CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

This chapter is a study of works done on Mahatma Gandhi and Satyagrah by reputed scholars throughout the world and gives an insight into the life, thoughts and works of Mahatma gandhiji. It also gives an insights the views of these authors on Gandhiji and his philosophies.

Kalpana Hiralal (2013), the Satyagraha campaign of 1913 was the first mass protest by Indians in South Africa. Well over 20,000 men, women and children participated in the struggle against discriminatory measures. Defiance took several forms: individual acts of hawking without a license, defying immigration laws, and protests on the coalmines. This article charts the mine owners’ response to the Satyagraha movement on the coalmines in the Natal Midlands. Indian workers were not striking to address traditional grievances: higher wages, better working conditions or housing. Their grievance was political, centered mainly on the £3 tax, and they felt the compulsion to heed Gandhi’s call to cease work. In most instances, the striking miners aimed at co-operation rather than confrontation with the government and employers. The strike could have provided an opportunity to the mine employers to declare their opposition to the £3 tax - one of the main
grievances of the Indian workers - and persuade the Government to abolish it. But, instead, the employers not only supported the tax but called upon the government for assistance to enforce it, which was not withheld. This paper shows how state and capital collectively joined forces to quell the strike as the proposed tax was mutually beneficial: the state sought to maintain the political status quo of the Indian community and the capitalists were assured of their labour supply. This symbiotic relationship between state and capital mooted during this period characterized the South African economy in the 20th century and had serious implications for worker grievances and labour legislation in ensuing decades.

Karen L Harris (2013),² over a century since Gandhi’s historic and personally decisive sojourn in colonial southern Africa, the vast corpus of literature in the Western world on the Mahatma has continued to expand unabated, while the “machines of Gandhi hagiography” are still said to “continue to churn out massive volumes in present-day India”. Indeed, this commemorative issue of the Journal of Natal and Zulu History is testimony to this legacy and ongoing fascination, and in particular commemorates a centenary of his global bequest of satyagraha (passive resistance) launched in southern Africa. While much of the literature produced on Gandhi continues to adhere to what Dilip Menon has called the “straight and narrow” or what Tanika Sarkar
refers to as “icon making”, with a persistent veneration of the Mahatma, others have ventured to question, probe, reappraise and reassess a range of dimensions of the Gandhian epoch. One aspect that has increasingly come under scrutiny is Gandhi’s relations with other non-Indian communities, particularly as regards his time in South Africa and the emergence of satyagraha. This ties in with a wider concern about the possible contradictions in his professed rejection of racism and his claim to universalism. It is in this context that his apparent failure to ally with any other ethnic grouping within South Africa is questioned. And it is to this aspect of the satyagraha movement that this article turns, with particular reference to Chinese resistance at the turn of the century.

Scott Everett Couper (2013),³ posits that Satyagraha (‘a force that comes from truth, love and non-violence’) as a concept and practice suffered three dilutions in South Africa. The first occurred in 1961 when Nelson Mandela launched Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) without the African National Congress (ANC) or Albert Luthuli’s knowledge or support. Mandela’s insubordination placed the ANC, in his own words, “on a new and more dangerous path”. Satyagraha’s second dilution began in 1967 when South African nationalist historiography began to mythologise the past by articulating that Luthuli, arguably the quintessential satyaagrahi, approved of and supported the armed struggle. Satyagraha’s third dilution began in 2003 when the Gandhi Development Trust began,
through the Satyagraha Award, to link Satyagraha with those who launched MK and thus chose violent methods to liberate South Africa. The author argues that bestowing the Satyagraha Award upon those who themselves claim no spiritual, ethical or strategic allegiance to Satyagraha dilutes the Award’s potency to advocate for non-violent methods. The author challenges morally confused associations adopted by defenders of a sanitised history and claims that merely striving for a non-violent and peaceful society does not therefore, by default, qualify one as a proponent or practitioner of Satyagraha. The author cautions against grafting Satyagraha to the ANC’s struggle against Apartheid post-1961. Such an incongruous fusion often demonstrates an allegiance to a certain outcome (freedom) at any cost or to a political party rather than to Satyagraha’s values. The moral confusion is painfully evident in today’s violent South African society.

Naorem Nandaraj Singh (2014), One of the fundamental concerns of M.K. Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) was that of the question of morality. Gandhiji understood man as basically spiritual being, and so a moral being. As such he was mostly concerned with the moral development of each and every individual. In fact, each and every aspect of his philosophical ideas like, Satyagraha, religion, prohibition, human nature, khadi, Swadeshi, constructive progrmmes, etc. in one way or the other shows his endeavour to give a moral basis for human
existence and promotes morality of man. The present paper is an attempt to throw some light of his ideas or understanding of morality, and how it is related to his philosophical ideas and moreover examines their relevance in the modern time.

**Thomas Weber (2001),**\(^5\) holds that it is puzzling that links between Gandhian social philosophy and recent conflict resolution/negotiation literature, especially given the latter’s Gandhian ‘flavour’, have received so little scholarly attention. While there seems to be no direct causal link between the two bodies of knowledge, conflict resolution literature in the guise of modern problem-solving and win-win (as opposed to power-based and zerosum) approaches leading to integrative conflict resolution (as opposed to mere compromise and distributive outcomes) strongly echoes Gandhi’s own writings and the analyses of some Gandhi scholars. This is especially true in the case of non-mainstream writings that see conflict resolution techniques as potentially being about more than the solution of immediate problems, that see a broader personal and societal transformation as the ultimate goal. This article explores these connections and argues that Gandhian *satyagraha* should be squarely located within conflict resolution discourse.

**Paromita Goswami (2009),**\(^6\) says, Mahatma Gandhi - one of the most prolific writers amongst the figures of world history - has left us details of his growth as a thinker and activist. ‘The Story of Satyagraha
in South Africa’ documents the struggle of Gandhi, still in his twenties, who confronts racism in a foreign country and is able to negotiate substantial gains for his community through a long-drawn political struggle involving the new methods of Satyagraha. This book while speaking of the development of the various aspects of Satyagraha as a political as well as spiritual weapon, also documents the complex scenario in three countries - England, South Africa and India. The context defines the lives of the Indians in South Africa, their struggle and Gandhi’s strategies as an organizer. The individual sacrifices, the efforts for fundraising, the intricacies of keeping together a community with members from different religions, the day-to-day concerns of Ashram life, the tough decisions at critical junctures of the movement - Gandhi offers a fascinating picture of the community organizer. The paper revisits this tale and culls out the lessons that are important not only for the modern-day community organizer in India but are also perhaps timeless in their relevance and appeal.

Radheshyam Jadhav (2012),⁷ holds that ethics is branch of philosophy concerned with actions that are morally permissible and actions that are not. Ethics in media constitutes a normative science of conduct applied voluntarily. Satyagrahi model of journalistic ethics could help to establish the lost credibility of journalism and journalists and could pave the way for development communication for the
development of deprived. Throughout his life mission Gandhi treated newspaper and journalism as a responsibility and not mere communication or profit making business. Reader’s voice mattered most for Gandhi. Indian Opinion and all his newspapers were tools of communication for change and for development of deprived masses who struggled against the structures of oppression. Truth, accuracy, objectivity, fairness, balance and impartiality are the basic premise of Satyagrahi journalistic ethics. Gandhi’s self restrain mantra is relevant in today’s journalism when media ethics debate revolves round the infotainment media, stereotypes, depiction of violence, sex, vulgarity, privacy, right to reply, communal writing, sensational and yellow journalism, freebies and sting operations. Gandhi was of the opinion that newspaper should not be used as means of earning livelihood or profit. Satyagrahi journalism stands for popular participatory process of sustainable social- spiritual- material advancement for emancipation and empowerment. Satyagraha was weapon to the deprived masses and Satyagrahi journalism an alternative model of development communication. Selfishness, anger, lack of faith, or impatience have no room while infinite patience, firm resolve, single mindedness of purpose, perfect calm are essential qualities for Satyagrahi journalist. He emphasised the role of spirituality in the development and
communication process. People’s communication and mediums could re-energize Gandhian Satyagrahi journalism.

Arafaat A Valiani (2014), examines Mohandas Gandhi’s writing on Indian masculinity in early twentieth-century South Africa which was a period of his life that was seminal for his political career. The author explores how, in the context of being removed from many personal and professional constraints that he encountered in India, Gandhi fashioned prescriptions that would transform the emasculated, effete and cowardly Indian man constructed by colonial discourses in nineteenth-century British India. Building on the scholarly literature pertaining to Gandhian bodily ascesis, argue that Gandhi held the belief that Indian men would be able to face the hazards of anticolonial satyagraha once their masculinity had been restored, for which various practices of military training were indispensable. I suggest that Gandhi attempted to catalyse somatic and moral reform by encouraging South African Indian men to serve in the British army during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and the Zulu Rebellion (1906). Explains how Gandhi viewed military service as a transformative disciplinary experience that would afford Indian men with the ability to endure physical duress, bodily strength and, lastly, knowledge in the use of arms. I illustrate how military service ultimately generated a masculine Indian subject, according to Gandhi, one who
possessed mastery over his bodily senses, moral fortitude and fearlessness.

**J H Stone II (1990)**, Ghandhiists, scholarly and otherwise, have consistently manipulated `the Mahatma image' in accounting for M.K. Ghandi’s role as a social and political `revolutionary' and as the founder of `non-violent resistance'. Uncritically assuming a consistent, virtually uninterrupted continuity between Mahatma Gandhi at the height of his career in India and M.K. Gandhi’s career as a social and political reformer in Natal and the Transvaal (1893-1914), Gandhiists have systematically suppressed evidence which problematises their historiographical practice and `the Mahatma image'. In this paper I argue that Ghandhi’s practices in South Africa, particularly those resulting from his editorship of Indian Opinion, were often discontinuous with and even contradictory to the soothing fiction of `the Mahatma image', but were at the same time significant factors in the genealogy of Satyagraha.

**Makrand Mehta (2005)**, on his return to Ahmedabad after successful experiments with satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhi rediscovered and strove to revive Ahmedabad"s business-oriented yet pluralistic traditions of coexistence. As newspapers of the period and other contemporary accounts reveal, Gandhi effectively utilised these principles in the varied struggles he led to promote the cause of freedom, peace, communal harmony and social justice. Based on his
initial experiments and campaigns, Gandhi developed his own unique vision and a plan of action that was based on his understanding of the complexity that defined colonial India and his concern for its many underprivileged. At the present juncture, this very same Gandhian legacy appears turned upside down by the politics of divisiveness.

**Renuka R Desai (1998)**

In this age of uttermost violence, it is strange to think of the man who talked always of non-violence. In this age of consuming fear, this absolutely fearless individual stands out. He demonstrated to us that there can be a strength far greater than that of armaments and that a struggle can be fought, and indeed should be fought, without bitterness and hatred.—Jawaharlal Nehru on Gandhi (Bondurant, 1959: ix)

**Hari Priya Pathak (2011)**

M.K. Gandhi was an activist with a difference, playing by subverting and destabilising the imperial norms and ideology on which the foundation of British colonialism was based. He resisted the British Empire, invoking and reviving Indian culture, its religion and philosophy. His political strategy included resistance through gender, dress, language, and not the least through use of modern technology, especially the printing press, which he was so much against when he wrote his seminal work Hind Swaraj in 1909. By following the principle of androgyny and femininity, which is congruent with Indian culture, he challenged the masculinity of the West. He
proved that femininity or shakti was the weapon, not of the weak, but of the strong minded people. Gandhi resisted the British rule by his scanty clothing. By doing this he could reject the Western modernization as well as connect with the Indians, in particular with the peasants. Influenced by Irish nationalism, he too stressed on cultural revival and the use of one's own language. He advocated the use of indigenous languages. Gandhi was the one who made great use of media for his political campaigns, what made the difference was that he used it as a forum for non-violent tactics of resistance.

**Priyanka Bose (2014)**, Though research is coming to light about Gandhi’s views on sexuality, there is still a gap in how this can be related or focused to his broader political philosophy and personal conduct. Joseph Alter states: “It is well known that Gandhi felt that sexuality and desire were intimately connected to social life and politics and that self-control translated directly into power of various kinds both public and private.” However, I would argue, that the ways in which Gandhi connected these aspects, why and how, have not been fully discussed and are, indeed not well known. By studying his views and practices with relation to sexuality, I believe that much can be discerned as to how his political philosophy and personal conduct were both established and acted out. In this paper I will aim, therefore, to address: what his views were on sex and sexuality, contextualizing his views with
those of the time, what his influences were in his ideology on sex, and how these ideologies framed and related to his political philosophy as well as conduct. Through establishing all this, I hope to emphasise the significance of his views on sex in better understanding Gandhi’s political philosophy and conduct.

D Narasimha Reddy, et.al.,(2014)\(^{14}\) reviews the impact and effectiveness in implementation of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) at state level as well as at village level with focus on inclusiveness, rural labor markets and agriculture. The paper finds that some states are more effective in implementation then others. The states which effectively integrated MGNREGA works with local planning gained much in terms of employment generation and asset creation leading to increased agricultural potential. The scheme is more inclusive of vulnerable sections of the society including scheduled castes and tribes and also women. Study also highlight the village level differences in implementation and effective implementation leads to reduction of hunger and poverty. More importantly the scheme increased bargaining power of rural laborer in agricultural sector, resulted in higher wage rates, better work environment and less exploitation.

Niloufer Bhagwat (2014)\(^{15}\), says We have entered a new era of revolt against the oppressive global neoliberal regime and mankind
faces unprecedented environmental and social challenges in this troubled context. The message, example and methods of Mahatma Gandhi are being remembered in many counties today as he had indentified the ills of capitalism and pointed out solutions to problems which have since grown much bigger. These include destructive industrialisation, ecological issues, runaway technological militarism in the service of unaccountable financial elites and unsustainable consumerism, among others.

Preeti Vyas (2011)\textsuperscript{16}, aims to identify and evaluate the ideational interaction between Gokhale and Gandhi, two eminent nationalists and thinkers. The very fact that Gandhi called Gokhale his political Guru has led many observers to believe that Gandhi was following Gokhale in totality. That, however, was not the reality of the situation and it would be unjust, both to Gokhale and Gandhi, if one were to assess the role and contribution of both these eminent activists and thinkers in identical terms. One thing that stands out in this context is the essential efforts of both, Gokhale and Gandhi to humanise politics and transform its basic character. There are several pertinent questions on the individual identity of both, because there cannot be two eminent nationalists emerging as identical in some way or in totality. This paper attempts to look into this particular dimension of modern Indian political thought and
the related outcomes that ultimately reflected upon the nature and direction of the Indian National Movement.

**Michael Holland (2012)**, It was Romain Rolland who first introduced Gandhi to France. At home, Rolland had been a bête noire of the nationalist right since his pacifist declarations during the First World War. A major adversary was Henri Massis. For Massis, as for Catholic nationalists more generally, French civilisation was the foundation of the Western world, which is to say, of humanity itself. In their eyes, Asia and its representatives (Gandhi, Tagore) were the agents of an assault on the West, which had been fatally weakened by what he called the “historical break” of 1917. Beginning with a close reading of Massis’s *Defence of the West* (1927), this study argues that the perceived threat of Asia in the 1920s, typified both politically and spiritually by the figure of Gandhi, was exclusively an issue for the Western mind. While appearing to adopt a historical and geopolitical perspective, Massis’s book is entirely in thrall to phantasmatic vision. The “historic break” it refers to lies first and foremost within the idea of the West and the Catholic notion of the person that provides its subject. The study moves on to contrast the total absence of Massis’s phantasmatic fears in the generation of young Catholic nationalists for whom he becomes a friend and mentor. In various ways, Gandhi is taken seriously by them and respected. Tracing the developing
response to Gandhi in the writing of one of them - Maurice Blanchot - the study seeks to show how the mysticism without Christianity which Blanchot initially attributes to Gandhi evolves, between 1931 and 1944, into a mysticism without mysticism which becomes the basis for Blanchot’s narratives. These establish themselves at the very heart of the phantasmatic processes which produce the grand narrative of Western decline, and by harnessing them in language, effect a dispiriting of the mind which breaks with the Western idea entirely.

Mario Prayer (2012)\textsuperscript{18}, With the approaching end of colonialism and the increasing awareness of “other” non-European civilizations, the Vatican Church faced the question of redefining the universal vocation of Catholicism. The India debate among Catholic circles during the period under review shows the interplay between old definitions and prejudices, as voiced by prominent representatives of the Vatican establishment, particularly the intellectual Jesuits, and the ideas and suggestions brought forth by a new generation of missionaries endowed with first-hand experience of Indian society. The acrimonious attitude of Catholic “official” commentators towards India and Mahatma Gandhi, who was seen as the most eminent representative both of India’s freedom movement and of her ancient religious tradition, was largely due to the fact that the defence of Catholicism against modern atheism and materialism had almost assumed the character of an ideological
commitment. Moreover, there was evident and, at times, surprising misinformation on all things Indian. The *satyagraha* campaigns were seen through British eyes, while the various forms of India’s socio-religious tradition were mostly evaluated on the basis of a schematic comparison of philosophies and theories. Even the undeniable influence of Christianity on Gandhi’s moral and religious ideals was overlooked by many authors, whose main preoccupation was a general indictment of the “backward Hindu mentality”. A more positive image was projected by some India-returned missionaries, who took up the positive legacy of the early centuries of Catholic presence in India. In the period under review, however, their views failed to influence the upper hierarchy in its defensive attitude towards whatever was non-Christian. The position of the Vatican establishment was bound to change only after World War II.

**Ruth Harris (2013)**, Between 6 and 11 December in 1931, a meeting occurred between the French intellectual Romain Rolland; Madeleine Slade, the daughter of a British Admiral; and Mahatma Gandhi. Rolland wanted Gandhianism to counter the excesses of both communism and fascism and fantasized that, in gaining the Mahatma’s aid in the fight against Western authoritarianism, a Eurasian collaboration would redeem the Occident from its suicidal violence. Gandhi disappointed in pursuing a radical course of nationalist revival and ‘passive resistance’, largely unconcerned with European ideological
struggle. The men had come together through Slade, whom Rolland had ‘given’ to Gandhi to enhance East-West collaboration. Their triangular relations-and the tensions and paradoxes it threw up–provide a unique opportunity to explore spirituality, gender and subjectivity in global history, and to examine the connections between personal stories and world political systems, novel social experiments and individual spiritualities.

Misra Maria (2014)\textsuperscript{20}, takes issue with recent accounts of the evolution of Gandhian ideas that have stressed his importance as a global theorist of principled nonviolence. It suggests that throughout his life Gandhi's writings display a preoccupation with ideas of martial courage and fearlessness; his stance might best be defined as one of nonviolent “martiality” rather than nonviolence per se. His overriding goal was not to proselytize for global “\textit{ahimsa}” (nonviolence) but to shape the Indian people into a nonviolent army that could wrest freedom from the colonizers. It explains this concern for both nonviolence and martial attitudes by arguing that Gandhi's thought has to be reassessed and placed within several important contexts: the widespread global popularity of militarism before 1914; an influential intellectual critique of Western “materialist” values; Asian nationalist efforts to develop “indigenous” forms of mobilizational politics in their struggles against imperialism; and Indian thinking about caste (\textit{varna}), which was central
to Gandhi’s thought and has generally been neglected in the literature. These contexts help us to understand Gandhi’s complex and sometimes contradictory thinking on the issue of violence.

**Bhana Surendra (2012)**, The ongoing nonviolent protests that have been a major feature of world politics in the past few years have raised important questions about participants’ motivation and inspiration to carry out acts that involve so much personal risk. In this collection of protest poems from a much earlier protest, we obtain a vivid glimpse of how this was achieved in Mahatma Gandhi’s campaign for civil rights for Indians in South Africa waged between 1906 and 1914. A new word, satyagraha--meaning literally “sticking to truth,” and sometimes translated more loosely as “soul force”--was created to describe the method of nonviolent resistance that was deployed in this struggle by the racially oppressed Indian community. The poems show that this satyagraha was rooted in existing cultural idioms and traditions. They were composed largely by participants in Indian languages, mainly Gujarati, but also Urdu and Hindi, and are translated here into English by Surendra Bhana and Neelima Shukla-Bhatt. They were all printed between 1908 and 1914 in Gandhi’s campaigning weekly Indian Opinion. The poems sought to instill pride in Indian culture and traditions, depicting these as superior to those of their oppressors, the British and the Boers. They celebrated those who had suffered for the
cause, usually by going to jail, as great heroes. They extolled the power of truth that could defeat the greatest tyranny, and they thus imparted a spiritual quality to their protest.

Tadd Fernée (2014)\textsuperscript{22}, re-examines the democratic Enlightenment as a multi-dimensional, heterogeneous, non-Eurocentric and living heritage. Gandhi’s political contribution to the Enlightenment heritage is assessed in terms of values, epistemology and practice. Practically, this concerns the French Revolutionary heritage as a paradigm of political action, and Gandhian innovations in terms of mass movements based on the philosophy and practice of non-violence. The essay contends that Gandhi, far from merely an heir to the Enlightenment tradition, also radically challenged, expanded and transformed it. This transformation belongs to a broader re-evaluation of Enlightenment in terms of growth over final ends, held in common with thinkers such as John Dewey. The article critiques predominant arguments that Gandhi was an ‘anti-modern’, whether in a heroic ‘post-modern’ posture or as an enemy of ‘scientific modernity’. It argues for a more sociologically nuanced and historically grounded view of Gandhi in the historical comparative perspective of modern independence struggles, civil society formation and nation-making.

Marn J Cha (2013)\textsuperscript{23}, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Ahn Chang Ho exemplify the leaders who brought social change by
applying their belief in non-violence and love of humanity to the accomplishment of their respective goals. Gandhi’s goal was securing India’s independence from British colonialism, and King’s was to rid America from racial segregation. Irony about England and the US was that they had a long history of commitment to human rights and democracy. Hence, Gandhi and King’s struggle for justice focused on reminding their adversaries of their hypocrisy, a gulf between their commitment and actions. Ahn had to deal with Japanese colonialists, who had little respect for and commitment to human rights and civil liberties. Ahn’s job was, therefore, more complicated than Gandhi’s or King’s. Ahn insisted that for the Koreans to achieve their political independence from Japan, they must build their inner strength first, and do this by self-cultivation of moral and ethical values. Building moral and ethical strength ought to also accompany receiving modern education, acquiring marketable skills, and building financial resources. At the same time he condoned the militant approach to the Korean independence movement, as necessary. Ahn was a complex figure, a blend of a moralist, a strategist, and a pragmatist.

Karen Gabriel (2013)\textsuperscript{24}, The colonial encounter was arguably an early instance of transnationalization that had lasting and significant effects on the organization of gender and sexuality in the subcontinent, and on the current gender dynamics of transnationalization. This paper
will examine the juxtaposed dynamics of imperialism, nationalism, and the Gandhian enterprise under the colonial encounter. It will argue that this dynamic impacted severely on the practices and meanings of self-definition-individual, communal, and national-and elaborated them with an almost libidinal intensity in the fields of gender and sexuality, bringing sexual politics into policy and embodiment into theory and practice. The paper will outline the modes of masculinity that were generated, operationalized, transmitted, and embodied through this dynamic and will show how in the course of this encounter, this particular historical moment was indexed in a multiplicity of ways. To do this, I map out the distinctive gender politics that was mobilized by imperial coloniality, by Gandhi and by the politico-historical developments that are now almost emblematic of national and communitarian identity politics within the modern Indian nation-state. While doing this, the paper will trace the links that Gandhi made between sexual practices and national destiny, and elaborate the gender politics of such sexual experimentation.

Oppenheimer Andrew (2012)²⁵, A man who sets a house ablaze is an Arsonist who is prosecuted and punished under the law. A man who turns entire cities to Debris and ash is a Conqueror who is hailed as a hero. This poem, published in an early postwar edition of the German-language pacifist journal Der Friedensbote, encapsulates a vision of modern war that circulated among German peace activists
during the late 1940s and early 1950s. It is an image of war as arson on a massive scale, of strategic bombing campaigns that burned cities and civilians to ashes. Of course, the less than subtle allusion here is to the aerial assaults carried out on select German cities by British and American forces during World War II, which inflicted tremendous damage, population displacement, and loss of life in and around cities including Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Hamburg, and throughout the Ruhr industrial basin. Some 131 locales were subject to and an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 deaths resulted from air assaults that used the tactics and weaponry of area and firebombing. Read with this recent history in mind, the stanza evokes images of the wartime Allies as criminals and Germans as their civilian victims.

Brown Judith M (2012), In reviewing a book on Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948), one might ask what is new about it. The twelve chapters in The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi introduced and edited by two distinguished scholars argue that there are “numerous reasons” for its production without fully exploring what they are. There is nothing in the chapters that is compellingly new. The book is intended as a “companion” to accommodate the growing number of institutions worldwide offering courses beyond “older national histories and political analyses” in which Gandhi’s relevance features prominently. There is a brief guide to further reading, and the individual note-sections lists major
works, although they are by no means exhaustive. The book is not devoted to the discussion of the whole range of historiographical aspects on Gandhi, although individual chapters provide new insights into his life. The book offers understanding of key elements of Gandhi’s life suitable for the general reader, if not the specialist.

**Ornit Shani (2011)**

This article examines Gandhi’s legacy in the shaping of citizenship in India and its implications for the resilience of Indian nationhood. I contend that a conception of citizenship that can be extrapolated from Gandhi, and that persisted as a practice, as well as a political language, instilled in the dynamics of Indian citizenship attributes that played an important role in securing the resilience of Indian unity and its democratic viability. The Gandhian conception of citizenship was developed after independence in conjunction with three other primary concomitant notions of citizenship. The ongoing multifaceted interplay between the four competing conceptions of citizenship, and the tensions and shifting balance of power between them became part of the mechanism that enabled the sustainability of some conflicts within the Indian polity to the detriment of other more threatening divisions. In the effect of this process Indian citizenship has been able to inhibit the tensions that had the potential to break the country apart.
Vinit Haksar (2012), considers how Mahatma Gandhi’s Law of Ahimsa (or non-violence) can be reconciled with the necessity of violence; some of the strategies that Gandhi adopts in response to this problem are critically examined. Gandhi was willing to use (outward) violence as an expedience (in the sense of necessity), but he was opposed to using non-violence as an expedience. There are two versions of Gandhi’s doctrine. He makes a distinction between outward violence and inner violence. Both versions grant that outward violence is often necessary and must be administered with compassion. On the more demanding version, outward version is never justified, not even when it is necessary; it is at best excused or pardoned. On the less demanding version, outward violence under certain conditions is justified.

Bindu Puri (2011), makes an attempt to philosophically re-construct what she termed as a fundamental paradox at the heart of deontological liberalism. It is argued that liberalism attempts to create the possibilities of rational consensus and of bringing people together socially and politically by developing methodologies which overcome the divisive nature of essentially parochial substantive conceptions of the good. Such methodologies relying on the supposed universally valid dictates of reason and notions of procedural rationality proceed by disengaging men from the divisive particularities of their plural value
contexts. That disengagement is sought to be achieved by conceptualizing the individual as self sufficient in her moral and epistemic being thereby conceptually isolating individual man from the other. The liberal effort to create rational consensus which can bring people together then gets off the ground by isolating the individual from the other. This I have termed as the paradox of the self and the other or alternatively the paradox of social atomism and universalism. As a possible philosophical alternative this paper makes an attempt to re-construct Gandhi's conceptualization of the relationship between swaraj as self rule and Satyagraha as non-violent resistance. This Gandhian connection, it is argued, has the potential to transform the moral psychology of our response to the other, thereby posing a challenge to the modern, predominantly liberal, conceptualization of such a response.

Ganpat Teli (2012)\textsuperscript{30}, During the freedom movement of India, the complex and controversial of the National Language was raised. In this controversy Gandhi supported the concept of Hindustani. Gandhi’s thoughts on languages are discussed in this paper. This article will try to look on other dimensions of his thoughts on languages as well. Gandhi accepts religion as a base to consolidate his views on language. However, Gandhi’s concept was an expression of exclusion in some sense, as non-northern and non-Hindu and non-Muslims weren’t part of
it. In addition to these features, Gandhi’s contradictions regarding thoughts on language will also be discussed.

Anumita Singh (2010), Anumita Singh (2010), in this study of Champaran Movement in Bihar reveals the colonial policy of British Empire towards indigo plantation. It was determined by the needs of the remittance as well as the demand of indigo. Due to the rapid increase in demand of indigo in European markets British began to expand its cultivation in the whole Bihar. Though indigo business was private enterprises, indigo cultivation in the remote areas were considered for sustaining the interests of British Empire from grass route level. Bentinck favoured the presence of European in the ‘Mufassil’ as it would ‘civilise’ Indians by disseminating European art and science among the natives. It was clear indication of ‘white man’s burden’ to civilise the east. The peasants were humiliated by planters and the zamindars. In the north Bihar there were about four hundred indigo concerns during that period. It looked like a cobweb in which large numbers of raiyats had been inextricably entangled. The triple alliance between the Government, planter and the zamindar was formed in agrarian society to control the actual producers. Thus alliance ruined Bihar peasants economically, socially and morally.

Manjiri Kamat (2010), Manjiri Kamat (2010), The Congress, which had launched a satyagraha in 1930 to defy the Martial Law at Sholapur, had swept to power in the Bombay Presidency after the 1937 elections. However,
once in power it started using a vocabulary of discipline in the industrial city. Its acceptance of power was greeted with a surge in labour activism led by the communists. The Congress initially relaxed many of the restrictions imposed by the earlier British administration and followed a strategy of accommodation. In a city like Sholapur, where government surveillance had increased following the violent popular unrest of 1930 in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call for Civil Disobedience, such temperate policies encouraged the articulation of submerged tensions, especially as the formation of a Congress government had raised expectations. Yet a combination of factors forced the ministry to adopt an uncompromising stance towards the labour activism of this period. Sholapur's turbulent record of unrest, the constraints imposed by class alliances, the trappings of labour recruitment from the criminal tribes settlement, the increasing influence of the communists, coupled with the bureaucracy and millowners' shared aversion to unbridled trade union activity, forced the ministry to adopt tougher disciplinary measures in the city. Therefore, when the labour agitation in Sholapur threatened to disrupt law and order, it brought about a shift in the government's response and the bureaucracy reasserted its power by reverting to repressive measures in the new Congress Raj.

**Bhana Surendra (2012),** The ongoing nonviolent protests that have been a major feature of world politics in the past few years have
raised important questions about participants’ motivation and inspiration to carry out acts that involve so much personal risk. In this collection of protest poems from a much earlier protest, we obtain a vivid glimpse of how this was achieved in Mahatma Gandhi’s campaign for civil rights for Indians in South Africa waged between 1906 and 1914. A new word, satyagraha-meaning literally “sticking to truth,” and sometimes translated more loosely as “soul force”- was created to describe the method of nonviolent resistance that was deployed in this struggle by the racially oppressed Indian community. The poems show that this satyagraha was rooted in existing cultural idioms and traditions. They were composed largely by participants in Indian languages, mainly Gujarati, but also Urdu and Hindi, and are translated here into English by Surendra Bhana and Neelima Shukla-Bhatt. They were all printed between 1908 and 1914 in Gandhi’s campaigning weekly Indian Opinion. The poems sought to instill pride in Indian culture and traditions, depicting these as superior to those of their oppressors, the British and the Boers. They celebrated those who had suffered for the cause, usually by going to jail, as great heroes. They extolled the power of truth that could defeat the greatest tyranny, and they thus imparted a spiritual quality to their protest.

K. Mahalakshmi (2013), Indian Freedom Movement is replete with a number of nationalistic episodes and exhibits the patriotism, unity,
courage and sacrifice of the India people. Amidst of British suppression, thousands and thousands of people took part in the movement for the Indian freedom. Many sacrificed their lives, a lot bore unbearable torture and oppression and innumerable spent their lives behind the prison bars. The people of Tanjore region, awakened by patriotism participated in the salt satyagraha organized under the leadership of C. Rajagopalachari in 1930. This exposed the sentiments of them against the British, which need to be brought to limelight. With this purpose and aim this research article has been attempted.

Madhumita Lahiri (2012),\textsuperscript{35} from 1923–24, Mahatma Gandhi wrote his recollections of South Africa from a prison cell in India. This text, \textit{Satyagraha in South Africa}, was intended to be ‘helpful in our present struggle’ to liberate India, as well as ‘a guide to any regular historian who may arise in the future.’ An emphatically transnational text, \textit{Satyagraha in South Africa} relies upon the mode of allegory to place South Africa and India in relation to each other. As it encourages comparison, however, it discourages common cause. Gandhi places Africans as the anterior sign in a larger system of signification: South African politics prefigures Indian anti-colonial victory to come, but the African native also represents the innocent natives of India writ large.

Without the political didactics of \textit{Hind Swaraj}, the journalistic interventions of \textit{Indian Opinion} or even the philosophical aspirations of
My Experiments with Truth, this fictionalised history has rarely been the
centre of attention. Satyagraha in South Africa, however, reveals
Gandhi’s understanding of imperial geography, as he places South
Africa and India in a single frame but fails to imagine them as inhabiting
the same historical present. This understanding is reflected in his
political decisions, as he fails to connect Indian anti-colonial agitation
with struggles elsewhere.

Neera Chandhoke (2008), Dialogue appears particularly
appropriate for plural societies, which are marked by a variety of
perspectives, beliefs, commitments and values. But plural societies tend
to be stamped by deep disagreements on the basic norms that should
govern the polity. For this reason alone, these societies can prove
deeply divided and fractious. How do defenders of dialogue establish
the preconditions for dialogue among participants? How do agents who
wish to put forth a particular point of view establish their credibility: that
their reflection and their proposed courses of action are in the public
interest, and not in the pursuit of some selfish private gain? How can
communication among agents be enabled at all insofar as these agents
can be persuaded to modify or moderate their original position in and
through the process of dialogue? Perhaps the Gandhian philosophy of
satyagraha provides us with some answers to these vexing questions.
Mantena Karuna (2012),\textsuperscript{37} holds although Gandhi is often taken to be an exemplary moral idealist in politics, this article seeks to demonstrate that Gandhian nonviolence is premised on a form of political realism, specifically a contextual, consequentialist, and moral-psychological analysis of a political world understood to be marked by inherent tendencies toward conflict, domination, and violence. By treating nonviolence as the essential analog and correlative response to a realist theory of politics, one can better register the novelty of satyagraha (nonviolent action) as a practical orientation in politics as opposed to a moral proposition, ethical stance, or standard of judgment. The singularity of satyagraha lays in its \textit{self-limiting} character as a form of political action that seeks to constrain the negative consequences of politics while working toward progressive social and political reform. Gandhian nonviolence thereby points toward a transformational realism that need not begin and end in conservatism, moral equivocation, or pure instrumentalism.

Namita Nimbalkar (2013),\textsuperscript{38} Gandhi’s struggle called Satyagraha was a complex process of changing those involved in conflict so that the conflict is resolved. It was a deeply spiritual action. Satyagraha was an important constituent of Gandhi’s programme of national self-purification. Gandhi distinguished between passive resistance and Satyagraha. The basic postulate of Satyagraha rests on the belief in the
inherent goodness of human nature, where moral power and capacity to suffer even for the opponent are evident. Satyagraha was and can be used as a method to resolve conflict and to manage oneself in the face of opposition. Gandhi developed an understanding of Satyagraha in terms of its metaphysics, its philosophy, its technique and its dynamic, as well as its positive function in individual and social life.

Pradip Bhagwan Nerkar (2012), When Gandhi sailed from Bombay (Mumbai) in April 1893 he had no idea his experiences in South Africa would set him firmly on the path to his later ‘Mahatma Ship’ 1904 and 1908 he began to give concrete shape to his doctrine of Satyagraha, Which evolved in practice through a number of intermittent civil resistance movements he initiated from 1907 to 1914. On 22 May 1894 Gandhi launched a political association the Natal Indian Congress. On his journey to Pretoria, by train from Durban to Charlestown, the platform at Pietermaritzburg, Railway station is the seeds of Satyagraha. Gandhiji reached to the ‘Mahatma’ due to the Satyagraha and contribution in the South Africa. Non-Violence (non-violent) and Satyagraha are mutually (closely) related. Gandhi’s Non-Violence concept of Satyagraha is important or contemporary relevance than before. South African peoples support and opinion to the Gandhiji. Gandhiji’s contribution is so great in the South Africa.
**Anima Bose (1981)**, in Gandhi’s theory of peace, human values take great prominence. Nonviolence (ahimsa) is a way of life rather than a tactic, and, together with the search for truth (satyagraha), makes the difference between passive submission to injustice, and an active struggle against it. This struggle excludes both physical violence and casting the opponent in the role of enemy, and hence presupposes compassion and self-criticism. The notion of welfare to all (sarvodaya) also sees peace as incompatible with exploitation or inequality of wealth. Peace is not seen as an end state, but as a continuous revolutionary process, where ends cannot be separated from means.

**Johan Galtung (2011)**, The political ethics of Gandhi animated many of Arne Naess’s philosophical projects, from argumentation theory to deep ecology. However, the value of Naess’s own studies of Gandhi is less clear. This article focuses on the significance and utility of Naess’s writings on Gandhi to the study and practice of peace. Naess’s approach to Gandhi was distinctive; he attempted a systematic reconstruction of Gandhi, where the essence of Gandhi’s action and speech was to be derived from the deeper layers of Gandhi’s thought. The definitive expression of this approach can be found in an appendix to Naess’s book Gandhi and Group Conflict (1974), where a set of 25 norms and 26 hypotheses are presented as the bare bones of Gandhi’s political worldview. As an image of Gandhi’s world, the survey is brilliant.
As a guide for conflict resolution and peace work, it is limited and even limiting. Naess assumed that moral-normative power radiates from first principles, along the lines of deduction, to norms and to action. But that makes the whole system vulnerable; if you have problems with the first principles, what happens to the normative power of the rest?

Robert E Klitgaard (1971), three two-party conflict models are advanced to explain how and why Gandhian non-violent resistance ('satyagraha') can work in a utilitarian sense. It is shown how seemingly pointless asceticism, 'irrationality', and absolutism can lead to optimal utilitarian results for the satyagrahi because such behavior makes credible threats and commitments possible. Certain social and psychological aspects of successful non-violent resistance are explained in terms of the models. Finally, four serious contradictions in the use satyagraha as a tactic are exposed and discussed in light of the models.

Richard L Johnson; Eric Ledbetter (1997), Gandhi’s intense study of Christ and Christianity, especially in South Africa, had a major impact on his satyagraha campaigns in both South Africa and India. Although satyagrahais often considered only in its political aspect, and although several studies of his religious beliefs have been done without reference to their political implications, Gandhi himself emphasized throughout his life that he sought to spiritualize the political, to establish a spiritual basis for all his social and political work. Gandhi was
especially moved by the similar themes he found in the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagavad Gita. Christ’s ethic of Love, expressed especially in the admonitions to "resist not evil" and to "make this world the Kingdom of God," deepened Gandhi’s inclusive Hindu faith and contributed to his theory of nonviolent direct action.

**Bjorn Hettne (1976)**. The present political crisis in India was precipitated by the so-called JP movement for total revolution. The significance of this movement lies in its being the only serious challenge that the Congress regime has faced since independence. It also represents the resurgence of Gandhian political activism after more than 25 years of passivism, Jayaprakash Narayan (or JP) being one of the leading Indian Gandhians. This essay tries to present an interpretation of the Gandhian tradition within which JP is supposed to work and, secondly, analyse the relationship between this tradition and the political theory and praxis of Jayaprakash Narayan. In analysing the Gandhian tradition, two components are distinguished: (1) Gandhism as a method of political struggle, to be seen against the theoretical background of non-violent political action, and (2) Gandhism as a socio-economic constructive programme, to be seen against the background of a populist strategy of development. After Gandhi’s death, his followers were organised in the Sarvodaya movement, which implied the codification of Gandhism. But only one component was incorporated,
the constructive programme. The political-struggle component (Satyagraha) was left out. According to the leader, Vinoba Bhave, it was not relevant in a free and democratic India. Emphasis is laid on the fact that a radical wing within the Sarvodaya movement had for some time been demanding a more activistic orientation of the organisation. JP was among those who realised that the Sarvodaya socio-economic programme had no chance of being implemented without a political struggle. This implied a conflict between JP and Vinoba Bhave and a split within the Sarvodaya movement. The JP wing took the lead in the political movement against the Government, first in Bihar then on the all-India level. This also meant a return to radical Gandhism, even if it proved too weak to influence the movement substantially. The rest of the essay deals with the political theory and praxis of JP and how it relates to the Gandhian political tradition. It is shown that a Gandhian movement has to face enormous difficulties within the institutional framework of contemporary India, and that the Gandhian element in the JP movement became more and more diluted, as the movement was elevated from its original Bihar context and transformed into an all-India movement. The actual function of the movement therefore tended to be primarily reactionary, as is shown by the election in Gujarat. It is concluded that a radical alternative in Indian politics necessitates some kind of understanding between Gandhian and leftist forces.
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