood-brothers; not in fear of each other, but in loving harmony.
2. The Hindus, Muslims and Parsis in the district, all should be convinced in their hearts that victory on the Khilafat issue with India's help is possible only through a peaceful struggle.
3. The people of that district should have realized that, together with the spirit of non-violence, they need to have courage even to mount

the gallows. At least one in a hundred must have such courage; that is, in a population of five lakhs, there should not be less than 5,000 such persons quietly determined to face death.

4. The Hindus of that district should have learnt to regard untouchability as a sin and to treat the Bhangis, Dheds and others with kindness.
5. Over 90 % of the people of that district should have renounced the use of foreign cloth and should be wearing khadi made from yarn which they themselves have spun and got woven in their own district, and should possess one spinning-wheel for every ten persons among them, and that should be in actual operation.

It is not at all difficult to satisfy those conditions, and even one such district will be able to win swaraj.³⁸

These conditions were severely defined and their implementation carefully gauged. To Abbas Tyabji, who was active in Kheda, another area of Gujarat which was under consideration in 1921 as an arena for civil disobedience, Gandhi wrote:

“Our preparation must be solid and substantial. Swadeshi must take deep root, untouchability must go in reality and Hindu-Muslim unity must be true. All this is impossible without a truly non-violent spirit.”³⁹

On the preparedness of Bardoli, an area in Surat district of Gujarat, to offer Civil Disobedience, Gandhi made this assessment after a tour of the area along with Azad Sobhani:

“... Bardoli, before it challenged the might of a great empire, must complete its swadeshi program to the extent of manufacturing sufficient hand-spun cloth to clothe itself, must freely admit untouchables into the national schools and must be so far non-violent that solitary unarmed co-operators and English and other officials might feel absolutely secure in their midst.”⁴⁰

His was a severe insistence on the fulfillment of the pre-conditions for Civil Disobedience. Further, in the initiation of Civil Disobedience, Gandhi distinguished types of Civil Disobedience, here making an important distinction also between Aggressive and Defensive Civil Disobedience:

“As soon as we have attained a complete boycott of foreign cloth and begun to manufacture our own khadi in our respective provinces and villages, we

can become free probably without having to resort to mass civil disobedience. Therefore aggressive civil disobedience should be avoided, at least till after finishing the boycott of foreign cloth and qualifying for the manufacture of hand-spun khadi. Defensive civil disobedience which is forced on us is the prosecution of our campaign we ought to welcome whenever it comes.”⁴¹

It is defensive Civil Disobedience that he classed with passive resistance.⁴²

Gandhi explains:

“It is now necessary to understand the exact distinction between aggressive civil disobedience and defensive. Aggressive, assertive or offensive civil disobedience is non-violent, willful disobedience of laws of the State whose breach does not involve moral turpitude and which is undertaken as a symbol of revolt against the State. Thus, disregard of laws relating to revenue or regulation of personal conduct for the convenience of the State, although such laws in themselves inflict no hardship and do not require to be altered, would be assertive, aggressive or offensive civil disobedience.

Defensive civil disobedience, on the other hand, is involuntary or reluctant non-violent disobedience of such laws as are in themselves bad and obedience to which would be inconsistent with one’s self-respect or human dignity. Thus formation of Volunteer Corps for peaceful purposes, holding of public meetings for similar purposes, publication of articles not contemplating or inciting to violence in spite of prohibitory orders, is defensive civil disobedience. And so is conducting of peaceful picketing undertaken with a view to wean people from things or institutions picketed in spite of orders to the contrary. The fulfillment of the conditions mentioned above is as necessary for defensive civil disobedience as for offensive civil disobedience.”⁴³

That is, the stringent preparatory conditions applied as much to defensive as to aggressive Civil Disobedience. It was not mere nominal compliance with these pre-conditions that Gandhi was after. On the need for inclusive education, for instance, he reviewed Bardoli’s progress in complying with the pre-conditions for Civil Disobedience:

“It is not enough that *Dheds* and *Bhangis* can attend meetings freely. The meaning of ending the practice of untouchability should be fully grasped. People should come to love *Dheds* and *Bhangis*. Their children should freely attend national schools; if they do not, we should go and fetch them, persuading the parents to send them.”⁴⁴

As a writer on 20th century Gujarat notes:

“During the swaraj movement of 1921–22, Gandhi had told the high caste agriculturists of Bardoli flatly that they could only consider themselves fighters for national independence if they put a stop to the exclusion and repression in their own society.”⁴⁵

On account of Gandhi’s doubts about the strength of the available commitment on this score, plans for Civil Disobedience in the early twenties, as distinct from the Non-Cooperation Movement itself, were often suspended.⁴⁶

In January 1922 Gandhi required this assurance from the people in Bardoli in Surat and those in Anand, in Kheda which he wanted conveyed to him, in the case of the latter through Abbas Tyabji:

“Every village should take up carding, people should treat *Dheds* and *Bhangis* as brothers and serve them, admit their children to national schools and go personally to fetch them and show them kindness. They should also remove the fear of those in their midst who may be co-operating with the Government. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, and Christians should cultivate good relations with one another. What is difficult in all this? What sacrifice does it involve? The spinning-wheel and khadi bring us money. The other things required are abandoning our wrong ideas. That cannot be a burden. I want the people of Bardoli to labour day and night to qualify themselves and on the 20th at the latest send me an assurance, through their Secretary or President, or a written statement from either of them, that they are now fit and ready [for the campaign]. Similarly, the residents of Anand should by that date, or even earlier, send an assurance through Abbas Saheb.”⁴⁷

While Abbas Tyabji had pressed for Anand in Kheda district as the arena for the impending Civil Disobedience, it was Bardoli that was finally chosen; one of the reasons advanced on behalf of Bardoli by Kalyanji Desai was that it lay in Surat district where the British had first made their presence felt on the Indian subcontinent.⁴⁸ Other reasons might also have influenced Gandhi’s choice. According to Mahadev Desai, Gandhi’s secretary, many Satyagrahis in South Africa had been from Bardoli; they had some familiarity with such campaigns:

“It was his familiarity with these Satyagrahis of Bardoli that led Gandhiji to approve of Bardoli as a suitable area in which to start his campaign of mass civil disobedience in 1921–22.”⁴⁹

The Working Committee meeting held at Surat on 31st of January, 1922 congratulated the people of Bardoli “upon their self-sacrificing resolve to offer mass civil disobedience” and wished them success.⁵⁰ The Working Committee further advised “all other parts of India to cooperate with the people of Bardoli Taluka by refraining from mass or individual civil disobedience of an aggressive character except upon the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi previously obtained.”⁵¹

There was only one exception. The restraint that was required by the Surat Resolution from the rest of the country outside Bardoli did not apply to “the present defensive Civil Disobedience “being carried on in certain respects:

“...this resolution shall in no way be interpreted so as to interfere with the present defensive civil disobedience going on in the country whether in respect of notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Seditious Meetings Act, or orders under the ordinary law of the country restricting the liberty of the citizens.”⁵²

The mass Civil Disobedience slated to take place in Bardoli in February 1922, would be suspended in the cumulative wake of certain violent incidents in various parts of the country in November 1921 and January 1922 and proximately in the United Provinces in February 1922. Simultaneously, a detailed Constructive Program was set out by the Working Committee that met in Bardoli on 11th and 12th February 1922.⁵³ The Working Committee, pending the convening of the All-India Congress Committee, and “subject to confirmation by it”, suspended “mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere”, “preparatory activity of an offensive nature” and “activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment’, exempting, however, “normal Congress activities including voluntary hartals wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured....”⁵⁴ The Bardoli decisions, with some modifications, were confirmed by the All India Congress Committee held later in the month at Hakim Ajmal Khan’s residence at Delhi and under his presidency.⁵⁵ It was clarified that:

“...individual civil disobedience, whether of a defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of, and upon permission being granted therefore, by the respective

provincial committee; provided that such civil disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.”⁵⁶

The distinction between individual and mass Civil Disobedience was also carefully explained in a note appended to the resolution passed at the Delhi AICC.⁵⁷ It was also expressly reiterated that the:

“...resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress program of Non-cooperation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive program framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.”⁵⁸

The Non-cooperation movement itself, which Gandhi distinguished from both aggressive and defensive Civil Disobedience, was not suspended but became the subject of a debate which went on for some years, and the boycott of foreign cloth remained a feature of the struggle till the end.

It would be a few years after February 1922, however, before large-scale Civil Disobedience would re-emerge in India, first in Bardoli itself in the late 1920s and then on a nation-wide scale in 1930.⁵⁹

This is what Gandhi himself wrote at the beginning of March 1922:

“Non-cooperation activities were not suspended. Aggressive civil disobedience and aggressive activities, preparatory thereto, were suspended.”

This was written in response to a placard which claimed that Non-cooperation movement itself had been withdrawn. “I can only conclude”, wrote Gandhi, that the placard “was issued by or on behalf of the Government...Hartals were specifically retained in the Bardoli resolutions. Non-cooperation activities were not suspended. Aggressive civil disobedience and aggressive activities, preparatory thereto, were suspended.”⁶⁰

Read together, the Bardoli and Delhi resolutions retained several avenues of protest including Non-cooperation itself, hartal, defensive civil disobedience and individual civil disobedience. Many such avenues would be resorted to in the coming days. Jawaharlal Nehru’s own further arrest in May 1922 was in relation to the foreign cloth picketing case.⁶¹ The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha of 1923 with the active involvement of

Jamnalal Bajaj, Vithalbhai Patel, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Makhanlal Chaturvedi, among others; and the Borsad Satyagraha led soon after by Vallabhbhai Patel and Gopaldas Desai against the Police Tax imposed in the Kheda District of Gujarat provide other relevant instances.⁶²

Had the Non-cooperation Movement been withdrawn in the wake of Chauri Chaura, there would have been no occasion for the debate between No-Changers and Pro-changers that went on long after the Gorakhpur incidents and did not conclude until after Gandhi's release from prison some two years later. He had been arrested on 10th of March 1922 and was not released till 5th of February 1924. Abbas Tyabji opposed the resolution on Council Entry at the Calcutta AICC in November 1922. Fresh elections to the new Councils were due in November 1923.⁶³ The draft resolution favoring Council Entry concluded with the paragraph :

"It is further recommended that in view of the new Councils assembling early in January 1924, the Congress session of 1923 be held during the first instead of last week of December and the matter be again brought up for such final mandate by the Congress as it may, under the circumstances, deem fit to issue."⁶⁴

Speaking on 23rd of November 1922, Abbas Tyabji regarded the resolution as "unconvincing", pointing out that

"...even if the committee passed it, they would have to wait a year before they knew on what mandate they were to act and to pass it would mean mere waste of time and energy".⁶⁵

Abbas Tyabji advised Non-cooperators:

"...to carry on the present work for another year. Leaders and would-be leaders might have lost faith in the present program, but that was not the case with those who worked among the masses."⁶⁶

It is noteworthy that even as late as December 1922, when Gandhi was in prison, Abbas Tyabji's resolution calling upon all Congress workers "to complete the preparations for offering Civil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the national organizations...by a date to be fixed by the All India Congress Committee at Gaya" and

C. Rajagopalachari's resolution seeking to continue boycott of Councils were passed at the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress, the latter resolution in the teeth of opposition from C.R. Das and others who sought a change in Congress policy.⁶⁷ Many of those who were initially reluctant non-cooperationists were the ones who expressed disappointment with the suspension of the contemplated Civil Disobedience at Bardoli and began to turn toward Council entry.⁶⁸ The Non-cooperation idea had seeped into the Indian consciousness and even those canvassing for Council Entry had to claim that their purpose was essentially to go into the Councils to non-cooperate. After Gandhi's release from prison in 1924, his focus was on stemming the deteriorating inter-communal situation and creating the greatest possible unity against official repression, especially in Bengal.⁶⁹ This led to the compromise on 22nd of May 1924 and 6th of November 1924 with C R Das and Motilal Nehru, representing the Swarajists who favored-Council Entry, and his recommendation to the Congress to suspend Non-cooperation except for the boycott of foreign cloth and concentrate on the Constructive program.⁷⁰ These decisions were ratified in December 1924 by the Belgaum session of the Congress presided over by Mahatma Gandhi.⁷¹

NOTES

1. For an elaboration of this, see Anil Nauriya, 'The Non-cooperation Movement', *IIC Quarterly*, Autumn 2021, pp. 1-20.
2. *Young India*, 28 July 1920, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, (CWMG). New Delhi, Publications Division, 1965-1994, vol. 18, pp. 88-90 at p. 88.
3. CWMG, vol. 15, p. 134.
4. 'Speech on Satyagraha', Allahabad, *The Leader*, 13th of March 1919, and 'Satyagraha Sabha Rules', *Young India*, 12th of March 1919, in CWMG, vol. 15, pp. 130-131 and pp. 132-133. [For February 1919 see, for example, p. 86, pp. 87-88, pp. 96-98, pp. 101-102].
5. 'Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience', (7 April 1919), *The Bombay Chronicle*, 8 April 1919, CWMG, vol. 15, pp. pp. 192-194.
6. 'Message to Countrymen' (9 April 1919) and 'Reply to Restraint Order' (10 April 1919), CWMG, vol. 15, pp. 207-209.
7. CWMG, vol. 15, p. 515.
8. CWMG, vol. 15, p. 516.

9. CWMG, vol. 15, pp 265-266 at p. 266.
10. CWMG, vol. 15, p. 387.
11. CWMG, vol. 15, p. 387. I am grateful to Prof Gopalkrishna Gandhi for drawing my attention to this cable.
12. 'Speech at Khilafat Conference, Delhi', (24 November 1919), *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6 December 1919, CWMG, vol. 16, pp. 307-312.
13. CWMG, vol. 16, p. 310.
14. [Tr. From Gujarati], *Navajivan*, 7 December 1919, CWMG, vol. 16, pp. 318-326 at p. 321.
15. See *Indian Annual Register*, 1921, vol. 1, pp. 460ff.
16. On certain aspects of the evolution of the non-co-operation movement see Indulal Yajnik, 'Ushering in a New Era', in the compilation : *1921 Movement : Reminiscences*, New Delhi, Publications Division, 1971, p. 221. Years later in a talk with Assam Congressmen in 1946 Gandhi recalled the fact that his (Gandhi's) Non Co-operation Resolution (in 1920) was passed by a Provincial Conference presided over by Abbas Tyabji even before it was passed by any all-India body of the Congress. Gandhi, who was speaking from memory, mentioned 1918. The correct date is August 1920.
17. *Indian Annual Register*, 1921, vol. 1, p. 51.
18. Rajendra Prasad, *An Autobiography*, Delhi National Book Trust, 2014 (first published at Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1957), pp. 112-113.
19. *Young India*, 22 September 1920.
20. *Young India*, 30 March 1921.
21. *Young India*, 6 October 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 235-6.
22. Cited in Hari Dev Sharma, 'The Non-cooperation Movement', in Arun Chandra Guha (ed.), *The Story of Indian Revolution*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1972, pp. 117- 164 at pp. 130-131.
23. Hari Dev Sharma, 'The Non-cooperation Movement', in Arun Chandra Guha (ed.), op. cit., pp. 117- 164 at pp. 131-132.
24. Syed Mahmud, 'Looking Back', in *1921 Movement Reminiscences*, Delhi, Publication Division, 1971, p. 148.
25. See CWMG, vol. 22, p. 5n and *Indian Annual Register, 1921-1922*, vol. 1, pp. 311-318.
26. Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1980 edition (first published London, The Bodley Head, 1936), p. 80.
27. See CWMG, vol. 21, p. 530 and CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 21-24 and Indulal Yajnik, 'Ushering in New Era', in , in *1921 Movement Reminiscences*, op. cit., p. 227.

28. On the arrests and trials see *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, Volume Three, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1984, (being Appendix XIII to Report of Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, All India Congress Committee, 1922), pp. 271-302; Yusuf Meherally, *The Price of Liberty*, Bombay, The National Information and Publications, 1948; Durlab Singh (ed.) *Famous Trials of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, Lahore, Hero Publications, 1944 and Hari Dev Sharma, 'The Non-cooperation Movement', in Arun Chandra Guha (ed.), *The Story of Indian Revolution*, op. cit., pp. 117- 164 at pp. 141-144.
29. *Navajivan*, 18 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 22, p. 41.
30. *Young India*, 22 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 22, 61-84.
31. *Young India*, 5 January 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 142-143.
32. Idem.
33. Idem.
34. See *The Great Trial : Being a report of Mahatma Gandhi's Trial* (with an introduction by Mazharul Haque), Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1965.
35. *Young India*, 23 February 1922, CWMG, vol.. 22, p. 455.
36. See 'Instructions for Satyagrahis', 30 June 1919, CWMG, vol. 15, pp. 412-416; for Bombay AICC of October 1920 see *Indian Annual Register*, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 129-132 ; for Bezwada Congress of March 1921, *Indian Annual Register*, 1921-22, pp. 162-167; for Bardoli Congress Working Committee resolution, *Young India*, 16 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 377-381.
37. See especially the first and second resolutions passed by All India Congress Committee at Bezwada and the debate in relation to these summarised in *Indian Annual Register*, 1921-22, pp. 162-167.
38. (Tr. from Gujarati), *Navajivan*, 23 October 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 334-338 at pp. 334-335 See also *Young India*, 3 November 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, p. 382 and *Navajivan*, 20 November 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 470-472; *Navajivan*, 27 November 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 489-492; *The Bombay Chronicle*, 10 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 517-518; *Young India*, 8 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 532-534.
39. Letter to Abbas Tyabji, 1 December 1921, CWMG, vol.. 21, p. 517.
40. *Young India*, 8 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 532-535 at p. 534. For another critical appreciation of the fitness or otherwise of Bardoli to offer Civil Disobedience, see CWMG, vol. 21, pp. 560-563.
41. CWMG, vol.. 21, pp. 537-539 at p. 539.

42. 'Rejoinder to Government of India', 7 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 344-350 at p. 345.
43. 'Notes', *Young India*, 9 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 352-368, at p. 362.
44. *Navajivan*, 11 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 21, p. 561.
45. Jan Breman, *Labour Bondage in West India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 116.
46. Anil Nauriya, 'The Non-cooperation Movement', *IIC Quarterly*, Autumn 2021, pp. 1-20.
47. [Tr. from Gujarati], *Navajivan*, 15 January 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, p. 192.
48. Vajjnath Mahoday, *Vijayi Bardoli*, Ajmer, Sasta Sahitya Mandal, 1929, p. 17.
49. Mahadev Desai, *The Story of Bardoli: Being a History of the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 and Its Sequel*, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1929 (1957 reprint), p. 4.
50. *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, volume Three, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1984, p. 262.
51. Idem.
52. Idem.
53. *Young India*, 16 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 377-381.
54. *Young India*, 16 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 377-381.
55. *Indian Annual Register*, 1921-22, vol. 1, pp. 402-404.
56. Rajendra Prasad, *An Autobiography*, op. cit., pp. 166-167.
57. Rajendra Prasad, *Ibid.*, p. 167. The note appended to the Delhi AICC Resolution of February 1922 reads: "Note: Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or of an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore, a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of individual civil disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment."
58. *Indian Annual Register*, 1921-22, vol. 1, pp. 402-404 at p. 403.
59. Even on the re-emergence of Civil Disobedience in Gujarat and on its successful conclusion in 1928, Gandhi, when speaking at a celebratory

function, reminded the peasants of Bardoli that they had yet fully to redeem their pledges of the early 1920s:

“The way in which the Hindus, Musalmans and Parsis of this taluk stood shoulder to shoulder together in the course of the struggle was splendid. All honour to them. But can we lay our hand on our heart and say that a real and abiding heart-unity between the various communities in this taluk has been established? Would you have been able to keep together without the consummate tact of the Sardar and the presence of an Abbas Tyabji or an Imam Sahib in your midst? Are you sure that you will be able to remain unaffected even if the whole country is plunged into an orgy of communal hatred?” [*Young India*, 13 September 1928, CWMG, vol. 37, p. 168. ‘Sardar’ here refers to Sardar Patel. Abbas Tyabji (1853-1936) was a former Chief Justice of the Baroda High Court who had been associated with Gandhi since at least 1917. Tyabji was known as the “Grand Old Man of Gujarat”. He was President of the Kheda District Congress Committee, 1921-22. [See David Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat : Kheda District 1917-1934*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 272] ‘Imam Sahib’ refers to Imam Abdul Kader Salim Bawazeer, an old associate of Gandhi’s from his South African years who had had participated in the Satyagraha in South Africa in 1908 and 1913 and was imprisoned several times. After Gandhi’s departure from South Africa, Imam Bawazeer later joined him in India. [For a note on Imam Bawazeer, see Fatima Meer (ed.), *The South African Gandhi*, Durban, Madiba Publishers, (2nd edn) 1996, p. 1182] As we have seen, the pledges of the early twenties had included resolves, inter alia, to eradicate untouchability, establish Hindu-Muslim unity and to adhere to a non-violent method of protest. [Tr. From Gujarati], *Navajivan*, 2 February 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, pp. 287-294] A hundred years later these aspects of the movement remain especially relevant.

60. *Young India*, 2 March 1922, CWMG, vol. 22, p. 508.
61. *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, vol.ume Two, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1984, pp. 384-386; see also Jawaharlal Nehru’s statement at his trial on 17 May 1922, *The Leader*, 19 May 1922, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, vol.ume 1, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1972, pp. 252-257.
62. See for Flag Satyagraha, *Indian Annual Register*, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 169-172, and Rajendra Prasad, *An Autobiography*, op.cit., pp. 199-200; see also David Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat*, op. cit., pp. 158-159 who writes that the Kheda struggle-related Congress leaders like Abbas

- Tyabji, Darbar Gopaldas, Phulchand Bapuji Shah and Gokaldas Talati, among others, also joined the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha ; and for the Borsad Satyagraha, see Kashinath Narayan Trivedi, 'Sardar' in Vajinath Mahoday, *Vijayi Bardoli*, Ajmer, Sasta Sahitya Mandal, 1929, pp. 'k'-t' at pp. 'thh'-dd'. *Indian Annual Register*, 1924, vol. 1, pp. 29 - 32 (d).
63. Rajendra Prasad, *An Autobiography*, op. cit., p. 193.
64. *Indian Annual Register*, 1923 vol. 2, p. 48.
65. *Indian Annual Register*, 1923 vol. 2, p. 49.
66. *Indian Annual Register*, 1923 vol. 2, p. 49.
67. See *Selected Works of C. Rajagopalachari*, [Mahesh Rangarajan, N. Balakrishnan, Deepa Bhatnagar (eds)], vol. II, New Delhi, Orient Black Swan, 2014, p. 422 and *Indian Annual Register*, 1922-23, vol. II, pp. 847-8, pp. 868-872(e) and pp. 872(i)-872(j). Immediately after the conclusion of the Gaya Congress on 31 December 1922, the AICC met at Gaya on the following day, 1 January 1923, with C R Das presiding, and again in the evening when Abbas Tyabji presided. At the evening session of the AICC, the Working Committee was empowered in specified situations to relax certain conditions for Civil Disobedience that had been laid down at the Delhi session of the AICC earlier in the year. *Indian Annual Register*, 1922-23, vol. II, pp. 872 (n)-872 (o).
- 68 See Acharya Narendra Deva, 'Bharatiya Rashtriya Andolanka Itihas', *Acharya Narendra Deva Vangmaya*, Khand 1 (1918-1938), New Delhi, Nehru Smarak Sangrahalaya evam Pustakalaya, 2002, pp. 146-205 at p. 184.
69. See Acharya Narendra Deva, 'Bharatiya Rashtriya Andolan ka Itihas', *Acharya Narendra Deva Vangmaya*, Khand 1 (1918-1938), op. cit., pp. 146-205 at pp. 187-8. For the repression in Bengal see *Report of Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, 1922*, reproduced in *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, Vikas Publishing House, 1984, vol. 3, Appendix VIII G, pp. 216-229; see also *Indian Annual Register*, 1924, vol. 2, pp. 160-184. For the repression in United Provinces, see *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 186-200; for Sitapur in the United Provinces, see also Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohanlal Saxena, 'Terrorism in Sitapur District', in *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, vol. 1, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1972, pp. 242-247. For Assam and Santhal Parganas see Rajendra Prasad, *An Autobiography*, op. cit., pp. 174-177. For Assam see also *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, vol. 3 op. cit., pp. 201-203; for Rajendra Prasad's Report on the repression in the Santhal Parganas see *Selected Works of C. Rajagopalachari*, vol. II, op. cit., pp. 470-474.

70. *The Hindu*, 23 May 1924, CWMG, vol. 24, pp. 109-111; see also *Young India*, 13 November 1924, CWMG, vol. 25, pp. 288-289.
71. *Indian Annual Register*, 1924, volume 2, pp. 404-448.

Gandhi's Educational Philosophy and its Relevance Today

ABSTRACT

The task of education consists of a need to have a social goal and obligation of developing a balanced personality today. British colonial rule in India left behind a system of imperial education that defied with the age-old, holistic, unique and all-inclusive educational system. It damaged the Indian education and social system by creating differences, class-consciousness, craving for western materialistic life style. In this regard, Gandhi's contribution to education is unique in the sense that he made the first attempt to develop an indigenous scheme of education in British India. His philosophy attempted to synthesize his philosophy of life and educational thought. He collated three important philosophies: Idealism, Naturalism and Pragmatism. Gandhi defined education as an all-round drawing out of the best in the child and man-body, mind and spirit". He emphasized both the immediate and eminent goals of life. According to him, Self-realization is the ultimate aim of life as well as of education. It is spiritual education which provides knowledge of God. He means the knowledge of God is the knowledge of truth. In the words of Gandhi, "True education should result not in material power but in spiritual force". It must strengthen man's faith in God. For him, "Development of the whole-all was directed towards the realization of the ultimate reality, the merger of the finite being into the infinite". Through his educational scheme, he wanted to bring about a social revolution in our country, thereby leading to the creation of a new social order, reflecting his philosophy of education and life. The education system proposed by Mahatma Gandhi was called Nai Talim or "Basic Education".

In brief, it aimed at education in the mother tongue and sought activity centered education to make the children skilled and independent.

Gandhi wanted to construct small, self-reliant communities with industrious, self-respecting and generous individuals living in a small co-operative. He wanted patronage to be given to local crafts and indigenous industries that could be incorporated into education to help develop mind, body and soul in a harmonious way. It is understood that if Gandhi's approach on inequality, social development, education and non-violence are implemented in the right direction, the socio economic challenges and ethical issues of contemporary times could be resolved to the great extent. His educational thoughts are in fact quite relevant in order to develop and provide possible solutions to current problems like unemployment, poverty and corruption and many other social evils. In this paper a modest attempt has been made to discuss Gandhi's thoughts on education and development that has the potential to address myriad issues that plague our society. The paper has further made a concerted attempt to highlight how his educational thought could play a significant role to improve our society not only materially but also morally. This paper would in fact, examine the relevance of his philosophy of education in order to meet contemporary challenges created by the forces of globalization.

INTRODUCTION

It is evident that the history of education is a history of the life and experiments of great educational philosophers whose ideas continue to inspire youths throughout the world concerning educational thought, behavior and practice. The last two hundred and fifty years will go down in history as the most formative years of modern education. Generally speaking Gandhi is considered as a great politician only but the fact remains that he valued social reforms more than political advancement. Education makes the human being knowledgeable and capable to perform certain duties to lead a comfortable life in this World. Gandhi's educational philosophy must be considered as dynamic and realistic if we try to understand it in the right context. His vision on education can be acknowledged and practiced for the betterment of society. The whole country can be developed and benefitted considerably if we truly follow his philosophy of life and vision of education. It is noted that Gandhi advocated for free and compulsory education for all boys and

girls between 7 to 14 years. He further said that education should be imparted to students in their mother tongue at primary level. He has rightly realized the significance of mother tongue as the child can better understand anything given in his own mother language. This has been rightly incorporated in our National education policy 2020.

We have understood the relevance of child mother tongue as he/she can understand anything better in their mother tongue. Further, it is seen that the earning while learning was the motto of this education as pointed out by Mahatma. Vocational education and skill development have been discussed and debated as how they are inevitable to address the issues of youth unemployment in our country that are the guiding principle in this national policy. We know pretty well that India is a country of villages as the great majority of people live in rural India. Gandhi understood the need of these villages and their requirements. That is why he wanted to make Indian villages self sufficient units. As a result, he laid emphasis on vocational education so that need of these villages could be fulfilled in order to increase the efficiency of the youths who can become more productive in the service of the nation.

MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF EDUCATION

Education is defined by different scholars differently. The common understanding however, emerges that the education is considered as a purposeful endeavor in order to acquire specific aims, namely, transmitting knowledge, developing skills, building human character ,etc. Furthermore, the major aims of education may be understood as the development of rationality, kindness, and honesty amongst human beings. It is also argued that critical thinking is the cardinal principle of education in contrast to indoctrination as rightly supported by many scholars. Some social theorists argue that education inculcates values amongst students while others argue for a value-neutral definition of education. Moreover, it is also said that education refers not to the process but to the product of this process. Education is also understood as the transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to the next. Today, the scope of education is gradually encompassing new ideas such as freedom of learning, unlearning, relearning, empathy, and myriad vocational skills acquiring new skills are needed for the society.

Gandhi's thought on education forms the dynamic character of his general philosophy. It is said that it was the highest desire of Gandhi that each individual of India should be educated. This means he considers education is one of the greatest instruments that can bring a lot transformation amongst society. This is, primarily owing to this reason, he never considers literacy as education in his opinion. He said. "Literacy is not the end of education, nor even the beginning". To him, it is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. He was of the view that education should develop all the capacities of the child so that he/she becomes a complete human being i.e. full development of body, mind, heart and soul of the child. In this way Gandhi advocated that education should develop the child's individuality fully and harmoniously so that he is able to realize the ultimate aim of life, which is truth or God. He considers truth as God. He gave his own argument to prove his point of view.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

To Gandhi, the purpose and aim of life can be understood in terms of immediate and ultimate aims considering its different aspects and ideals.

IMMEDIATE AIMS OF EDUCATION

Aim of Livelihood: According to Gandhi the aim of education is to enable an individual to earn his livelihood by which he can become self dependent. Gandhi was of the view that the education which cannot fulfill our basic needs is useless. He is right in his own way as this is true that education must provide gainful employment in order to address our immediate needs and requirements. There must be coordination between education and industry for making the education relevant from employment point of view. As he desires that when a child goes out after education, he should confront the problem of livelihood. He rightly believed that education should secure a child against unemployment. A child, at the age of fourteen years, after having completed the seven years curriculum, must be developed as an earning hand. This is very important today for our own country like India. India

is called a demographically dividend country as more than two thirds of population falls into the age group of 15-35. It has become pertinent to educate our youths so that India can become the largest pool of human resource. Otherwise these youths will become the burden on society. He seems to be very pragmatic in his thought and approach which have been clearly reflected in our national education policy 2020.

Perfect Development Aim: According to Gandhi. The real education is that which fully develops the body, mind, heart and soul of children as rightly stated by Gandhi. A proper and harmonious combination of all is required for making a complete human being. Gandhi's concept of education addresses the overall development of child. How education can help develop the best in the child is a matter of great concern of Gandhi. According to him, the major aims of education is to inculcate the physical, mental, social, emotional and spiritual growth of a child in order to all round development of personality. He is conscious of the fact that the personality development is the basic need of any child. This is only possible with the help of education. To him, education plays a vital role for the overall growth and development of child.

Cultural Aim: In order to promote culture and language, education also plays an important role. He argued that a child should be trained to express his culture by his conduct. It is said that the culture is the foundation in which behavior of human beings are reflected clearly. Thus, Gandhi considers cultural development as an important aim of education. He is absolutely right that the culture is one of the important dimensions of human personality that is shaped by education.

Moral Aim: Morality or character building has also been considered as one of the important aims of education as rightly emphasized by Gandhi. He is of the view that the character building is a proper foundation for education. He stated that the end of all knowledge must be the building of human character. It is noted that Gandhi gave a lot emphasis on moral character of human being that will be inculcated through proper education. This will be manifested in the character of society if right education is imparted to the child.

Aim of Emancipation: According to Gandhi, the other aim of education is to attain emancipation for an individual. This means that the education is for the sake of salvation of an individual from all types of slavery, subordination and social evils. Thus the very purpose of

education is to guide an individual for spiritual freedom in order to achieve his cherished goals. He was of the opinion that education can eradicate many social evils such as untouchability, the issues of caste, gender discrimination, etc. Thus the very purpose of education is to eradicate all types of evils prevalent in our society.

ULTIMATE AIMS OF EDUCATION

Self-Realization: This is noted that the Gandhian scheme of education refers to the self realization and spiritual development of human kind. He is of the view that education should provide spiritual freedom, development of the moral character, development of the whole, and direct towards the realization of the ultimate reality. He explained the true meaning of education which brings the overall growth and development of human personality spiritually and morally.

Perfect Synthesis between Individual and Social Aim: Gandhi had laid equal emphasis on individual and social aims of education. He believes that if the individuals are good, the society is bound to be good. He is right because the society is formed with coming of individuals together. To him, society and individual both are important. However, better society depends upon better character of individuals which is possible through education. Individual is the determining factor in society.

SCOPE OF GANDHIAN EDUCATION

It is noted that Gandhi and his teachings are assuming new dimensions of meaning and relevance today. It is found that the thoughts and practices propagated by Gandhi have been accepted by the world community. They are found to resolve several issues concerning rural society as he was fully conscious of the rural nature of our country. He tried to address the challenges faced by rural people of the country. That is why his thoughts are converged with the need and aspirations of working and agricultural population of rural India. It was Gandhi whose earnest desire was to introduce students to the manifold problems of rural India so that they will be able to develop a sustaining love for their vocation for bringing positive change in the country at large.

GANDHI'S EDUCATIONAL THOUGHTS

To Gandhi, literacy is not considered to be education. He believed that education is for all round development of child. Education ensures human qualities that lead to harmonious development of human personality. Education should, therefore, develop all human qualities inherent in a child. It should focus on harmonious development of a child's body, heart, mind and soul. This is also true that education should develop all faculties of a child according to the general well being of the community. A child's education should begin from a beneficial handicraft or skill by which he can meet the economic needs of his future life. Gandhi is of the view that education refers to real life situation. This means that the child's education should be related to his real circumstances and physical environment. The purpose of education is to secure employment. Education should rescue a child from unemployment through a vocation. This is also interesting to note that a child from seven to fourteen years of age should be given free and compulsory education. Furthermore, a child should be given education through medium of his mother tongue. It is important that a child should get active education and should use it to understand his social environment. Gandhi opined that a child should be educated by the medium of a productive industry. Education should make a person self-dependent. The handicraft chosen as the medium of education should make a person self dependent.

Gandhi believed that the rational use of body organs is the most suitable way of developing a child's mind. He said that a child should be taught drawing at first and then reading and identifying the letters of alphabet and then taken to writing. He has emphasized on learning by doing in his teaching method, so he has taken crafts as the centre of his basic education. He believed in the three levels of Indian way of learning as reading, thinking and action. He laid emphasis on practical work in his basic education plan.

WARDHA SCHEME

Macaulay's minutes gave a new dimension to Indian education which had far-reaching consequences. As the British system detached the child from his physical and social surroundings that created a new class in

India knowing English. It laid emphasis on literary education only. It failed to develop a sense of citizenship in the students. Hence, there was a neglect of mass education. It was against such background that the educational theory of Gandhi evolved and he realized that the whole system of education needed an overhaul. The new scheme of education which Gandhi launched in 1937 and advocated widely in India was called Basic National Education or the Wardha Scheme. This Wardha scheme was based on the same principles of education which were listed by Gandhi in a paper in 1932 in Yerawada jail. Gandhi believes that boys and girls should be taught together. He was, actually, the supporter of co-education. The fact that manual work should be considered as part of education was emphasized by Gandhi. Work should be entrusted to each boy and girl after ascertaining his or her inclinations. The child should know the way and the wherefore of every process. General knowledge precedes literary education. The hand of the child should be trained to draw geometrical figures before he learns to write. The child should learn to read before he is able to write. By this method and by word of mouth, the child should acquire much knowledge before he is eight years old. Children should not be compelled to learn anything. The child should be interested in whatever he learns. All education should be imparted through the child's mother tongue as rightly stated in the current national education policy. Every child should learn Hindi-Urdu, i.e. Hindustani as a national language before his literary training commences.

The second stage of the child's education begins when he is eleven and lasts up to sixteen. Manual labor has a place in education during this period. The child should learn some vocation as preparation for his future life. He should acquire a general knowledge of world History, Geography, Botany, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra. A child of sixteen years should know sewing and cooking as well. In the third stage which begins at 16 and ends at 25, a young man or woman should receive education according to his or her desires and circumstances. The education commencing should be self-supporting. The student, while learning, should be engaged in such a vocation that may meet the expense of school.

Teachers must get enough salary to maintain their life. They must have a good character and a sense of service. Huge and costly buildings

are not necessary for education. On October 23, 1937 a conference was organized at Wardha to finalize the basic system of education. This conference resolved and made several recommendations. In order to implement these recommendations a committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain. The Committee highlighted the principles, aims and organization of basic education in its first report on Dec. 02, 1937. In Its second report in 1940, this committee received the curriculum of basic education. Finally, the basic principles of Gandhi's concept of basic education were compulsory free education, education through craft, education through mother tongue, self-reliance, education connected with the life of the education and finally inculcation of the ideals of democratic citizenship. Teaching and learning in Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi (Central University) is a glaring example where his basic education scheme was implemented and it is still continuing.

FEATURES OF BASIC EDUCATION

Basic education is the foundation to the whole system of education meant for progress of a child's body, mind and spirit. It is related to the basic needs of the child, the food, clothing, shelter, clean and healthy living, etc. It is also intimately related to the basic occupations of the community. However, later on, the shape of Basic Education was widened to include pre-Basic, Post-Basic, and Adult education.

Basic Education is a result of Gandhi's philosophy of life and education, although it does not represent his entire philosophy of education. The attainment of ideals, for which Gandhi put forward this scheme of education, is clearly derived from a democratic philosophy. These ideals are: Ideal of classless society, Freedom and equality for all, Dignity of labor, a non violent social order and development of a sense of social responsibility.

TENETS OF BASIC EDUCATION

Education for Sarvodaya: Gandhi was very much aware of the needs of the country and considered basic education as the only type of the education which may be successful. His main aim for education in

India was to fulfill the needs of the country. He emphasized upon the importance of dignity of labor and manual skill.

Sarvodaya Society: The social philosophy of M. K. Gandhi may be termed as Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya aims at all round development of all without distinction of caste, creed, sex and nationality. He wanted to establish a welfare State in India which he called "Ram Rajya". The ideal of Sarvodaya aims at the maximum good of all without exception.

Nai Talim: In order to achieve the above mentioned aims of Sarvodaya, Gandhi presented his scheme of basic education which he called Nai Talim. Gandhi planned a craft centered education with mother tongue as the medium. Literacy, according to him, is not an end but only a means of education. Education ultimately aims at the development of both mind and body and the capacity of earning one's livelihood.

Social Revolution: Basic education was believed to bring about a silent social revolution in the country. It will provide a healthy and moral basis of relationship between the city and the village and thus go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of social insecurity and poisoned relationship between the classes. It will check the progressive decay of our villages and lay the foundation of a social order in which there is no unnatural division between the 'haves' and the 'have not's'.

Non-Violent Education: Gandhi emphasized on the principle of non-violence in every field of life. Even truth was subordinate to non-violence. This principle of non-violence was used in every aspect of education so much so that his theory of education might be called non-violent education.

GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

Gandhi was a visionary and firmly believed that the goodness of the individual formed the constituent part of the goodness of the society. In his opinion the individual is on supreme consideration. A proper and harmonious combination of body, heart and soul is required for making of the whole man and constitutes the true aim of education. Through the introduction of *Basic Education*, Gandhi gave India and the world a new spirit in education. Basic Education aims to provide the basis of Indian culture to meet the basic needs and interests of the child such

as the desire for creative work. Through this concept, Gandhi aimed at the solution of the problem of mass education in a practicable way. The three fundamental phases of education are; who to teach, what to teach and how to teach. In all these phases, Gandhi made vital contributions. He was opposed to the *Filtration Theory of Education*. He believed that education should be the guard of equity. The first principle of his New Education is the introduction of free and universal primary education on a compulsory basis throughout India. Gandhi's concept of education was related to the basic interests and needs of the child. He urged that education should teach different subjects through some productive activity or craft like spinning and weaving, carpentry, agriculture, fruit and vegetable gardening and leather work. Education should centre round some form of useful manual work as a means for cultivating the mental, physical and spiritual potentialities of a human being. Gandhi did not just want a mere mechanical education but a true education.

Gandhi aimed at the education of the whole personality. Literacy is not the end of education but only one of the means through which men and women can be educated. Gandhiji's aim of education was broad not narrow. In *Nai Talim* there is place for education in health, religion, crafts, languages, science, history, geography, art, music and physical education. He stood for a harmonious blending of thinking and doing, theory and practice, abstraction and realism. *Nai Talim* aimed at social reconstruction. One main objective of *Nai Talim* is the promotion of communal harmony. Gandhi emphasized on character building in education. He wanted education to develop a sense of self discipline and fellow feeling. Confidence, courageousness, self expression, a sense of orderliness and systematic habits should be built through education. His contribution to education is great. He showed great courage and resourcefulness in offering a scheme of education suited to Indian culture and heritage.

Mahatma Gandhi gave the scheme of education for modern India which can be called the first blue print of the national system of education. It is job centered, value based and mass oriented. It provides for manual work along with intellectual exercise. It is the first model of Vocationalisation of education in India. An impartial study of Gandhi will reveal that he is the starting point of modern educational theory and practice in India. His entire philosophy stands on two pillars i.e.

Truth and Non-violence. True knowledge is thus knowledge of the self. But Gandhi's philosophy of education is not merely a philosophy of education which aims at the spiritual salvation of man rather it is aware of the material dimensions of life. Gandhiji's education aims at social and economic benefit, transformation of the individual as well as the whole society. Thus for him education is a means for the upliftment not only of the individual but of the entire society.

Gandhi considered that the best education was that education which makes all round development of the personality of the individual along with some vocational training to cater to the economic needs. To cultivate such new values education should cater to their economic needs and make them self supporting. In his new scheme of education, he laid emphasis on handicraft. Thus his concept of education is to bring about a harmonious development of all the four aspects of human personality i.e. body, heart, mind and spirit. Gandhi's educational theory evolved out of his wide and long experiences of the political, social and economic life. Gandhi realized at an early age that education was a remedy for all the ills and evils in Indian society. Gandhi believed that the existing system of education in India which was of foreign import did not suit to the culture and genius of the people of India. Therefore it needed overhauling to suit the needs of society and people of India. He influenced the lives of people for more than half a century. His approach to most issues was down to earth and holistic be it social, cultural, economic, health and education. His philosophy was pragmatic, far sighted and highly decentralized. Gandhi's ideas on education seem to be very much relevant in the present conditions of society. The national education policy 2020 must be implemented in letter and spirit where Gandhi's approach of education has been emphasized for improving the educational status of rural youths.

Gandhi's educational philosophy was also taken in account in the National Education commission 1964-66 by D.S. Kothari. This Commission reported- The present system of education designed to meet the needs of an imperial administration will need radical changes if it is to meet the purposes of a modernizing democratic and socialistic society. In fact, what is needed is a re-evaluation of education. This will set in motion the much desired social, economic and Cultural Revolution. Mahatma Gandhi desired to promulgate his new scheme

of education to develop a new socio-economic order based on justice. The resolution on National Policy on Education in 1968 adopted Gandhi's idea of free & compulsory education for all the children up to the age of 14. Gandhi's emphasis on vocational training to students has been given due importance by Kothari Commission in its report. The policy of vocationalisation of education was finally promulgated when the National Policy on education 1986 was adopted by the Parliament. It laid emphasis on vocationalisation of education as well as adult education.

The genesis of our National policy of education and program of action 1986 laying emphasis on early child education, Universal elementary Education, vocationalisation of education, education for women's equality Adult education are present in Gandhi's new scheme of education. This concept of Basic Education is as much relevant today as when it was announced by Gandhi. Basic Education as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi is an education which aims at creating a social order free from violence and injustice. Therefore, creative, socially useful and productive work in the school in which all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste and classes that are placed at the core of basic education. Gandhi believed that knowledge must be related to activity and practical experience. The basic scheme envisages a close integration between the schools and the community so as to make the child more social minded and co-operative. Gandhi was fully alive to the fact that independence of India would have no meaning so long as her women were enslaved within bonds of ignorance, superstition and evil social customs. Without their emancipation from these bonds the society cannot progress. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that education was the most potent instrument for the overall empowerment of women. He is right as it is the need of the time to empower women because they constitute almost half of the total national population in the country.

The introduction of the new pattern of education 10+2 in India was envisaged for the sake of the vocationalisation of higher secondary education at an extensive scale. This has not been found much appropriate with the changing time. Hence this existing system has been replaced by new structure of school system of 5+3+3+4 that would allow for a more uniform and inclusive transition from pre-school to

higher education (9 to 12). National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in 1976 prepared a document and spelt out details of implementing the scheme. Moreover manual work brings the child in contact with matter. Such knowledge opens his mind to science and economics. Thus we see that Gandhi conception of education is indigenous and based upon the social conditions and future needs of the country. Importance given by Gandhi to the education of the grown people was recognized by the Govt. of Indian by making a policy statement on Adult Education on April 5, 1977. As a result of the policy statement on adult education, National adult education program was launched in the country on October 2, 1978. It aimed to cover the entire population in 15-35 age groups by the end of 1983-84. The educational scenario in the 21st century is profoundly influenced by ongoing process of globalization. It is also increasingly realized that basic education viz. a viz. globalization should include much more than primary education. Some countries have extended the age of free and compulsory education up to the age of 16 or 18. Thus the need of the hour is to reorient education so as to channelize the human resource in the right direction. In the reports of various committees and commissions, the need and the importance of the reorientation of education has been emphasized to make it vocational and more productive.

GANDHIAN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT IN NEP 2020

It is witnessed that a lot of importance to the very idea of learning which is called holistic, integrated, inclusive, enjoyable and engaging has been included in the NEP 2020. This idea has been taken from Gandhian thought. How best learning of students will be maximized has been discussed in this policy. Accordingly the changes are expected to be brought through a series of curricular and pedagogy reforms in the existing system of education. That will definitely serve the purpose of students to learn and they will use it for their needs. This is very much reflected in Gandhi's scheme of *Nayi Talim* in which he believed in Education for life, through life and throughout life. The idea of learning in fact emphasizes much more on the synthesis between vocation and education which is greatly found in the NEP 2020. This is interesting to note that Gandhi's vision of education is clearly visible as the words

like 'behavior', 'ethics', 'hygiene/cleanliness', 'cooperation' are reflected in the current policy.

Thus we see that the New Education Policy 2020 emphasized on holistic development of student personality, use of the mother tongue for children, vocationalisation of education, inclusion of socially marginalized section of society and not giving much priority in order to improve the character of educated persons as has been suggested by Mahatma Gandhi but the NEP has done it. This Policy also suggested to bring change in the existing concept of rote learning and to adopt an inclusive approach to education that can promote logical thinking and creativity amongst learners. This resembles the vision of Gandhi. The NEP also focuses on making education accessible in the learner's mother tongue. This is true that the natural expression of child is only possible in mother tongue. The role of teachers is very important as the destiny of any society is shaped by the teachers. His role is in fact considered to be very crucial character building of society as has been well acknowledged by Mahatma Gandhi. The NEP further highlights that students should not be considered merely a passive listeners and imitators in the whole process of teaching learning Endeavour but they must have their own rational thoughts and points of view. They must be allowed to put their view points before teachers. This way the classroom can be turned into a centre of healthy debate and discussions between teachers and that which is taught. It will ultimately result into rational thinking and creative knowledge. It is thus seen that Gandhian thought is central to our National Education Policy.

It is further noted that social weaker and marginalized sections of society should be included in mainstream education for better and progressive India was the viewpoint of Mahatma Gandhi. He rightly underlined the urgency to provide them similar chance as it is available to their privileged peer groups. NEP represents his view on *Lokvidya*. This is called education for all. There is no differentiation on any considerations like caste, creed, religion, gender, etc. This is rightly said that the concept of equality and inclusion must be seen in terms of their application which has not happened so far. It is the duty of conscious citizens to ensure that non-privileged groups such SC/ST, women, minorities, etc. must have access to education for progressive India. This is interesting to note that NEP has prioritized these issues in the

form of promoting human values, community service and multicultural and plural society.

CONCLUSION

It seems that Gandhian approach to education is much more relevant today. The essence of basic education lies in drawing out the best in child's body, mind and spirit. The core of the concept of Gandhi's education philosophy is that handicrafts to the pupils are to be taught not merely for productive work, but for developing their intellect. Correlation with craft and environment and co ordination with other subjects is an important aspect of Gandhian conception of education. Various psychological, sociological and economic dimensions of the program aim at the development of totality of the personality of men and women. With the serious problems of unemployment and growing unrest among the students, re-orientation of the educational system in line with Gandhian conception of education seems to be the need of the 21st century.

We now conclude by saying that quality education emphasizes on learner's complete growth and it inculcates values like nonviolence, honesty and integrity and resilience to build a society based on its sustainability. It is believed that the vision of holistic education envisioned by Gandhi and recommended by NEP 2020 would be able to create viable niche for progressive India in the years to come.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Hindustani

Hindustani as a linguistic term is not new. John Gilchrist, in his famous dictionary of 1775, in which Urdu was first designated as a language name, wrote that one of the names of 'Hindoostani was Urdu. What then was the language known as Hindi? In their travelogues, foreigners whose accounts are now considered of great importance for our historians termed almost every language of the Sub-Continent as Hindi. Wherever they went, they, for the reasons of convenience, named the language of that region Hindi. Until 1775, there was no language by the name of Urdu. It was universally called Hindi in Perso-Arabic script, which, with the evolution of the language, is now known as Urdu script.

Mahatma Gandhi broadened the scope of Hindustani, which he initially conceived as the language of independent India and suggested that it would be written in both scripts: Devanagari and Urdu. By that time, the protagonists of modern Hindi were insisting that it would be only written in Devanagari script. People started forgetting that Hindi (now known as Urdu) was originally written in the Urdu script. Language politics also became embroiled with the politics of nationalism and there was an attempt by hardliners to project Hindi nationalism as Indian nationalism.

Mahatma Gandhi and his main ally in politics Jawaharlal Nehru were both trained in English. Mahatma Gandhi was probably proficient in Gujarati in both its spoken and written forms. However, it could not be the language of India because of its limited regional character, and he never considered projecting it as such. Nehru was proficient in spoken and written Urdu. The concept of a language which is broadly understood throughout the length and breadth of India suited the politics of both Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, and for this reason, the idea of Hindustani as the national language of India was well received in the initial stages. In its Kanpur session in 1925, the

Congress passed a resolution for the adoption of Hindustani as the national language with a dual script in Devanagari and Urdu. Nehru was the foremost supporter of the solution. In Devanagari script, it is now the dominant language in all spheres of life in the region of north India, the backbone of Indian politics, and creates an equation between Hindi nationalists and Hindu nationalists. Avoiding Urdu should have created a void as Hindi was then in no position to take on the role of a functional language. From day one, all efforts of Hindi enthusiasts were directed at countering Urdu literature and the effort to degrade Urdu literature is still on the top of the agenda of Hindi protagonists. However, they are far from fulfilling this impossible goal due to the majoritarian mentality ignoring the basic rules of language and its literature.

Mahatma Gandhi's view on the language issue was not without a perspective to which Indian sensibilities were central. His experience with English had taught him that instead of a foreign language, a home-grown language should be the medium of instruction. When Mahatma Gandhi emphasized education, his perspective automatically became alien for Hindi enthusiasts whose only focus was on a language countering Urdu and its literature. Urdu was developed enough even to serve as the medium of instruction even in higher education such as engineering and medical science as was successfully done in Osmania University until it fell victim to the post partition agenda to destroy both Urdu and the Jamia Osmania. Jamia Millia Islamia was established in 1920 as an Urdu ethos institution which has been diluted after Independence, and the Bill of making it as the Central University ceased Urdu's fate as far as the ethos of the Jamia Millia Islamia is concerned.

One should not forget for a moment that when the voices against English became louder in Congress circles, like a clever politician, Jawaharlal Nehru supported them. However, his personal and professional life was dominated by English, and he was brought up in the atmosphere where Urdu had dominated the scene especially the cultural milieu of Nehru household. As far as Mahatma Gandhi's views on indigenous languages go, they can be summarized as follows: Government offices and government-run education systems should depend only on local but predominant languages of the region. For that, the Government should recognize local languages. His formula

recognizes Hindi and Urdu as separate languages, making Hindustani virtually a spoken language only. Even though Gandhi Ji claimed it would be written in both scripts, this was nothing but a farce simply because if a language is not part of the school system, thus having no roots in society, there is no way it can be the official language and functional language i.e., the language of life. In India, spoken languages number in thousands. Every few kilometers, the same language changes its syntax, vocabulary, pronunciation, idiom, and most importantly, proverbs. On occasions, Mahatma Gandhi claimed that in Hindustani-dominant areas, Hindi/Hindustani would be the medium of instruction, but he never demarcated that area. It was all more critical as the area of north India was termed as the Hindi belt or the Cow belt, having a connotation of Hindu nationalism. Urdu faces the same situation as Hindustani without a clear area marked out as its domain. In fact, the area of modern Hindi and Urdu is the same, and so is the structure of both languages. The strange logic especially from the theory of Nehru propounded then was that Devanagari, Bangla, Gujarati, and Marathi should be amalgamated to evolve a new script in which all these languages could uniformly be written, and Gandhi ji never opposed the idea. Of course, Mahatma Gandhi himself could not take the risk of suggesting the merging of these important languages into Hindi, the way Urdu was merged. It would have been suicidal, but he did not oppose the suggestion that the insignificant Sindh be written in Devanagari script. The most interesting suggestion from Nehru with silent agreement was for the South Indian languages to specifically propose that the new script should be evolved on the pattern of Devnagri if it is not possible for all the languages of South India, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad and Malayalam to adopt a new script!

None of these formulations was acceptable then, even if Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru supported them.

Mahatma Gandhi opted not to be a member of the Constituent Assembly, which debated the language policy for independent India without his presence. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which he influenced its members though. Urdu was not discussed substantively in the Constituent Assembly (all such stories in this regard are mere fiction), and its inclusion in the 8th Schedule was because of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nobody objected to its inclusion. For a functional language

like Urdu, though, neither its inclusion in the 8th Schedule nor in the vague provisions of the Special Directives as Article 350A recognizing the mother tongue at the primary level as the medium of instruction has not served any practical purpose.

Demography, Muslim Women and Electoral Politics in India: In Gandhian Era

The beginning of technological progress in the second half of the 1850s—with the development of railways, postal services, population census, and the introduction of formal education throughout the country—paved the way for the development of caste and community consciousness among Indians. With the creation of the Municipal Corporation, India experienced a new type of electoral politics that mainly relied on a number of individuals and frequently gave rise to numerous “isms” based on religion, caste, and ethnicity. Additionally, 1857 had a significant impact on India’s history of identity politics, giving rise to the majority and minority communities’ two creations. Furthermore, Lord Ripon’s¹ introduction of Municipal Corporation elections in undivided India in 1882 enhanced the idea of community identification. Perhaps he had no idea that it would create the groundwork for the biggest democracy in the history of the world. In order to comprehend the problem of community politics, it is necessary to examine the development of electorate politics in colonial India in the second half of the 20th century and how it altered India’s entire socio-political environment, notably in the past two to three decades. This change is evident in the way that the general election produced a new electorate politics trend.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as the 1980s and 1990s, have had a considerable impact on India’s socio-political engineering.² India’s population was counted for the first time in 1881, but it was heavily influenced by the need to safeguard the empire’s political interests. It was likely one of the most important initial initiatives that formalised identity politics through official records and the Indian Census Reports (henceforth CR).³ The Mughal Empire calculated as a way to decide on taxes and land revenue by counting each home. If it did

not serve them adequately, they adopted recording caste and profession so that they could fix tax precisely. Despite the fact that the history of enumeration is not new in India, counting population is not alien to pre-colonial India, according to Mythely Sreenivas.⁴ The British made a significant contribution by linking census data with the government to enable proper control of the Indian populace through production of a detailed statistical report on their socio economic situation. Despite the fact that the first pilot study of enumeration began in the Madras Province in 1872 and was expanded to the entire country, India in 1881, the census became more truly national and was compelled to produce caste, religion, and occupation data that were comparable across the country.⁵ Arjun Appadurai has rightly observed “The turn to numbers, was part of a growing sense that a powerful state could not survive without making enumeration a central technique of social control.”⁶

Therefore, through Administrative Social Engineering, the British gave a fixed identity to the social scaling of colonial India, which had already begun as a result of the great uprising of 1857 in the form of two religious communities of India. That religious identity was further expanded in 1881 through acknowledging castes, tribes, occupational and gender-based enumeration of people of India, which never happened in pre-colonial India.⁷ In fact, during the rule of Lord Ripon, the post-1880s saw an emerging educated middle class in India.⁸ Interestingly, the systematic enumerations had been verified by government reports, gazetteers, and newspapers, but the Census Report was the most essential one. That method highlighted the number of people from each area as well as their socio-cultural and economic condition. More importantly, they provided a very thorough analysis of the Indian people, including socio cultural and political factors that have contributed to their current situation with a focus on their limited historical background.

The notion that Indian Muslims were recognised and pegged as a Population Bomb that finally made them a threat to Hindu majorities is the most significant component of all decennial CRs. It made numerous demeaning remarks on the status of Muslim women in a very unfavourable way, generalising that Muslims are India’s most fertile community in terms of sexual vibrancy.⁹ To our utter dismay, these CRs have portrayed Muslim women in a degrading light by classifying them as prostitutes in social category IV.¹⁰ It is really intriguing to consider

why Muslims are the only group included in the list of prostitutes and sex workers. However, the issue begins with the way the growth rate had been categorically politicised by the CR where it sounded very derogatory to establish Muslim women as being more sexually vibrant in official record, i.e. CR that emerged to emphasize Muslim women. It is true that there are numerous socio-cultural and economic reasons behind the widespread prostitution in the 19th century that need to be separately analysed instead of making a general statement and categorising them under Muslims only.¹¹ They went so far as to claim that all Hindu women who had a weak moral code had converted to Islam, and that since all prostitutes are Muslims, Hindus are fast losing population to Muslims. The Muslim populace was also allegedly influenced by Hindu widows. Starting in 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911 through 1921, these kinds of broad statements started to become common in the entire CR. As a result, the first CR introduces the idea of an imagined population threat. Interestingly, at that time, there was no birth control or family planning notion to be found elsewhere in the world.

The British had not been constant in their writings on Indian Muslims. Prior to the 1857 revolution, when Muslims emerged as their main rivals, there were two standards for judging Indian Muslims, particularly women. However, since that uprising, Muslims have been purposefully projected and portrayed as the most backward population, which is unfair.¹² Perhaps all sorts of negative images intend to control their subject people through a new kind of social engineering that resulted in a change in the entire socio-economic and political policies of the British. They started enumerating the population to sow the seed of communalism.¹³ Unfortunately, Muslim women's bodies became a site of discourse over the period wherein perceived high fertility rates and their backward character are highly debated. Due to the widespread generalisation of Census Reports, Muslim women are now viewed as a threat by many people influenced with Islamophobia. They are also believed to be contributing to rising population rates in the interest of their community. Conversely, there was a rise in demands from their Hindu counterparts, who saw them as role model, to learn from them.¹⁴ Due to a perceived threat posed by their slowing growth rate, Hindu women have been expected to help increase reproduction rates.¹⁵ It not

only affects Hindu women in India, but the Western research argued the same in western nations by bemoaning white women who are straying from the proper path of their maternity roles to career-oriented women. The hypothesis of the Curse of Eve is utilised as a rebuttal to the proponents of women's rights and its detrimental effect on the growth of the population in America.¹⁶ Considering Asian women are obedient to their male counterparts and embrace their God-ordained responsibility of maternity and motherhood, it sparked a discussion over the growing population of individuals of Asian descent. Due to the western conception of the origin story, which holds that Eve was cursed for disobeying God and leading her husband to consume the forbidden fruit, European women began to deviate from the God-ordained duty of motherhood that had been assigned to them. Women are thereby punished throughout their lives by having to endure monthly cycles and labour agony.¹⁷

However, there have been discussions regarding the perceived fertility rate of Americans of Asian ancestry in the light of Native Americans' slowing population growth.

*At that time, without the artificial assistance of immigration, the population of many localities doubled itself in a quarter of a century, and families numbering from eight to twelve children were the rule, not as today the exception. But the Native Americans, it now appears, have not fulfilled Jafferson's prognostication, though by the census of 1900 it is found that we number over 76,000,000 in all. But from these, we should deduct more than 34,000,000 of souls before we can arrive at an estimate of the native white increase; 24,060,000, including immigrants or the children of immigrants, do not belong to the grand total, and 10,000,000 again must be excluded as negroes.*¹⁸

Women became the only souls capable of bearing children as a result of the fertility debate's strong assumption. Due to their unwillingness to do God's ordained tasks, they were blamed for all imagined suffering experienced by the White race. That may provide an explanation for why modern regimes began spreading lies about minorities in democratic nations like America. In the latter half of the 20th century, it also became a popular issue in India.

Always, among upper or middle classes, where the daughters and wives enjoy the broadest and most varied mental culture, and where their

*avocations are semi-masculine by choice, flourish that blight and dry rot of the race, numerical decline.*¹⁹

ROLE OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATION ELECTION

It is essential to know the connection between the beginning of the election process and the enumeration process, and how Lord Ripon started local self-government right after the creation of CRs. However, Lord Ripon's domestic policies have always preferred young, educated Indians to quell any potential discontent toward the government. According to S. Gopal, Ripon made the majority of the British connections that educated Indians found acceptable. Gopal thinks that in 1882, Ripon encouraged local self-government to gauge political education, even though it did so at the expense of administrative effectiveness.²⁰ Elite Indians began to become extremely upset about it over time, while Hindus who had previously been the majority understood that they would soon become a minority. On the other side, Muslims began to grow increasingly worried about their small percentage of the population. Muslim social reformers, whose primary focus had previously been on the growing backwardness of Muslim society due to a lack of proper education and employment, have now turned their attention to political issues in India. Up until that point, they had only focused on how to equip their community with modern education and to bring them into the mainstream by providing them with education to battle in the competitive environment of employment.²¹

On the other hand, despite the fact that they were portrayed as being child-producing machines, no CR of United Province (UP) has produced any logical explanation for the high fertility rate of Muslims other than the community's liberal diet, prevalence of prostitution, and provisions for widow remarriage. These questions have gone unanswered to this day, and it is noteworthy that they still make up between 14 and 15 percent of the entire population.²²

Parallel with these political changes, the imperialist government urgently wanted to exert control over the growing nationalist movement in North India. Indian National Congress (INC), a sort of political safety valve (1885) supported by the colonial government, was created in response to this requirement. In order to compete with the aspirational

educated elite, INC was founded. After the first two or three Indian National Congress conferences, educated elite Muslims began to feel like a minority because the INC was completely dominated by high caste Hindus. They believed their political future was in jeopardy under Hindu majoritarian who were completely dominated by Brahmins. Muslims had established the Mohammedan Social Conference in 1887 as a proper response to Congress (MSC).

The MSC's goal, let's say, was to assess and analyse issues relating to Muslims' socio-educational status, but it was unable to avoid the contemporaneous political development in India, and it became a significant topic to discuss Muslims' political future in India, leading to the founding of the Muslim League in 1906. During a meeting with Viceroy Lord Curzon in 1906, a delegation headed by Agha Khan discussed the issue of Muslim participation in the Local Municipal Corporation. This meeting served as a turning point in Indian politics over the ensuing few decades.²³

The Morley-Minto reform, which recognised the idea of a separate electorate legally, was introduced in 1909. It's possible to see it as a strategy to support Muslims' political aspirations and a measure to quell the growing Nationalist movement that was violently manifesting itself as a result of Bengal's partition rather than as evidence that the British were more tolerant of Muslims. However, the reform was a crucial move implemented by the colonial empire that affected not just the Indian subcontinent's geography but also the course of modern political politics. Muslim fear developed dramatically with the British drive to extend electorate politics from Morley Minto to Chelmsford reform, especially in the post-1920s, as Muslims began to see a threat from majoritarian Hindus that they will be made into second-class citizens.²⁴ In fact, starting in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, and continuing through 1921, every decennial CR eerily forewarned against the fictitious increasing expansion of Muslims. Surprisingly, these census reports entirely failed to explain why any community has experienced rapid expansion or how a group is held accountable for a higher fertility rate because of one's religious identity. However, following the 1921 publication of CR, which compelled the newly formed Hindu Mahasabha²⁵ to express their concern, they vehemently illustrated how Muslims are rapidly increasing on the concept of "Hum Paanch Aur Hamare Pachees,"²⁶

which may prove dangerous in gaining an understanding of Hindu Rashtra. Interestingly, practically every CR shows that Muslims are fast growing due to flexible marriage arrangements, such as the availability of widow remarriage, as well as the prevalence of prostitution. In addition, there was growing resentment toward Muslims' perceived rate of population growth, and a segment of the majority population consistently expressed their resentment toward the way Muslim men routinely used Hindu women's wombs as a machine for producing Muslim offspring. This idea had grown so strong that it gradually had a community hue. As a result, in the first two decades of the twenty-first century, there was a heated discussion about the alleged threat posed by population expansion as well as Love Jihad, and an effort was made to link the two together.

A debate has arisen around promiscuous Muslim men who had their eyes on Hindu women, who frequently helped to increase Muslims' reproduction rates. When the political consciousness of both populations peaked in the 1920s, the deeply ingrained seed of all hatred received breath. Due to their extreme popularity, the fertility rate, the Shudhi Movement, and the conversion of Hindu widows all had a profound impact on Hindi literature from that era, which frequently discussed how widows were deviating from society simply because of Hindu society's rigidity, which frequently increased Muslim fertility rates that needed to be reduced. It served as a tool against the minority for the Arya Samaj Movement, which was active in North India. It's crucial to remember that R.K. Ghai classified the Shudhi Movement as an absorbing movement rather than an expansionist one.

"Shuddhi movement was based on the assumption that Indians, irrespective of their present religious beliefs and practices, were once Hindus and they required to be purified for their re-entry into the fold of Hinduism. It cannot be distinguished from the conversion movements of the Muslims and Christians."²⁷

The post-Muzaffarnagar violence, which reinforced this long-standing fictitious fear of a cultural clash between two communities, is a good example of this resonance. The Ghar Wapsi movement has been observed in numerous occasions recently. It was said that charming Muslim men were seducing innocent Hindu women, and that this was a new form of Love Jihad being launched against the Hindu

community to force them to submit. In the name of maintaining community honour, Hindu girls are viewed as a threat. Honour killings are not new in Delhi NCR, western UP, or Haryana, but they lately took on a communal aspect with the introduction of the idea of Love Jihad. Ironically, when the contrary is done to other communities, the same extremists either remained silent or expressed about it. The question of whether it is acceptable for a community to use its youth to degrade other communities through inter-religious or inter-community marriages or affairs and to encourage their youth to seduce girls from other communities is frequently discussed on social media and in the mainstream media, but an intriguing development is that the stereotypical image of a Muslim boy with beard face and a skull-size cap has been replaced by a dashing Muslim boy dressed in handsome Jins. Therefore, history has had a significant impact in the last few years, supporting Vipin Chandra's notion of communalism that neither spontaneous factors nor racial animosity can be the root of communal violence. It might be a present cause. It does take a long time to get to the point of violence. Moreover, only after developing an ideological foundation can community violence proliferate. When two communities are at odds, violence frequently requires a carefully thought-out and prepared approach. In creating such an environment, extremists are a major contributor.²⁸

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT, MAHATMA GANDHI AND MUSLIM DISCONTENT

The Morley-Minto Reform sparked a new discussion about India's entire political landscape, and the newly emerging middle class yearned for a piece of the optimism. The fact that the state projected a separate electorate also widened the gap between India's two largest communities. The educated classes of both Hindus and Muslims were then fighting tooth and nail for a voice in political debate, which was fuelling an increase in communal unrest throughout the country. Following Morley-Minto, Mahatma Gandhi's rise to prominence has been crucial for anti-colonial activism as well as for re-establishing the Hindu-Muslim connection, which became strained due to colonial practises of divide and rule during the post-mutiny period. Given these political

changes, Gandhiji rapidly recognised the urgency of the situation; hence, shortly after the Champaran Satyagrah, he launched the Khilafat Movement to restore the Khalifa's former splendour in Islamic Turkey. One of the most successful attempts to bring Hindus and Muslims together on one platform was the Khilafat Movement, particularly after 1857, when the gulf grew increasingly wide. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to close the gap. Muslims all around Asia were won over by Gandhi's viewpoint on the Muslim world and his concern for the head of the Muslim world. The allied forces invaded Turkey on October 8, 1912, and declared the First Balkan War on Turkey. A medical delegation led by Dr. M. A. Ansari was dispatched to Turkey as soon as hostilities began on December 15, 1912, keeping in mind the feelings of Indian Muslims. Their mission was to provide medical assistance to war survivors. These actions by the Indian National Congress were crucial in determining Hindu-Muslim relations in the post-World War II environment that was created in India. Over the course of around 1.5 years, the medical delegation was stationed there. Britain and France declared war on Turkey on November 5, 2014. Turkey's long-standing socio-cultural and political ties to India led to the country being something of an identity symbol for Muslims living in India. It would have been unlikely to happen when, after so many years of 1857, both realised together about a common enemy, i.e. British to be thrown out completely, had anti-British sentiment been at its height in India at the same time. It provided a space to dare the estranged relationship of two major communities of India. On July 3, 1918, Sultan Mehmet V passed away, and Vahi-ed-Din became Sultan Mehmet VI in his place. On November 21, 1918, Turkey eventually dissolved its Parliament. As a result, on March 29, 1919, a Khilafat Committee was established in Bombay, where Mahatma Gandhi took the lead in speaking out against British occupation not only in India but also in Turkey, where Khilafat was under threat. Gandhi further requested that there be a national protest against the Rowlett Bill on April 6, 1919, which is inextricably linked to the Khilafat struggle.

Mushirul Hasan believes that the Khilafat movement opened the ground for Gandhi's unique method of protest. It is important to note that Gandhi launched his first non-violent campaign on August 1, 1920. Prior to this, a team from the Khilafat met with Viceroy Chelmsford

under the direction of Dr. M.A. Ansari. On March 17, 1920, a different mission, under the direction of Maulana Mohammad Ali, sailed to London to meet Lloyd George. As a result, when the central Khilafat Committee began the Non-Cooperation movement in the 1920s by honouring Khilafat Day on August 1—the same day Gandhi Ji began his non-cooperation fight against the British—a great deal of political progress took place. Meetings were conducted throughout India to honour the Khilafat Committee and create several activities for the non-cooperation movement. A big number of Muslims attended a special Congress in Calcutta; this level of enthusiasm was unusual at the last conference. It is significant to note that in the Congress sessions of 1920 and 1921, Hindus and Muslims, respectively, filled the posts of secretary from the two communities in the Khilafat Committee. For the first time, the Hindus started to see a connection between central Asia to India related to the problem of colonialism and its adverse impact. No doubt Muslims across all sections have been completely with Congress during 1921–1922 and supported all calls of Mahatma Gandhi. However, in 1925, the Moplah rebellion disenfranchised Muslims, which led to the restart of the Tableeghi Jamat and Shuddhi Movement, which provided both the communities and the movement a new sense of religious identity.

Following the long struggle of freedom fighters, a nationalist school was opened on October 29, 1920, in Aligarh, which is named Jamia Millia Islamia. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to state that the Khilafat Committee and the non-cooperation movement that they started, with Mahatma Gandhi's full backing and collaboration, was a by-product of the Khilafat Committee and their efforts. Gandhi was detained and given a six-year prison term on March 18, 1922, the same year that Mustafa Kemal Pasha abolished the Sultanat, which confused Indian Muslims. The symbolic Khilafat was completely abolished on March 3, 1924, along with a strict policy of official independence from religion. The Indian Khilafat Committee tried unsuccessfully to keep Khilafat on March 9 by sending a telegram to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Hence, the role of Mahatma Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, and other traditionalist Muslims has been very important during the period of the post-Balkan war. The political awareness of Indian Muslims underwent a significant upheaval during that time. The Viceroy made plans for a round table

discussion on constitutional issues on May 12, 1930, in London. Hindu Muslims' political representation was once more renewed with new vigour. The popularity of Mahatma Gandhi among Muslims and in the views of the west Asian populace did not change despite the rising hostility between two groups in the post-1930s. In inside India, Turkish freedom fighter and noted scholar Halide Edible recalls how she was fascinated about the country India, especially with Mahatma Gandhi, she starts her Memoir-

It has been a rule of life with me not to write anything about a country not my own beyond personal impressions, and that very rarely...I break the rule in writing, Inside India, the reason is, first I felt India be nearer to my Soul-climate than any other country not my own. It was not merely because I am a Muslim and there are Muslims in India. Even among Hindu friends who have kindly opened their homes to me, a people whose social structure is so different from my own, I felt entirely at home. And it is this sense of belonging in a spiritual sense which made me take the liberty of writing about Indian so freely.²⁹

It is enough to know that the ideas of Gandhi and the Khilafat Committee had a significant influence on Turkish society. She met numerous political figures and went to the political gathering when she was in India. It is striking to see when Halide Edible describes her first arrival in India at Bombay when she witnessed tea vendors at the Railway station-

The train moved on. As we passed through lighted stations, the tops of red turbans appeared. Coolies were moving about. There was a chorus of voices shouting. The refrain was, 'Hindu Chai, Musalman Chai, Hindu Pani, MausalmanPani!' strange that the Hindus and Muslims should have different water and different tea to drink! Why did no one sell water, especially for Parsees, or any other sects? Of all the forces in action, it was evident that the Hindsu and the Muslims were the foremost.³⁰

It was the same India that gave her a spiritual sense of home and that attracted thousands of Turks during their trying times when Hindus and Muslims fought for their independence from Colonial Occupancy. A similar sentiment was expressed by Dilip Kumar in his autobiography when he recalled arriving at Bombay station from Peshawar and how he found it strange where tea had a religious identity, something which he

never imagined back in his birth town Peshawar.³¹ She must have felt a little surprised when she was welcomed by such a communal colour chorus. It was sufficient to recognise that animosity had surfaced and that relations between these two populations were not good.

It seemed Khilafat was merely a religious responsibility for Muslims while for Indian National Congress, it was an opportunity to intervene in international Politics against colonial imperialism. Gandhi agreed to help the Muslim cause in exchange for their assistance with the movement for non-cooperation, so the two were dependent on one another.

Muslims in these situations appeared to have little choice but to assert their minority identity in order to secure Muslim protection measures. Despite the fact that many Muslims participated in the anti-colonial struggle against the British, most notably Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who vehemently opposed the Partition of Bengal, a sizable number of Muslims with middle-class educations began to remain neutral towards this conflict and supported partition because it created a separate province with a majority of Muslims.³² The Muslim League achieved its goal of having a fixed electorate for minorities of Muslims in 1916, even in those places where they were the majority, which became another point of conflict for the majority of Congress leaders. It is thought that there would not have been a religious division if the Lucknow Pact had not been broken and violated. According to this pact, the idea of a distinct electorate at the provincial level was approved by both Congress and the League. In Punjab and Bengal where Muslims were in sizeable population, they made up 50% of the seat reserved for Muslims whereas in Madras and Central Province Muslims bargained 15% and in UP they took 1/3rd seat of the total in the legislative Council and for Imperial Legislative Council Muslims were to have one-third of the elective seats³³ which became a point of disconcerting for many Congress leaders that why should be seats reserved where they (Muslims) can contest election smoothly.

The Lucknow Pact was signed by the Muslim League and the Congress in 1916 and was significant in determining the course of Indian Muslims. Not only did it start India's reservation politics, but it also started India's communal politics. In Indian politics, it introduced communal representation. By splitting the populace along

communal lines, this was meant to halt the rising tide of nationalism in the nation. The result of this action was the division of the nation along religious lines. Even now, the consequences of treating various religious groups differently are still evident. The desire for an increase in representative assemblies at both the national and provincial levels, as well as the nomination of Indians to the Viceroy's and the Provincial Governor's executive councils, were the key components of the pact. But more significantly, Congress acknowledged the idea of a Muslim-only electorate for the first time in an open and unambiguous manner.

Moreover, Muslims were granted a fixed proportion of seats both in all of India and in the Provincial legislatures.³⁴ The Lucknow Pact was debated on many grounds, at the outset of this pact B. R. Ambedkar criticized it as a kind of concession from Hindus to Muslims but in the end, it did not create any reconciliation between the two communities who were at loggerhead.³⁵ On the other hand, it was appreciated that in such a tense situation while freedom struggle was going on and national integration was more important than any political gain. However, after 1947 this pact faced criticism from all quarters for a variety of reasons, most importantly being an all-Indian representative of colonial India, Congress should not have compromised its position. It was blamed that Congress had compromised with communalism and Muslim separatists.³⁶

Francis Robinson, in contrast, popularised the notion of Muslim separatism while emphasising that the Muslim League did not speak for all Muslims. He also criticised the Lucknow Pact as a deal between Congress and the young Muslim League leader that did not accurately reflect how Indian Muslims are perceived. Mohammad Sajjad focused entirely on nationalist Muslims from the Bihar province and how they had fought side by side with their other co-brothers Hindus (from the dominant caste of Bhumihar and Kayastha) against Bengali hegemony to protect their Bihari identity as monolithic nor as an Islamic identity or Hindu identity. Few other scholars have recently brought this issue to light using examples from other provinces. Therefore, unlike Francis Robinson and the Muslim League, who claim to be an Umma, Bihari Muslims identified themselves as a regional and cultural group. In fact, they showed no interest in the development of Pan Islamic Identity in Northern India and the North West Province. Even Mazhar-ul Haque

had categorically rejected the notion of Muslims having their own property based on their religion. It was decided that Muslims would receive a defined percentage of election seats in each of these councils, ranging from 15% in the legislative councils of Madras and the Central Provinces to 50% in the Panjab. The Muslims were supposed to have one-third of the elected seats in the imperial Legislative council. They were not allowed to cast ballots in non-Muslim constituencies because they were to elect their own representative. Most Muslims from the eastern portion of the Muslim world place a high value on their linguistic and cultural identities, which may help to explain why, in 1971, Pakistan was seen by the whole umma to be once more fractured. It would be easier to understand Pakistan's demand if we could identify the individuals claiming separate property from whose portion they belonged. The concept of Umma as a Pan-Islamist originated with Jamal Afghani and was later articulated by Oxford-educated Chaudhery Rahmat Ali inside a hypothetical geographic limit that remained unpalatable for many Muslims even in the United States. It is observed historical events occurred during the period when the opinion of Nationalist Muslims was very often side-lined by dominant Oxford-educated elite Muslims for their political gain, perhaps this was the reason why only educated Muslims supported a separate electorate eventually that became the demand for a separate state. It can be connected to why the first Prime Minister of Pakistan was from United Province. It is fact that all political developments of Pakistan, since its inception, have been dominated by refugee/immigrant Muslims till the emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had to take a step of another reservation for indigenous people to control the increasing importance of Muhajir.³⁷ According to the 1951 Census Report of Pakistan, 55% of Karachi's population constitute Muhajirs, to whom Farhat Haq rightly termed Urdu Speaking newcomers, along with Panjabi's dominant in Pakistan's political and bureaucratic services. He further gave explicit data that between 1946–1958, both Panjabi-speaking and Urdu Speaking refugees held 18 out of 27 offices of Governor General/President, Prime Minister, Provincial Governor, and chief ministers.³⁸

Thus it is important to understand educated Muslims' desperation to have a separate state. It is important to note that the demand has never come from commoners. In this connection, Uttar Pradesh played

a very important role since 36% of UP Muslims were urbanized and they kept 35% of their share in government jobs, whereas their share in subordinate judicial services was 45% and around 40% in Army.³⁹ While their population share ranged between 14-15%. Hence their future seemed bleak in Hindu majoritarian nation.⁴⁰ Interestingly, only 1% of the cream population had migrated to Pakistan and occupied almost all top positions in the newly formed nation as a token of their struggle meted out post-Khilafat Movement.

However, the provision of the Lucknow pact was completely scrapped in the Nehru Committee Report where it played a communal card to give space to many Hindu extremists who vehemently opposed the provision of a separate electorate⁴¹ and provided a very strong space for separatism. In that extent, a nationalist poet Allama Iqbal who composed 'Saare Jahan Se Achcha Hindustan Hamara' in 1905, had to pen another poem,

Cheen or Arab hamara Hindustan hamara
 Muslim hain ham watan hai sara jahan hamara
 Tauheed ki amanat seenon me hai hamare
 Assan nahi mitana naam o nishan hamara
 Duniya ke but kadon me vo pahla ghar khuda ka
 Ham uske paasban hain vo paasban hamara

It is the point of concern that what was the circumstantial pressure before a Nationalist and secular poet eventually conceptualized the idea of Pan Islam?⁴² Why did Iqbal feel like changing his earlier stand of

Sare Jahan se achcha Hindustan Hamara
 Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan hamara
 Mazhab nahin sikhata a'pas me bair rakhna
 Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan Hamara
 Parwat vo sabse Ooncha Hamsaaya Asmaan ka
 Woh santari hamara woh paasban hamara

The Nehru Committee's role in fostering racial animosity has rarely been discussed in history. Under Motilal Nehru, a commission known as the Nehru Committee was established in 1928 to evaluate electoral politics. The fundamental goal of its report was to guarantee that men and women would have equal rights as citizens, that there would be no official state religion and that no locality would have a

separate electorate. It did offer Muslim reserve seats in the province and the centre, where they were a minority, rather than in Bengal and Panjab in the same way as non-Muslims did in the North West Frontier Provinces.⁴³

In fact, the majority of the provincial Congress Committee has raised specific objections to the Lucknow Pact. Unexpectedly senior Muslim Congress leader from Bihar, Maulana Mazharul Haque, had publicly protested and claimed that the Congress leader had forced him to accept it. This was also true for many Muslims from UP, which received little discussion.⁴⁴ This systematic stereotyping image of Muslims' separatist attitude made the majority of Muslims anti-national which can be felt to this day how all the time Muslims had been threatened to be driven away to Pakistan despite their long history of harmonic coexistence. This kind of hatred has become a new normal which may be unacceptable for many. Furthermore, Indian Muslims witnessed thousands of communal riots after 1947. Despite this, it never made them think about leaving their country. Data related to political representation suggests how Muslims remained marginalized politically since the 1950s first parliamentary election to the extent even Nationalist Leader Maulana Abul Kalam had to choose a safe Muslim majority seat (Rampur) for contesting the election. Hatred has not been created overnight. Indeed it has been first originated theoretically and then implemented in a well planned manner in recent few decades. It is a point of concern there is not a single Muslim MP in the ruling government to say an elected Member of Parliament. A government without a Muslim representative is the same as the Muslim League had represented falsely in the first half of the 20th Century. The recent debate in Parliament on issues of Muslims is pertinent to highlight how any political power which claims to protect Muslim women's rights has not taken into consideration of subject people. How can be a Bill/Act passed in parliament without making Muslim women its participant? How could be Shariat act be discussed without the representation of Muslim women? It is a point to think about whether two or three nominated male representatives could be considered the sole representative of all Muslims including women. Why reservation is on a caste basis, and why not community representation be taken into account. Even in caste-based protective measurement again Muslims, Christians, and Parses

have been left out in giving SC/ST status? While a large chunk of the Muslim and Christian population constitute from SC group. And to the absolute dismay of Muslims, numerous seats where there is a sizable Muslim community have been reserved for SC. The reservation policy needs to be re-evaluated in order to take into account not just economic backwardness but also communal backwardness and representation. In the end, authentic community representation—rather than proxies—is the only way to achieve Muslim women’s emancipation. Additionally, it is necessary to quit appeasing Muslims and ensure their involvement in all areas. It is extremely pitiful that only 26 Muslim MPs, or 4% of all Parliament seats, will represent roughly 24 crores of people, and that only one cabinet minister would represent this huge population.

NOTES

1. Known as Father of the local self Government in India. Chandra, Bipin, *History of Modern, India*, Orient Blackswan, 2009, pp. 161-62.
2. *Ibid*, Chandra, pp. 165-166.
3. See Mythely Sreenivas, 2021, *Economics of Reproduction in an Age of Empire*, in *Reproductive Politics and the Making of Modern India*, University of Washington Press, pp. 32-35, www.jstor.com
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
7. Siddiqui, FirdousAzmat, 2014, *A Struggle for Identity: Muslim Women in United Province*, CUP, India, pp. 35-49. Bernard Cohn, *An Anthropologist among Historians and other Essays*, p. 231, OUP, 2009.
8. Jr. Martin, Briton, 1967, *Lord Dufrin and Indian National Congress-1885-1888*, Cambridge University Press, www.jstor.com
9. *Census Report of 1901*, p. 63, *Census Report of 1891*, pp. 181-82, see also Firdous Azmat Siddiqui, *Colonial Report on Census and its reflection on Indian Muslim Women, Islam and Muslim Societies*, ed. Nadeem Hasnain, Serial Publication, New Deli, vol.. 1, 2005, pp. 155-62.
10. *Census report of 1901*, Subsidiary Table I, 254-55.
11. All *Census Report* from 1881 to 1901 claimed this.
12. An important book on Muslim Zenana system is documented by a British woman in 1832, however the book does not disclose the name of the author instead she chose her name as Mrs. Meer Hasan. Mrs. Hasan wrote a book titled, ‘An Observation on Indian Musalman’. She documented

- her memory after returning back to London. It is considered one of the most reliable account about her twelve years sojourn in India, given by any western scholar about Indian Muslim women. vol.. 1, London, 1832.
13. Siddiqui, pp. 35-54.
 14. Siddiqui, Firdous Azmat, 2005, Colonial Report on Census and its reflection on Indian Muslim Women, Islam and Muslim Societies, ed. Nadeem Husnain, Serial Publication, vol. 1. no. 1.
 15. Gupta, Charu, Hindu Women, Muslim Men: Cleavage in shared spaces of everyday life, United Province 1890–1930, p. 122, Indian Economic and Social History Review, 37, 2, 2000.
 16. There was debate on declining growth rate in census report of America in late 19th century.
 17. Bisland, Margret, 1903, Curse of Eve, pp. 63-68, in *In Her Place: A documentary History of Prejudice against Women*, ed. S.T. Joshi, Prometheus Books, 2006.
 18. Bisland, Margaret, 1903, The Curse of Eve, *The North American Review*, July 1903, vol.. 177, no. 560, p. 111.
 19. Joshi, P.C ed., 2006, *In Her Place: A Documentary History of Prejudice against Women*, Prometheus Books, p. 67.
 20. Davies, C. Collin, 1954, The viceroy of Lord Ripon 1880-1884, by S. Gopal, book review in *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oct. 1994, p. 2, <https://www.jstor.org>
 21. Ayesha Jala, *Partisan of Allah*, p. 168, Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat e Javed*, pp. 164-169, 193, see how Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan was desperate to improve status of his fellow brother for this he launched a Journal in an attempt to emulate their achievement by encouraging a rational thought among Muslims. Siddiqui, 2014, p. 20.
 - 22.
 23. Chandra, pp. 267-68, *ibid*.
 24. Robb, P.G. *Muslim Identity and Seperatism in India: The Significance of M.A. Ansari*, Cambridge University Press on behalf of SOAS, London, vol.. 54, no. 1, 1991, p. 105, JSTOR, after 1920s, many Muslims started alienated themselves so rapidly that even they did not echoed with MA Ansari, Hakeem Ajmal and his groups. This period witnessed clear division among Muslims as Nationalist and as a member of Muslim League.
 25. *Times of India*, 24th August, 2014, Ishita Mishra Report, see also, Tyagi, Asha and Atreyee Sen, *Love Jihad (Muslim sexual seduction) and Ched Chad (Sexual Harassment): Hindu Nationalist discourses and the ideal/deviant urban citizens in India*, May, 2019, in *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, Taylor & Francis online.

26. Froystad, Kathinda, 2021, Sound Biting Conspiracy: From India with Love Jihad, Religion, www.mdpi.com
27. Ghai, R.K, 1985, Hindu Muslim Relation during the 1920s with special reference to Shuddhi and Tabligh, *Proceeding of Indian National Congress*, vol.. 45, pp. 527-528.
28. *Hindustan Times*, Rise of Cummunalism, 29 January, 2004, he has given stages of communal rise emphasised a communal ideology consists of three basic elements or stages one following the other in his famous book *India's Struggle for Independence*.
29. Edib, Halide, 2009, *Inside India*, Oxford University Press, originally published in 1937 by UnwinBrohers Limited.
30. Edib, p. 11.
31. Kumar, Dilip, 2014, *Dilip Kumar: The Substance and the Shadow*, An Autobiography, Hay House.
32. Chandra, 252, *ibid*, Robb, p. 106, Robb held that Ansari has rejected the idea of protecting Muslim's separate interest has cost heavily on MA Ansari that he lost his root in his own Province. He had no following like Ali brothers have. He stood out not against communalism, but against changes in the nature of politics and politician that was evolving as identity politics.
33. Datar, Abhay, *The Lukhnow Pact of the 1916: A Second Look at the Congress League Agreement*, EPW, March 10th, 2012, p. 66.
34. Datar, Abhay, 2012, *The Lukhnow Pact of 1916: A Second Look at the Congress-Muslim League Agreement*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 10, vol.. XLVII, no. 10.
35. Datar, p. 66.
36. Hasan, Mushirul, *Memories of Fragmented Nation: Rewriting Histories of India's Partition*, EPW, October, 10th, 1998, pp. 26–63, Datar, p. 66.
37. Haq, Farhat, *The Rise of the Muhajir Qaumi Movement in Pakistan*, University of California Press, 1995, vol.. 35, no. 11, p. 991.
38. Haq, *Ibid*, p. 991.
39. Robinson, Francis, *Seperatism among Muslims of India*, OUP
40. Average population percentage of Muslims in UP since 1881 to 1931, all Census Report enumerate around 14-15%. While 1951 Census Report of UP suggest a decline in 1% population which have migrated to Pakistan.
41. No separate electorates for any community. It did provide for reservation of minority seats. It provided for reservation for seats for Muslims at the centre and in provinces where they were in a minority and not in Bengal and Punjab. Similarly, it provided for reservation for non-Muslims in the NWFP.<https://sites.google.com/site/cabinetmissionplan/nehru-report->

- 1928-excerpts, See also Mushirulhasan, *Legacy of Divided Nation: Indian Muslims since Independence*, p. 68 in *Indias Muslims*, OUP, 2008.
42. Datta, V.N. Iqbal, Jinnah and India's Partition, EPW, 19 April, 2003.
43. Ibid.
44. Sajjad, Mohammad, *Muslim Politics in Bihar*, 2014, p. 13.

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DR TAUSEEF AHMAD PARRAY

Influence of Gandhi's Philosophy of Ahimsa and Satyagraha on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: An Analytical Study of Hayat Alvi's Non Violent Activism in Islam: Message of Abul Kalam Azad”

In the contemporary times, Islam is discussed from different and diverse perspectives and is broadly debated and interpreted through two main prisms: fundamentalist/ extremist/ violent interpretations and the reformist/ liberal/ non-violent version. Though in the post-9/11 world, it is the extremist trend and violent activism that has seen a proliferation through the debates, discussions and in the form of scholarly and analytical works, but the fact is that the reformist trend and the non-violent activism is no less significant.

A number of prominent voices, both in the past as well as in the present times, have devoted their time and energy in highlighting the non-violent activism vis-à-vis Islam and Islamic tradition. One such prominent and renowned figure from the Sub-continent is Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958): a renowned Muslim scholar, journalist, political leader and educationist. Though in most of the writings on him, his role as a freedom fighter/political leader, journalist, religious scholar or the Quranic exegete is discussed and highlighted, but a significant aspect of his life and thought is his role as a propagator, preacher, and practitioner of non-violent activism—an aspect of his multidimensional personality in which he was highly influenced by the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and his practice of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and *Satyagraha* (civil disobedience).

The book under review, *Non Violent Activism in Islam: Message of Abul Kalam Azad*,¹ written by Hayat Alvi (Associate Professor in the

National Security Affairs Department at the *U.S. Naval War College, USA*), “tells the story and explains the Islamic legal precedent of the nonviolent civil disobedience that Mualana Azad undertook in the face of British repression” (p. ix).

Consisting of five (5) main chapters, excluding Introduction and Conclusion, the main purpose of Alvi’s book is to ‘illustrate the legal basis for nonviolent activism in Islam’, as propounded, practiced, promoted, and exemplified by Maulana Azad with the hope that contemporary leaders and activists can learn lessons from his example, which ‘can be an argument against blind dogma, extremism, and militancy in the modern era’. In other words, Alvi highlights and discusses the nonviolent activism (NVA) of Azad as an anecdote or a remedial measure for the Islamist extremist interpretations of Islam in the current times.

Alvi is a staunch “Gandhian”, and by that way a staunch supporter and follower of Azad’s NVA, and is fed up with the “spread of intolerant, militant ideologies (both secular and religious) that inspire acts of violence” (p. viii) or with the “militant interpretations of Islam” and has thus focused on, and given attention to, the “*nonviolent* interpretations of Islam, especially in the context of political activism in the pursuit of social justice” (p. viii; italics in original).

In other words, the book intends to provide, as Alvi puts it, “a counterargument to violent Islamist extremism/ *jihadism* by means of educating the reader about Islam’s nonviolent principles and how they can be used to fight against Islamist extremism and militancy” (p. 16; italics in original).

Her work makes a substantial contribution due to two main reasons: (i) mostly Azad’s ideas about nationalism, educational philosophy, religio-political thought, Quranic exegesis are the aspects which have been given much importance and hype in most of the writings on Azad; and (ii) most of the current scholarship on Islam is devoted to the extremist interpretations of Islam, or political Islam, and thus NVA (reformist and liberal interpretations) finds little space. Thus, Alvi rightly argues that focusing on building awareness about “nonviolent aspects of Islam in today’s environment is equally invaluable” (p. 16). Alvi puts forth the focus, purpose and objective of the book very boldly as:

The focus of this book is the moral, religious, and judicial comparisons between Maulana Azad's endorsement (as renowned Islamic jurisprudential authority) of nonviolent activism in the Islamic context—which provides the legal and theological precedents—and the violent acts and beliefs of Islamist extremists, which are immoral and unjust particularly in targeting innocent civilians, and hence un-Islamic, despite their rigorous claims.²

Below is provided a brief description of each chapter followed by summary of the major arguments presented in the conclusion:

“Introduction” (pp. 1–19) provides a brief outline of the current trends in Islamic thought; background of the NVA within Islamic purview, as outlined, understood and interpreted by Azad; brief profile of Azad; and purpose, focus and outline of the book.

Chapter 1, “Abul Kalam Azad: Who Was He?” (pp. 21–47), delves deep into Azad's life, thought/ ideas, his principles of NVA in the context of his “rational” interpretation of Islam, and his role as a leader of Indian Muslims in the freedom movement. Alvi describes Azad as a “man of principle”: “His pragmatism aligned with the Congress Party's demands for an independent, United, secular India”; and most importantly, “Azad embraced and practiced Mahatma Gandhi's strategy of *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (civil disobedience), which, in turn, solidifies Islam's compatibility with nonviolent activism” (p. 43).

Chapter 2, “The Concept of Justice, *Zulm*, and *Mazlum* in Islam” (pp. 49–68), presents a detailed description of the concepts of *Adl* (justice), *Zulm* (oppression), *Mazlum* (one who is oppressed), and violent persecution of the early converts to Islam and then establishes linkages between those historical concepts and events and the pro-independence movement against British in India, with a focus on Azad's thoughts and practices. Here Alvi argues that through his “proactive civil disobedience, selflessness, and tenacious persistence”, Azad not only illustrated compatibility of NVA with Islam but also insisted the “Indian Muslims to adopt the same methods to oust the British Raj” (p. 66).

Chapter 3, “The Islamic Principles of Social Justice: From Maulana Azad to the Arab Awakening” (pp. 69–88), discusses in detail the Islamic principles of social justice by examining its historical context, beginning with early Islamic history, followed by the period of British colonial

rule and the Indian struggle against it, and “analyses the principles of Maulana Azad in the struggle against injustice, and how that compares to the principles and practices of violent Islamist militancy and jihadism” (p. 69). It discusses “Historical Background and Key Concepts of Violent Islamist Militancy” (pp. 73-79) by focusing on the Kharijites as a group of “Puritanical Fanaticism” (pp. 76-77), the “Sunni-Shi’ite Rivalry” (pp. 77-79) and lastly on the “2011 Arab Awakening” (pp. 79-81). It concludes that (i) “Azad’s teachings, principles, and nonviolent activism shoulder-to-shoulder with Mahatma Gandhi illustrate the effectiveness of nonviolent action in fighting oppression and injustice” (pp. 81-82); (ii) Azad, in the capacity of being a religious authority, not only “declared nonviolent activism as wholly compatible with Islam” but “stamped [it] with legal legitimacy” as well (p. 82); and (iii) “Maulana Azad abided by moderation, reasoning, intellectual discourse, in Islam, and *ijtihad*, and he always emphasized the importance of education that promotes these concepts and disciplines” (p. 85).

Alvi makes a comparative analysis of the “Islamist Extremism” and Azad’s principles of nonviolence, pluralism, peaceful co-existence, and secular democracy, in chapter 4 (pp. 89-120). It discusses the “Rise of ISIS” (pp. 90-93); “The ‘ISIS Solution’ to Muslim Humiliation” (pp. 93-102); “The Utility of Violent Jihad in International Relations and how it has been Backed” (pp. 102-110); and impact of “Political Islam on the Subcontinent” (pp. 110-116). In these discussions, Alvi attempts to compare and contrast Azad’s “principles of nonviolence to those of the most violent and puritanical Islamist extremists” (p. 89) and reaches the conclusion that “Azad believed in religious unity and coexistence”, and was thus “at heart not only a ‘Maulana,’ but also a dedicated pro-independence Indian nationalist, Mahatma Gandhi’s right-hand Muslim leader, and a loyal, selfless and diligent nonviolent activist” (p. 117).

In the context of discussions made in previous chapters, chapter 5 is devoted to the “Implications of Nonviolent Islam for Peace and Security” (pp. 121-135) as the literature on “the violent interpretations of Islam and *jihadism*” is in abundance, while as “there is insufficient literature about nonviolent Islamic activism” (p. 121). That is, “the concept of nonviolent activism is frequently eclipsed by its streams of violent extremism” (p. 121). It is in this context that Alvi highlights

the nonviolent philosophy and activism of Azad, arguing that his “precedent of rendering nonviolent civil disobedience compatible with Islam” needs to be highlighted as it has the potential to “pull the rug from underneath the violent Islamist extremism” (pp. 121-22). Referring to the calls of Azad, Abdul Ghafar Khan (*aka* Frontier Gandhi), and Gandhi on achieving “political unity” between Hinduism and Islam, nonviolence, “unity within Islam” (by refuting “sectarianism”), and for “unity between as well as within religions” (p. 130, 131), Alvi concludes that the “disciplines of nonviolent activism in fighting against tyranny, injustice, and oppression has succeeded in achieving justice without violence and insatiable revenge” (pp. 132-33). Alvi further states:

Maulana Azad and like-minded Muslims have spoken against sectarian rivalries, and they have encouraged peaceful co-existence and unity within Islam. The Islamist extremists of all sectarian shades and orientations only perpetuate violence against fellow Muslims. Nothing is more counterproductive to the essence of Islam and its provisions for social justice. Maulana Azad understood and promoted that essence of Islam and his message for unity between and within religions and his nonviolent activism for achieving justice are all proven formulas for peace, security, and stability. These are also ideal formulas to employ in conflict resolution.³

With reference to Azad’s relevance in the 21st century, Alvi refers to the case of Tunisia and its “commitment to nonviolent conflict resolution, reconciliation, and negotiations and dialogues with different political parties” which resulted in earning the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize: “This has been a distinguished example of Maulana Azad’s principles of nonviolent activism applied in the twenty-first century, and, that too in a volatile region” (pp. 133-34).

The book ends with seven-pages ‘Conclusion’ (pp. 137-143), and the main arguments put forth by Alvi are summarized below:

- Azad, through his preaching and practice of fighting nonviolently against oppression and injustice, provided the blueprint for employing “a mission to disarm violent Islamist extremism worldwide” (p. 137)
- Azad’s personal example in the “struggle against injustice under the British Raj is a prime model for nonviolent activists to follow for exacting justice and eliminating oppression” (Ibid.).

- Azad, as a religious scholar, possessed many attributes and beliefs, including firm belief in inter- and intra-Islamic unity, pluralism, and secular democracy.
- Azad set the religio-legal precedent in modern history of Islam for “nonviolent civil disobedience” by strongly counterarguing against “violent jihadism and Islamist extremism”, and thus his principles and message can be “used in any struggle against violent Islamist extremism” (pp. 137-38).
- “Azad’s moderate orientation in Islamic teachings and nonviolent practices” are much helpful in reversing the current “negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims” (p. 139).
- Azad and his like-minded figures, like Gandhi and Dr Martin Luther King Jr., have found “inspiration for nonviolent activism from their respective faiths”, and their “faith-based messages to the mass proved effective in mobilising them to participate in their respective morally credible causes” (p. 139).
- The “Nonviolent activism usually results in conflict resolution and changes in laws and policies toward more just social and legal codes”, whereas “violent conflicts” cause terrible violence having negative consequences on all aspects of human life, thus it is rightly said that everyone “benefits from nonviolent activism” and every life of aspect is affected by violent conflicts (p. 141).
- Azad’s idea and practice of nonviolence refutes the argument of the “violent Islamist extremists” that “oppression has to be countered with violent jihad” (p. 141).
- Narrating and relating the story of Azad is one of the most effective of ways to release Islam from the “trappings of the extremists” who have “hijacked” Islam in the current times (p. 142).
- “Azad stood for Hindu-Muslim unity, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence”; criticized intra-Islamic schisms; detested *Taqlid* (blind imitation) and advocated *Ijtihad* (reinterpretation); acknowledged and appreciated the “potential impacts of modernization on Islam, and the fact that Muslims need to adjust to changing times” (Ibid.).
- “Maulana Azad is a proof that nonviolent activism in Islam exists with full legitimacy and offers the formula for successful conflict resolution, as well as the greater likelihood for peace, tolerance, and security for all” (p. 143).

Alvi's *Nonviolent Activism in Islam*, thus, presents a "convincing religious (Islamic) argument supporting nonviolent activism with ample evidence and historical examples, serving as ideological and intellectual ammunition against violent Islamist extremism and militancy" (p. 142). Azad, "a highly respected religious authority and historical figure", not only adopted and practised nonviolence and civil disobedience (Gandhi's principles of Ahimsa and Satyagraha), but his "embrace and implementation of these concepts and strategies indicate that they are wholly compatible with Islam" (pp. 142, 143).

Azad's adoption and practice of nonviolent activism is indeed an "exceedingly important mission" which provides "the blueprint for moral courage and credibility in the face of injustice and oppression" (p. 143).

Overall, the theme and subject-matter of Alvi's book—appended by pictures/ images and Azad's speeches (both in original Urdu and translation in English)—touches upon a crucial and significant issue which needs to be given more space amid the 'extremist' atmosphere so that a real picture of Islam is presented. Alvi needs to be given credit and appreciation for highlighting nonviolent activists, both in theory and practice through historical events (especially with reference to Azad), and for highlighting the relevance of nonviolent activism in the 21st century—a century of extremism, violence, protests, and uprisings.

In sum, Alvi's *Nonviolent Activism in Islam* is a significant work which presents a positive, tolerant, and peace-loving picture of Islam in a scenario which is inundated with negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. It is a remarkable work which is a must read for students and scholars interested in nonviolent activism in Islam.

NOTES

1. Hayat Alvi, *Non Violent Activism in Islam: Message of Abul Kalam Azad*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books (An Imprint of the Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2021); pp. xii+163; ISBN: 978-1-4985-9732-6. Earlier drafts of this review were published as: Tauseef Ahmad Parry, "Maulana Azad's Non-Violent Activism and its Relevance in Current Times", *Kashmir Observer* (daily newspaper, Srinagar, J&K), 27th November 2021, p. 7; Idem., "Review: '*Non Violent Activism in Islam*:"

Message of Abul Kalam Azad by Hayat Alvi, Lexington Books, 2021”, *Islam and Muslim Societies—A Social Science Journal*, 14, 2 (December 2021): 89-94, URL: <https://www.muslimsocieties.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Non-violent-Activism-in-Islam-Message-of-Abul-Kalam-Azad.pdf>

2. Alvi, *Non Violent Activism in Islam*, p. 16.
3. Alvi, *Non Violent Activism in Islam*, p. 132.

The Notion of Non-Violence: A Study of Mahatma Gandhi

VIOLENCE AND ITS FORMS

Violence is a phenomenon which existed and continues to be so in various shapes and forms. It is defined as a character of what establishes, transpires or produces its effects with extreme, callous and often disparaging force. It may also take the form of extreme vehemence, immense bellicosity and harshness in words, comportment and deeds. Violence can also be defined as harming, assaulting, and dishonoring indiscriminately. It is mostly attached with an unlawful usage of force because it flouts the fundamental laws. Overall, the meaning of violence can be summarized in the following:

- (i) To act or to make act against one's own will via use of intimidation.
- (ii) The usage of inhuman strength to harm an individual.
- (iii) The practice of a deed through ferocity, savagery or aggressiveness.
- (iv) Natural temperament to the vicious manifestation of feelings.
- (v) Irresistible, detrimental or precarious power of a thing.¹

In one of its collections made by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Alain Joxe (b.1931), a French sociologist and researcher in geopolitics, Director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, President of the Centre Interdisciplinaire de Recherches sur la Paix et d' Etudes stratégiques (Interdisciplinary Center for Peace Research and Strategic Studies—CIRPES), has provided an implicit definition for violence and its causes. He defines it as the conclusion of a sort of perilous concord which only corresponds to the absence of armed conflict, deprived of advancement in impartiality and fairness, or worse, a harmony on the basis of injustice and the breaching of human rights.²

Furthermore, as per the World Health Organization (WHO), violence refers to the deliberate usage of bodily strength, threats against others or oneself, against a group or community which leads to the emergence of high-risk disturbances, psychological losses, developmental issues or eventually death, irrespective of the settings such as works, educational institutions, communities or any other phase of life. The WHO categorizes violence into following forms:

- *Self-Inflicted Violence*.
- *Interpersonal Violence*—It consists of violence committed by either a loved one or by a stranger. It is also termed as the Community Violence.
- *Collective Violence*—This includes political, social and economic violence.³

Broadly speaking, violence projects itself as a force applied by a person to submit, to compel someone or to acquire something. It is the utilization of force or menacing duress against something with the aim of attaining its consensus while violating the ethics and values of law. Violence includes series of doings and miens which depict antagonism and hostility among the people. It can also be referred to the process of retrieving something from a person in which his permission or assent is not involved. In other words, it is done or executed via implementation and practice of forceful persuasion, moral pressure or by any other brutal means.⁴

NON-VIOLENCE AND ITS EFFECTS

Before entering into the explicit conceptual definition, it is important to know the general connotation of non-violence. Non-violence, also literally known as nonaggression, which refers to the code of comportment by virtue of which one abandons or rejects brutal elements as a means of action in many fields. It is a philosophy whose aim is to delegitimize forcefulness and encourage respect vis-à-vis other individuals. Marshall Bertram Rosenberg (1934–2015), a teacher, mediator, psychologist and writer from the United States of America, in his work titled as *Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Life* theorized as a means of communication which has the objective of

inaugurating an environment of mutual munificence or goodwill and upholding the idea of resolving clashes. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), an activist and Baptist minister hailing from the American land, on his side, in his book bearing the title of *Why We Can't Wait* defines non-violence as an influential and impartial weapon which cuts without hurting and dignifies the person who wields it. Those who support non-violence aim to make use of harmonious means to project their thought, raise their voices against aggression and injustice and pay respect to others thus not affecting ethical and physical integrity. The outlook of non-violence presupposes that it is circumstances of brutality as well as discrimination and contempt of the adversary thus generating violent responses.⁵ Non-violence is a theory that has spread from pacifist struggles against discrimination by political figures such as Mahatma Gandhi in the early 1920s for the liberation of India from the British rule and the abolition of castes.

GANDHI AND *AHIMSA*

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948), popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi, is considered, on the global basis, to be one of the very popular spiritual as well as political leaders of the twentieth century. Being the founding father of India, Gandhi left no stone unturned to adopt the positive methods to rectify the Indian framework. He adopted the code of non-violence to combat the tyrannical poison thus having also campaigned throughout the country to assuage the miserable conditions and circumstances of his people and release them from alien dominance. However, he was not always spared for many of his affirmative ways and had to face jail as well for lengthy periods. But his satisfaction got its fruitful outcome when he realized his objective of freeing his land from the British control in 1947 thus making India an independent country. He was hailed by various great figures back then such as the late Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (1918–2013), the former South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, philanthropist and president, considering him to be the source of his motivation in fighting for the rights of his population.⁶

Ahimsa is a Sanskrit word which literally means non-violence. It is to note that the Indo-European language was once very rampant in the

Indian subcontinent. This word is actually originated from Sanskrit root *hinsa* which means the act of causing harm and damage. *Ahimsa*, on the contrary, is a prosperous concept which teaches as well as encourages the global population not to attach itself to the world of transgression and wrongdoing, irrespective of its nature. In short, people are supposed not to cause harm to any living being.

All religions condemn the practice of violence. Anything which harms the human existence cannot be beneficial for the society. For all of them, the absence of violence consists of the promotion of welfares for human beings in all spheres of life. That is to say, it entails the avoidance of pitiless and merciless forces by practices, arguments as well as by virulent or noxious ruminations. According to some, maintaining self-control is called non-violence. They are of the viewpoint that when man is able to control his own self, this would help him to clean the filthy side of his soul thus leading him to acquire spiritual illumination. Hence, when the soul is free from the chaotic world of sins, then violence automatically loses its existence. It is said that *ahimsa* teaches to eschew the following types of violence:

- (a) Unpremeditated or Coincidental Violence
- (b) Justified Defensive Violence
- (c) Violence while exercising a duty or activity
- (d) Intended Violence. This is the worst kind of violence⁷

Though Gandhi was not the first to introduce the concept of non-violence but still it obtained a distinct rank. He theoretically abided by it and practiced it as well because he philosophically considered it to be the ultimate model to live an ideal life. Mark Shepard (b.1950), an American author, in his work titled as *Mahatma Gandhi and His Myths: Civil Disobedience, Nonviolence, and Satyagraha in the Real World* states that the reason for Gandhi's popularity via his notion of non-violence is due to the fact that he elevated the non-violent practice to a level never attained before. He also made the world realize that the non-violent principle is not reserved for a particular category of people only. Rather, it is the best weapon of positivity which must be adopted by all.

Gandhi firmly believes that blessed are those people who are far away from aggression and transgression. This is so because according to him, these people can observe the ruling of *ahimsa* in the middle of an

intense blaze of *hinsa*. Such people deserve the highest respect through their exemplary comportment.⁸

Moreover, violence has no existence in the dictionary of Gandhi because it spreads odium among the people. A true abider of non-violence agrees to face violence on himself but does not accept to inflict it on others. According to Gandhi, those who are involved in violence are convicts or lawbreakers. Social collapse and fragmentation is the main cause of their violent attitude. He opines that violence is not an inbuilt mechanism in human beings. Rather, it is an experience which is learnt. Hence, the best mean to repel violence is the practice of non-violence (*ahimsa*).

AHIMSA IS LOVE

Gandhi did not restrict his understanding of non-violence to the absence of all sorts of violence, whether passive or physical only. It is more than that. For him, *ahimsa* also refers to love which has the inclusion of the whole humanity and not only human beings.⁹ While elaborating more on love found within the notion of *ahimsa*, Gandhi states that in the affirmative model, *ahimsa* refers to greatest love and the highest charity. Engaging himself primarily into its practice, he says that a proponent of *ahimsa* must also shower love on those who are his opponents. That is to say, non-violence is not only limited to love those in return who love us. In other words, non-violence is only called so when assaults with the spear or arrow of hatred are responded with the fragrance of love. However, having expressed so, Gandhi does feel how tough it is to stick to this law of affection. Then, he points out that all positive and good activities are not easy to execute. To love someone who hates you is one of the most arduous tasks ever. But, Gandhi says, when God Shows His grace, this onerous task also becomes easy to fulfill.¹⁰ Apart from that, Arun Manilal Gandhi (b.1934), an Indian-American socio-political activist, the son of Manilal Gandhi (1892–1956), who is the second son of Mahatma Gandhi, states in an interview that for his grandfather, *ahimsa* is nothing but love. If a person has love and respect vis-à-vis another one, he is going to keep himself far away from causing harm to him.¹¹

PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

Truth forms an important part in the life of each and every individual. It weighs heavier than whatever weapon exists in the world to overcome people. There is no scope of doubt in the fact that truth is and will always be superior to brutality. The limit of truth is immeasurable as it is an active force of power which no one can dare to mess with. As far as Gandhi is concerned, truth along with non-violence was his influential source of strength.¹² He is of the viewpoint that when one enters into the path of searching for the truth, he actually embarks on the route to hunt for non-violence. Truth is the most indispensable feature in the notion of non-violence as propagated by Gandhi. He spent his life in the experiments of truth. His quest for truth led Gandhi to make the discovery of non-violence. He opines that the foundation of *ahimsa* lies in the pursuit of truth. However, it is useless and futile to search for such a truth if non-violent features are not found in it.¹³

Moreover, stressing further on the Gandhian's philosophy of truth, one can clearly state that he does not believe that truth and non-violence are two separate entities. He expresses that to have a disciplinary stand for truth in front of high-caliber strength was the core of his non-aggressiveness. In other words, only those who step out to search for truth are able to muster the audacity and inclination to face all sorts of circumstances and outcomes. Likewise, Gandhi declares that non-violence is not an attire to wear and put off whenever one wishes. Its base is originated from the heart and that it must be such a portion of our existence that it knows no lane of separation from it.¹⁴ In short, they are two sides of the same coin.

Gandhi states that truth and non-violence are as old as hills. If one aims to develop a powerful and efficient non-violence, it is mandatory that its inauguration or launching takes place through the mind, otherwise it will be considered as the non-violence of the weak or those who are cowards. Gandhi defines a coward as an individual who does not possess courageous characteristics within himself when he faces a precarious and troublesome state of affairs thus attempting to evade it. He says that pusillanimity must be absent in a person who is practically a proponent of *ahimsa*. Furthermore, Gandhi also believes that there exists a divorce between fear and non-violence. Those who possess arms

are cowards and simultaneously lack daring and bravery. He points out that proper non-violence is impossibility without the possession of unblemished fearlessness.¹⁵ Gandhi stresses that the votary of *ahimsa* has only one fear that is of God.¹⁶

SATYAGRAHA

Besides, *satyagraha* also forms an important part in Gandhi's notion of non-violence. This word comprises of a compound of two Sanskrit nouns namely *satya* (embrace of truth/attachment to truth) and *graha* (strong grasp).¹⁷ When amalgamated together (*satya + graha*), the word *satyagraha* refers to the exact opposite of an eye for an eye policy which results in making everyone blind. It is also defined as the supremacy of the spirit and the power of truth with the absence of violence via vitality intrinsic to the correct deed and practice. It is better known as non-violent combat or passive resistance. This non-violent resistance was carried out by Gandhi with the purpose of forcing an end to the British colonial brutalities.

Michael N. Nagler (b. 1937), a peace activist, mentor, mediator and academic from the United States of America, in his work called *Hope or Terror: Gandhi and the Other 9/11* literally calls the *satyagraha* of Gandhi as cohering to verity in the sense that all people are one under one skin. Gandhi believes that there exists no win-lose encounter between people because all their fundamental interests are similar and that each and every individual, knowingly or unknowingly, wishes for harmony and prosperity with each other. *Satyagraha* aims to eradicate all those mechanisms and means which lead towards the eruption of violence. Gandhi elaborates that it is a movement which is completely on the basis of truth. Hence, for him, a *satyagrahi* (a proponent of non-violent confrontation) must firmly believe in truth and non-violence as one's creed and thus have faith in the intrinsic graciousness of human nature. The *satyagrahi* method is put into practice only when all other humble and positive techniques and methods prove to be unsuccessful. But the most important thing to be remembered is that non-violence is the backbone of *satyagraha*. This consists of convincing the opponent through application of logical reasoning and moral sense concurrently. The method also involves the *satyagrahi* dramatizing the issues at

stake by happily passing through self-suffering rather than imposing difficulties on the opponents as an assessment for the truth component in his cause. However, if convincing through logical reasoning and self-suffering fails to bring a positive outcome towards winning over the opponent, the exponent of non-violent encounters must adopt positive coercion designated by tools like non-cooperation or civil disobedience.¹⁸

THE GANDHIAN NON-VIOLENCE: KEY FEATURES

After going in brief through the concept of non-violence as propagated by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the following points can be derived:

- Perfect non-violence does not exist. Only limited non-violence can be achieved.
- Non-violence and non-killing are poles apart.
- The absence of violence consists of various affirmative ethics. It includes the promotion of love and affection, voicing out against impartial attitudes and compartments, depiction of bravery in the face of violence, truthfulness and many others.¹⁹
- Non-violence is the commandment of our species whereas violence is the ruling of the ruffians, rowdies or barbarians.
- In order to practice the method of non-violence, one must have faith in the possibility of each and every individual, no matter how much depraved he is, being rectified under compassionate and skilled management.
- Civility and politeness vis-à-vis the adversaries and the zeal to comprehend their perception is the foundational element of non-violence.
- Gandhi is of the viewpoint that human intellection accelerates and influences the emotions and sentiments, while in the reasoning faculty of violent people, the soul hardly awakens. To lighten the heart means to illuminate the soul, to vivify reason and to differentiate between positive and negative.
- From the experience of Gandhi, it is clearly witnessed that non-violence is the most powerful element in the world. It is the unquestionable way of finding out the truth. Non-violence is a

machine which works step by step in silence. It is considered as the productive process of nature in the middle of unremitting devastation which is happening around us.

- Non-violence works both in the private and public segments of life. It is not restricted to a particular department of life.²⁰
- The policy of non-violence consists of various techniques in order to achieve its objective such as fasting, embargoes, protests, acceptance of imprisonment and not fear that these ways will lead to death until the end.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above-discussions, it will not be wrong to state that non-violence is an opportunity to begin a new period of harmony, faith and forbearance. It is the alternative to all those doings which give birth to aggression and antipathy. It includes the desire to change power relations and social constructions, and that this attitude provides respect for all human beings. It is also to be noted that when different thought-processes and insights are explored through the non-violent means, they can prevent a group from engaging in violent activism. There are various causes which lead people to dwell into the practice of non-violence. Some adopt it because they view it as an efficacious mode to initiate the required social changes, while others do so due to the fact that they consider it to be the best model of life.

As far as Mahatma Gandhi is concerned, he considers non-violence to be the highest asset in the hands of mankind. His non-violence consists of a set of principles on the basis of political, religious and economic grounds, summarizing courage, truth and non-violence and aims to overthrow the colonists via total and profound knowledge of the looming threat. For him, non-violence was the only way to confront this danger, but in case it does not work, then violence is to be opted. The objective of the Gandhian policy of non-violence is to accentuate the unfair treatment of the occupiers and incite public opinion against it on the other, preparing for its eternal eradication or at least restrict it and forbid it from getting propagated further. For Gandhi, non-violence is more than a terminology. It represents a guiding light for humankind as well as a sketch for an excellent future. Through notion

of non-violence, Gandhi made the global population realize that unity of people is very much higher than the divisive elements. Truth and non-violence cannot march on two separate tracks. They are to be walking together as one is incomplete without the other. Gandhi asserts that all religions call for the practice of non-violence. However, the non-violent practice is almost forgotten in the current era. Therefore, it is incumbent to revive all those laws which respond to fury with affection and to violence with non-violence. For Gandhi, a person can confront violence in two ways. First, one must not cooperate with the assailant, and secondly death is better than surrendering oneself in front of a tyrannical governance.

Non-violence means to adopt a positive approach to combat injustice in order to bring the fundamental changes. Besides, it is also believed that the crux of the philosophy of non-violence lies in the endeavors of getting rid of the resentments, and not the misanthropes. The objective of non-violence is to change the negative vision of the opponents with the right vision. It is also important to remember that Gandhi made use of non-violence not only to resist colonial harshness, but also to combat certain social evils including sectarian discrimination. Non-violence is to have the courage not to retaliate or flee in a dilemmatic situation. As per the belief of Gandhi, truth was never blurred. In his experience, it is the end and that the absence of violence is its means. He also believes that non-violence also includes the purpose of protecting the natural environment as well as to cater for the animals and other mechanisms of the world. People are bound to unite and fulfill their duty vis-à-vis other individuals. Gandhi opines that truth and love have never lost their position in history. Tyrants, most of the time, do have a wonderful beginning but face a devastating end. Hence, non-violence is to respond to the most patient manner no matter how rough and tough the situation in front of us is. One can say that if someone offers a person a poisonous drink, he should bring forward the cup of love with all humbleness. Abhorrence generates nothing except violence thus leading to various productions of social evils. To develop a strong attitude towards non-violence requires the presence of a solidified faith. One must firmly believe in God and that man must believe in himself too. Prosperity and harmony arise when a person internally believes in God with a durable conviction and that to apply it requires dedication. The philosophy of

non-violence as advocated by Gandhi focuses mostly on the incumbent changes that must be brought about in the comportment of those who are being oppressed.

However, Gandhi faced criticisms as well from scholars like Motilal Nehru (1861–1931), an Indian activist, politician and lawyer, and Chittaranjan Das (1870–1925), famously known as *deshbandhu* (Friend of the Nation), another Indian political activist, lawyer and freedom fighter, Gene Sharp (1928–2018), a political scientist from the United States of America, calling Gandhi's outlook to nonviolence to be not realistic and therefore perplexed.²¹ Besides the above-mentioned critics, many other scholars also criticized Gandhi for his methodology of practicing non-violence.

NOTES

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M.K. Gandhi: An Abiding Source of Inspiration

Indisputably an illustrious and very distinguished 'son of India', Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi is duly regarded everywhere in the world with deep respect and profound honour. It all owes to his discipline of mind, spirit of self-reliance, generous disposition, love and sensitive attitude towards the entire creations of God. Endowed with a rare fund of energy and unyielding will-power, he considered self-dependence and power of initiative to be highly valued strengths of human beings. These strengths of his personality availed him, enabling him to emerge as a man of unparalleled courage, and show grit and backbone in every walk of life, especially for the achievement of his ideals and aspirations, and, of course, for the accomplishment of his great mission. He garnered name and fame without choosing to rest on laurels. He emerged victorious with the characteristic firmness of his character and action even in the teeth of massive problems. He proved that everything was possible by virtue of independent and strong determination coupled with genuine and persistent efforts. He showed his inherent aptitude for firm determination and instant decision when he went abroad for the pursuit of his studies despite bitter opposition of the people of his community. They threatened to take hostile actions against him, ousting him from their community if he dared cross the ocean. Superstitious, the people of his community believed it to be an impious and defiling act to cross the ocean.

Gandhi, however, succumbed to no resistance, feared no threat of excommunication, scorn or derision, for he had decided not to look for any windfalls, or reliance on others' support and sanction for his career. He believed that only those who lack conviction look for others' favours and succour. So he mustered up courage to show his tenacity to achieve his objectives, heroically overcoming the odds posed by the people of his community. He rejected the stale and the outmoded in favour of

devising and adopting the fresh and modern ways. Thus he displayed his love for progressive outlook, constructive mind and approach and so on. He also showed his gifted vision of leadership that later on enabled him to shape the destiny of his motherland. His conscious departure from the orthodox rituals and superstitions for the enrichment of qualification and enhancement of his resourcefulness still stands for his inspiring thirst and inquisitiveness to look ahead for the sake of proper growth and advancement in order to stay abreast with the rapid paradigmatic and definitive changes and transformations.

A man of emotional stability and altruistic attitude, he became an embodiment of curiosity and agent of change, creating a favourable atmosphere for intellectual emancipation and freedom from inhibition and regressive tendency. He endeavoured hard to set a model before others with his selfless devotion to his moral principles and sensitive attitude to others. In return, he was profusely favoured by both the earth and the heaven in his lifetime and is still unanimously acknowledged as one of the tallest figures in the world. People adore and revere him as a global icon for all seasons, climes and ages, holding his indomitable will, amiable behaviour, imitable character and dignified manners in high esteem.

Gandhi's determined pursuit of going abroad for his studies signifies neither his disregard for interdependence nor discrediting the importance of mutual help and cooperation. He, as a practical man, was aware of the advantages of association, collaboration and team-work. He always stressed the crucial roles these things played in human lives and society. He believed in what a scholar says, 'Dignity does not consist in aloofness and in maintaining airs of superiority; it rather consists in being helpful and doing the right thing.' But he was against interdependence degenerating into abject dependence exciting others' pity and sympathy. That was the reason that he liked the idea of fortifying himself, his own moral habits and nature, without allowing any irrational things to enter his life and nibble into his sense of self-reliance. He undertook rigorous self-training for the development of his inspiring ideals, noble bearing, and exceptional power of initiatives. He always promoted intimate and cordial relationship among the people, and highly esteemed the reciprocal love, mutual trust and joint-responsibility. He believed human life to be a special gift of God with

exceptional privileges and corresponding responsibilities to the people and other creations of God around the globe.

A true follower of the famous dictum 'we live in deeds not in years'; Gandhi ardently wished to live life in its fullness, making it meaningful through deeds and actions worthy of imitation. Deeds and actions enliven the spirit and refresh minds. And if deeds and actions come from Gandhi, they will certainly leave indelible impressive on minds and heart, and stir the souls. Honest as he was to himself as well as to others, he advocated constant loyalty to deeds, obligations and duties in consonance with the spirit that the *Bhagavad Gita* aspires to instil in people, 'Yours is the control over deeds and over their fruits! Neither be motivated by the fruit of action nor have any attachment to inaction.'¹ He worked with missionary zeal, true sense of renunciation and selflessness while stimulating others' hidden mettle, ardent and latent interest, keen and dormant enthusiasm and intelligence in association with his own rare ability to plan, organise, coordinate and lead with his philosophy and ideals rooted deeply in social justice, economic emancipation, truth and happiness. 'On 17th of August 1934' as quoted by Dr. M. Krzysztof Byrski, 'he (Gandhi) wrote in the *Harijan*, 'The Gita has been a Mother to me ever since I became acquainted with it....I turn to it for guidance in every difficulty, and the desired guidance has always been forthcoming....As the best one conducts himself, the same way the remaining people do. The standard that he establishes is followed by the people.' Obviously, he followed the good old rule of 'example is better than precept.' Dr. Oscar Alvarez Araya also writes about Gandhi, 'His great sources of wisdom were the Bhagavad Gita, the Gospels, the books of the Russian noble, and Christian anarchist, Leo Tolstoy, and the North American anarchist, Henry David Thoreau.'²

Always guided by his faith in *sarvo daya*, love for all, he stirred people without any discrimination and preoccupied notions, and gave his fellow countrymen his vision of a free and united nation. He worked day and night to achieve political independence and social progress of the nation. He always looked at his life as a mission so he dedicated it to the service of mankind and set the examples through his sincerity and dedication. He was familiar with what Walter D. Wintle in his poem 'It is All in the State of Mind' said, 'Full many a race is lost/Ere even a step is run;/and many a coward fails/Ere even his work is begun/Think

big, and your deeds will grow/Think small and you will fall behind/Think that you can, and you will/It is all in the state of mind.' He was from among those who also considered work as a mode of worship, for it is work done with due sincerity that helps us make great strides in our life. To most of us, real relaxation and comfort lies in work done with constancy. Gandhi's deeds, actions and ideas were so revolutionary, innovative and futuristic that they are still worthy of imitation, and hold good for all of us. Since he worked with the spirit what Alexander Pope seeks to express in his poem 'Greatness' as he says, 'Honour and shame from no condition rise/Act well thy part, there all the honour lies/Fortune in men has some small difference made/One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade' he succeeded with his esteemed ideals that he religiously followed throughout his life. Thus, he was able to arouse and unite the people of all sections in a mass national movement.

As regards life and sufferings it involves, life is born in travails and is beset with adversities and struggles. But adversities do not necessarily prove to be inauspicious and unlucky. No doubt, the adversities test and try the robustness and tensile strength. But they do strengthen the life-force. Gandhi was such a great person who had cultivated the merits in him to be able to put up a bold front under all circumstances through his sustained effort, physical and mental alertness, creating a reasonable ground for the possibility of the fulfilment of his dreams. He proved his mettle by turning the trials and adversities into bright opportunities. He always looked forward with ardent desire and confidence, potential and wisdom, resilience and perseverance. With his intrinsic ability to lead, and his inherent love and affection for his country and its people he showed that he and his fellow countrymen had sufficient endurance and strength in liberating India, and emerges as a model for several colonised countries and their people to emulate them. He imparted them physical and mental alertness and power to put up bold front for the sake of their rights grabbed by the oppressors. Gandhi was bold enough to bring it people that rights entail obligations. It was his sincere sense of filial obligations that enabled him to keep the promises he made to his mother before he went abroad. Such were the virtues of his character that kept him alive to his mission which he accomplished with his head uplifted and spirit enlivened.

It is not an easy job for one to become a leader of pragmatic,

constructive and inspiring approach while practicing everything that one preaches. As the world also has people who may turn critical of anyone while disregarding their glaring contributions. Gandhi, with his sincere sense of devotion, commitment and compatriotic feelings, practiced his ideal with genuine tactfulness, ingenuity, insightful perception and far-sightedness, propagated his vital philosophy of action through his own actions, paving the way for the construction of healthy and prosperous societies established on the foundation of all-encompassing diversity. But he too had or rather has his own detractors. Despite criticism, he followed his course of action while professing his staunch faith in what Alfred Tennyson says, 'The old order changeth yielding place to new.' Had there been no sense of curiosity to seek and find better, and no positive attitude towards the changes and transformations taking place in the world, we would not have achieved that what we have in our country now. Gandhi did preach another thing of crucial importance in life that both ends and means should be in full consonance with lofty and sublime principles of life. We have to attain our objectives through our obedience and adherence to our magnificent principles rather than through gross violation and defilement of accepted norms. In sum, we must be guided by our conscience while keeping abreast of the dynamic changes. Gandhi wanted the wish to achieve technological, educational, political and economic advancement of the West to be fused conscientiously with the treasured and deep-rooted values of the East. He warned through his actions and practices seeking to inculcate the values that Oliver Goldsmith propagates in his poem 'Ill Fares the Land, to Hastening Ill a Prey', 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ill a prey/Where wealth accumulates and men decay/Princes and lords may flourish or may fade / A breath can make them, as a breath has made/ But a bold peasantry, their country's pride/When once destroyed, can never be supplied.'

Gandhi always found nationalism and internationalism consistent and complementary of each other. He believed in what Rabindra Nath Tagore said, 'It is an idle mendicancy to discard our own and beg for the foreign' while at the same time, 'it is abjectness of poverty to dwarf ourselves by rejecting the foreign'. Characterised by candour, straightforwardness, selflessness and truthfulness his persuasive words and actions attracted people's hearts and minds, and stimulate their

interest. 'Few historic figures, writes Arvind Singhal in his Foreword to *Gandhian Thought and Communication: Rethinking the Mahatma in the Media Age*, fascinate and excite the intellect as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. While the world called him *mahatma* (great soul) and his fellow Indians *Rashtrapita* (father of the nation), to the common man he was simply *babu* (father)—a diminutive, bare-bodied and saintly man in whose presence the subjugated and the colonised felt inspired to believe that the cloak of human dignity could be cast aside and humanity reclaimed...And, when Lilly, a 9th grader at Wakefield high School in Arlington, Virginia, asked President Barack Obama, 'If he could have dinner with anyone, dead or alive, who would it be. Obama, without hesitation, picked Gandhi, noting that he brought change 'Not through violence, not through money, but through money, but through the force of his personality, and his ethical and moral stance. Whether Einstein or Obama, or mere mortals like us or a 9th grader like Lilly, Gandhi inspires our spirit, churns our mind and rouses our humanity.'³

Gandhi endeavoured hard to adorn his fellow countrymen with his enlightened outlook, sublime thoughts and exaltation of character and elevation of mind. He inspired them to cast away their enervated will and choose the robust one so that they could stop living in fear of being squeezed and crushed. He instilled in them the nerve and boldness to stand upright to brave the challenges and hardships. He also brought it home to the people that 'The height, as H.W. Longfellow says in his poem 'The Ladder of St. Augustine', 'by great men reached and kept/Were not attained by sudden flight/But they, while their companions slept/Were toiling upward in the night/Standing on what too long we bore/With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,/We may discern—unseen before —/A path to higher destinies.' In a nutshell, he inspired his fellow countrymen to be ready with their resolute optimism under all circumstances for the success and attainment of their objectives. It goes without saying, life will be dull and colourless without struggles and hardships. Gandhi, with such truths in his mind, motivated the people to genuinely work for the mission painstakingly with the strength of mind, unbending courage and scrupulous faithfulness to the accepted norms of humanity. And the mission was accomplished.

One the most charismatic world personalities, Gandhi proved to be a man of firm commitment. As a staunch promoter of self-esteem and

liberty, he could not tolerate the ill-treatment and humiliations meted out to the Indians and others in South Africa. Once he himself was also thrown out of a train. 'British rule,' writes Eric Itzkin, 'brought added hardship for Indians as well as for Africans and other classed as 'Non-Europeans'. The new administration revived the anti-Indian laws of their Boer Predecessors, enforcing them with new vigour, and sought to improve new discriminatory measures. Indians could not live outside the wretched and overcrowded Indian Location, nor could they trade outside the designated bazaars, or own fixed property.... Gandhi's offices became a nerve centre of the *Satyagraha* struggle.'⁴ Gandhi fought as an Indian Lawyer, as a sensitive and bold activist in South Africa, as an exemplary freedom-fighter, a far-sighted and pragmatic statesman and as a social reformer par excellence. His encyclopaedic range makes one feel tempted to again quote a few lines from 'Thinking' a poem by Walter D. Wintle the essence of which Gandhi might have tried to inculcate in the people in South Africa as well as in India. The lines are, 'If you think you are outclassed, you are,/You've got to think high to rise,.../Life's battles don't always go/To the stronger or faster man,/But soon or late the man who wins/Is the man who thinks he can!'

Dr. Imran Coovada writes, 'Gandhi fought Ibrahim's case doggedly through the courts and newspapers, a kind of activism which was his first original contribution to colonial politics—civil and yet confrontational, personal and yet legalistic. He won the tram case on a technicality, only to find the racial legislation reinstated on a more secure basis when he was preparing to serve in the Bombatha Rebellion. After his demobilisation, Gandhi turned to *Satyagraha*, the method of passive resistance which challenged the framework of colonies and empires.'⁵ By virtue of his energetic enterprise and political activism in South Africa, which had brought him to witness the cruelties and indignities perpetrated on the Indian labourers, he emerged as a notably well-liked figure in India so much so that he won phenomenal renown and honour there in other British colonies. Needless to mention that to Gandhi patriotism never meant narrow 'national vanity'. He looked at the world with unconditional love and promoted the idea of an inclusive world, realising 'the greatest good of all'.

He never made any compromise and adjustment with his principles which he held in high esteem. A visionary endowed with deep

compassion for others, he would readily alter his positions in favour of his purpose meant to serve the interest of the nation and its people, even in the interest of other nations and their people. He was a true leader genuinely wedded to his exalted principles and cause. He 'became the change'. He preferred to be patriotic through his sublime deeds rather than waxing lyrical on the importance of patriotism. He made sacrifices for the nation and boldly, while taking care of everyone's welfare, propagating equality, endeavouring to create social order and eradicate disparity of opportunities. Gandhi had dedicated his life to the nation with his faith in independent power of initiative and iron will. He never showed infirmity of purpose or lack of strong will, nor did he exaggerate the difficulties that faced him.

He was brave enough to show his courage in discarding everything which was repellent to reason and sense of scruples. He desired that traditional wisdom be retained and modern enlightenment be accorded warm reception so that comprehensive, deep and thorough understanding of life and the world could be developed. It is truism, no amount of preaching and sermons can make headway if the preacher himself does not possess the qualities that he preaches. A preacher always preaches better through what he is rather than through what his powerful words are. It is true in case of Gandhi. He once said, 'Woe to the teacher who teaches one thing with the lips and carries another in the heart.' He also taught '*You must be the change you want to see in the world.*' One of his disciples one said to him, '*You said one thing last week, and something quite different this week.*' 'I did' said Gandhi, '*I have learned something new since the last week.*' In his actual life Gandhi practiced what he preached. But he frankly admitted his weaknesses as well. He added, '*As human beings, our greatness lies not so much in being able to remake the world—that is the myth of the atomic age—as in being able to remake ourselves.*' He further said, 'If you change yourself you will change your world. If you change how you think then you will change how you feel and what actions you take. And so the world around you will change. Not only because you are now viewing your environment through new lenses of thoughts and emotions but also because the change within can allow you to take action in ways you wouldn't have—or maybe even have thought about—while stuck in your old thought patterns.' 'I cannot', he said, 'discard my leadership...I have become

integral part of the nation: it has to keep me with all my faults and shortcomings.'

Gandhi always rose to demonstrate a very bold and unflinching resistance against the ruthless and cruel discrimination and oppression. He rose to appropriately convert the challenges into opportunities, strengthening himself as well as others. He formed the Indian National Congress and fought the indignities perpetrated on the indentured labourers in South Africa. He motivated them to resist tyranny and oppression and endeavoured to infuse in them a belief that soul-force and non-violent resistance triumph for sure. In other words, truth makes brute-force bite the dust. At the same time he stressed the need to exercise patience in the teeth of mounting problems. The virtue that helped Gandhi conspicuously throughout his life was his exemplary patience and perseverance. Due to this strength he never felt feeble. So he never carried his campaign half-heartedly. He believed so determinedly in the discipline of mind and perseverance that he always showed his mettle and took the bull by the horns with due loyalty to civility and courteousness.

Although he had to bear hardships and cruelties, he strove resolutely, displaying tenacious single-mindedness and the unbending spirit of the brave people who fight until the victory is achieved. It was due to these qualities that Gandhi succeeded in his great mission and earned respect and national as well as international acclaim. A man of action and dauntless attitude Gandhi's formation of the Indian National Congress and his act of dealing with the oppression there in South Africa display his extraordinary and phenomenal organisational abilities and leadership qualities. These qualities availed him in carrying out his successful experiment with his unfailing weapon, *satyagraha* that exposed him to a variety of people belonging to motley domains. His non-violent *satyagraha* in Champaran marked the beginning of an agrarian revolution. And his act of leading the *khilafat* movement brought him in close contact the Muslims, providing him with the opportunity to exploit this movement as a means of uniting the Hindus and the Muslims.

Exactly like a dedicated and ideal teacher, Gandhi 'affects eternity' with his unique strength, self-control, optimism, courage, purposefulness and the like, and remains an abiding influence and a constructive

force in our lives, national and international political, social and other discourses. His timeless philosophies, firm actions and the warmth of his sincerity-inspired personality that perpetually sought to combine in itself the fundamental ethos of both traditional and modern world should irresistibly appeal for a variety of people cutting across climes and eras. An archetype of 'the most unique is the most universal', Gandhi is national as well as international. His nationalist fervour, earnest and conscientious struggle for the freedom of his nation emboldened him to come face to face with the world's super-most power with his weapons like indomitable will and unswerving faith in patience, perseverance, principles of non-violence and sarvodya, universal uplift or progress for all.

The impact of Shraavan and Raja Harish Chandra that Gandhi had received as a child was so deep and lasting that he remained a sincere son to his beloved motherland with due readiness and sincere sense of obligation, and steadfastly followed the path of truthfulness throughout his life. Owing to these meritorious qualities, 'Mahatma Gandhi', writes Keval J. Kumar, 'was a mass communicator...His appeal was nationwide, cutting across region, caste, religion and socio-economic status. He was hailed the Mahatma not only by the *bhadralok* of Bengal, the Brahmins of Madras and Maharashtra and his fellow Gujratis but by the illiterate, the backward classes, the untouchables, and by the Muslims, Christians, Parsees, and tribal in almost every region of the land. As early as March 1921, a CID report on a mass meeting held in an Uttar Pradesh village provides evidence of his mass appeal. Never before, says the report, has any political leader in his own lifetime stirred the masses to their very depths throughout the country and received the homage of so many people, Hindus and Muslims alike. His influence is certainly phenomenal and quite unprecedented. In July the same year the *Bengali* commented: 'Being present at the various meeting held in Calcutta on June 30, we have been struck with two things. First that a new spirit has taken hold of the lower class people and secondly, the majority of the people in India have accepted Gandhi as leader....What a leadership! Such a leadership in politics has never seen before.'⁶

Entrenched deeply in the Indian ethos, social and cultural milieu, Gandhi revered the essential good, worth and esteem of humankind and strongly wished his fellow countrymen help each other in preserving

their distinctive marks as diverse ethnic groups. To him, as to every Indian, unity does not lie in depressing, dreary and lifeless sameness but in exciting and electrifying variety and diversity which only India, our beloved country, flaunts, inspiring all of us to keep alive our sense of ties and stay reciprocally interconnected with our fellow-citizens for the service of our country and its people.

NOTES

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