CONCLUSION

Examining Mahatma Gandhi’s broader perception through the Collected Work’s was not merely an exercise but a learning experience. It provides an insight to identify Gandhi’s positive distinctiveness. Gandhi’s endeavors were not limited to his maneuvers for the progression of his movements. Narrow portrayal of Gandhi’s identity shadows his essential capacities to inspire common men. Gandhi’s writings provide an essence of the ethics with the finer examples of Buddha, Jesus Christ, Darwin, Akbar, Adam Smith and others. His writing’s can be termed as an encyclopedia of ethical teachings through different perspectives. One thing which is essential to notice that his writings can best be understood by an individual who has basic ethical sense so to identify the correct meanings of his writings. His writings simply explain the basic idea of being ethically correct in all spheres of life with many ifs and buts while its practical usage. To simplify his persistent endeavors he again and again quotes Max Muller’s significant constant approach for conveying the same truth in different forms. There is so much to learn from Gandhi’s experiences instead of misinterpreting the basic idea of his teachings. Most importantly his teachings guide a layman person in a state of ethical dilemma as well as socially conscious men to enrich their society around. His teachings are valuable for all the times and especially in the present times when progressive men of the society are oblivion for their ethical responsibilities. Chandra only indicates the strength of Gandhi’s associates in the constructive activities of the Gandhian movements by classifying them to be the ‘steel frame’. But the area of research needs attention so to understand Gandhi from his likeminded associates perspectives. Instead of misrepresenting him in a complex manner it is imperative to represent the unique force of their collective thought process. It is interesting to know that his likeminded associates were not confined to India but men from the other countries were being
involved to evolve his idea of non-violence. Likewise, I found Shri Umendra Dutt, an initiator of the Kheti Virasat Mission, Jaitu, Punjab to be in accord with the essence of Gandhian ideas as well as maneuvers so to enrich the impoverished state of farmers and the farming culture of Punjab. While interaction he shared his inspiration for the Gandhian ideology. Being in association with the movement I found that he did not exploit Gandhian fame to appeal society around in spite of following Gandhian maneuvers closely so to educate the masses. He exemplifies Gandhi’s aspirations from the socially conscious men of the society in an accurate manner. Thus, there is much more to be acknowledged of Gandhi’s positive individuality than generally perceived.

For investigating ‘Mahatma Gandhi’s presence in Punjab’ it is essential to understand a broader perception of Mahatma Gandhi through his own writings. A better understanding of Mahatma Gandhi at different levels gives an idea of his intended steps which were primarily to prove the strength of his non-violence ideal with the help of the satyagraha technique. Thus, it is imperative to identify the role of Punjab in establishing the significance of his non-violence ideal. Through the initial exercises I have examined Gandhi’s intended moves through his movements and then in accordance traced the role played by Punjab and the Punjabis. Undoubtedly the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy (1919), Hunter Committee Report (1920), Gurudwara Reform Movement (1920-25), Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrade’s case (1931), The Partition of Punjab and Sir Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s case (1947) provided him the scope of exhibiting the force of his non-violence ideal. He made persistent efforts to channelize all these issues with his expertise for the nation’s interest so to challenge the brute force of the Indian British Government. He thoughtfully maintained the essence of his movements while confronting the above issues of the Punjab which has been discussed at length through the concerned chapters and a brief view of the argument is discussed in the subsequent passages. Malhotra observes that the influence of the Gandhian movements varied from time to time whereas I observe that his influence varied from individual to individual.
There were individuals like Sardar Bhagat Singh and Sir Muhammad Ali Jinnah who were able to challenge his ideal of non-violence. At the same time his likeminded Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and an ideal worker Bibi Amtul Salaam proved to be his strength for the advancement of his movements. When political leaders were busy in communal politics, these likeminded men were serving masses with Gandhi for pacifying the violent forces. Whereas, the naivety to control the mass movement by leaders like Jinnah became a limitation to his movement. It is interesting to notice that Sardar Bhagat Singh and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were able to track Gandhian maneuvers to challenge his non-violence ideal. Gandhi confronted both the situations gracefully with his skillful leadership and the strength of world opinion for his non-violence ideal. Exclusive work comprised of four volumes on Gandhi and Punjab was not able to provide space to issues which I found to be the basis of understanding Gandhi in the context of Punjab. Malhotra overlooks to take into account the activities of Gandhi’s likeminded and his ideal worker in the later years. There are many related issues as like the leaders equation with Gandhi which needs to be investigated only with a broader perception of Mahatma Gandhi in the context of Punjab. While understanding the basis of Mahatma Gandhi’s presence in Punjab I observed that in the politics of the Punjab Gandhi’s role developed as of a mediator. Gandhi was in constant dialogue with Sardar Tara Singh, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava. He was trying hard to convince them so to rise above their half-hearted approach for the nationalism and his ideals. His correspondence with these leaders of the Punjab was basically to clarify their apprehensions for the impending political developments. He was persistently making efforts to make them recognize the responsibilities of a leader for which they were oblivious. He was expecting something substantial from these leaders but they were not able to act in response. ‘Dr. Satyapal needs no defence from you; and if he does, I think your letter has spoiled his case. Public workers have to possess the hide of a rhinoceros. They cannot afford to


285
be sensitive to the extent of being thin-skinned. But I must confess to you that though I have not talked to more than two or three persons and that too when the talk became relevant, I have laid the blame of the Punjab defeats at Dr. Satyapal’s door. His inexhaustible energy, courage and suffering are undeniable. But he has a knack of often estranging good people from him. I intended to talk to him about him about it, but unfortunately he went to jail before I could do so. It is my opinion that if Dr. Satyapal had been wise and judicious, not one of the Punjab seats would have been lost.’446 However, Sikander Hyat Khan made efforts to convince him with his constructive idea for the united Punjab. In a Muslim majority province Gandhi was seeking a support of the Muslim leaders who could connect the ideal with the majority of the masses but was unable to gather except during the Non-Cooperation Movement. Such observations are still to be examined with the similar kind of understanding for Gandhi.

The initial exercise gives an idea of Gandhi’s selfless aspirations, social consciousness and resolve to take bold initiatives. Being strongly linked with the traditional moral values he started contemplating different ways to adapt the modern culture and which led him to join organizations like London Vegetarian Society and London Theosophical Society. While being involved with these societies he was more thoughtful. He was facing challenges while having wider experiences of the society. Initially he struggled hard to coexist with his traditional beliefs and the modern culture. However, gradually he confronted the challenges in a thoughtful way which led him to compare and understand both the cultures on the basis of reason. Even though he desired to experience much more through his London journey but returned back home with a new perspective for both the cultures. He was keen to share his new experiences and which supported him to educate his family. Being professionally unsettled he was not able to do anything further and his financial requirements took him to Durban. With a perspective of young

446 Letter to Dunichand, 18-1-1935, CWMG 60:90.
Gandhi’s aspirations and new experiences while England journey I tried to understand him during his prolonged struggle in South Africa.

It is interesting to figure out that Gandhi was not only concerned with the immediate problem of South Africa but was working for the progression of the society at large. Society with the custom of racial discrimination was new to Gandhi. He was surprised to see the immoral attitude and which made him to assert for his rights. He started convincing men around him to organize and resist against the immoral practices and policies which had been forced on the Indians in South Africa. Subsequently he took a courageous initiative by organizing ‘Natal Indian Congress’. With a hope in the power of ‘words’ he placed the grievances of South African Indians by way of petitions to the Natal Government and to the masses through the Local Press. His endeavors were selfless and not for making money which gives an idea of his level of determination to sensitize the society. The Government was disregarding all these initiatives but somewhere he was trying to understand that if all these conscious efforts are not working than the state of affairs are not as simple as seen on the surface. He thoughtfully calculated it to be a matter of extreme misunderstandings between the two great communities i.e. the East and West. Consequently he started his initiatives so to lessen the growing misunderstandings between the two. At his individual level he started correspondence with the fair minded people of both the communities. Moreover he was interested in the opinion of the people who have broader understanding of both the cultures. He was utilizing these opinions in his petitions, writings and for formulating influence on the Home Government. One thing which is important to share is his skill to place his argument with proper facts, opinion of the prominent men, adding testimonials and the required data so to appeal the conscious of the reader. He consciously linked with the organizations like Theosophical Society and made use of their understanding and links for removing misunderstandings. However, through his introspectiveness he was getting firm for his basic moral beliefs. Still there was no encouraging progress regarding the immediate problem but with all his
initial initiatives he appealed the Government, Press and the masses to pause and think on the basis of morality. Even though his faith in British Justice was firm but not blind. He was open in acknowledging their positive outlook in such a manner. He was more thoughtful with each passing moment of the struggle which in turn was leading him towards his higher degree of responsibilities. Gradually he was encouraged with the response which supported him to carry out his next initiative in the form of Indian Opinion. The objectives of the Indian Opinion were similar to his own which is reflective through the columns. His optimistic attitude is noticeable with the progression of his writings. Gradually with his experiences he was modifying his line of action which is reflected through his writings in the Indian Opinion.

However, he was being inspired with the thoughts of great men across the globe but his inquisitiveness progressively shifted towards the ideas of great men who alone astonished the world with their deeds. The ideas of great men like Ruskin and Tolstoy encouraged him to develop a community based on his ideals in the form of Phoenix Settlement. He utilized all his links with the fair minded people of both the communities but then too response of the Home Government was objectionable. Gandhi strongly believed in Professor Max Muller’s idea of persistent endeavors to spread the message based on truth among the masses. Consequently he became more firm and took a pledge for his subsequent action, if new law come into force. In spite of showing their aggravation with their firm standpoint Colonial Government passed the new law. Subsequently he planned to approach the masses at large. His still had much to do during this phase of struggle which was reflective through his series of articles on ethics. It seems as if he was trying to show his vision through the ethical culture. He tried to explain the unconditional powers and the broad limits of the ethical culture. At the same time he clarified that for accomplishing this vision a combined constructive effort is required by the fair minded people of all the different cultures. It is interesting to notice his skill to place his state of mind to convince the masses at large. He placed his vision with the approval of science so as to
appeal through reason. He linked ethics with an individual state of mind so to place his thoughts to common people. He also explained the close relationship between religion and ethics so as to appeal millions who are strongly linked with their religion. With an intense hope in the power of Moral Deeds he preferred to do something significant so to prove the genuineness of their cause. He diverted all his wits towards his new endeavor for the Passive Resistance. He preferred to define it more clearly with his Gujarati expression as satyagraha which signifies firmness in truth. Government was surprised to see the firmness of the satyagrahis and therefore acknowledged their demands by discussing the basis of their demands with Gandhi. Through this minor move he sensed the efficacy of his new experiment and his organizing skills. He was open in confirming the efficacy of his technique as well as the naivety of the masses. He was all set to educate the masses with the nitty-gritty’s of his new technique. Consequently he was keen to clarify the responsibilities of the leaders while negotiating. He also explained his logic of truce as he expects a way out by an honorable compromise so to eliminate the element of compulsion so to win respect from the opposite side. He was keen to share the experiences of great men who achieved excellent outcomes after its use and acted in a spirit of a true satyagrahi. He defined his idea of integrity in the form of ‘Hind Swaraj’ or ‘Indian Home Rule’ and exhibited his faith in his convictions. He was prepared to initiate another great effort in India. Due to economic reasons he had to make another bold experiment in the shape of Tolstoy Farm. His model institutes were his ideal laboratory’s for experimenting his ideals practically and training the satyagrahis. Nevertheless he refined himself to epitomize his strong convictions. Gradually, he was insensitive to family bonding and even gelled himself with the poor. His idea of satyagraha assisted him in acquiring wider support from the public. Subsequently a new phase of struggle was started and was continued for six long years. While he was grappling to move forward an essay ‘On the Duty of Civil Disobedience’ by Thoreau inspired him. With the help of this essay he was able to clarify his own thoughts and explain the right meaning of the civil disobedience to the masses. As an organizer of the

289
satyagraha technique he was careful in channelizing the ignorance of the masses. Moreover he shared his deep thoughts and asked others to assist him in the progression of his ideals. With his faith in the technique he lastly triumphed as a ‘leader of the masses’ by achieving a change in the attitude of Government policy. It is interesting to observe that through his struggle in South Africa he simply asked for the elementary rights of humanity and ordinary justice and not the social change or social equality. Gandhi also indicates that to prove the efficacy of satyagraha technique it is essential to advance carefully with the expertise of the leader.

The above understanding acquaints with Gandhi’s ideas, skillful leadership and organizational skills. It primarily gives an idea of his way of working which went through different stages. Once he was successful with his unique way of working he took no time to move his attention towards his aspirations for India. Initially he took time to organize the essentials so to place the working of his satyagraha technique to the masses at large. With a reformer’s zeal he stepped into his initial course of action while touring different parts of the country. He specifically studied the existing state of Ancient institutions while his tours in different states. Gandhi exchanged his views with learned academicians, influential local leaders, editors of the local newspapers and economist. Individuals who were convinced with his basic ideas and reasoning assured their support in achieving his ideals. Gandhi maintained his links by being in touch with these individuals through correspondence and was acquiring much information of the different localities too. After careful thought he established his model institute Satyagraha Ashram. He also started training in hand weaving and spinning in the ashram and sought to explain the practical working of his ideal of swadeshi to the Indian masses too. Gandhi was making his moves carefully and confronting the challenges more cautiously. While his tours he was faced with the communication problem due to the use of different languages throughout the country. He shortly sensed that without a common language it will be very difficult for him to reach the masses at the earliest. For him Hindi
was the shortest possible means to reach the masses. After getting support on the issue he thought of spreading the message. He placed the importance of national language issue through his broad definition of swadeshi. It seems as it was his step to confront the prevailing complexities due to Macaulay’s Minute and to filter down his own ideals on the similar line. Being not satisfied with the prevalent education foundations in India, he exchanged his views with the individuals during these conferences for thinking aloud. Individuals who were supporting his ideals did assist him in its execution too. From the very beginning he maintained his independent identity by simply being a part and not an active member of any of the existing political organizations. The existing set of political ideologies whether moderate or extremist was not consistent to his line of action. He was open to admit that he could join a movement or any of the political organizations only if they have some common goal to achieve. He was aware of the fact that still there are millions who have been left from the ambit of Home Rule Leaguers. Therefore, he focused his wits to educate those millions who were still not in the ambit of the existing political leaders of India. He contacted the masses during his tours and made an effort to introduce them with their special role in achieving the ideal state of swaraj. For being independent he always played safe by confronting his critics. He was bold enough to notify the Government authorities before making his moves. He even maintained links with the editors who were open minded and due to which he was able to express himself freely through the columns of the Indian newspapers in the times when he was not running his own paper. He persistently explained the wider meaning of his terms swaraj, swadeshi and satyagraha so as to demarcate the basis of his ideals with the others. During these years, he got an opportunity to assist local leaders while their struggle. As a reformer, he was always keen to join people in their difficult times. But as a skilled leader, he was careful enough in his way of working. Through his way of working, he tried to illustrate the importance of expertise of a leader of the masses. No doubt, he was able to solve the grievances by his way of working but at the same time his move of satyagraha in resolving the local grievances was
severely criticized by many established leaders and the masses as well. At times he was apprehensive for not convincing the people concerning satyagraha. Yet, he was trying to explain the deeper meanings of the term satyagraha at a wider level. Firstly, he tried to convince the Home Rule Leaguers for the national level protest against Annie Besant’s internment and then for the Muslim leaders for Ali Brother’s release but was not able to convince as the existing leaders were still not ready to accept his line of action. But before any political leader could assess his organizational skills it was the Government who acknowledged by giving the responsibility of the recruitment campaign during the war. Although, Gandhi was hesitant to take the responsibility as he knew that his move would go against his own ideals but he took the opportunity seeing the significance of the Government’s move. However after a careful thought, he accepted the Government proposal but at the same time tried to convince the Government and the leaders to work together during such a crucial issue. He accepted the proposal with his broader intentions to place the working of his ideals at a wider level. In short he created a reasonable space for him to spread his message among the masses at large.

Subsequent exercise identifies that Gandhi was unable to visit Punjab while his tours in India. He was outlawed to visit Punjab during the Rowlatt Satyagraha. In addition there is dearth of substantial specifics in his writings even after analyzing the Punjab wrongs. Inadequate attention has been given to his viewpoint in the consulted secondary source material too. However, his viewpoint has been gathered through the Government Disorder Inquiries, the Congress Disorder Inquiry Committee Report and his sparse comments concerning Punjab gives a fair idea of his level of acquaintance with the Punjab. Interestingly it helped in identifying the reasons for his absence in Punjab during his tours. After coming to India Gandhi was inquisitive to explore the existing state of affairs by personally visiting the different localities of India. He was eager to approach the influential leaders of the localities to support him in cultivating his ideals to the masses at large. Through his
tours he was confronted with the issue of language differences for reaching the masses. As discussed earlier, he consequently contemplated the means to express himself through the common language i.e., Hindi. Gandhi was aware of the fact that in Punjab’s case he will not be having such communication problem as Hindi language was a prevalent means for the Punjabis. Thus it can be observed that he was focusing his attention in the areas where he was unable to communicate. Since, he can always communicate his message to the people who were well versed in Hindi. Secondly, the traditional handicrafts did not lose its significance and its skill is rooted in the culture of Punjab. Gandhi shared the particular information through his writings and thus he was aware of the fact that Punjabis are familiar with the art of weaving. Rather on his visit to Punjab he was inquisitive to explore the traditional techniques which were prevalent in Punjab. Through his Punjab letters he shared that his message was instantly grasped by the women of Punjab. Thirdly, his inquisitiveness to work with some influential Muslim leaders led him to contact Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali. His immense hope from the Muslim leaders leads him to voice for justice in their concern which has been discussed at length in the following chapter. Unfortunately, the prolonged internment delayed Gandhi to connect with the Muslims dominated areas. Gandhi was relying on these established leaders to introduce his ideals among the Muslim masses of the Punjab and which did not materialized before Rowlatt Satyagraha. Fourthly, the gradual gagging of Press under Michael O’ Dwyer’s administration and the forceful closer of independent newspapers during Rowlatt agitation did blocked Gandhi’s way to reach the masses of Punjab. Fifthly, as already discussed Gandhi was not able to contact the masses and the leaders of the Punjab before and during the Rowlatt Satyagraha. In addition he was not able to instruct the skills of the technique to the local leaders of the Punjab. Thus the naiveté of few influential leaders for the use of satyagraha technique and the inactiveness of the established political leaders stirred the masses to be uncontrollable during the Rowlatt satyagraha. Sixthly, by personally investigating the whole truth and seeing the zeal of Punjabis during Jallianwala Bagh Massacre he
acknowledged his fallacy for the Punjabis as he was doubted for the encouraging response of the Punjabis for the non-violence ideal. He publicized the sacrifices as exemplary while analyzing the intensity of the Punjabis endurance in preserving the purity of his non-violence ideal. He asserted that the sacrifices during the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre were exemplary but performed without the knowledge of non-violence ideal. He emphasized that if they would have sacrificed in accordance to the ideal then certainly they would have attained much higher stature in comparison to one they attained now. As discussed earlier some of the statements indicate his strong conviction for the efficacy of the satyagraha technique after the suspension and the inquiry too. However from a broader canvass I have tried to identify that Gandhi through the Rowlatt Satyagraha channelized the force of enraged masses to expose the Indian British Government’s brute force. Significantly the nonviolent spirit of the Punjabis during the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy proved to be great strength for Gandhi in exposing the inhumanity in the form of ‘Dwyerism’. Gandhi’s preliminary step for showing the efficacy of satyagraha technique with the help of Punjabis sacrifices was progressive for the advancement of his movement. By heightening the brutal act of inhumanity and challenging the cry of benevolence of the Indian British Rule he was able to initiate a dialogue in the British Parliament on the basis of integrity.

Through the next exercise, I am able to identify the way Gandhi with his astute vision sensed the magnitude of the Muslim issue during the emerging conditions of the World War I. After calculating a broad outlook on the issue he planned to execute his idea. For the execution he took certain steps at each level which has been analyzed in the chapter. Firstly he took the acquiescence of their religious leader Maulana Abdul Bari so to connect the idea of non-violence with the traditions of the masses. He met Muhammad Ali and found prospects working with him for some common goals. After analyzing their case he acted as a moderator between Ali Brother’s counsel and the Government so as to strengthen their appeal on the basis of reason. The second level starts
subsequently after the execution of his satyagraha technique in the form of Rowlatt Satyagraha. After proving the efficacy of his technique he started portraying the Khilafat issue from a broader perspective. Step by step, he was able to shape the Muslim stance in accordance to his line of action and succeeded in presenting the Hindu support on the issue. He was all prepared to step at the next level which was possible only with the Ali Brother’s support as all the base work was already done in their absence during the preliminary phases. The third level for the execution of Gandhi’s idea was started immediately after the release of Ali Brother’s. The activities took pace with the release of the Turkish Peace Terms which according to him were crushing in concern to Muslim demands. In the emerging state of affairs Muslims leaders found better prospects in Gandhi’s idea of non-co-operation. Amidst all these developments Hunter Committee Report was publicized which was resented for being unfair against the injustices and especially the act of General O’ Dwyer. He placed his idea of non-cooperation against the Punjab issue but was widely criticized. Many leaders in opposition issued manifesto against his suggestion. By calling the manifesto as a crusade against the Non-Co-operation Movement he placed his stance for not suspending the movement up till the Congress approval. During the Congress special session the results were in favor of Gandhi’s non-co-operation resolution which evidently demonstrated his organizational skill to gather support from the leaders of the masses. One thing which is essential to notice is that from the very beginning he was acting as an adviser to the leaders of the Khilafat movement. Being sagacious he reached the masses through the leaders of their own community and was always cautious to deal with the Muslim masses in their absence. On the other hand, while leading Ali Brothers were vociferous in expressing their constricted religious sentiment which was contrary to the non-violence ideal. In their case Gandhi was maintaining composure and was always advising them to be patient for the advancement of the movement as the Government was keen to arrest them at a pretext to impede the progress of the movement. With the gradual progress of the movement there emerged certain intricacies which captured the leading head as well
as the advisor of the movement. Seeing the impending repercussions he convinced the working Committee with his skillful approach and approved a resolution to call-off the movement.

From the very beginning Gandhi portrayed his movements as religious and appealed the masses to support his movement in the name of their own religion. In fact, the Indian political leaders who were alert in examining his actions were also apprehending his religious appeals. His active involvement at the political front might have confirmed the skepticism of many into a firm belief. They even blamed him for ‘intermixing the religion and politics. Their arguments against him were confined within the constricted approach and which made them inept of focusing their speculations beyond. However, it is essential to distinguish that this is a partial view of analyzing the basic intent of Gandhi. From the very beginning his intentions were not confined to reform the Indian political, social, economic life but intended to work at a broader level. He wanted to establish the credence of his ideals which he did while channelizing the Khilafat issue. Comparative view of different opinions regarding Gandhi’s intent substantiates the argument. It is essential to note that Gandhi with his companion C. F. Andrews was working at another front for achieving the broad objectives. Through the Khilafat and then the Non-Co-operation movement they both were able to create a dialogue on the non-violence ideal which is understandable through his writings and columns. While analyzing Gandhi’s calculated steps to achieve his broad intent I observe that Gandhi and C. F. Andrews joined to permeate their liberal ideas around the globe so to recede the ever growing differences in the two major communities i.e. East and West. Even though they both use to share their conflicting views but individually were putting their finest share in the execution of their idea. Thus while channelizing the Khilafat and the Punjab issue they created a dialogue which helped in reverberating the non-violence ideal around the globe.

However, there are certain observations which assist in comprehending Gandhi’s approach in the case of Punjab during Khilafat and Non-
Cooperation. He initially introduced his ideals to Punjabis but maintained silence on the Khilafat issue during his visit for the case study of Punjab Disorders. Being sagacious he appealed the Muslim community only in the presence of their influential Muslim leaders. In the third phase he jointly appealed with Maulana Shaukat Ali to the Punjabis for the Khilafat. In addition, it was the Ali Brother’s presence which finally prepared him to merge the national and the local issue (Khilafat & Punjab) into mass movement for which he was reluctant before. Interestingly he broadly publicized Lala Lajpat Rai’s assertion to boycott the legislative councils as the Punjab’s support. Initially leaders were inactive and thus he openly suggested the masses of the Punjab to move forward at their own. It was their (Ali Brother and Gandhi) joint appeal which worked well to get support from the masses especially Muslims of the Punjab. Gandhi’s support to the Gurudwara Movement at the third level of non-cooperation movement added support of the Sikh community too. In addition, the merger of the Punjab issue strengthened the public opinion in the third phase. All these factors worked well and forced leaders like Lajpat to actively respond during the Non-Co-operation Movement. Gandhi appealed the masses of the Punjab in the name of their own religion at the preliminary level to awaken the masses. At that level he made conscious efforts to introduce the ideal of non-violence through their religious teachings so as to create an everlasting bonding. According to him each religion carries the essence of non-violence ideal and thus was seeking to reinforce that aspect through one’s own traditions. Masses too were awakened in the name of their religion which was well seen through the Non-Co-operation and the Gurudwara Movement. By seeing the sacrificing spirit of the Sikh community for their religious environs he guided them with his expertise and the nitty-gritty’s of the satyagraha technique. Through the non-cooperation phase he analyzed the constricted attitude of all the communities and thought of educating the awakened communities of Punjab. Therefore moving to the next level, he tried to instruct his ethical approach through their religious teachings. Various objections were raised against his ethical expression by the stanch religious leaders of the communities. The prominent
political leaders like Ali Brothers even drifted from him on the issues which were contrary to their beliefs. However, Gandhi was hopeful to gain the support of like-minded men to transmit his ethical approach which transcends the constricted confines of all the religions.

His Non-violence Non-Cooperation ideal influenced the Sikh community of the Punjab and in reciprocity their sacrifices provided him with a scope to channelize their struggle for the broader objectives. Through this exercise I have tried to examine Gandhi’s stance through the local struggle of Punjabis and the role played by the Sikh community in proving the efficacy of his non-violence ideal. Initially his support to the movement was limited. He actively linked himself with the movement during the Nankana Tragedy after seeing the sacrificing spirit as he found scope to channelize the masses and the leaders. He clarified his intent of proving the potential of the non-violence ideal and thus took certain basic steps to educate too. He initiated his line of action by linking the ideal with the religious traditions of the community so to establish a long lasting bonding between the two. He started the dialogue by exploring the religious beliefs of the community. Gradually he found some men with the constricted approach for their religious beliefs and some to be liberal. His ethical viewpoint was misunderstood due to the constricted approach of the leaders linked with him. Gandhi’s guarded approval to the movement in the first phase provided certain outcomes: The Government of Punjab was not in a position to reject the demands put by the leaders of the sacred movement due to various complications and therefore Gandhi’s guidance and support certainly aided the movement in attaining their initial demands. Rise of the activities of the extremist group in the wake of non-violence movement was a matter of concern for him. In the second phase he firstly advised the leaders and the masses to pause and think for the further line of action. Secondly he issued a statement which clarifies the tactical shift in his line of action. Seeing the constricted attitude of the leaders for their religious beliefs and partial attitude towards the non-violence ideal he gave maximum authority to the leaders to take the decisions of their sacred struggle so as
to avoid a conflicting dialogue. After much introspection he preferred to advise and not to channelize the struggle for the broader objectives. Being experienced enough he foresaw the repercussions of entangling the Nabha issue with the Gurudwara Reform movement which later was exploited by the Government to weaken their support. Therefore, he advised them to disengage the issues for the improved results. He had apprehensions regarding Nabha issue therefore gave the essential advice to follow before supporting the Mahanaja of Nabha. Subsequently, he advised the leaders with the nitty-gritty’s of the satyagraha technique but it was overlooked by the leaders due to their divergent approach for the passive resistance. It was not only the religious believes on which Gandhi and the Sikh leaders had divergent approach but during the second phase his advice for the changing the strategy did not appealed them. He rather gave them approval for his guidance on the Nabha issue due its political base. We observed that Governor Hailey exploited the same issues for which Gandhi had apprehensions and cautioned before.

Gandhi always tried to keep his maneuvers flawless so that the opponent should not get the chance to weaken his struggle and that’s why he advised the leaders for the minimum show of force and disentangling the sacred and political issues. Thus it can be construed that Sikh leadership by being inflexible and ignoring Gandhi’s advice at a critical phase gave space to the new leadership and the counter strategy’s of the Governor. He was misinterpreted by the Sikh leaders regarding his assertion for the suspension of the movement. Non-co-operation Movement was followed with an all round distrust among the religious communities. In the emerging state of affairs, the statements made to calm the environs were further taken with suspiciousness. Gandhi opted the rational way to continue the dialogue by means of open letter, statement to Associated Press and asking for straight confessions from the Sikh leaders which was also apprehended by the leaders. Therefore, due to divergent approach with the Sikh leaders on the basic issues, he did not found better prospects for achieving his broader objectives through the Gurudwara struggle. However, Gandhi was persistently trying to
convince the Sikh leaders with his broader approach so to rise above the conflicting dialogue.

After having an idea of Punjab’s role in proving the efficacy of his non-violence ideal during the significant issues I examined few individual cases that proved to be strength as well as limitation for Gandhi’s progression as well as his movements. Firstly I examined the case of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Their idealism was persuasive to create a ceaseless reverberation and was capable of challenging Gandhi’s position too. To understand the equation between Gandhi and the revolutionaries I initially took an idea of scholarly viewpoints and then the immediate political response against the executions. The majority of political leaders were swayed with their sacrifices and which made them incapable to reason their atrocious actions and in consequence were skeptical with the evidences placed by the British officials. After that an important letter which was made public after Sukhdev’s execution i.e., his posthumous letter is taken into account through which he made himself clear that the way they had planned the things were not executed and were unable to convey the right message. They opted to convey their true spirit firstly through new tactics and finally by sacrificing their lives. By conveying their spirit in a distinctive manner they posed a challenge to Gandhi’s non-violence ideal. Subsequently, I examined Gandhi’s approach in the Sardar Bhagat Singh’s case. Gandhi answered Sukhdev’s another open letter after his death and gave a general message that he managed to save the pace of his movement which in itself shows the efficacy of his non-violence ideal. Gandhi with his leadership skills managed to save his position and the pace of his movement in the following manner. Gandhi in agreement with the Congress working Committee clearly distinguished their general demands for the truce and the public demand in favor of the revolutionary’s commutation. These sacrifices were applauded by the Indian National Congress resolution under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi differentiated the deed and zeal of the revolutionaries and then appreciated their zeal while supporting the resolution. After acutely analyzing his writings I noticed
that his state as a leader was intensely complex. If he would have favored
the public opinion it would have encouraged their idealism of self-
destructiveness in contrast to his optimism which is constructive. By
supporting their public opinion he would have entrapped himself by
breaking his consistency as well as deceived his supporters and
associates who firmly believe in the efficacy of the non-violence ideal.
Thus in the course of Bhagat Singh’s case he defined the way he was
operating while assessing the public opinion. As according to him a
leader should not be swayed in favor only. Evidently, he clarified the fact
that a leader like him is not in a state to hinder the advancement of his
movement which is much more perpetual in contrast to the
revolutionary’s impulsiveness. He was acting calculatingly while
creating and evaluating a public opinion. Thus after analyzing Gandhi’s
approach as a leader I am able to identify as how he was managing to
overcome such intricacies which otherwise might have harmed the
steadiness of his movement. However, it is equally important to know his
endeavors at personal level. Gandhi at his individual level endeavored to
convince the Viceroy through a personal letter. Viceroy’s view point
regarding his helplessness to refute the public opinion is also taken into
account. Viceroy acknowledged Gandhi’s efforts for the revolutionaries
which are generally suspected. Moreover, Gandhi shared the fact that the
people close to the revolutionaries persuaded him to probe the matter
acutely. Bhagat Singh’s ideal character and grit overwhelmed him
individually.

However, after acutely analyzing all these observations I am able to
identify his logical approach in the whole issue which distinguishes his
skillful leadership. British Indian Government again placed an act of
‘Dwyerism’ by brutally executing the revolutionaries and especially
flouting the public opinion. To avoid the humiliation they valued
Gandhi’s non-violence commitment and leadership. They were ready to
placate the masses and thus gave a chance to concede the substantial
demands which they were not willing to accept earlier. Gandhi created a
space for negotiation while being uncompromising for the non-violence
ideal and placing reasonable demands. In accordance to Gandhi, if he would have placed the condition for the truce then surely none of the demands would have been conceded. He was not swayed by the public opinion as it would have weakened his position and have lost the opportunity to advance his movement. He rather strengthened his position by maintaining composure. It is interesting to observe that he firmly alleged the Government for flouting the public opinion. Gandhi’s approach was viewed with different perspectives in the House of Commons. Conservatives felt humiliated while Liberals were trying to understand Gandhi and Irwin in a positive manner. The truce became the subject of the continuing dialogue among the supporters of the non-violence ideal. Gandhi not only created a space for the further negotiations but hopes for the positive developments too. The way Gandhi was open in indicting the Government for flouting public opinion in a similar manner he was open in acknowledging Bhagat Singh’s ideal character. Gandhi being a trainer knew the worth of these qualities as he was trying hard to train his co-workers with these mental faculties. Gandhi always exemplified the fact that before being a warrior of the non-violent movement one has to initially reform himself which in itself is a continuous intensification. In the similar manner, Bhagat Singh had been working for his refinement and due to which he was constructive in thought despite being destructive in deeds which was acknowledged by Gandhi too. For that very logic Gandhi accepted many revolutionaries request to join him in his endeavors by surrendering themselves to him. Surprisingly among these Andaman prisoners was B. K. Dutt, one of the comrades of the revolutionaries who surrendered Gandhi and joined him in his movement too. Similarly Sukhdev wrote a letter to Gandhi in which he clarified the revolutionary’s stance and showed their annoyance too. They were expecting to have a convincing dialogue as Gandhi asked them to call off their movement which simplifies that their dynamic approach was leading them to confront the things in a much more logical manner. Interestingly, Bhagat Singh track Gandhi’s maneuvers to reach the larger masses which was acknowledged and exploited by Bhagat Singh himself. Precisely, the way these revolutionaries were able to
create public opinion for their idealism, skilled themselves with the mental faculties, exploited his maneuvers to reach the masses by way of prolonged hunger strike implies that the dynamic approach of these revolutionaries was pushing them to have a convincing dialogue and to line up with the Gandhian strategies. Thus from a larger canvass it can be construed, if Gandhi and these martyrs of the Punjab would have communicated in time then these revolutionaries would have saved themselves from the gallows and the popular perception of being extremists.

Whereas, various secondary sources have condemned Gandhi and the Gandhian movements for providing a spark to the prevalent local discontent, releasing violent forces during Rowlatt Satyagraha; for involving religion with politics during Non-Cooperation Movement; by involving politics during the Gurudwara Reform Movement; for not placing the case of Bhagat Singh and his Comrades as a condition for the truce and for accepting the Partition of India. Among Indians there were many who were critical both for his movements and leadership. But very few individuals might had thought of impeding the pace of Gandhi’s movement by imitating some of his steps and for that I have to trace some of the calculated steps of Sir Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As a leader he strived hard to create a niche by initially convincing the Mussalman mind but was not able to achieve which was clearer during the 1937 elections. After much thoughtfulness he gave a call to his community for showing strength against the Congress. Some of the Hindu leaders had apprehensions for the Muslim extremism and so they were already preparing themselves to reciprocate in a similar manner. Jinnah might have anticipated such occasion to exploit in his own favor so as to resonate his idea of ‘Pakistan’. The way people were responding for and against the ‘day of deliverance’, somewhere indicates that he was able to achieve what he was not with his prior modest efforts. Jinnah with his resonance calculatedly selected the new opponent and diverted the attention of the Mussalman mind in opposition to Hindus. On the other hand the communal organizations were fostering themselves to deliver
their exclusive powers at some pretext. They just needed an issue which Jinnah provided them to act upon and influence the common Mussalmans with his idea of ‘separate identity’. By involving communal organizations he might not able to ignore the line of action with which he was once displeased i.e., involving religion with politics. External and internal political developments were worrying the Muslim leaders in the opposition for protecting due to their provincial interests. By now Jinnah was able to establish reasonable space for himself and thus the opposition also found in him a potential to represent their community’s demands. It made his position better than before and which took him to a stature where he can articulate his concealed ambitions. The repercussions emerging due to Jinnah calculated moves were seemingly meager for the British officials to take into account in comparison to the one which could emerge by ignoring the force of world opinion. Interplay of factors during and after the IInd World War along with Jinnah’s efforts was working well to make his position stronger. Subsequently, constitutional adjustments displeased him and for the second time he vociferously called his Mussalman brethren to boycott the Constituent Assembly without contemplating the repercussions. Now, it is imperative to take into account the essential factor which was overlooked by a leader like Jinnah. Here comes the experience of a skillful leader who can sense as well as control the pace of the movement by discontinuing and pacifying the masses with something constructive and what an amateurish leader of a mass movement cannot. Gandhi was still hopeful to execute his line of action for which he has been working. He frankly acknowledged the significance of a crucial factor i.e., the ‘public opinion’ for his non-violent mass movement which was possible only with the strength of Hindu-Muslim unity as it was previously seen during Non-Cooperation movement. Jinnah’s amateurish steps were not only supplementing the violent forces but at the same time facilitating the British Generals to have a narrow escape from the state of affairs which emerged only due to him. British officials were encouraging the division between the communities for saving themselves from the humiliation which they have to face for not countering the uncontrollable violent forces as this time
they were not in a position to show their act of Dwyerism i.e., brute force. On the other side, they were not able to ignore the force of united non-violent action which could turn against them. Being experienced in all these maneuvers the Indian British Government took their line of action by sending their skillful general to seize the complex situation with swiftness. As Chandra states that political developments do not wait for anyone, and, so did happen in the form of Mountbatten Plan. In addition, Chandra indicates the helplessness of Gandhi and Jalal analyze Mr. Jinnah’s position to be poorer as she portrays Jinnah’s helplessness where he had no option except to accept the proposal placed to him. However it is imperative to take into account Gandhi’s correspondences with Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Mountbatten which clarifies his state more rationally. Gandhi with his strength of mind and foresightedness was striving to attain something essential when all the leaders of the respective communities were busy struggling with one another and in addition were posing obstructions for him too. A skillful general can only sense the gravity of the impending repercussions and therefore save his position from the state of being completely routed. This was the essential part left in such complexities to which others were unaware. He elaborated the matter of the letters litter earlier with Aruna Asaf Ali too. Gandhi neither bowed himself in front of Jinnah’s obdurate approach by not accepting his idea of ‘Pakistan’ and nor in front of the tactful counter plan of Lord Mountbatten for a narrow escape. Rather he determinedly cautioned Lord Cripps as well as Mountbatten to make their position clear for the World opinion. Right from the beginning Gandhi with the help of the masses of India had advanced in exposing the brute force of the Indian British Government to the world and gathered the world opinion in favor of his non-violence ideal with his unique maneuvers. Gandhi had positioned all the factors to reverberate the efficacy of his ideal with the final withdrawal of the Indian British Government. He was waiting for the right issue to educate the public opinion so to gather support against the brute force. But before he could do anything Jinnah confused the state of affairs by wrongly educating the Mussalman mind against the Hindus. Indian British officials encouraged Jinnah’s naïve
steps so as to save themselves from the non-violent forces created by Gandhi. Jinnah as an amateur player of the game tangled the strides which were earlier in favor of India and his skillful leader. Jalal states that Mr. Jinnah was waiting for the right time to define his idea of Pakistan but I observe that he was not able to trace the solution to the complexities created by his own unskillful leadership therefore confounding the others too. However, through this chapter I examine that the continuous advancement of his movements was obstructed by Jinnah’s amateurish skills which I found to be akin to Gandhian maneuvers especially when imitated with naïveté. Gandhian movements use to be planned with an arrangement of co-players, the counter players and then channelize the raised public opinion with a skill to take total control of the movement. Undoubtedly, Jinnah was successful in arranging the essential factors but lacked the skill of controlling the mass movement and was entrapped within his own naiveté. Then too Gandhi was able to manage his position internationally by determinedly confronting the British officials within the frame of ethical dilemma from where they could not seek any escape. Chandra says the root cause for Gandhi’s helplessness was not Jinnah’s intransigence but Communalism. However I observe that the root cause of Gandhi’s helplessness was Jinnah’s naïveté, lack of skillful leader’s, leader’s practice of opportunism and the ignorance of masses. Undoubtedly, Jinnah was able to track Gandhi’s skills and technique more closely but his naïveté took the satyagraha technique to its destructive side. One thing which cannot be ignored to differentiate is the limitation of Gandhi’s technique as for its efficient working a skillful leader is essential otherwise it can be as destructive as it was during the Partition of India.

After coming back to India he approached men who were spirited to educate the ideal of non-violence among the masses. On the other side, men who found potential in him for various individual reasons supported him in his initial endeavors. After such a reverberation many men were being inspired with his leadership as well as the ideal of non-violence. He shared his idea to the people across the world to think collectively.
Undoubtedly, he provided a space for research in the area of 'Peace'. Though, foresee to venture with solidarity so as to introduce concrete logical aptitude on the issue of peace. While his experiments he was receptive for the cooperation of the likeminded men and which certainly assisted him in comprehending certain intricacies which were coming in his way. On the other hand, men were being inspired for having similar traits as like religiously broad-minded, strong ethical sense, sensitive for society, strength of mind and who too believes in self-introspection, self-respect. These were the men who gradually became his constant strength for being collective in thought. After Partition they were being a pillar of strength to Gandhi which is evident through number of correspondence. One among them is in a following manner.

‘Your great distress due to the unhappy situation in your country demands that I intrude upon your contemplations of the painful events now taking place in India, to remind you that your beautiful words have taken root in all the corners of the earth. That you shall feel a degree of disillusionment because of these sad happenings is natural. That that disillusionment should be measured and certainly not turn into discouragement is the purpose of my letter. Never does the seed turn directly into a beautiful fragrant flower without first going through certain phases of growth and development. And, if at some stage of its development—or growth—it falters, the presence of the gardener is more than ever required. In the complete absorption of the selfless task of nursing the ailing plant, the gardener perhaps cannot fully observe the growth of other plants in his garden, to join with him in his compassion for their stricken brother. I plead with you to give consideration to the countless numbers of people in all countries on earth, of all countries on earth, of all classes, races and creeds, who are now also praying for peace. These people, whose hopes you have so well expressed and who took fresh courage from these victories which you did achieve with the Science of Peace, must now join me in prayer that the Master bless you
and preserve you to continue your noble work, so much of which is still to be done."447

After having a broader idea of Gandhi’s unique force, I am able to locate few men from the erstwhile Punjab who proved to be great strength for Gandhi while his advancement. Among them two individuals proved the potential of being Gandhi’s likeminded and the third to be an ideal worker by reflecting the strength of their character through their own lives. It is a human nature to get inspired by a person who had some basic traits as of his own and in a similar manner these three individuals were being naturally inspired with Gandhi’s leadership and ideals. A strong bonding for his community made Ghaffar Khan to experiment with the ideal of non-violence and in reciprocity people revered him with the immense stature as of Gandhi. Gandhi always encouraged those men who have strength of mind to arouse and educate the ignorant masses for his ideal of non-violence. Moreover, he was always equipped to channelize the spirited leaders with his expertise and creating a ‘laboratory’ for training men. During the Gurudwara struggle he thought of channelizing the leaders but was not able to due to their constricted approach which has been discussed earlier. Though, in Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s case he was able to create a laboratory to train men with his expertise due to their compatible approach.

The way he has been working in unison for the ideal of non-violence in a similar manner he was contemplating the idea of a united India in which Muslims and Hindus can live in harmony. Unlike Mr. Gandhi, he was open and thus explicitly blamed the Congress as well as League at the time of Partition. Thus, both the Gandhi’s despite being in despair found solace in each others hope and which provided them the strength to move forward and to continue their endeavors. Ghaffar Khan determinedly started his Khudai Khidmatgar wave for widening its horizons to the whole of ‘Pakistan’ However, Gandhi was not able to join him but Ghaffar with his potential continued his movement to expose the

447 Two American Friends consolation, Harijan, 6-11-1947, CWMG 89:482.
Pakistan Government. Ghaffar started his life with a vision to enrich his society and for which he progressively worked by ignoring his physical self. While working he found a finer inspiration in the form of Gandhi who believed in refining a wider society. Ghaffar Khan with his strong will power sustained the spirit of the ideal which was essential for his progression.

Amrit Kaur also exemplified her deep sense of social consciousness and which was admired by Gandhi. She was religiously broad minded and her views for all religions were appreciated by him. There were certain other things which were common in them and due to which they both encouraged one another’s thought. They use to share their sensitive thoughts and gradually both developed natural affection for each other and therefore use to discuss the matters with wholesomeness. Knowing her potential he channelized her at the front which needs to be strengthened by the determination of a women like her. He encouraged her to be an inspiration for the women of India and then for the World. In reciprocity she also resolved to accomplish his vision which is common to observe through his speeches. She was determined to achieve freedom as Gandhi has perceived and not the way it was achieved. She persistently focused herself for being an inspiration to the women of India as well as internationally. All her endeavours were to achieve what Gandhi has aspired out of her and the women in general. Her achievements apart from being in politics exemplify her adherence to Gandhi’s vision for the Women.

Bibi Amtul Salaam with her potential proved to be an idol worker of Gandhi. Seeing her devotion, Gandhi channelized her activities in accordance to her abilities. He pushed her into constructive activities through which she learned Gandhi’s way of working and organizational skills. Being sensitive, she instinctively pushed herself whenever something immoral occurred around her. However during the Partition she stood firm not only with the Bhawalpur authorities but took the similar line of action with the Government of India too. She got an opportunity to experience the working of ‘Kasturba Seva Mandir,
Borkamata’ which she utilized by executing the same kind of arrangement in Rajpura so to shelter the refuges from Bahawalpur. Thus, after Gandhi she resolutely utilized all her understanding in a positive manner especially in cultivating Gandhi’s vision of Community Development Programme. Kasturba Seva Mandir certainly epitomizes an essence of Amtul Salaam self-commitment for the society and of an ideal worker of Gandhi too. She dedicated herself selflessly in a modest manner which certainly has no parallels. Gandhian movements rise and fall should not only be gauged mechanically or on the basis of the dissociation of sub-contractors or with the estrangement of certain leaders rather should be analyzed with the strength of Gandhi’s likeminded associates for being a constant support while his endeavors and for the advancement of his ideas after his death too. Gandhi’s closeness with these likeminded men can be perceived as a natural affection for one another. ‘The hard core of constructive workers also provided a large cadre for the civil disobedience movement. They were Gandhiji’s steel-frame or standing army.’

Chandra slightly indicates about Gandhi’s substantial force but Brown has confined Gandhi in a mechanical arrangement which ignores to observe the presence of this kind of strength.

If I can get freedom for India now through non-violent means, power of non-violence is firmly established, Empire idea dissolves and world State takes its place, in which all the States of the world are free and equal, no State has its military, there may be a world police to keep order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence.

His likeminded strengthened him by being collective in thought and were working in unison to widen the horizons of the ideal of non-violence.

---

448 Chandra, p. 512.

449 Letter to Maurice Frydman, 28-7-1942, CWMG 76:341.