Rev. Joseph J. Doke was the first in 1909 to make Gandhi the subject of a biography 'M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa. Romain Rolland, the French Pacific writer introduced the greatest man of his age Gandhi: The man who became one with the Universal Being. Since then Gandhi has formed the theme of hundreds of writings both western and Indian, the bulk of which appeared in 1969, the year of Gandhi's birth centenary. And to these quite a few continue to be added every year. Perhaps no other individual has drawn such sustained and voluminous attention in literary circles. Of the numerous works on Gandhi, a select later biographers namely Erik H. Erikson, B.R. Nanda and Robert Payne are discussed in the chapter. Although none of these authors is so young as to be accepted as later biographer, yet the basic fact that each of them was drawn towards Gandhi after his death and they studied their actor in his absence.

This chapter in addition to the general inquiries made about in the case of contemporary biographers in Chapter VII, specially focusses on: how far advantageous or disadvantageous it has been to be later biographers. How have these biographers been influenced by new techniques of writing or new schools of thought, as has been the case with later historians? Have they performed the combined role of biographer-cum-historian, if so, how far have they been successful in this dual role?

The first biographer to be studied is Erik H. Erikson who wrote Gandhi's Truth: On origins of Militant Non-violence.

**Erik H. Erikson**

Erik H. Erikson is best known for his psychoanalytic study of historical personages. A recipient of Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award, Erik H. Erikson
is a particular kind of biographer who is interested not only in core histories but also in life histories of men who matter in history. Erikson believes that "History is as yet a relatively neglected field in psychoanalysis, although psychoanalysts have turned to past history to test their tools of reconstruction. But we can no longer abide by the one way proposition which explains the behaviour of leaders and of masses on the basis of childhood they had or had shared. In Young Man Luther, I used Luther's childhood and youth to show that a reformer and his childhood and the to-be-reformed and their childhoods, as well as political actuality which brings them together in our decisive historical deed, are all aspects of an epoch's style of adaptation and a readaptation."  

Three Eriksonian concepts generally regarded as the most influential and important life-cycle history, the identity theory and the relationship between individual history and the historical period in which one lives. The term identity crisis he perceives as an exacerbation of the normal developmental problems - characteristic of adolescence and Young Adulthood. The concept of identity crisis now embedded in psycho-analytic theory and practice was first explicit in his "Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (1958)." This book was followed by another historical biographical study-the work under discussion - 'Gandhi's Truth' (1969) in which Gandhi just like Martin Luther is revealed as a great man who changed the course of history. Erikson believes that the greater the man the more powerful is his identity-crisis. Just as Erikson termed the policy of non-violence (Civil Disobedience) to effect social change, Gandhi's Truth, so the internalized conscience might be termed Luther's contribution to Western Civilization or Luther's Truth.

Erikson, one of the most distinguished psychiatric clinicians of our time, is also a skilled and artful narrator. He is neither a novelist nor a biographer, but the whole drift of his clinical method, theory and concerns, stressing insight, identity crisis and
the maturation of the human person, is often more akin to the novelist's art to that of
the factual chronicler of 'life history'. The author's ostensible thesis in the book is that
Gandhi's 'Truth' - the 'truth-force' of 'Satyagraha' or militant non-violence - was
forged or perfected in Ahmedabad.


It was published in 1969 by W.W. Norton and Company Inc. New York and later
by Faber and Faber Limited London in 1970. The author wanted to dedicate it to Joan,
his wife but they decided to dedicate it to Martin Luther King, who adopted Gandhi's
concept and method of Satyagraha, and non-violence but was assassinated.

The author was attracted to study Gandhi when he came to Ahmedabad to
attend a seminar on the human life-cycle and was interested to know more about the
city and Gandhi about whom he knew since his young days. During his stay the author
met "his devoted followers or puzzled opponents". The author thought that
Ahmedabad satyagraha was "an event of vital importance in his advent as a national
leader and as originator of militant non-violence."³

The author accepts that he is neither a historian nor an expert on India. It is to
find "in retrospect how the man, his method and some of his first followers converged
in Ahmedabad in 1918 in such a way that his philosophy of militant non-violence
became a political instrument ready to be used on a large scale and reaching far beyond
the issue" of that movement. The author tries to see the "place of such events in man's
psychosocial evolution and recognize the singular importance of Gandhi's truth in a
future which will pit man's naked humanity against the cold-power of
supermachineries". He also seeks to study, "the rigorous discipline which for Gandhi,
was an intrinsic part of the instrument of activism which he created." He begins, "This
book describes a Westerner's and a psychoanalyst's search for the historical presence
of Mahatma Gandhi and for the meaning of what he called Truth."⁴

305
The work has been divided into four parts preceded and succeeded by a prologue and an Epilogue. The author depends on and describes his inquiry into the event through Gandhi's Autobiography and meetings with the survivors of the Ahmedabad Mill Strike. He treats both these sources as witnesses. To the author Ambalal Sarabhai is the counterplayer in that event. Erikson also describes his meeting with and impression of four informants Shankerlal Banker, Gulzarilal Nanda, Indulal Yajnik and Pyare Lal Nayyar.

The author depends upon the biographies of Gandhi and Gandhi's Autobiography. Here the author tries to assimilate clinical and historical hind-sight to see why and what led up to the event. Why did it happen the way it did and also why the witnesses got to be involved or be chosen by Gandhi or vice versa.

Erikson has spelt out his mind in an imaginary letter to Gandhi. In this letter the author tries to talk to Gandhi as a doctor talks to his patient. Erikson has accepted the mysteries of life as well as the self-criticism of a trained analyst. Both modify each other having accepted the scientist's striving for the unknown. It is followed by the description of the Event, Prophet in his own country giving a reasons for selection of Ahmedabad. 'An epilogue', 'March to the Sea' discusses Salt Satyagraha in detail. From historiographical angle and the purpose of our study, Erikson discusses just the 'Salt Satyagraha' and refers to Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience of 1920-22, he does not discuss the Quit India Movement 1942.

While discussing Rowlatt Act Satyagraha the author equates the Act with the Black Act of Gandhi's South Africa days. He quotes Gandhi that the pledge which was signed by Gandhi himself and his Ahmedabadi friends and sent to major papers, "Struck the religious imagination of an angry people."

To emphasise Gandhi's capacity for such agitations he cites Shankerlal Banker's remark, "The Mahatma took up the agitation in right earnest, and
for the first time I got an idea of his wonderful capacity for organization and sustained work."\(^5\)

The author considers constructive programme as an important item in the movement stressing work as a dignifying activity.\(^6\) While wheel symbolizes (for Gandhi) loss and regain of identity, it also serves as a tool to fulfil economic need and later, according to the author, became a symbol of economic reaction.\(^7\)

He, while discussing the causes of Ahmedabad Mill Strikes 1918 pinpoints the areas in which exploitation and draining were taking place in Indian national life - economic, political, cultural and spiritual resulting in four-fold disaster. He thinks that all these coordinates meet in everyman's psychology and was noticed by Jawaharlal Nehru who compared Gandhi to a psychoanalyst.\(^8\)

The author is aware that he is not presenting an objective critique of the British Raj with historical reasoning. He relates his critique to the damaging impact of colonialism on identity of the colonized which is repelled by some leaders.

The 1920s are full of varied personal experiences for Gandhi,

"A year of undisputed leadership of the Congress and the nation; two years in jail; the silent year and the years of autobiographical introspection, another year of despair and illness and years of inner rebuilding and ambulatory reforming from village to village."\(^9\)

**Salt March 1930**

Thus narration of the Salt March, when Gandhi started a new campaign in March 1930, can be a fitting conclusion to the book. The author does not even discuss resumption of the struggle in 1932.

The Salt Act earned 25 million out of a total of 800 million revenues every year to the British Government. The act of picking up or making salt is called 'a gesture of freedom followed by bloodiest repraisals. In an article on "Gandhi’s Autobiography:
Leader as a child", he says that Gandhi led his salt Satyagrahis from Ahmedabad to the sea in order to dramatise the symbolic as well as practical implications. He does not accept the view taken by other psychoanalysts that Salt symbolizes semen, at another place he wrote:

"before we ask how salt may come to mean semen, it is only fair to state that through the ages it has had a significance as itself."

and anyway,

"The one way symbolization suggested in psychoanalysis by which the non-sexual always symbolizes the sexual, is grounded in the assumption that the erotic is more central to infantile and primitive experience than are the cognitive and nutritional. But in the immediate context of the chronic semi-starvation that has undermined the vitality of the Indian masses and considering the periodic threat of the widespread death by famine, it would seem appropriate to assure, first of all, that salt means salt."

because Erikson believes that as a politician was waging a very real struggle against very real injustices, including an outrageous and concrete and unfair tax on salt, which millions of poor people needed and could not afford. Even in ‘Hind Swaraj’ he had mentioned that salt tax should be abolished.

About the preparation, he observes that Gandhi used to make elaborate preparations before embarking on a campaign. He could speak with realistic assurance because he was at the command of any army. This army had a uniform of Khadi which did not make any differences of rank and Gandhi cap resembled prisoner’s cap. Gandhi the commander had posted other commanders at different places, as Patel in Ahmedabad, C. Rajgopalachari in Madras, Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad and Sen Gupta in Calcutta, and that he also appointed a successor - Jawaharlal Nehru.
The other details of measures to be taken for Civil Disobedience were left to the discretion of responsible sub-leaders. Though civil disobedience of Salt Act as the major item, it was to be taken up according to the local conditions. To discipline the crowds and for propaganda there were cadres of well trained Satyagrahis, who had signed the pledge after adopting three essentials of Prayer, spinning and writing a diary.

The army of volunteers in Khadi were disciplined to meet the army and Indian police force directed by their officers and irritated by the mocking challenge of non-violent, but militant civilians.\textsuperscript{14}

The author observed that the movement except for some disturbances in Bengal was on the whole non-violent. For details he depends on Webb Miller’s account. He says that the non-violence on the part of volunteers made the police feel defenceless inspite of their superior equipment.

The Salt Act was violated, describes Erikson, in many ways. Gandhi picked up some salt which was auctioned later for 1600 rupees. Those who happened to be near the ocean followed the same. Raw material from the sea was brought inland to be prepared in pans on roof tops and then peddled.

Regarding the success of Satyagraha, Erikson notes that Satyagrahis could neither take up the constructive work seriously nor get the Salt Act abolished in its entirety. But it has demonstrated to the world that the might of the British Empire can be challenged by a new instrument of peaceful militancy. In this movement even the Pathans of Peshawar participated in Gandhi’s non-violent warfare.

After signing the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi went to attend the Second RTC as the sole representative of the Congress and a world leader who became immediately popular with the English masses. He also quotes what Tagore wrote to the
Manchester Guardian that Europe had lost her moral prestige in Asia and Asia could look down upon Europe. But Erikson thinks that Asia could now look Europe in the eye.\textsuperscript{15}

Erikson refers to Gandhi’s meeting with the Viceroy after the Salt Satyagraha, where he poured a pinch of contraband salt into the tea offered to him by the Viceroy, and associates it with Gandhi’s habit of teasing since his childhood. He exclaims "Muniya and the Empire."\textsuperscript{16} He finds such a teasing attitude to be historically relevant must also be an indispensable quality of a man’s influence on the very people with whom he shares, the actuality of an historical situation. He thinks that seasoned playfulness has alleviated his moral precocity and added a significant dimension to his evolving personal and political style.\textsuperscript{17}

Erikson considers Gandhi to be a charismatic leader who ‘listened to his inner voice’ which means involving others on the assumption that they are also ready. He also thought he heard what the masses were ready to listen to.\textsuperscript{18} For the author Gandhi’s Satyagraha is a strategy which depends on the unmistakable experience of something "as evasive as the truth",\textsuperscript{19} because Gandhi’s truth according to him "points to the next step in man’s realization of man as one all-human species, and thus to our only chance to transcend what we are."\textsuperscript{20}

Erikson considers the truth as given in any encounter or at a given moment is linked with the development stage of the individual and the historical situation of his group, "as both the individual and his group determine the actuality. Erikson, in a personal note, also while justifying his approach, to Gandhi maintains the conviction that,

"psychoanalytic insights happen to complement your kind of truth by a strange reversal of the traditional roles of East and West."\textsuperscript{21}
Erikson’s purpose of writing this book seems to be looking at "truth" from different angles and in different situations. He has applied clinical insights to Gandhi’s work and then compared his insight as a psychoanalyst with that of Gandhi. He also equates Gandhi’s truth with the relativity of truth which reveals itself from generation to generation with his own, being a post-Einsteinian and post-Freudian. He also believes that as Freud applied psychoanalysis on other individuals, Gandhi too applied Satyagraha in some areas of life.22

Erikson disagrees with Harold Lasswell, who maintains that leaders like Gandhi were motivated to enter politics because of repression of more basic drives like sex.23 Erikson’s thesis is that Gandhi who was straight and yet not stiff; shy and yet not withdrawn; intelligent and yet not bookish, wilful and yet not stubborn; sensual and yet not soft - all of which shows an integrity which Erikson finds unexplainable, so no explanation can be given. He also contradicts the other historians and political scientists’ effort to interpret in psychoanalytic terms.24 Although psychoanalysts have started applying the method of 'Originology', a term coined by Erikson himself after he applied the same to Martin Luther and by applying traumatology to his Childhood yet he considers the same method to be improper in its application on Gandhi.25

The author is conscious of his role as a psychohistorian and of the do’s and don’ts for him, when he decided to interpret an historical event.26 He has studied Gandhi in the post-charismatic period when myth-affirming and myth-destroying propensities are prevalent. Thus he, even while depending on the information provided by his informants, clarifies his informant's general purpose as well as his own.

As far as this study of the Event is concerned it serves its purpose. It is a well-acclaimed work being the first and foremost study of its kind on Gandhi, but it does not help a student of history in finding the explanation of Gandhi’s All-India Movements. He does explain Gandhi’s actions from his psychoanalytical view, but he
is not concerned with the details of the movements. As far as a study of Gandhi's insight, drives and the events, which Erikson considers most important for moulding Gandhi's Truth, it is a very good work, because it gives an insight not only into the actor but also his associates and opponents. Even the Salt Satyagraha is considered more as an event in Gandhi's actionful life which was a stage of development beginning with the Ahmedabad strike.

The author makes use of varied sources - from personal interviews to Gandhi's recorded speeches, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi and various biographies. He depends largely upon Gandhi's own works and Pyare Lal. But he does not provide with a proper bibliography. The author in his study of the event has succeeded as a psycho-historian but he has not been able to explain the mystery of Gandhi and his Truth which he rather finds inexplicable and accepts Gandhi as a greatman.27

Robert Payne

Robert Payne, a prolific writer,28 biographer began his career of authorship in 1938, when he used to write under a pseudonym Valentine Tikhonev. He is well-known as a biographer for he has nearly twenty biographies to his credit.29 His 'The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi' is an exhaustive biography.

'The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi' was published in 1969 by the Bodley Head, London. The author wished to visualize Gandhi living in close company with his associates in South Africa and India. He "wanted to see him in those unguarded moments, when men reveal most about themselves"30 and when he is plain without any legends around him. The author believes that Gandhi inspite of being a public man was capable of keeping a part of his personality strictly private.

He compares Gandhi with Lenin. He believes Gandhi too created revolution like Lenin but through non-violent weapons and that he taught men that no
government can be immune from non-violent resistance in the hands of determined and fearless men. As Gandhi was prepared to die, this was his most powerful weapon. The author believes that most of the men who affect history have single-track minds but Gandhi had various aims - to see God face to face, to topple the British Raj and to liberate India - to transform Indian society in order to make it worthy of her freedom.

The author while saying that he has "made no attempt to conceal the dark side of his (Gandhi's) nature." implies that he has tried to make an objective study of his hero. He finds so many contradictions in Gandhi's mind and nature but he believes that these "scarcely affect his great accomplishments". Emphasising this point he further remarks,

"In the Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi we see re-enacted in our own time and supreme drama of humanity; that a prophet should arise and sacrifice himself so that others may live." 

Non-cooperation 1920-22

The author explains that main reasons for launching the non-cooperation movement were Khilafat and Panjab incidents. About Amritsar massacre, he says that, as the censorship was tight, even Gandhi did not know that extent of killings until June, and he did not believe, at first, that so many people had been killed in cold blood. He thought both sides must have gone mad or there must have been some provocation. But crawling orders etc. made him rebellious. About Khilafat question, Payne observes, Gandhi was one of the few Hindus who were deeply interested, because his association with Muslims had been a pleasant one. Moreover he believed Koran a divinely inspired book and Hindu-Muslim unity an unalterable article of faith.
Gandhi's purpose behind Non-Cooperation Movement was to establish a bond between the Muslims and the Hindus, because he hoped that only through this union, "Independence and freedom of India could be assured."  

Payne describes how Gandhi planned it to be a four stage war against the government which was to begin with surrender of all titles and honours conferred by the British Government. Payne considers this to be a harmless gesture. It was to be followed by boycott of law courts by lawyers of government aided or government schools and colleges by students, and of offices by the Government officials. The third stage was refusal of soldiers to accept orders of their officers. The last and fourth stage being non-payment of taxes by the peasants. Gandhi considered this to be a beautiful, simple and enticing plan, which did not require involvement of crowds of non-violent resisters who might be provoked into violence. Through these four stages Gandhi aimed at bringing the government machinery grind to a halt and free the Indians. Relying on this he promised Swaraj within a year.  

Gandhi along with Shaukat Ali toured all over India, in order to assess the situation, prepare the people for the fight. Payne finds his language during these tours to be vehement, which he thinks was due to his sickness and the haunting consciousness of failure. To implement his plan he sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy. Payne observes that in the beginning the massive boycott did not take place. Though a few highly paid barristers gave up their practice. Yet it could not attract middle and lower classes to follow him. Payne also mentions the reaction which Gandhi's movement produced. Regarding this he discusses Rabindra Nath Tagore and Gandhi controversy. But soon, Payne describes that Gandhi found the Magic mantra 'Spin and Weave.' Spin and Weave "which unlocked the doors of freedom." He also discusses that Gandhi had an unhealthy following which considered him to be divine and followed him blindly.
Gandhi's difficulties are discussed by author when the Prince of Wales came to India. As Congress had organised a hartal, it came into clash with those who wanted to welcome the Prince. Gandhi, he says, was stunned at the incident of violence, for atonement of which he went on a penitential fast. It was only after this hartal that arrests on mass-scale were made, which satisfied Gandhi, because this repression might lead to Swaraj. Payne says that Gandhi prayed for repression but it did not come. At this stage he decided to launch the fourth stage and sent an ultimatum also. But as the Government rejected the ultimatum, he says, it did not have to wait for long because on February 5 the Chauri-Chaura incident occurred. About his suspension of the movement he says, Gandhi had summoned a whirl wind but with a wave of his hand he commanded the whirl wind to vanish.37

The author is quiet about the government's reaction. He does not discuss official repression anywhere.

Civil Disobedience 1930-34

Events of Civil Disobedience movement of 1930-1931, 1932-1934, Payne traces back to the appointment of Simon Commission, which was greeted with black flags and a general boycott. The author maintains that Lord Irwin's efforts in 1929 to reconcile the British Government and the Congress demands proved futile, because he found the Congress leaders determined on their demand for Purna Swaraj. He opines that at this stage British attitude hardened and the Congress was on the high waves with Bose and Younger Nehru as leaders.

Payne says the selection of Salt as an issue to start the Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-31 was a grand strategy. Gandhi considered it the magic formula which would fire the imaginations of the Indians. For Payne, Gandhi knew the value of symbols and he knew how to use them. Payne considers this magic formula to be fantastically simple. He proposed to overthrow an empire with a pinch of Salt.38
Gandhi’s March began with 79 volunteers. People started joining till it was two miles long. Gandhi had aimed it to be merely a symbolic gesture which may not affect the Government but would be a symbol of resistance to all government power. But it proved to be a tremendous success.

Payne observes that the Government watched the march with alarm but could not understand the forces at work. Lord Irwin expected the movement to peter out through lack of enthusiasm on the part of people but his expectations proved false, as Payne says his sources of information were grotesquely inaccurate.39

Regarding the impact of the march he says that Gandhi marched at the head of the procession like a conqueror. All of India was seething with excitement, which grew everyday. He had become the symbol of a nation’s desire to throw off the rule of the oppressors.40

The plan was to gather illicit salt, picket liquor shops, or burning of foreign cloth or in other ways acting in disobedience of the government.

Young girls and women in Purdah threw themselves into the Satyagraha. Though it did not spread like a prairie fire which Gandhi had expected, yet it looked like thousands of bonfires. Payne finds his weapon against the British logical but it lacked a powerful organization, and a carefully worked out programme.41

The Government which had adopted the policy of wait and watch, came down heavily on the Indian Press on April 27. He cites Gandhi’s letter to the Viceroy complaining against Government repression. The movement so far had produced only repression. Jails were full.42 Then he describes the Dharsana raid. As Gandhi was arrested Payne’s account of the progress of the movement stops at that point. After he just informs his reader that Gandhi’s arrest made situation worse. All over India there were hartals and strikes. The Government replied with a show of force.
Important cities like Delhi, Peshawar, Calcutta, Karachi Multan, Rawalpindi and many others were put under army control.\textsuperscript{43}

The author calls Gandhi-Irwin Pact a truce. And when Gandhi returned from RTC, Payne writes that the orders for his arrest had already been prepared by the Government. He was arrested immediately after his landing in India.

The movement progressed after Gandhi's arrest as in two months 33,000 persons were arrested. Civil liberty had ceased to exist. Police was given immense powers.

Payne does not comment about the impact this movement made, or the role of Gandhi's fast and his Harijan work.

The outbreak of World War II brought in its train two movements in India - Individual Satyagraha and Quit India Movement. Payne considers Gandhi to be oblivious of the dangers of modern warfare, military expeditions and modern weapons. He thinks Gandhi had no idea of the menace which Hitler had brought before the world.\textsuperscript{44}

Justifying Gandhi's launching of Individual Satyagraha, Payne observes that Satyagraha has such a tremendous moral force that even if only one man resisted non-violently, with perfect composure and perfect faith, it can compel the government to yield to one's demands.

Payne thinks that the government's attitude was that of pressure and persuasion. The author considers this repression to be responsible for the forthcoming Quit India Movement, which he calls the inevitable explosion. He attributes rise of Muslim League due to the vaccum of power created by Congress absence, and the spread of rumours.\textsuperscript{45}
Quit India 1942

After the failure of Cripps Mission, and impending danger of Japanese invasion, Gandhi thought that India could face the Japanese with a non-violent resistance, thus he sent a document to CWC in Allahabad, demanding the immediate withdrawal of British power from India to enable a free India to confront a Japanese invasion. Payne observes that Gandhi addressed this resolution to the British Government and not to the British Army, but he did not spell out the consequences of refusal by the British. Gandhi was ready to face the enemy but the British would not allow such a situation to rise. The author contends that Gandhi forgot the pressure of the Japanese and was filled with an inextinguishable horror of the British presence. He was able to carry CWC with him.46

Payne does not find Gandhi’s strategy to be clear. He asked every Indian to ‘do or die’, and to consider oneself a free Indian and called it an open rebellion. The author contends that Gandhi did not distinguish between violent and non-violent acts. He also thinks that though this movement was to bring anarchy and chaos yet no one knew the means Gandhi was going to adopt to stop that.47

Through Mirabehn’s message the Government sensed an open rebellion, which was to begin with nation-wide hartal accompanied by prayer and fasting. Payne views that Gandhi this time was to insist on non-payment of land-taxes and Salt taxes. But before he could launch the movement he was arrested.48

About public response, Payne deals very briefly saying that after Gandhi’s imprisonment India went into convulsions. The revolt was unorganised, sporadic and deathly. Hundreds of people were killed, rail roads were torn up, railway stations set on fire, more than five hundred post offices attacked and some burnt. The Congress leaders were arrested others went underground. The movement was strongest in Bengal and U.P. where inspite of police violence it continued till late 1943.49
Payne thinks that Gandhi did not carry with him Muslim League and the Princes, nearly half of India was not considered.

Payne’s expression reflects his English bent of mind. He talks from an administrator’s view. He emphasises that during every movement Gandhi was expecting death or was haunted by the idea but it did not come. He considers Gandhi to be full of contradictions. Payne defines his various stages of growth, and considers his various roles as masks.

Payne writes,

"He was a man who lived in public throughout the greater part of his life, eating, sleeping, bathing, thinking, writing and dreaming in full view of everyone who stayed in his ashram or accompanied him on his journeys, but such men have their own ways of concealing themselves. He wore many public masks and many private ones...."

He is not so forthright about official repression. He does not meddle into figures while discussing official reaction whereas for popular reaction he does discuss in detail. His discussion of a movement is over the moment Gandhi is in Jail. The analysis becomes abrupt, the author’s focus shifts alongwith his hero to jail. Though this is an objective biography yet it reflects the author’s mental make-up. Invariably a reader is able to discern in this work the author’s bent of mind, his ideology and environment in which he lived and grew. This biography does not serve much purpose for a study in historiography.

B.R. NANDA

A recipient of Padma Bhushan (1988) Dada Bhai Naoroji Memorial Prize 1981 and National Fellow of ICSSR (1979-82), B.R. Nanda is well know for his first publication Mahatma Gandhi (1958) A Biography, of Gandhi, which has been translated into several Indian and foreign languages. Shri B.R. Nanda is the former director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.
Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography

The work under study Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography was published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London in 1958 from where his career in academics started and was reissued by Oxford University Press Delhi in 1981. The book is dedicated to the author's mother and his brother. The author wrote this biography out of regard to Gandhi. But the author has not written this biography either to uphold or condemn but to see men and events in historical perspective. The author's objective of this biography is that -

"the image of Gandhi does not become that of a man who schooled himself in self-discipline, who made of his life a continual process of growth, who shaped his environment as much as he was shaped by it, and who tenaciously adhered to certain values to which humanity pays lip-service while flouting them in practice."

The author being a young contemporary of Gandhi finds it difficult to be completely objective about the events but he has tried to present a two-dimensional story of Gandhi's relations with the Government in the light of the ideas which inspired Gandhi. The author thinks that Gandhi's principles evolved in response to his own needs and the environment in which he found himself. The author opines that his ideas and the events of his life cannot be understood independent of each other, these are inter-related.

The author has made use of both contemporary records and official sources. He utilizes official sources to illuminate some of the obscurer spots and to see events in proper perspective.

The work is arranged chronologically with an analysis of Gandhi's attitude on important issues. Thus he has excellently made use of chronological and analytical methods in the writing of this biography.
This work discusses national movement from 1919 to 1947 but the survey of earlier period has been made in the biographies (i) The Nehrus and (ii) Gokhale. In author's own words, "the biography of The Nehrus supplements rather than overlaps the theme of my earlier book" - Mahatma Gandhi.

The whole work has been divided into four books consisting of fifty-two chapters, because each issue has been discussed independently but in chronological order. Even the formation of four books is based on four phases of Gandhi's life.

The author builds up the story of Gandhi from childhood to death in a carefully and chronologically arranged series of pen pictures. While drawing these pictures the author has been able to be objective with an understanding and grasp of various other factors. He has traced Gandhi's intellectual revolution, his ascetic vow, and his gradual transformation from undue diffidence to profound self-dependence, from an excessively shy, introspective person to a leader of vast masses of people as well as of a few devout disciples, the emergence of his concept of Satyagraha and its enrichment through successive campaigns. He also gives an account of the different phases of Gandhi's political conquest over his colleagues and opponents and of the various personal and historical factors that contributed to it.

**Non-cooperation 1920-22**

Nanda while trying to explain Gandhi's transition from a loyalist to a rebel in 1920, thinks that it was just the completion of a process of disillusionment, because Gandhi was expecting that after the war the British empire would give self-government to India as a reward for the services and help rendered by India.

Thus Gandhi's programme of non-violent, non-cooperation, according to the author, contained nothing new but was a part of his personality and philosophy for a
long time. Gandhi’s reply to the criticism by colleagues for various items is rooted in his earlier philosophy based on ‘Hind Swaraj’. Regarding boycott of schools and colleges, Nanda says that Gandhi had already experimented with such schools in South Africa. Similarly boycott of law courts had its roots in his critique of British Courts in India in the above mentioned book. Regarding Swadeshi, Nanda says that it was not a pressure tactic on the part of Gandhi, as it had been for earlier nationalists, but a means to revive the oldest cottage industry. This item had its economic significance because it provided adequate employment to the peasant, reduced pressure on agricultural land, and a ready made insurance policy providing a living throughout the year. For the educated people it offered kinship with the poorest and a substantial amount could be saved which was spent on foreign cloth.\textsuperscript{55} As regards council boycott, Nanda writes that Gandhi had faith in British sincerity till December 1919 but after that he considered it a ‘red herring’ in the path of Indian nationalism.\textsuperscript{56}

Nanda thinks that the British had sensed that the success of the programme would paralyse their administration so they tried to ridicule it had also rouse fears in the minds of propertied classes that the movement would ruin those who had any stake in the government. This helped in taking moderate leaders with them. They emphasised that it would alienate the west and lead to anarchy as he was releasing forces of disorder which he would be unable to control.\textsuperscript{57}

Gandhi’s reply to the criticism by colleagues for various items is rooted in his earlier philosophy based on ‘Hind Swaraj’. Regarding boycott of schools and colleges, Nanda says that Gandhi had already experimented with such schools in South Africa. Similarly boycott of law courts had its roots in his critique of British Courts in India in the above mentioned book. Regarding Swadeshi, Nanda says that it was not a pressure tactic on the part of Gandhi, as it had been for earlier nationalists, but a means to revive the oldest cottage industry. This item had its economic
significance because it provided adequate employment to the peasant, reduced pressure on agricultural land, and a ready made insurance policy providing a living throughout the year. For the educated people it offered kinship with the poorest and a substantial amount could be saved which was spent on foreign cloth. As regards council boycott, Nanda writes that Gandhi had faith in British sincerity till December 1919 but after that he considered it a 'red herring' in the path of Indian nationalism.

Nanda thinks that the British had sensed that the success of the programme would paralyse their administration so they tried to ridicule it had also rouse fears in the minds of propertied classes that the movement would ruin those who had any stake in the government. This helped in taking moderate leaders with them. They emphasised that it would alienate the west and lead to anarchy as he was releasing forces of disorder which he would be unable to control.

The authors says that the critics of the movement did not fully appreciate the programme as it provided the necessary brakes and alternatives. For those who liked to withdraw from government institutions like schools and colleges, national institutes were opened, similarly in place of law courts, national arbitration boards were established. Khadi was to replace foreign cloth. It was carefully phased from surrender of titles to mass civil disobedience, to non payment of taxes having several stages to suit local requirements. Gandhi had the main (central) control in his hand. In the event of any violent spark he was going to switch it off. As the movement was going to be non-violent, no Englishman was to be harmed. He expected people to be non-violent, purified, introspective and moral. He believed in change of heart, of Indians as well as of English. He wanted Indians to shed fear of the Government. Gandhi’s programme aimed at freedom, and regarding his ‘promise of Swaraj within a year’, Nanda thinks that it was not a prediction or a promise but a hope that one year was long enough to awaken people to shed their fears and stiffen their backbone.
Regarding the awakening of the people in 1921, Nanda finds Gandhi's words a major factor for that, as Gandhi would tell the people that it was not by force that India had gone to the British but by the will of Indians, and that now Indians shall have to earn it, the British would not give. To acquire that Indians must purge themselves of untouchability, communal strife, drinking, drugs, dependence of foreign goods, and British institutions.  

Nanda describes the dilemma of the Government over the questions as to how to suppress the Satyagraha and whether to arrest Gandhi or not. The Prince of Wales was to visit India in December 1921, and the Government wanted to avoid hartals and hostile demonstrations, so the Viceroy sent Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to contact Gandhi as other leaders were in jail. About the rejection of the RTC offer in 1921 Nanda does not accept the criticism by C.R. Das, M.A.K. Azad and others and says that -

"Gandhi had every right to know when and where the Round Table Conference would meet and who would attend it. He was the leader of both the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements; he could not let down the leaders of the Khilafat."  

After the rejection of this offer the attitude of the Government stiffened. In two months December 1921 and January 1922, 30,000 arrests were made. Volunteer organizations were declared illegal. The offices of the Congress and Khilafat were regularly searched, meetings and processions were dispersed by force.

Nanda calls 1921 an year of awakening as the movement gathered momentum due to rising enthusiasm of people. The 'prospect of Swaraj within a year' had shattered bonds of centuries; and the hypnosis of fear had been broken." So for Nanda, this movement was a success as far as these two objectives were concerned.

Similarly, the year 1929 is called by Nanda the year of Grace, when the Congress had given an ultimatum to Government that if Dominion Status for India were not
conceded before the end of the year they would demand complete independence. This they did at Lahore session. Nanda explains how the people had not forgotten their experience of 1922 and Gandhi was saying that retreat would not be that easy. Gandhi, the author thinks, picked up the thread where he had left in 1922. If 1920-22 was preparation, 1930 was the final conflict.

Gandhi did not intend to start confrontation as he wanted to utilize other modes of Satyagraha. Much criticised eleven points of 1930 were a step in that direction. Nanda says that with this step Gandhi was testing the willingness of the Government to part with power. Till Independence Day on 26th January, 1930 Gandhi was not definite about the response of the masses. Before going on Salt March Gandhi had written a letter to the Viceroy which to the biographer—

"was an indictment of British rule as well as an appeal for restoring to India what was her due."63

It is after becoming definite about both public and official response that Gandhi launched the movement.

The British who had no desire to liquidate their empire in India, writes Nanda, watched the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 with anxiety and bewilderment. The Government and the Congress intellectuals ridiculed the idea of salt-making and did not take it seriously. They were also expecting the Dandi March undertaken by Gandhi to end in fiasco.64 The Government also asked its officials to visit the villages en route Dandi March to boost the morale of the loyalists. Till the middle of April Government was still reluctant to arrest Gandhi while his associates like Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajgopalachari, Malaviya and many others had been arrested.65

An overwhelming response came from Indian public. Lakhs of them demonstrated in streets. Nearly 60,000 were jailed. The author finds it worth
mentioning that women from aristocratic and middle class families picketed liquor and foreign cloth shops. Encouraged by this enthusiasm of people the Congress included more items in the list of boycottable items. Though there were stray instances of violence, yet Gandhi never let go the movement out of hand. Even the government intelligence reported that the Congress hold was complete on people in Bombay and other places.

The Government once tried to reach at a settlement in August 1930, but the move failed. In January 1931, under instructions from London, Gandhi-Irwin parleys began which continued for nearly twenty days. About the agreement and Gandhi's visit to England, Nanda writes that it was in the 'logic' and consideration of Satyagraha. Nanda also believes that Gandhi-Irwin Pact was in fact a sincere effort on both sides, but unfortunately, Lord Irwin had to leave India soon after. The author is surprised, "that Gandhi should have agreed to the conference without any definite commitment from the government." Subsequently, the INC at its Karachi session appointed Gandhi as its sole representative for which he left on August 19th, 1931 from Bombay.

During Gandhi's absence, according to author, there developed three storm centres in India, Bengal, North-West Frontier Province and the U.P. In Bengal, it was conviction of thousands of young men not covered by political amnesty. In NWFP, it was the growth of Red-shirt movement and the arrest of its leaders, while in U.P., it had economic problem as the peasantry was hit hard by the fall in prices. The situation was aggravated when Congress failed to put its view point through at second RTC and Gandhi was returning to India empty-handed. Hence the Government of India, Nanda says, had perfected its plans for an offensive against the Congress in view of a sure impending agitation. This time government did not leave things to take their own course but acted instantly by arresting Gandhi, no sooner he returned to India.
Along with Gandhi’s arrest came every effort to stop functioning of the Congress with its various organs being declared illegal. The leadership was arrested, funds were seized, the terms in jail were more rigorous to make it more difficult for women Satyagrahis. The 1932 satyagraha was repressed more severely than the one in 1930-31. Repression crossed all limits.

The author holds the opinion that by August 1932 the Government thought that they had been able to suppress the Civil Disobedience movement but Gandhi’s announcement of a fast on the issue of separate electorates to untouchables again stirred the public opinion, though it diverted it into non-political channels.

About the impact of the movement 1930-31 and 1932-34, the author writes that these movements removed the fear of the masses, and transformed British rigidity into scepticism and scepticism into fatigue. The British were exhausted because they found it nearly impossible to administer the subcontinent.

Gandhi suspended the Civil Disobedience movement first for six weeks in May 1933 and then in July 1933. He converted it into Individual Civil Disobedience in April 1934 restricting it to himself only. Nanda says that -

"This sequence of events may have baffled the Government, but it drove some of Gandhi’s closest colleagues to despair."

But the author finds that the decision to suspend mass Civil Disobedience was inevitable or rather was overdue. The movement was at a low ebb since autumn of 1932 because of government’s stern action and declining morale of people. The masses wanted quick results which were nowhere in sight. The author further maintains that a radical movement, even though non-violent, could hardly be sustained indefinitely at a high pitch. Moreover, for Gandhi, Satyagraha was a spiritual weapon with no hatred for the opponent, but he was pained at the fact that people still harboured hatred against the British. Further the country’s feeling that it
needed a respite persuaded Gandhi to suspend the movement. But still Gandhi was misunderstood, not only by the rank and file, but by his closest colleagues also.  

When the clouds of war were hovering over Europe, writes Nanda, Gandhi reasserted his faith in the efficacy of non-violence and that India had a message for the bewildered humanity. Nanda quotes Jawaharlal Nehru’s reaction to the declaration of India as a belligerent country by the Viceroy. While the Congress had sympathies with the Allies, for Gandhi both the parties were votaries of violence. He suggested to meet even armed aggression with non-violent resistance. Nanda tells us that the Congress in its earnestness to co-operate with the British Government parted ways with Gandhi. But the events moved in such a way that they had to return to Gandhi. The author says that the maximum which the British could offer was the August Offer, which fell far short of Congress expectation. In frustration they had to return to Gandhi. The author says that though Gandhi was against British violent warfare, yet he was anxious not to embarrass the Government during the war. The Government, however, did not like the idea. Gandhi resisted the pressure by his colleagues to launch a mass movement and advised individual Civil Disobedience which was only a token protest. The individual Civil Disobedience with the constructive programme, to the author, seems to be a -

"Safety valve for the pent-up frustration in the country".

The Congressmen were imprisoned in October 1940 and were released in December 1941, because the war situation had worsened after Japan’s entry into it. In March 1942 Cripps was sent to India but his proposals were not accepted by the Congress. On his return Cripps blamed Gandhi for the failure of the mission, but Nanda writes that Gandhi did not influence the decision of CWC.
**Quit India 1942**

The factors leading to Quit India Movement are clearly identified as distrust of the British Government by the people especially in the coastal areas of Orissa, tales of racial discrimination in Malaya and Burma and practice of 'scorched-earth policy' in Bengal with the destruction of thousands of small boats required for riverine communication. The Government depended on small minority of businessmen while Gandhi felt the pulse of the people. He asked for the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands because to meet Japanese aggression, people could have been motivated for self defence only in this manner. British withdrawl from India would better enable India meet Japanese invasion and internal disunity.

Nanda maintains that the Quit India movement whereas caught the imagination of the rank and file of Congressmen also had its critics. Gandhi implored the British to leave India to chaos or anarchy. On August 9, 1942 Gandhi was arrested along with other Congress leaders. The Government had since long made up its mind and here the author reminds the reader about the decision of the Viceroy which he had taken two years earlier. Nanda also says that already drafted Ordinances were taken out. Regarding the Government's plan, the author says that it was aware of the risks of strong action in 1941 but in 1942, in its desperation it blew those fears off.

Regarding the response of the masses, Nanda says, that the news of arrests produced violent reactions in Bihar, U.P., Bengal and Bombay. People attacked the symbols and instruments of British rule. Gandhi's advice of non-violence was forgotten by the people. The author considers this violent 'spontaneous' reaction to be 'suicidal' because the British Government's reaction was more violent as they attacked the mobs with firing and machine-gunning from air.

The author believes that if Gandhi had not been arrested, he could keep the movement non-violent. Gandhi was arrested before he could issue instructions to the
masses. He had prepared a draft of instructions in consultation with CWC. It suggested one-day hartal with fasting and prayer. The Government employees were not to join the hartal, members of Legislatures, Municipalities etc. were to resign their seats, students above 16 were to leave schools and colleges. Salt tax and land-tax were not to be paid. It aimed at a non-violent struggle without any ill-will or hatred or communalism.\textsuperscript{85}

The Government held Gandhi responsible for violence, which he denied by observing a 21 day fast, says the author. Gandhi was also distressed to find that his followers had forgotten his principle of non-violence.\textsuperscript{86}

While comparing the 1942 movement with Salt Satyagraha of 1930, the author points out that former was more violent due to more racial bitterness. The people and the Government were more tense due to discontentment and war. He finds greater resemblance between the situation in 1919 and 1942. On one count similarity is pointed out between 1930 and 1942, if the movement in 1932 was crushed by Lord Willingdon, Congress swept the polls in 1937. Similarly when the movement in 1942 was crushed, in 1947 the British rule came to an end. But the author considers it to have left an embarrassing legacy as people indulged in violence and misconceived patriotism, the feeling was replaced by communalism in 1946-47.\textsuperscript{87}

As a biographer, B.R. Nanda, is treating Gandhi, in a historical setting. He thinks that Gandhi’s pre-eminence and his success or acceptance by the Indians was due to the fact that he was known for his activities in South Africa and his Mahatmaship. His prestige was independent of immediate success or failure. His following varied from high aristocratic class to lowly poor classes, from old people to children. Gandhi’s purpose was to lead a non-violent freedom movement which was practically the only alternative to fiery speeches and bomb-throwings. He mentions that the British considered this method to be impossible whereas many Indians wanted to follow
French and Russian revolution. The author further opines that the transfer of power, though a result of many national and world forces yet nearly 25 years of struggle under Gandhi also had influenced its timing and method. The author finds Gandhi to be a "saint who did not cease to be one when he entered politics". He also finds relevance of Gandhi's ideals in keeping this civilization alive in this nuclear age.

B.R. Nanda is a historian-biographer. All his biographies are written in a historical setting. The author builds up the story of Gandhi from childhood to death in a carefully arranged chronological series of pen picture which are drawn with objectivity along with understanding and grasp of other factors involved. The author has managed very important and crucial issues very well. He has been successful in 'not deifying' Gandhi. The language is easy, clear and vivid. The sources he has consulted are both official and contemporary accounts. But the dependence is more on the latter, as his aim is not to give a picture of Gandhi's struggle only but with having his hero in it. His purpose is to study the man. He has blended personal biography with historical experience and perspective.

Analysis

The biographers selected for study in this chapter are, though contemporaries of Gandhi have been considered later in the sense that all of them knew of Gandhi in his life but did not contemplate a biography on him nor were they near... Although B.R. Nanda's work Mahatma Gandhi was published in 1958 yet the author thought of working on Gandhi, after he felt the shock of his death. Similarly Erikson too was aware of Gandhi but took to writing on him after his visit to Ahmedabad to attend a seminar. Robert Payne, a prolific writer of varying interests too is not unaware of Gandhi's existence but wrote the book nearly twenty years after his death.

Each of these authors are from different nationalities and countries, Erikson from Germany, Robert Payne from England and B.R. Nanda from India. Each of them have migrated from their land of birth to another, Erikson migrated from Germany
to United States, B.R. Nanda from his birth place Rawalpindi now in Pakistan to New Delhi and Robert Payne from England to United States. He is known as a biographical wizard with twenty biographies to his credit. He has written nearly two biographies in a year. Each of these authors have taken to writing of history of individuals after detours in their careers. Erikson took off as an artist diverted to school teaching then to psychiatric clinician from here he was interested in writing about historical personages. B.R. Nanda joined as a senior officer in the Railways in 1942 and left the job after his biography of Gandhi was published and took certain research assignments. Robert Payne after his education scattered over continents joined as inspector taxes from where he took over a ship-wright joined navy and later taught English at Naval School of Architecture and became a Professor in 1949.

All having experienced the strains of the two world wars though during the first world war they were too young, B.R. Nanda was just a babe, were attracted to Gandhi and his faith in truth and non-violence.

As far as their treatment of Gandhi, each of them looks at Gandhi differently. To Erikson Gandhi's personality and psyche is more important to understand his life and work. From his psychoanalytical view, treats Gandhi as a prophet how and where did Gandhi take the turn to be forged into the mettle he was. He treats Ahmedabad mill strike as the most significant incident in formation of his views as Satayagrahi. B.R. Nanda treats Gandhi as an individual who corrected himself, and through constant training of him mind and being true to himself chose a particular path. Robert Payne thinks that Gandhi was a revolutionary who unlike other revolutionaries was not a single-track mind, who had many goals in his life.

Erikson believes that Gandhi had certain traits in his personality which were present since his childhood, he developed those qualities, therefore Erikson believes that child is the father of man, as childhood is important in any individual's life. Nanda
thinks that Gandhi made decisions to improve upon his fault which he felt he had since his childhood and kept his promise to himself. Payne trusts that Gandhi had his weaknesses but he covered them efficiently, but these faults did not affect his accomplishments.

Erikson studies Gandhi in his environment as environment is significant only to minimum extent. B.R. Nanda puts Gandhi in historical milieu. But he discusses milieu in separate chapters. He describes the scenario and then puts the hero in it. The reader is informed about the particular perspective. Payne discusses only immediate surroundings. The portrait dominates the scenery as one notices that Payne does not discuss the movement beyond the point when Gandhi is imprisoned, he snaps the description of the movements immediately, and the light is focussed constantly on Gandhi.

Erikson calls Gandhi 'polymorphous man' a 'religious actualist' who by becoming zero could absorb in him not only essence of other religions, could also live in symbiosis with the technology of his time. BR Nanda thinks that Gandhi believed in a change of heart of the British Government also wanted to have a change of heart of the Muslim League leaders. But he failed in the latter cause. Gandhi for him, tenaciously adhered to certain values to which civilized humanity pays lip service while flouting them in practice. Robert Payne considers Gandhi to be not only inconsistent but also used to put on different masks as required by the role which he was playing at that movement. Gandhi, for him, is a shrewed politician who would turn logic to his own side and therefore treat logic as a play thing.

Erikson thinks that Gandhi applied satyagraha as a therapy to correct different relationships in a similar way as Freud had applied psychotherapy on individuals. He firmly believes that Gandhi's non-violence was militant and through his non-violence and truth he wanted to achieve,
"The mutual maximization of greater and higher unity, among men and that each must begin to become actual by combining what is given in his individual development and in his historical time, which is Gandhi's Swaraj. Nanda claims that Gandhi shaped his environment as much as he was shaped by it. He adopted method of non-violent satyagraha because violence left a trail of hatred and bitterness in which genuine reconciliation was almost impossible. Under Gandhi's leadership battle for freedom was waged on moral and psychological front. Nanda believes that to Gandhi

"all this austerity while it may have satisfied some of his own inner needs, was primarily a means to an emotional identification with the Indian masses whose poverty and misery always haunted him; it provided the motive power for all his political, social and economic activities; it gave him unique hold over the people and it also not unoften, created barriers between him and the town-bred Indian intelligentsia."

For Erikson Gandhi was an Indian man engaged in politics aspiring to saintliness. For Nanda he was a saint who did not cease to be one when he entered politics. Robert Payne comments that Gandhi was a "prophet who sacrificed himself so that others may live."

Erikson puts Gandhi into a subservient position in his relationship with Indian National Congress before he launched Rowlatt Bill agitation 1919 but henceforth he maintains that the positions were exchanged by Gandhi and Caongress, and Gandhi became the only man whom the Congress could entrust the responsiblity of leading a movement and reorganizing its own constitution. For Nanda Gandhi did not depend upon the Congress for launching his satyagraha but he was aware that the non-violent non-cooperation would itself appeal to the congress and after December 1920, the congress followed the leader. Payne does not give much significance to the congress as compared to the subject. He dismisses very important issues of Gandhi's leadership of congress in few words. For him his subject is far more important than the organisation.
For each of them the individual does play a significant role, whether it is their hero or his associates and followers, or the government. The British Government is treated as one unit but with marked difference of approach of certain Governors-in-General, towards Indian problem.

Each of them treats Gandhi’s Constructive Programme as a significant part of national struggle for independence. All of them agree that Gandhi had a rational basis behind Hindu Muslim Unity, Constructive Programme items, and most significant of all Charkha. For Erikson

"spinning wheel could dramatically activate in hundreds of thousands of localities what was at that time not at all ready for industrialization."96 Payne considers spining wheel to be a magic mantra (formula) to which

"unlocked the doors of freedom" For Nanda khadi and other village industries could build up an exploitation free decentralized political and economic system.

Both Nanda and Payne have discussed Gandhi’s political satyagrahas, though have also discussed social and economic programmes too, but for Erikson the study of application of satyagraha against his own people has more significance as become the basis of his future struggle against the empire. Each of them has studied Gandhi with all his views and techniques in the light of the then prevailing context.

These works do portray Gandhi in different color but both Erikson and Payne do not discuss Gandhi’s All India Movements in detail especially when the actor is imprisoned. So from historiographical angle Nanda provides us more information about the progress of the movements, than the other two.

As each of them turned to Gandhi after his death. Erikson discusses the event after nearly 50 years, Nanda was interested in Gandhi after his death similarly Payne though wrote many biographies earlier was attracted to Gandhi in 1960s. Thus none
of them came in close contact with Gandhi, though they have re-enacted the whole events of their hero’s life. The sources, each of them have made use of are varied but quite similar to each other. Erikson has made use of more biographical literature and has depended on Gandhi’s autobiography along with interviews of the survivors, successors and followers of Gandhi. Nanda, too has used biographical literature but along with the government reports as available in the 1950s, his work too reflects the paucity of unreleased material - official reports, Gandhi papers, as the work was published in 1958 only ten years after Gandhi’s death. Robert Payne has made use of various published works, but has not consulted any unpublished material, correspondence to and from Gandhi, or any Government of India reports.

B.R. Nanda while discussing certain controversial issues has generally sympathetic understanding of Gandhi. Even Erikson, though he does not discuss those issues, has a leaning towards the same attitude. Robert Payne too has given sympathetic treatment to Gandhi.

Nanda while discussing RTC proposal of 1921 supports Gandhi similarly on Chauri-Chaura he does not accept as a stray incident only agitation was suspended but constructive aspect was carried on. He also emphasises that Gandhi did explain Swaraj as comprehensible to various levels of intellect. He supports Gandhi on Khilafat - Punjab issue combination. He does not comment on Declaration of Complete Independence as goal of Congress in December 1927. While discussing ‘Eleven Points’, he says it was too high pitched to attract government’s attention, yet emphasises the impact of Dandi March. For him, role of individual is significant that is why he discusses and relates Gandhi to the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin and Wellington. These biographers too point out that the movements led by Gandhi had stirred the masses, the whole nation went into convulsions, and almost each of them reacted sharply to the repression by the government.
None of them has tried to make Gandhi a superhuman, but an ordinary individual who disciplined himself in such a manner as to be able to lead the nation and be a legend.

From the historigraphical angle, these works are significant as they let the reader know, why was Gandhi unique and why society followed him and his style and why of what Gandhi did at different occasions.
REFERENCES


4. Ibid, Erikson in the preface and acknowledgements has discussed the source of inspiration and purpose of study.


8. Ibid, p.265 also see Jawaharlal Nehru’s Discovery of India, p.359.


11. As suggested by Ernest Jones - a psychoanalyst and Victor Wolfenstein - a political scientist.


14. Ibid.


17. The above mentioned article, p.16.


20. Ibid, p.413.


22. Ibid, p.250.

23. Harold Lasswell has advocated application of Freud's ideas to political leadership.


25. Ibid, p.99 also see the article Gandhi's Autobiography.


28. Robert Payne has to his credit novels, poems, stories, historical and semi historical writings. He has a focus on religion and communism.
29. He has written about sixty books in nearly 40 years.


31. Ibid, p.15.

32. Ibid, please consult pages 341-42 and 346-47.

33. Ibid, p.347.

34. Ibid, p.348.

35. Ibid, p.349.


37. For further details please see Robert Payne: The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi, pp.358-60.

38. Ibid, pp.383-84.


41. Ibid, pp.393-94.

42. Ibid, p.395.

43. It only shows the extent of non-violent movement and a few places like Peshawar incidents like refusal of Garhwal Rifles to Fire occurred, please see p.401.


45. Ibid, p.491.
46. Ibid, pp.493-94.

47. For elaboration of the author's view please consult pages 494-95.


49. Ibid, p.296.

50. Robert Payne describes it in detail while discussing Gandhi's all the three major movements. Please see pages 358, 390 and 495.


52. Ibid, p.355.

53. B.R. Nanda mentioned during a discussion with the researcher that he was prompted to write this biography by the sudden killing of Gandhi. He felt himself attach to his subject and was therefore obsessed with the idea.


55. Ibid, p.201.

56. Ibid, pp.200-02.

57. Ibid, pp.202-03.

58. Ibid, pp.204-05.


60. Ibid, p.216.

61. Ibid, p.228.

63. Ibid, pp.290-91.

64. Please see pages 293-95 of Mahatma Gandhi.

65. For further details please see pages 296-97.


67. Ibid, p.298.

68. Ibid, pp.307-08.

69. Please see pages 332-35 in this work.


71. Ibid, p.343.


73. This view of struggle-truce-struggle has been interpreted differently by different authors. For Bipin Chandra it was a strategy. India’s struggle for Independence. B.R. Nanda : Op. Cit. pp.365-66.


75. Ibid, p.425.

76. Ibid, p.430. Jawaharlal Nehru’s view is representative of majority of the Congress leaders opinion, please see Jawaharlal Nehru’s Discovery of India, p.426.


78. For details please see pages 438-42.

82. Ibid, p.461.
83. Ibid, p.463.
84. Ibid, p.464.
86. Ibid, p.467.
87. For elaboration please consult pages 469-70.
89. Ibid, please see pages 514-22 for details.
90. Erikson came to attend a seminar in Ahmedabad in 1962.