

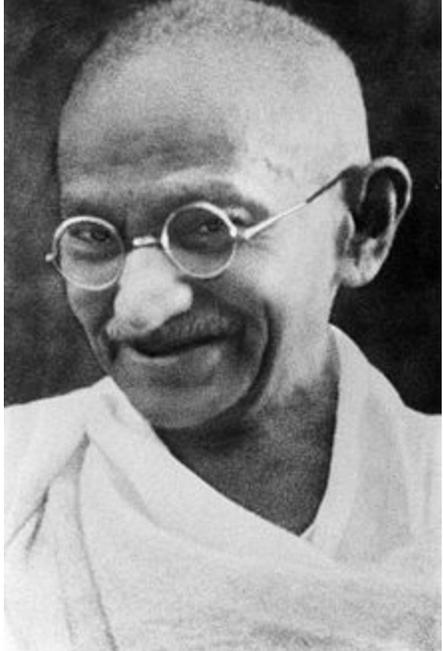
*"Gandhi" redirects here. For other uses, see [Gandhi \(disambiguation\)](#).*

**Mahātmā Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi** (/ˈɡɑːndi, ˈɡæn-/ <sup>[3]</sup> Hindustani: [ˈmoːɦəɳd̪ɑːs ˈkəɾəmtʃəɳd̪ ˈɡɑːɳd̪ʱi]  ( listen); 2 October 1869 – 30 January 1948) was the leader of the [Indian independence movement](#) against British rule. Employing [nonviolent civil disobedience](#), Gandhi led India to independence and inspired movements for civil rights and freedom across the world. The honorific **Mahātmā** (Sanskrit: "high-souled", "venerable")<sup>[4]</sup>—applied to him first in 1914 in South Africa<sup>[5]</sup>—is now used worldwide. In India, he is also called **Bapu ji** (Gujarati: endearment for *father*,<sup>[6]</sup> *papa*<sup>[6][7]</sup>) and **Gandhi ji**. He is unofficially called the *Father of the Nation*.<sup>[8][9]</sup>

Born and raised in a [Hindu merchant caste family](#) in coastal [Gujarat](#), western India, and trained in law at the [Inner Temple](#), London, Gandhi first employed nonviolent civil disobedience as an expatriate lawyer in South Africa, in the resident Indian community's struggle for civil rights. After his return to India in 1915, he set about organising peasants, farmers, and urban labourers to protest against excessive land-tax and discrimination. Assuming leadership of the [Indian National Congress](#) in 1921, Gandhi led nationwide campaigns for various social causes and for achieving [Swaraj](#) or self-rule.

Gandhi famously led Indians in challenging the British-imposed salt tax with the 400 km (250 mi) [Dandi Salt March](#) in 1930, and later in calling for the British to *Quit India* in 1942. He was imprisoned for many years, upon many occasions, in both South Africa and India. He lived modestly in a [self-sufficient residential community](#) and wore the traditional Indian *dhoti* and shawl, woven with yarn hand-spun on a *charkha*. He ate simple vegetarian food, and also [undertook long fasts](#) as a means of both self-purification and political protest.

Gandhi's vision of an independent India based on [religious pluralism](#), however, was challenged in the early 1940s by a new Muslim nationalism which was demanding a separate Muslim homeland carved out of India.<sup>[10]</sup> Eventually, in August 1947, Britain granted independence, but the British Indian Empire<sup>[10]</sup> was [partitioned](#) into two [dominions](#), a Hindu-majority [India](#) and Muslim-majority [Pakistan](#).<sup>[11]</sup> As many displaced Hindus, Muslims, and [Sikhs](#) made their way to their new lands, religious violence broke out, especially in the [Punjab](#) and [Bengal](#). Eschewing the [official celebration of independence](#) in Delhi, Gandhi visited the affected areas, attempting to provide solace. In the months following, he undertook several [fasts unto death](#) to stop religious violence. The last of these, undertaken on 12 January 1948 when he was 78,<sup>[12]</sup> also had the indirect goal of pressuring India to pay out some cash assets owed to Pakistan.<sup>[12]</sup> Some Indians thought Gandhi was too accommodating.<sup>[12][13]</sup> Among them was [Nathuram Godse](#), a [Hindu nationalist](#), who [assassinated Gandhi](#) on 30 January 1948 by firing three bullets into his chest.<sup>[13]</sup>

<div><div><span>Mahātmā</span></div><div><b>Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi</b></div></div>	
<span></span> <div></div>	
Native name	<span>મોહનદાસ ગાંધી</span> <div></div>
Born	<div>Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi</div> 2 October 1869 <div>Porbandar, Porbandar State, Kathiawar Agency, Bombay Presidency, British India<sup><span>[</span>1<span>]</span></sup> (present-day Gujarat, India)</div>
Died	30 January 1948 (aged 78) <div>New Delhi, Delhi, Dominion of India (present-day India)</div>
Cause of death	Assassination
Resting place	Raj Ghat, Delhi, India

Gandhi's birthday, 2 October, is commemorated in India as Gandhi Jayanti, a national holiday, and worldwide as the International Day of Nonviolence.

## Biography

### Early life and background

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi<sup>[14]</sup> was born on 2 October 1869<sup>[1]</sup> to a Hindu Modh Baniya family<sup>[15]</sup> in Porbandar (also known as *Sudamapuri*), a coastal town on the Kathiawar Peninsula and then part of the small princely state of Porbandar in the Kathiawar Agency of the Indian Empire. His father, Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi (1822–1885), served as the *diwan* (chief minister) of Porbandar state.<sup>[16]</sup>

Although he only had an elementary education and had previously been a clerk in the state administration, Karamchand proved a capable chief minister.<sup>[17]</sup> During his tenure, Karamchand married four times. His first two wives died young, after each had given birth to a daughter, and his third marriage was childless. In 1857, Karamchand sought his third wife's permission to remarry; that year, he married Putlibai (1844–1891), who also came from Junagadh,<sup>[18]</sup> and was from a Pranami Vaishnava family.<sup>[19][20][21][22]</sup> Karamchand and Putlibai had three children over the ensuing decade, a son, Laxmidas (c. 1860 – March 1914), a daughter, Raliatbehn (1862–1960) and another son, Karsandas (c. 1866–1913).<sup>[23][24]</sup>

On 2 October 1869, Putlibai gave birth to her last child, Mohandas, in a dark, windowless ground-floor room of the Gandhi family residence in Porbandar city. As a child, Gandhi was described by his sister Raliat as "restless as mercury, either playing or roaming about. One of his favourite pastimes was twisting dogs' ears."<sup>[25]</sup> The Indian classics, especially the stories of Shravana and king Harishchandra, had a great impact on Gandhi in his childhood. In his autobiography, he admits that they left an indelible impression on his mind. He writes: "It haunted me and I must have acted Harishchandra to myself times without number." Gandhi's early self-identification with truth and love as supreme values is traceable to these epic characters.<sup>[26][27]</sup>

The family's religious background was eclectic. Gandhi's father Karamchand was Hindu and his mother Putlibai was from a Pranami Vaishnava Hindu family.<sup>[28][29]</sup> Gandhi's father was of Modh Baniya caste in the vama of Vaishya.<sup>[30]</sup> His mother came from the medieval Krishna bhakti-based Pranami tradition, whose religious texts include the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Bhagavata Purana*, and a collection of 14 texts with teachings that the tradition believes to include the essence of the Vedas, the Quran and the Bible.<sup>[29][31]</sup> Gandhi was deeply influenced by his mother, an extremely pious lady who "would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers...she would take the hardest vows and keep them without flinching. To keep two or three consecutive fasts was nothing to her."<sup>[32]</sup>

<b>Nationality</b>	Indian
<b>Other names</b>	Mahatma Gandhi, Bapu ji, Gandhi ji
<b>Alma mater</b>	University College London <sup>[2]</sup> Inner Temple
<b>Occupation</b>	Lawyer · Politician · Activist · Writer
<b>Known for</b>	Indian Independence Movement, Peace movement
<b>Political party</b>	Indian National Congress
<b>Movement</b>	Indian independence movement
<b>Spouse(s)</b>	<u>Kasturba Gandhi</u> m. 1883; d. 1944)
<b>Children</b>	<u>Harilal</u> · <u>Manilal</u> · <u>Ramdas</u> · <u>Devdas</u>
<b>Parents</b>	<u>Karamchand Gandhi</u> (father) <u>Putlibai Gandhi</u> (mother)
<b>Signature</b>	
	

In 1874, Gandhi's father Karamchand left Porbandar for the smaller state of Rajkot, where he became a counsellor to its ruler, the Thakur Sahib; though Rajkot was a less prestigious state than Porbandar, the British regional political agency was located there, which gave the state's *diwan* a measure of security.<sup>[33]</sup> In 1876, Karamchand became *diwan* of Rajkot and was succeeded as *diwan* of Porbandar by his brother Tulsidas. His family then rejoined him in Rajkot.<sup>[34]</sup>

At age 9, Gandhi entered the local school in Rajkot, near his home. There he studied the rudiments of arithmetic, history, the Gujarati language and geography.<sup>[34]</sup> At age 11, he joined the High School in Rajkot.<sup>[36]</sup> He was an average student, won some prizes, but was a shy and tongue tied student, with no interest in games; his only companions were books and school lessons.<sup>[37]</sup>

While at high school, Gandhi's elder brother introduced him to a Muslim friend named Sheikh Mehtab. Mehtab was older in age, taller and encouraged the strictly vegetarian boy to eat meat to gain height. He also took Mohandas to a brothel one day, though Mohandas "was struck blind and dumb in this den of vice," rebuffed the prostitutes' advances and was promptly sent out of the brothel. The experience caused Mohandas mental anguish, and he abandoned the company of Mehtab.<sup>[38]</sup>

In May 1883, the 13-year-old Mohandas was married to 14-year-old Kasturbai Makhanji Kapadia (her first name was usually shortened to "Kasturba", and affectionately to "Ba") in an arranged marriage, according to the custom of the region at that time.<sup>[39]</sup> In the process, he lost a year at school, but was later allowed to make up by accelerating his studies.<sup>[40]</sup> His wedding was a joint event, where his brother and cousin were also married. Recalling the day of their marriage, he once said, "As we didn't know much about marriage, for us it meant only wearing new clothes, eating sweets and playing with relatives." However, as was prevailing tradition, the adolescent bride was to spend much time at her parents' house, and away from her husband.<sup>[41]</sup> Writing many years later, Mohandas described with regret the lustful feelings he felt for his young bride, "even at school I used to think of her, and the thought of nightfall and our subsequent meeting was ever haunting me." He later recalled feeling jealous and possessive of her, such as when she would visit a temple with her girlfriends, and being sexually lustful in his feelings for her.<sup>[42]</sup>

In late 1885, Gandhi's father Karamchand died.<sup>[43]</sup> Gandhi, then 16 years old, and his wife of age 17 had their first baby, who survived only a few days. The two deaths anguished Gandhi.<sup>[43]</sup> The Gandhi couple had four more children, all sons: Harilal, born in 1888; Manilal, born in 1892; Ramdas, born in 1897; and Devdas, born in 1900.<sup>[39]</sup>

In November 1887, the 18-year-old Gandhi graduated from high school in Ahmedabad.<sup>[44]</sup> In January 1888, he enrolled at Samaldas College in Bhavnagar State, then the sole degree-granting institution of higher education in the region. But he dropped out and returned to his family in Porbandar.<sup>[45]</sup>

## English barrister

Gandhi came from a poor family, and he had dropped out of the cheapest college he could afford.<sup>[46]</sup> Mavji Dave Joshiji, a Brahmin priest and family friend, advised Gandhi and his family that he should consider law studies in London.<sup>[47]</sup> In July 1888, his wife Kasturba gave birth to their first surviving son, Harilal.<sup>[48]</sup> His mother was not comfortable about Gandhi leaving his wife and family, and going so far from home. Gandhi's uncle Tulsidas also tried to dissuade his nephew. Gandhi wanted to go. To



Gandhi (right) with his eldest brother Laxmidas in 1886.<sup>[35]</sup>

persuade his wife and mother, Gandhi made a vow in front of his mother that he would abstain from meat, alcohol and women. Gandhi's brother Laxmidas, who was already a lawyer, cheered Gandhi's London studies plan and offered to support him. Putlibai gave Gandhi her permission and blessing.<sup>[45][49]</sup>

On 10 August 1888, Gandhi aged 18, left Porbandar for Mumbai, then known as Bombay. Upon arrival, he stayed with the local Modh Bania community while waiting for the ship travel arrangements. The head of the community knew Gandhi's father. After learning Gandhi's plans, he and other elders warned Gandhi that England would tempt him to compromise his religion, and eat and drink in Western ways. Gandhi informed them of his promise to his mother and her blessings. The local chief disregarded it, and excommunicated him an outcast. But Gandhi ignored this, and on 4 September, he sailed from Bombay to London. His brother saw him off.<sup>[48][50]</sup>



Gandhi in London as a law student

In London, Gandhi studied law and jurisprudence and enrolled at the Inner Temple with the intention of becoming a barrister. His childhood shyness and self withdrawal had continued through his teens, and he remained so when he arrived in London, but he joined a public speaking practice group and overcame this handicap to practise law.<sup>[51]</sup>

His time in London was influenced by the vow he had made to his mother. He tried to adopt "English" customs, including taking dancing lessons. However, he could not appreciate the bland vegetarian food offered by his landlady and was frequently hungry until he found one of London's few vegetarian restaurants. Influenced by Henry Salt's writing, he joined the Vegetarian Society, was elected to its executive committee,<sup>[52]</sup> and started a local Bayswater chapter.<sup>[21]</sup> Some of the vegetarians he met were members of the Theosophical Society, which had been founded in 1875 to further universal brotherhood, and which was devoted to the study of Buddhist and Hindu literature. They encouraged Gandhi to join them in reading the Bhagavad Gita both in translation as well as in the original.<sup>[52]</sup>

Gandhi, at age 22, was called to the bar in June 1891 and then left London for India, where he learned that his mother had died while he was in London and that his family had kept the news from him.<sup>[52]</sup> His attempts at establishing a law practice in Bombay failed because he was psychologically unable to cross-examine witnesses. He returned to Rajkot to make a modest living drafting petitions for litigants, but he was forced to stop when he ran afoul of a British officer.<sup>[21][52]</sup> In 1893, a Muslim merchant in Kathiawar named Dada Abdullah contacted Gandhi. Abdullah owned a large successful shipping business in South Africa. His distant cousin in Johannesburg needed a lawyer, and they preferred someone with Kathiawari heritage. Gandhi inquired about his pay for the work. They offered a total salary of £105 plus travel expenses. He accepted it, knowing that it would be at least one year commitment in the Colony of Natal, South Africa, also a part of the British Empire.<sup>[21][53]</sup>

## Civil rights activist in South Africa (1893–1914)

In April 1893, Gandhi aged 23, set sail for South Africa to be the lawyer for Abdullah's cousin.<sup>[53][54]</sup> He spent 21 years in South Africa, where he developed his political views, ethics and politics.<sup>[55]</sup>

Immediately upon arriving in South Africa, Gandhi faced discrimination because of his skin colour and heritage, like all people of colour.<sup>[56]</sup> He was not allowed to sit with European passengers in the stagecoach and told to sit on the floor near the driver, then beaten when he refused; elsewhere he was kicked into a gutter for daring to walk near a house, in another instance thrown off a train at Pietermaritzburg after refusing to leave the first-class.<sup>[57][58]</sup> He sat in the train station, shivering all night and

pondering if he should return to India or protest for his rights.<sup>[58]</sup> He chose to protest and was allowed to board the train the next day.<sup>[59]</sup> In another incident, the magistrate of a Durban court ordered Gandhi to remove his turban, which he refused to do.<sup>[60]</sup> Indians were not allowed to walk on public footpaths in South Africa. Gandhi was kicked by a police officer out of the footpath onto the street without warning.<sup>[61]</sup>

When Gandhi arrived in South Africa, according to Herman, he thought of himself as "a Briton first, and an Indian second".<sup>[62]</sup> However, the prejudice against him and his fellow Indians from British people that Gandhi experienced and observed deeply bothered him. He found it humiliating, struggling to understand how some people can feel honour or superiority or pleasure in such inhumane practices.<sup>[58]</sup> Gandhi began to question his people's standing in the British Empire.<sup>[63]</sup>

The Abdullah case that had brought him to South Africa concluded in May 1894, and the Indian community organised a farewell party for Gandhi as he prepared to return to India.<sup>[64]</sup> However, a new Natal government discriminatory proposal led to Gandhi extending his original period of stay in South Africa. He planned to assist Indians in opposing a bill to deny them the right to vote, a right then proposed to be an exclusive European right. He asked Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, to reconsider his position on this bill.<sup>[55]</sup> Though unable to halt the bill's passage, his campaign was successful in drawing attention to the grievances of Indians in South Africa. He helped found the Natal Indian Congress in 1894,<sup>[21][59]</sup> and through this organisation, he moulded the Indian community of South Africa into a unified political force. In January 1897, when Gandhi landed in Durban, a mob of white settlers attacked him<sup>[65]</sup> and he escaped only through the efforts of the wife of the police superintendent. However, he refused to press charges against any member of the mob.<sup>[21]</sup>



Gandhi with the stretcher-bearers of the Indian Ambulance Corps

During the Boer War, Gandhi volunteered in 1900 to form a group of stretcher-bearers as the Natal Indian Ambulance Corps. According to Arthur Herman, Gandhi wanted to disprove the imperial British stereotype that Hindus were not fit for "manly" activities involving danger and exertion, unlike the Muslim "martial races".<sup>[66]</sup> Gandhi raised eleven hundred Indian volunteers, to support British combat troops against the Boers. They were trained and medically certified to serve on the front lines. They were auxiliaries at the Battle of Colenso to a White volunteer ambulance corps; then at Spion Kop Gandhi and his bearers moved to the front line and had to carry wounded soldiers for miles to a field hospital because the terrain was too rough for the ambulances. Gandhi and thirty-seven other Indians received the Queen's South Africa Medal.<sup>[67]</sup>

In 1906, the Transvaal government promulgated a new Act compelling registration of the colony's Indian and Chinese populations. At a mass protest meeting held in Johannesburg on 11 September that year, Gandhi adopted his still evolving methodology of Satyagraha (devotion to the truth), or nonviolent protest, for the first time.<sup>[68]</sup> According to Anthony Parel, Gandhi was also influenced by the Tamil text Tirukkura! because Leo Tolstoy mentioned it in their correspondence that began with A Letter to a Hindu.<sup>[69][70]</sup> Gandhi urged Indians to defy the new law and to suffer the punishments for doing so. Gandhi's ideas of protests, persuasion skills and public relations had emerged. He took these back to India in 1915.<sup>[71][72]</sup>



Gandhi and his wife Kasturba (1902)

## Europeans, Indians and Africans

Gandhi focused his attention on Indians while in South Africa. He was not interested in politics. This changed after he was discriminated against and bullied, such as by being thrown out of a train coach because of his skin colour by a white train official. After several such incidents with Whites in South Africa, Gandhi's thinking and focus changed, he felt he must resist this and fight for rights. He entered politics by forming Natal Indian Congress.<sup>[73]</sup> According to Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, Gandhi's views on racism are contentious, in some cases distressing to those who admire him. Gandhi suffered persecution from the beginning in South Africa. Like with other coloured people, white officials denied him his rights, the press and those in the streets bullied and called him a parasite, semi-barbarous, canker, squalid coolie, yellow man, and other epithets. People would spit on him as an expression of racial hate.<sup>[74]</sup>

While in South Africa, Gandhi focused on racial persecution of Indians, ignored those of Africans. In some cases, state Desai and Vahed, his behaviour was one of being a willing part of racial stereotyping and African exploitation.<sup>[74]</sup> In a speech in September 1896 in India, for example, Gandhi complained the whites in British colony of South Africa were degrading Indian Hindus and Muslims to "a level of Kaffir". Scholars cite it as an example evidence that Gandhi at that time felt about Indians and black South Africans differently.<sup>[74]</sup> As another example given by Herman, Gandhi, at age 24, prepared a legal brief for the Natal Assembly in 1895, seeking voting rights for Indians. Gandhi cited race history and European Orientalists' opinions that "Anglo-Saxons and Indians are sprung from the same Aryan stock or rather the Indo-European peoples", and argued that Indians should not be grouped with the Africans.<sup>[64]</sup>

Years later, Gandhi and his colleagues served and helped Africans as nurses and by opposing racism, according to the Nobel Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela. The general image of Gandhi, state Desai and Vahed, has been reinvented since his assassination as if he was always a saint, when in reality his life was more complex, contained inconvenient truths and was one that evolved over time.<sup>[74]</sup> In contrast, other Africa scholars state the evidence points to a rich history of co-operation and efforts by Gandhi and Indian people with nonwhite South Africans against persecution of Africans and the Apartheid.<sup>[75]</sup>

In 1906, when the British declared war against the Zulu Kingdom in Natal, Gandhi at age 36, sympathised with the Zulus, and encouraged the Indian volunteers to help as an ambulance unit.<sup>[76]</sup> He argued that Indians should participate in the war efforts to change attitudes and perceptions of the British people against the coloured people.<sup>[77]</sup> Gandhi, a group of 20 Indians and black people of South Africa volunteered as a stretcher-bearer corps to treat wounded British soldiers and the opposite side of the war: Zulu victims.<sup>[76]</sup>

White soldiers stopped Gandhi and team from treating the injured Zulu, and some African stretcher-bearers with Gandhi were shot dead by the British. The medical team commanded by Gandhi operated for less than two months.<sup>[76]</sup> Gandhi volunteering to help as a "staunch loyalist" during the Zulu and other wars made no difference in the British attitude, states Herman, and the African experience was a part of his great disillusionment with the West, transforming him into an "uncompromising non-cooperator".<sup>[77]</sup>

In 1910, Gandhi established an idealistic community called 'Tolstoy Farm' near Johannesburg, where he nurtured his policy of peaceful resistance.<sup>[78][79]</sup>

In the years after black South Africans gained the right to vote in South Africa (1994), Gandhi was proclaimed a national hero with numerous monuments.<sup>[80]</sup>



Gandhi photographed in South Africa (1909)

## **Struggle for Indian independence (1915–1947)**

*See also: Indian independence movement*

At the request of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, conveyed to him by C. F. Andrews, Gandhi returned to India in 1915. He brought an international reputation as a leading Indian nationalist, theorist and community organiser.

Gandhi joined the Indian National Congress and was introduced to Indian issues, politics and the Indian people primarily by Gokhale. Gokhale was a key leader of the Congress Party best known for his restraint and moderation, and his insistence on working inside the system. Gandhi took Gokhale's liberal approach based on British Whiggish traditions and transformed it to make it look Indian.<sup>[81]</sup>

Gandhi took leadership of the Congress in 1920 and began escalating demands until on 26 January 1930 the Indian National Congress declared the independence of India. The British did not recognise the declaration but negotiations ensued, with the Congress taking a role in provincial government in the late 1930s. Gandhi and the Congress withdrew their support of the Raj when the Viceroy declared war on Germany in September 1939 without consultation. Tensions escalated until Gandhi demanded immediate independence in 1942 and the British responded by imprisoning him and tens of thousands of Congress leaders. Meanwhile, the Muslim League did co-operate with Britain and moved, against Gandhi's strong opposition, to demands for a totally separate Muslim state of Pakistan. In August 1947 the British partitioned the land with India and Pakistan each achieving independence on terms that Gandhi disapproved.<sup>[82]</sup>

### **Role in World War I**

*See also: The role of India in World War I*

In April 1918, during the latter part of World War I, the Viceroy invited Gandhi to a War Conference in Delhi.<sup>[83]</sup> Gandhi agreed to actively recruit Indians for the war effort.<sup>[84][85]</sup> In contrast to the Zulu War of 1906 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, when he recruited volunteers for the Ambulance Corps, this time Gandhi attempted to recruit combatants. In a June 1918 leaflet entitled "Appeal for Enlistment", Gandhi wrote "To bring about such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is, the ability to bear arms and to use them...If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible despatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the army."<sup>[86]</sup> He did, however, stipulate in a letter to the Viceroy's private secretary that he "personally will not kill or injure anybody, friend or foe."<sup>[87]</sup>

Gandhi's war recruitment campaign brought into question his consistency on nonviolence. Gandhi's private secretary noted that "The question of the consistency between his creed of 'Ahimsa' (nonviolence) and his recruiting campaign was raised not only then but has been discussed ever since."<sup>[84]</sup>

## **Champanan and Kheda**

### **Champanan agitations**

*Main article: Champanan Satyagraha*

Gandhi's first major achievement came in 1917 with the Champanan agitation in Bihar. The Champanan agitation pitted the local peasantry against their largely British landlords who were backed by the local administration. The peasantry was forced to grow Indigo, a cash crop whose demand had been declining over two decades, and were forced to sell their crops to the planters at a fixed price. Unhappy with this, the peasantry appealed to Gandhi at his ashram in Ahmedabad. Pursuing a strategy of nonviolent protest, Gandhi took the administration by surprise and won concessions from the authorities.<sup>[88]</sup>

### **Kheda agitations**

*Main article: Kheda Satyagraha*

In 1918, Kheda was hit by floods and famine and the peasantry was demanding relief from taxes. Gandhi moved his headquarters to Nadiad,<sup>[89]</sup> organising scores of supporters and fresh volunteers from the region, the most notable being Vallabhbhai Patel.<sup>[90]</sup> Using non-co-operation as a technique, Gandhi initiated a signature campaign where peasants pledged non-payment of revenue even under the threat of confiscation of land. A social boycott of *mamlatdars* and *talatdars* (revenue officials within the district) accompanied the agitation. Gandhi worked hard to win public support for the agitation across the country. For five months, the administration refused but finally in end-May 1918, the Government gave way on important provisions and relaxed the conditions of payment of revenue tax until the famine ended. In Kheda, Vallabhbhai Patel represented the farmers in negotiations with the British, who suspended revenue collection and released all the prisoners.<sup>[91]</sup>



Gandhi in 1918, at the time of the Kheda and Champaran Satyagrahas

### **Khilafat movement**

In 1919, Gandhi then aged 49, after the World War I was over, sought political co-operation from Muslims in his fight against British imperialism by supporting the Ottoman Empire that had been defeated in the World War. Before this initiative of Gandhi, communal disputes and religious riots between Hindus and Muslims were common in British India, such as the riots of 1917–18. Gandhi had already supported the British crown with resources and by recruiting Indian soldiers to fight the war in Europe on the British side. This effort of Gandhi was in part motivated by the British promise to reciprocate the help with *swaraj* (self-government) to Indians after the end of World War I.<sup>[92]</sup> The British government, instead of self government, had offered minor reforms instead, disappointing Gandhi.<sup>[93]</sup> Gandhi announced his *satyagraha* (civil disobedience) intentions. The British colonial officials made their counter move by passing the Rowlatt Act, to block Gandhi's movement. The Act allowed the British government to treat civil disobedience participants as criminals and gave it the legal basis to arrest anyone for "preventive indefinite detention, incarceration without judicial review or any need for a trial".<sup>[94]</sup>

Gandhi felt that Hindu-Muslim co-operation was necessary for political progress against the British. He leveraged the Khilafat movement, wherein Sunni Muslims in India, their leaders such as the sultans of princely states in India and Ali brothers championed the Turkish Caliph as a solidarity symbol of Sunni Islamic community (*ummah*). They saw the Caliph as their means to support Islam and the Islamic law after the defeat of Ottoman Empire in World War I.<sup>[95][96][97]</sup> Gandhi's support to the Khilafat movement led to mixed results. It initially led to a strong Muslim support for Gandhi. However, the Hindu leaders including Rabindranath Tagore questioned Gandhi's leadership because they were largely against recognising or supporting the Sunni Islamic Caliph in Turkey.<sup>[94][98][99]</sup>

The increasing Muslim support for Gandhi, after he championed the Caliph's cause, temporarily stopped the Hindu-Muslim communal violence. It offered evidence of inter-communal harmony in joint Rowlatt *satyagraha* demonstration rallies, raising Gandhi's stature as the political leader to the British.<sup>[100][101]</sup> His support for the Khilafat movement also helped him sideline Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who had announced his opposition to the *satyagraha* non-cooperation movement approach of Gandhi. Jinnah began creating his independent support, and later went on to lead the demand for West and East Pakistan.<sup>[102][103]</sup>

By the end of 1922 the Khilafat movement had collapsed.<sup>[104]</sup> Turkey's Ataturk had ended the Caliphate, Khilafat movement ended, and Muslim support for Gandhi largely evaporated.<sup>[96][97]</sup> Muslim leaders and delegates abandoned Gandhi and his Congress.<sup>[105]</sup> Hindu-Muslim communal conflicts reignited. Deadly religious riots re-appeared in numerous cities, with 91 in

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh alone.<sup>[106][107]</sup>

## Non-co-operation

*Main article: Non-co-operation movement*

With his book *Hind Swaraj* (1909) Gandhi, aged 40, declared that British rule was established in India with the co-operation of Indians and had survived only because of this co-operation. If Indians refused to co-operate, British rule would collapse and swaraj would come.<sup>[108]</sup>

In February 1919, Gandhi cautioned the Viceroy of India with a cable communication that if the British were to pass the Rowlatt Act, he will appeal Indians to start civil disobedience.<sup>[109]</sup> The British government ignored him, passed the law stating it will not yield to threats. The *satyagraha* civil disobedience followed, with people assembling to protest the Rowlatt Act. On 30 March 1919, British law officers opened fire on an assembly of unarmed people, peacefully gathered, participating in *satyagraha* in Delhi.<sup>[109]</sup> People rioted in retaliation. On 6 April 1919, a Hindu festival day, he asked a crowd to remember not to injure or kill British people, but express their frustration with peace, to boycott British goods and burn any British clothing they own. He emphasised the use of non-violence to the British and towards each other, even if the other side uses violence. Communities across India announced plans to gather in greater numbers to protest. Government warned him to not enter Delhi. Gandhi defied the order. On 9 April, Gandhi was arrested.<sup>[109]</sup> People rioted. On 13 April 1919, people including women with children gathered in an Amritsar park, and a British officer named Reginald Dyer surrounded them and ordered his troops to fire on them. The resulting Jallianwala Bagh massacre (or Amritsar massacre) of hundreds of Sikh and Hindu civilians enraged the subcontinent, but was cheered by some Britons and parts of the British media as an appropriate response. Gandhi in Ahmedabad, on the day after the massacre in Amritsar, did not criticise the British and instead criticised his fellow countrymen for not exclusively using love to deal with the hate of the British government.<sup>[109]</sup> Gandhi demanded that people stop all violence, stop all property destruction, and went on fast-to-death to pressure Indians to stop their rioting.<sup>[110]</sup>



Sabarmati Ashram, Gandhi's home in Gujarat is now a museum (photographed in 2006).

The massacre and Gandhi's non-violent response to it moved many, but also made some Sikhs and Hindus upset that Dyer was getting away with murder. Investigation committees were formed by the British, which Gandhi asked Indians to boycott.<sup>[109]</sup> The unfolding events, the massacre and the British response, led Gandhi to the belief that Indians will never get a fair equal treatment under British rulers, and he shifted his attention to *Swaraj* or self rule and political independence for India.<sup>[111]</sup> In 1921, Gandhi was the leader of the Indian National Congress.<sup>[97]</sup> He reorganised the Congress. With Congress now behind him, and Muslim support triggered by his backing the Khilafat movement to restore the Caliph in Turkey,<sup>[97]</sup> Gandhi had the political support and the attention of the British Raj.<sup>[99][94][96]</sup>

Gandhi expanded his nonviolent non-co-operation platform to include the swadeshi policy—the boycott of foreign-made goods, especially British goods. Linked to this was his advocacy that *khadi* (homespun cloth) be worn by all Indians instead of British-made textiles. Gandhi exhorted Indian men and women, rich or poor, to spend time each day spinning *khadi* in support of the independence movement.<sup>[112]</sup> In addition to boycotting British products, Gandhi urged the people to boycott British institutions and law courts, to resign from government employment, and to forsake British titles and honours. Gandhi thus began his journey aimed at crippling the British India government economically, politically and administratively.<sup>[113]</sup>



Gandhi spinning yarn, in the late 1920s

The appeal of "Non-cooperation" grew, its social popularity drew participation from all strata of Indian society. Gandhi was arrested on 10 March 1922, tried for sedition, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He began his sentence on 18 March 1922. With Gandhi isolated in prison, the Indian National Congress split into two factions, one led by Chitta Ranjan Das and Motilal Nehru favouring party participation in the legislatures, and the other led by Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, opposing this move.<sup>[114]</sup> Furthermore, co-operation among Hindus and Muslims ended as Khilafat movement collapsed with the rise of Ataturk in Turkey. Muslim leaders left the Congress and began forming Muslim organisations. The political base behind Gandhi had broken into factions. Gandhi was released in February 1924 for an appendicitis operation, having served only two years.<sup>[115]</sup>

### Salt Satyagraha (Salt March)

*Main article: Salt Satyagraha*



0:00

Original footage of Gandhi and his followers marching to Dandi in the Salt Satyagraha

After his early release from prison for political crimes in 1924, over the second half of the 1920s, Gandhi continued to pursue *swaraj*. He pushed through a resolution at the Calcutta Congress in December 1928 calling on the British government to grant India dominion status or face a new campaign of non-co-operation with complete independence for the country as its goal.<sup>[116]</sup> After his support for the World War I with Indian combat troops, and the failure of Khilafat movement in preserving the rule of Caliph in Turkey, followed by a collapse in Muslim support for his leadership, some such as Subhas Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh questioned his values and non-violent approach.<sup>[96][117]</sup> While many Hindu leaders championed a demand for immediate independence, Gandhi revised his own call to a one-year wait, instead of two.<sup>[116]</sup>

The British did not respond favourably to Gandhi's proposal. British political leaders such as Lord Birkenhead and Winston Churchill announced opposition to "the appeasers of Gandhi", in their discussions with European diplomats who sympathised with Indian demands.<sup>[118]</sup> On 31 December 1929, the flag of India was unfurled in Lahore. Gandhi led Congress celebrated 26 January 1930 as India's Independence Day in Lahore. This day was commemorated by almost every other Indian organisation. Gandhi then launched a new Satyagraha against the tax on salt in March 1930. This was highlighted by the famous Salt March to Dandi from 12 March to 6 April, where he marched 388 kilometres (241 mi) from Ahmedabad to Dandi, Gujarat to make salt himself. Thousands of Indians joined him on this march to the sea. This campaign was one of his most successful at upsetting British hold on India; Britain responded by imprisoning over 60,000 people.<sup>[119]</sup>

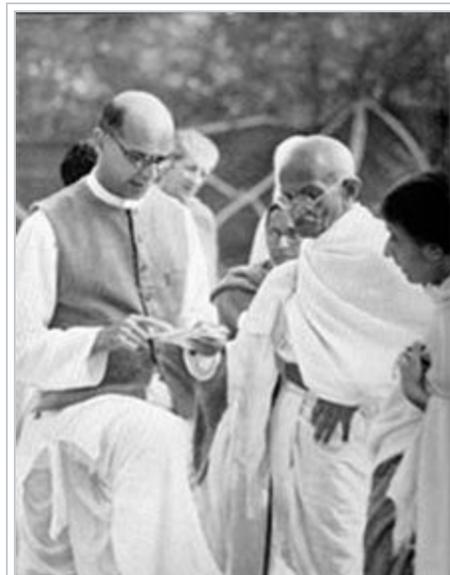
According to Sarma, Gandhi recruited women to participate in the salt tax campaigns and the boycott of foreign products, which gave many women a new self-confidence and dignity in the mainstream of Indian public life.<sup>[120]</sup> However, other scholars such as Marilyn French state that Gandhi barred women from joining his civil disobedience movement because he feared he would be accused of using women as political shield.<sup>[121]</sup> When women insisted that they join the movement and public demonstrations, according to Thapar-Bjorkert, Gandhi asked the volunteers to get permissions of their guardians and only those women who can arrange child-care should join him.<sup>[122]</sup> Regardless of Gandhi's apprehensions and views, Indian women joined the Salt March by

the thousands to defy the British salt taxes and monopoly on salt mining. After Gandhi's arrest, the women marched and picketed shops on their own, accepting violence and verbal abuse from British authorities for the cause in a manner Gandhi inspired.<sup>[121]</sup>

### Gandhi as folk hero

According to Atlury Murali, Indian Congress in the 1920s appealed to Andhra Pradesh peasants by creating Telugu language plays that combined Indian mythology and legends, linked them to Gandhi's ideas, and portrayed Gandhi as a messiah, a reincarnation of ancient and medieval Indian nationalist leaders and saints. The plays built support among peasants steeped in traditional Hindu culture, according to Murali, and this effort made Gandhi a folk hero in Telugu speaking villages, a sacred messiah-like figure.<sup>[123]</sup>

According to Dennis Dalton, it was the ideas that were responsible for his wide following. Gandhi criticised Western civilisation as one driven by "brute force and immorality", contrasting it with his categorisation of Indian civilisation as one driven by "soul force and morality".<sup>[124]</sup> Gandhi captured the imagination of the people of his heritage with his ideas about winning "hate with love". These ideas are evidenced in his pamphlets from the 1890s, in South Africa, where too he was popular among the Indian indentured workers. After he returned to India, people flocked to him because he reflected their values.<sup>[124]</sup>



Mahadev Desai (left) was Gandhi's personal assistant, both at Birla House, Bombay, 7 April 1939



Indian workers on strike in support of Gandhi in 1930.

Gandhi also campaigned hard going from one rural corner of the Indian subcontinent to another. He used terminology and phrases such as Rama-rajya from Ramayana, Prahlada as a paradigmatic icon, and such cultural symbols as another facet of swaraj and satyagraha.<sup>[125]</sup> These ideas sounded strange outside India, during his lifetime, but they readily and deeply resonated with the culture and historic values of his people.<sup>[124][126]</sup>

### Negotiations

The government, represented by Lord Irwin, decided to negotiate with Gandhi. The Gandhi–Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931. The British Government agreed to free all political prisoners, in return for the suspension of the civil disobedience movement. According to the pact, Gandhi was invited to attend the Round Table Conference in London for discussions and as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. The conference was a disappointment to Gandhi and the nationalists. Gandhi expected to discuss India's independence, while the British side focused on the Indian princes and Indian minorities rather than on a transfer of power. Lord Irwin's successor, Lord Willingdon, took a hard line against India as an independent nation, began a new campaign of controlling and subduing the nationalist movement. Gandhi was again arrested, and the government tried and failed to negate his influence by completely isolating him from his followers.<sup>[127]</sup>

In Britain, Winston Churchill, a prominent Conservative politician who was then out of office but later became its prime minister, became a vigorous and articulate critic of Gandhi and opponent of his long-term plans. Churchill often ridiculed Gandhi, saying in a widely reported 1931 speech:

It is alarming and also nauseating to see Mr Gandhi, a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the Vice-regal palace....to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor.<sup>[128]</sup>

Churchill bitterness against Gandhi grew in the 1930s. He called Gandhi as the one who was "seditious in aim" whose evil genius and multiform menace was attacking the British empire. Churchill called him a dictator, a "Hindu Mussolini", fomenting a race war, trying to replace the Raj with Brahmin cronies, playing on the ignorance of Indian masses, all for selfish gain.<sup>[129]</sup> Churchill attempted to isolate Gandhi, and his criticism of Gandhi was widely covered by European and American press. It gained Churchill sympathetic support, but it also increased support for Gandhi among Europeans. The developments heightened Churchill's anxiety that the "British themselves would give up out of pacifism and misplaced conscience".<sup>[129]</sup>

### Round Table Conferences

During the discussions between Gandhi and the British government over 1931–32 at the Round Table Conferences, Gandhi, now aged about 62, sought constitutional reforms as a preparation to the end of colonial British rule, and begin the self-rule by Indians.<sup>[130]</sup> The British side sought reforms that would keep Indian subcontinent as a colony. The British negotiators proposed constitutional reforms on a British Dominion model that established separate electorates based on religious and social divisions. The British questioned Congress party and Gandhi's authority to speak for all of India.<sup>[131]</sup> They invited Indian religious leaders, such as Muslims and Sikhs, to press their demands along religious lines, as well as B. R. Ambedkar as the representative leader of the untouchables.<sup>[130]</sup> Gandhi vehemently opposed a constitution that enshrined rights or representations based on communal divisions, because he feared that it would not bring people together but divide them, perpetuate their status and divert the attention from India's struggle to end the colonial rule.<sup>[132][133]</sup>

After Gandhi returned from Second Round Table conference, he started a new *satyagraha*. He was arrested and imprisoned at the Yerwada Jail, Pune. While he was in prison, the British government enacted a new law that granted untouchables a separate electorate. It came to be known as the Communal Award.<sup>[134]</sup> In protest, Gandhi started fast-unto-death, while he was held in prison.<sup>[135]</sup> The resulting public outcry forced the government, in consultations with Ambedkar, to replace the Communal Award with a compromise Poona Pact.<sup>[136][137]</sup>

### Congress politics

In 1934 Gandhi resigned from Congress party membership. He did not disagree with the party's position but felt that if he resigned, his popularity with Indians would cease to stifle the party's membership, which actually varied, including communists, socialists, trade unionists, students, religious conservatives, and those with pro-business convictions, and that these various voices would get a chance to make themselves heard. Gandhi also wanted to avoid being a target for Raj propaganda by leading a party that had temporarily accepted political accommodation with the Raj.<sup>[138]</sup>

Gandhi returned to active politics again in 1936, with the Nehru presidency and the Lucknow session of the Congress. Although Gandhi wanted a total focus on the task of winning independence and not speculation about India's future, he did not restrain the Congress from adopting socialism as its goal. Gandhi had a clash with Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been elected president in 1938, and who had previously expressed a lack of faith in nonviolence as a means of protest.<sup>[139]</sup> Despite Gandhi's opposition, Bose won a second term as Congress President, against Gandhi's nominee, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; but left the Congress when the All-India leaders resigned en masse in protest of his abandonment of the principles introduced by Gandhi.<sup>[140][141]</sup> Gandhi declared that Sitaramayya's defeat was his defeat.<sup>[142]</sup>

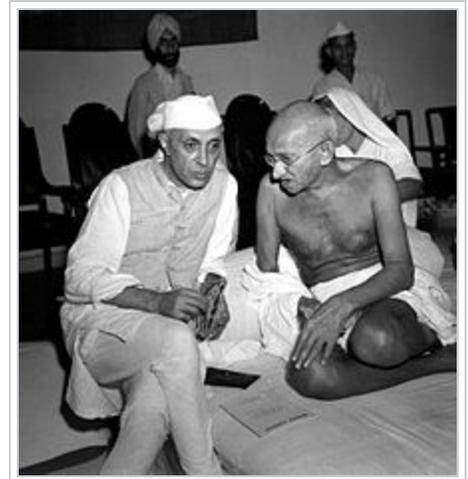
### World War II and Quit India movement

### Main article: Quit India Movement

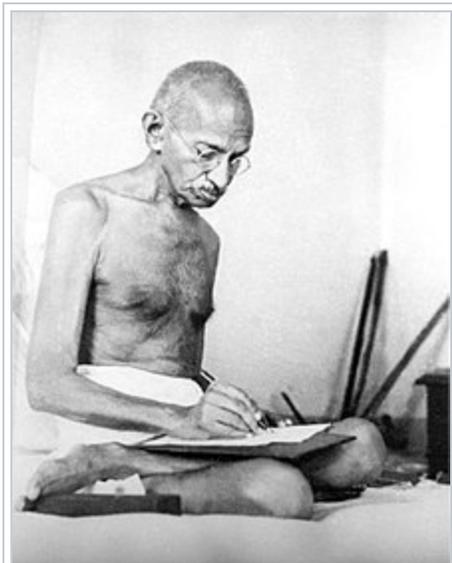
Gandhi opposed providing any help to the British war effort and he campaigned against any Indian participation in the World War II.<sup>[143]</sup> Gandhi's campaign did not enjoy the support of Indian masses and many Indian leaders such as Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad. His campaign was a failure.<sup>[143]</sup> Over 2.5 million Indians ignored Gandhi, volunteered and joined the British military to fight on various fronts of the allied forces.<sup>[143]</sup>

Gandhi opposition to the Indian participation in the World War II was motivated by his belief that India could not be party to a war ostensibly being fought for democratic freedom while that freedom was denied to India itself.<sup>[144]</sup> He also condemned Nazism and Fascism, a view which won endorsement of other Indian leaders. As the war progressed, Gandhi intensified his demand for independence, calling for the British to *Quit India* in a 1942 speech in Mumbai.<sup>[145]</sup> This was Gandhi's and the Congress Party's most definitive revolt aimed at securing the British exit from India.<sup>[146]</sup> The British government responded quickly to the Quit India speech, and within hours after Gandhi's speech arrested Gandhi and all the members of the Congress Working Committee.<sup>[147]</sup> His countrymen retaliated the arrests by damaging or burning down hundreds of government owned railway stations, police stations, and cutting down telegraph wires.<sup>[148]</sup>

In 1942, Gandhi now nearing age 73, urged his people to completely stop co-operating with the imperial government. In this effort, he urged that they neither kill nor injure British people, but be willing to suffer and die if violence is initiated by the British officials.<sup>[145]</sup> He clarified that the movement would not be stopped because of any individual acts of violence, saying that the "ordered anarchy" of "the present system of administration" was "worse than real anarchy."<sup>[149][150]</sup> He urged Indians to *Karo ya maro* ("Do or die") in the cause of their rights and freedoms.<sup>[145][151]</sup>



Nehru and Gandhi in 1942



Gandhi in 1942, the year he launched Quit India movement

Gandhi's arrest lasted two years, as he was held in the Aga Khan Palace in Pune. During this period, his long time secretary Mahadev Desai died of a heart attack, his wife Kasturba died after 18 months' imprisonment on 22 February 1944; and Gandhi suffered a severe malaria attack.<sup>[148]</sup> While in Jail, he agreed to an interview with Stuart Gelder, a British journalist. Gelder then composed and released an interview summary, cabled it to the mainstream press, that announced sudden concessions Gandhi was willing to make, comments that shocked his countrymen, the Congress workers and even Gandhi. The latter two claimed that it distorted what Gandhi actually said on a range of topics and falsely repudiated the Quit India movement.<sup>[148]</sup>

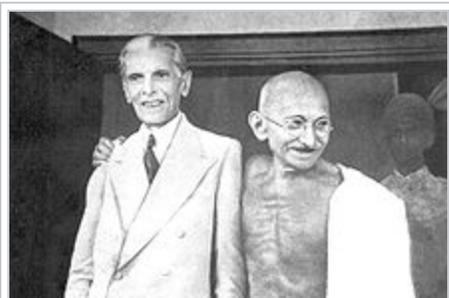
Gandhi was released before the end of the war on 6 May 1944 because of his failing health and necessary surgery; the Raj did not want him to die in prison and enrage the nation. He came out of detention to an altered political scene—the Muslim League for example, which a few years earlier had appeared marginal, "now occupied the centre of the political stage"<sup>[152]</sup> and the topic of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's campaign for Pakistan was a major talking point. Gandhi and Jinnah had extensive correspondence in 1944, where Gandhi insisted on a united

religiously plural India which included Muslims and non-Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. Jinnah rejected this proposal and insisted instead for partitioning the subcontinent on religious lines to create a separate Muslim India (later Pakistan).<sup>[10][153]</sup> These discussions continued through 1947.<sup>[154]</sup>

While the leaders of Congress languished in jail, the other parties supported the war and gained organizational strength. Underground publications flailed at the ruthless suppression of Congress, but it had little control over events.<sup>[155]</sup> At the end of the war, the British gave clear indications that power would be transferred to Indian hands. At this point Gandhi called off the struggle, and around 100,000 political prisoners were released, including the Congress's leadership.<sup>[156]</sup>

## Partition and independence

See also: *Partition of India*



Gandhi with Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1944.

Gandhi opposed partition of the Indian subcontinent along religious lines.<sup>[157]</sup> The Indian National Congress and Gandhi called for the British to Quit India. However, the Muslim League demanded "Divide and Quit India".<sup>[158][159]</sup> Gandhi suggested an agreement which required the Congress and the Muslim League to co-operate and attain independence under a provisional government, thereafter, the question of partition could be resolved by a plebiscite in the districts with a Muslim majority.<sup>[160]</sup>

Jinnah rejected Gandhi's proposal and called for Direct Action Day, on 16 August 1946, to press Muslims to publicly gather in cities and support his proposal for partition of Indian subcontinent into a Muslim state and non-Muslim state. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Muslim League Chief Minister of Bengal – now Bangladesh and West Bengal, gave Calcutta's police special holiday to celebrate the Direct Action Day.<sup>[161]</sup> The Direct Action Day triggered a mass murder of Calcutta Hindus and the torching of their property, and holidaying police were missing to contain or stop the conflict.<sup>[162]</sup> The British government did not order its army to move in to contain the violence.<sup>[161]</sup> The violence on Direct Action Day led to retaliatory violence against Muslims across India. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims were murdered, and tens of thousands were injured in the cycle of violence in the days that followed.<sup>[163]</sup> Gandhi visited the most riot-prone areas to appeal a stop to the massacres.<sup>[162]</sup>

Archibald Wavell, the Viceroy and Governor-General of British India for three years through February 1947, had worked with Gandhi and Jinnah to find a common ground, before and after accepting Indian independence in principle. Wavell condemned Gandhi's character and motives as well as his ideas. Wavell accused Gandhi of harbouring the single minded idea to "overthrow British rule and influence and to establish a Hindu raj", and called Gandhi a "malignant, malevolent, exceedingly shrewd" politician.<sup>[164]</sup> Wavell feared a civil war on the Indian subcontinent, and doubted Gandhi would be able to stop it.<sup>[164]</sup>

The British reluctantly agreed to grant independence to the people of the Indian subcontinent, but accepted Jinnah's proposal of partitioning the land into Pakistan and India. Gandhi was involved in the final negotiations. Stanley Wolpert states the "plan to carve up British India was never approved of or accepted by Gandhi".<sup>[165]</sup>



Gandhi in 1947, with Lord Louis Mountbatten, Britain's last Viceroy of India, and his wife Edwina Mountbatten.

The partition was controversial and violently disputed. More than half a million were killed in religious riots as 10–12 million non-Muslims (Hindus, Sikhs mostly) migrated from Pakistan into India, and Muslims migrated from India into Pakistan, across the newly created borders of India, West Pakistan and East Pakistan.<sup>[166]</sup>

Gandhi spent the day of independence not celebrating the end of the British rule, but appealing for peace among his countrymen by fasting and spinning in Calcutta on 15 August 1947. The partition had gripped the Indian subcontinent with religious violence and the streets were filled with corpses.<sup>[167]</sup> Some writers credit Gandhi's fasting and protests stopped the religious riots and communal violence. Others do not. Archibald Wavell, for example, upon learning of Gandhi's assassination, commented, "I always thought he [Gandhi] had more of malevolence than benevolence in him, but who am I to judge, and how can an Englishman estimate a Hindu?"<sup>[164]</sup>

## Assassination

*Main article: Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi*

At 5:17 pm on 30 January 1948, Gandhi was with his grandnieces in the garden of the former Birla House (now Gandhi Smriti), on his way to address a prayer meeting, when Nathuram Godse fired three bullets from a Beretta 9 mm pistol into his chest at point-blank range. According to some accounts, Gandhi died on the spot.<sup>[168][169]</sup> In other accounts, such as one prepared by an eyewitness journalist, Gandhi was carried into the Birla House, into a bedroom. There he died about 30 minutes later as one of Gandhi's family members read verses from Hindu scriptures.<sup>[170]</sup>

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addressed his countrymen over the All-India Radio saying:<sup>[171]</sup>

Friends and comrades, the light has gone out of our lives, and there is darkness everywhere, and I do not quite know what to tell you or how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the father of the nation, is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that; nevertheless, we will not see him again, as we have seen him for these many years, we will not run to him for advice or seek solace from him, and that is a terrible blow, not only for me, but for millions and millions in this country.<sup>[172]</sup>



Memorial where Gandhi was assassinated in 1948. His stylised footsteps lead to the memorial.

Gandhi's assassin Godse made no attempt to escape and was seized by the witnesses. He was arrested. In the weeks that followed, his collaborators were arrested as well.<sup>[173][174]</sup> Godse was a Hindu nationalist with links to the extremist Hindu Mahasabha.<sup>[175]</sup> They were tried in court at Delhi's Red Fort. At his trial, Godse did not deny the charges nor express any remorse. According to Claude Markovits, a French historian noted for his studies of colonial India, Godse stated that he killed Gandhi because of his complacency towards Muslims, holding Gandhi responsible for the frenzy of violence and sufferings during the subcontinent's partition into Pakistan and India. Godse accused Gandhi of subjectivism and of acting as if only he had a monopoly of the truth. Godse was found guilty and executed in 1949.<sup>[176][177]</sup>

Gandhi's death was mourned nationwide. Over two million people joined the five-mile long funeral procession that took over five hours to reach Raj Ghat from Birla house, where he was assassinated. Gandhi's body was transported on a weapons carrier, whose chassis was dismantled overnight to allow a high-floor to be installed so that people could catch a glimpse of his body. The engine of the vehicle was not used; instead four

drag-ropes manned by 50 people each pulled the vehicle.<sup>[179]</sup> All Indian-owned establishments in London remained closed in mourning as thousands of people from all faiths and denominations and Indians from all over Britain converged at India House in London.<sup>[180]</sup>

Gandhi's assassination dramatically changed the political landscape. Nehru became his political heir. According to Markovits, while Gandhi was alive, Pakistan's declaration that it was a "Muslim state" had led Indian groups to demand that it be declared a "Hindu state".<sup>[176]</sup> Nehru used Gandhi's martyrdom as a political weapon to silence all advocates of Hindu nationalism as well as his political challengers. He linked Gandhi's assassination to politics of hatred and ill-will.<sup>[176]</sup>

According to Guha, Nehru and his Congress colleagues called on Indians to honour Gandhi's memory and even more his ideals.<sup>[181][182]</sup> Nehru used the assassination to consolidate the authority of the new Indian state. Gandhi's death helped marshal support for the new government and legitimise the Congress Party's control, leveraged by the massive outpouring of Hindu expressions of grief for a man who had inspired them for decades. The government suppressed the RSS, the Muslim National Guards, and the Khaksars, with some 200,000 arrests.<sup>[183]</sup>

For years after the assassination, states Markovits, "Gandhi's shadow loomed large over the political life of the new Indian Republic". The government quelled any opposition to its economic and social policies, despite they being contrary to Gandhi's ideas, by reconstructing Gandhi's image and ideals.<sup>[184]</sup>

### Funeral and memorials

Gandhi was cremated per the Hindu tradition. Gandhi's ashes were poured into urns which were sent across India for memorial services.<sup>[185]</sup> Most of the ashes were immersed at the Sangam at Allahabad on 12 February 1948, but some were secretly taken away. In 1997, Tushar Gandhi immersed the contents of one urn, found in a bank vault and reclaimed through the courts, at the Sangam at Allahabad.<sup>[186][187]</sup> Some of Gandhi's ashes were scattered at the source of the Nile River near Jinja, Uganda, and a memorial plaque marks the event. On 30 January 2008, the contents of another urn were immersed at Girgaum Chowpatty. Another urn is at the palace of the Aga Khan in Pune (where Gandhi was held as a political prisoner from 1942 to 1944) and another in the Self-Realization Fellowship Lake Shrine in Los Angeles.<sup>[186][188]</sup>

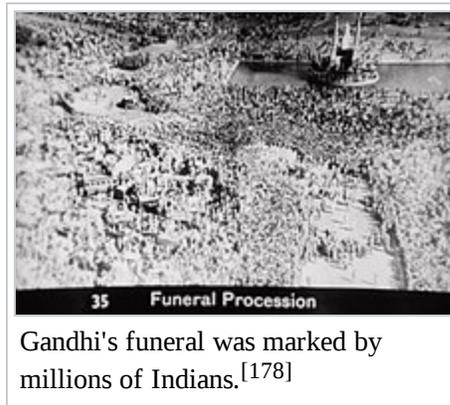
The Birla House site where Gandhi was assassinated is now a memorial called Gandhi Smriti. The place near Yamuna river where he was cremated is the Rāj Ghāt memorial in New Delhi.<sup>[189]</sup> A black marble platform, it bears the epigraph "Hē Rāma" (Devanagari: हे राम! हे राम or, *Hey Raam*). These are widely believed to be Gandhi's last words after he was shot, though the veracity of this statement has been disputed.<sup>[190]</sup>

## Principles, practices and beliefs

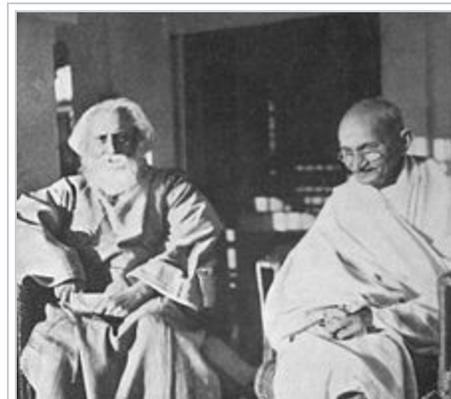
---

Gandhi's statements, letters and life have attracted much political and scholarly analysis of his principles, practices and beliefs, including what influenced him. Some writers present him as a paragon of ethical living and pacifism, others present him as a more complex, contradictory and evolving character influenced by his culture and circumstances.<sup>[191][192]</sup>

### Influences



Gandhi grew up in a Hindu and Jain religious atmosphere in his native Gujarat which were his primary influences, but he was also influenced by his personal reflections and literature of Hindu Bhakti saints, Advaita Vedanta, Buddhism, Christianity and thinkers such as Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau.<sup>[193][194]</sup> He, at age 57, declared himself to be Advaitist Hindu in his religious persuasion, but added that he supported Dvaitist viewpoints and religious pluralism.<sup>[195][196][197]</sup>



Gandhi with poet Rabindranath Tagore, 1940

Gandhi was influenced by his devout Vaishnava Hindu mother, the regional Hindu temples and saint tradition which co-existed with Jain tradition in Gujarat.<sup>[193][198]</sup> Historian R.B. Cribb states that Gandhi's thought evolved over time, with his early ideas becoming the core or scaffolding for his mature philosophy. He committed himself early to truthfulness, temperance, chastity, and vegetarianism.<sup>[199]</sup>

Gandhi's London lifestyle incorporated the values he has grown up with. When he returned to India in 1891, his outlook was parochial and he could not make a living as a lawyer. This challenged his belief that practicality and morality necessarily coincided. By moving in 1893 to South Africa he found a solution to this problem and developed the central concepts of his mature philosophy.<sup>[200]</sup>

According to Bhikhu Parekh, three books that influenced Gandhi most in South Africa were William Salter's Ethical Religion (1889); Henry David Thoreau's On the Duty of Civil Disobedience (1849); and Leo Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God Is Within You (1894). Ruskin inspired his decision to live an austere life on a commune, at first on the Phoenix Farm in Natal and then on the Tolstoy Farm just outside Johannesburg, South Africa.<sup>[56]</sup> The most profound influence on Gandhi were those from Hinduism, Christianity and Jainism, states Parekh, with his thoughts "in harmony with the classical Indian traditions, specially the Advaita or monistic tradition".<sup>[201]</sup>

According to Indira Carr and others, Gandhi was influenced by Vaishnavism, Jainism and Advaita Vedanta.<sup>[202][203]</sup> Balkrishna Gokhale states that Gandhi was influenced by Hinduism and Jainism, and his studies of Sermon on the Mount of Christianity, Ruskin and Tolstoy.<sup>[204]</sup>

Additional theories of possible influences on Gandhi have been proposed. For example, in 1935, N. A. Toothi stated that Gandhi was influenced by the reforms and teachings of the Swaminarayan tradition of Hinduism. According to Raymond Williams, Toothi may have overlooked the influence of the Jain community, and adds close parallels do exist in programs of social reform in the Swaminarayan tradition and those of Gandhi, based on "nonviolence, truth-telling, cleanliness, temperance and upliftment of the masses."<sup>[205][206]</sup> Historian Howard states the culture of Gujarat influenced Gandhi and his methods.<sup>[207]</sup>

## Tolstoy

Along with the book mentioned above, in 1908 Leo Tolstoy wrote A Letter to a Hindu, which said that only by using love as a weapon through passive resistance could the Indian people overthrow colonial rule. In 1909, Gandhi wrote to Tolstoy seeking advice and permission to republish A Letter to a Hindu in Gujarati. Tolstoy responded and the two continued a correspondence until Tolstoy's death in 1910 (Tolstoy's last letter was to Gandhi).<sup>[208]</sup> The letters concern practical and theological applications of nonviolence.<sup>[209]</sup> Gandhi saw himself a disciple of Tolstoy, for they agreed regarding opposition to state authority and colonialism; both hated violence and preached non-resistance. However, they differed sharply on political strategy. Gandhi called

for political involvement; he was a nationalist and was prepared to use nonviolent force. He was also willing to compromise.<sup>[210]</sup> It was at Tolstoy Farm where Gandhi and Hermann Kallenbach systematically trained their disciples in the philosophy of nonviolence.<sup>[211]</sup>



Mohandas K. Gandhi and other residents of Tolstoy Farm, South Africa, 1910

## Shrimad Rajchandra

Gandhi credited Shrimad Rajchandra, a poet and Jain philosopher, as his influential counsellor. In *Modern Review*, June 1930, Gandhi wrote about their first encounter in 1891 at Dr. P.J. Mehta's residence in Bombay. Gandhi exchanged letters with Rajchandra when he was in South Africa, referring to him as *Kavi* (literally, "poet"). In 1930, Gandhi wrote, "Such was the man who captivated my heart in religious matters as no other man ever has till now."<sup>[212]</sup> I have said elsewhere that in moulding my inner life Tolstoy and Ruskin vied with Kavi. But Kavi's influence was undoubtedly deeper if only because I had come in closest personal touch with him.<sup>[213]</sup>

Gandhi, in his autobiography, called Rajchandra his "guide and helper" and his "refuge... in moments of spiritual crisis". He had advised Gandhi to be patient and to study Hinduism deeply.<sup>[214][215][216]</sup>

## Religious texts

During his stay in South Africa, along with scriptures and philosophical texts of Hinduism and other Indian religions, Gandhi read translated texts of Christianity such as the Bible, and Islam such as the Quran.<sup>[217]</sup> A Quaker mission in South Africa attempted to convert him to Christianity. Gandhi joined them in their prayers and debated Christian theology with them, but refused conversion stating he did not accept the theology therein or that Christ was the only son of God.<sup>[217][218][219]</sup>

His comparative studies of religions and interaction with scholars, led him to respect all religions as well as become concerned about imperfections in all of them and frequent misinterpretations.<sup>[217]</sup> Gandhi grew fond of Hinduism, and referred to the *Bhagavad Gita* as his spiritual dictionary and greatest single influence on his life.<sup>[217][220][221]</sup>

## On wars and nonviolence

### Support for Wars

Gandhi participated in South African war against the Boers, on the British side in 1899.<sup>[222]</sup> Both the Dutch settlers called Boers and the imperial British at that time discriminated against the coloured races they considered as inferior, and Gandhi later wrote about his conflicted beliefs during the Boer war. He stated that "when the war was declared, my personal sympathies were all with the Boers, but my loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war". According to Gandhi, he felt that since he was demanding his rights as a British citizen, it was also his duty to serve the British forces in the defence of the British Empire.<sup>[223][224]</sup>

During World War I (1914–1918), nearing the age of 50, Gandhi supported the British and its allied forces by recruiting Indians to join the British army, expanding the Indian contingent from about 100,000 to over 1.1 million.<sup>[93][222]</sup> He encouraged his people to fight on one side of the war in Europe and Africa at the cost of their lives.<sup>[222]</sup> Pacifists criticised and questioned Gandhi, who defended these practices by stating, according to Sankar Ghose, "it would be madness for me to sever my connection with the society to which I belong".<sup>[222]</sup> According to Keith Robbins, the recruitment effort was in part motivated by the British

promise to reciprocate the help with *swaraj* (self-government) to Indians after the end of World War I.<sup>[92]</sup> After the war, the British government offered minor reforms instead, which disappointed Gandhi.<sup>[93]</sup> He launched his *satyagraha* movement in 1919. In parallel, Gandhi's fellowmen became sceptical of his pacifist ideas and were inspired by the ideas of nationalism and anti-imperialism.<sup>[225]</sup>

In a 1920 essay, after the World War I, Gandhi wrote, "where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence." Rahul Sagar interprets Gandhi's efforts to recruit for the British military during the War, as Gandhi's belief that, at that time, it would demonstrate that Indians were willing to fight. Further, it would also show the British that his fellow Indians were "their subjects by choice rather than out of cowardice." In 1922, Gandhi wrote that abstinence from violence is effective and true forgiveness only when one has the power to punish, not when one decides not to do anything because one is helpless.<sup>[226]</sup>

After World War II engulfed Britain, Gandhi actively campaigned to oppose any help to the British war effort and any Indian participation in the war. According to Arthur Herman, Gandhi believed that his campaign would strike a blow to imperialism.<sup>[143]</sup> Gandhi's position was not supported by many Indian leaders, and his campaign against the British war effort was a failure. The Hindu leader, Tej Bahadur Sapru declared in 1941, states Herman, "A good many Congress leaders are fed up with the barren program of the Mahatma".<sup>[143]</sup> Over 2.5 million Indians ignored Gandhi, volunteered and joined on the British side. They fought and died as a part of the allied forces in Europe, North Africa and various fronts of the World War II.<sup>[143]</sup>

## Truth and Satyagraha



"God is truth. The way to truth lies through ahimsa (nonviolence)" — Sabarmati 13 March 1927

Gandhi dedicated his life to discovering and pursuing truth, or *Satya*, and called his movement as *satyagraha*, which means "appeal to, insistence on, or reliance on the Truth".<sup>[227]</sup> The first formulation of the *satyagraha* as a political movement and principle occurred in 1920, which he tabled as "Resolution on Non-cooperation" in September that year before a session of the Indian Congress. It



Plaque displaying one of Gandhi's quote on rumour

was the *satyagraha* formulation and step, states Dennis Dalton, that deeply resonated with beliefs and culture of his people, embedded him into the popular consciousness, transforming him quickly into Mahatma.<sup>[228]</sup>

Gandhi based *Satyagraha* on the Vedantic ideal of self-realization, ahimsa (nonviolence), vegetarianism, and universal love. William Borman states that the key to his *satyagraha* is rooted in the Hindu Upanishadic texts.<sup>[229]</sup> According to Indira Carr, Gandhi's ideas on *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* were founded on the philosophical foundations of Advaita Vedanta.<sup>[230]</sup> I. Bruce Watson states that some of these ideas are found not only in traditions within Hinduism, but also in Jainism or Buddhism, particularly those about non-violence, vegetarianism and universal love, but Gandhi's synthesis was to politicise these ideas.<sup>[231]</sup> Gandhi's concept of *satya* as a civil movement, states Glyn Richards, are best understood in the context of the Hindu terminology of Dharma and Rta.<sup>[232]</sup>

Gandhi stated that the most important battle to fight was overcoming his own demons, fears, and insecurities. Gandhi summarised his beliefs first when he said "God is Truth". He would later change this statement to "Truth is God". Thus, *satya* (truth) in Gandhi's philosophy is "God".<sup>[235]</sup> Gandhi, states Richards, described the term "God" not as a separate power, but as the Being (Brahman, Atman) of the Advaita Vedanta tradition, a nondual universal that pervades in all things, in each person and all life.<sup>[232]</sup> According to Nicholas Gier, this to Gandhi meant the unity of God and humans, that all beings have the same one soul and therefore equality, that *atman* exists and is same as everything in the universe, ahimsa (non-violence) is the very nature of this *atman*.<sup>[236]</sup>

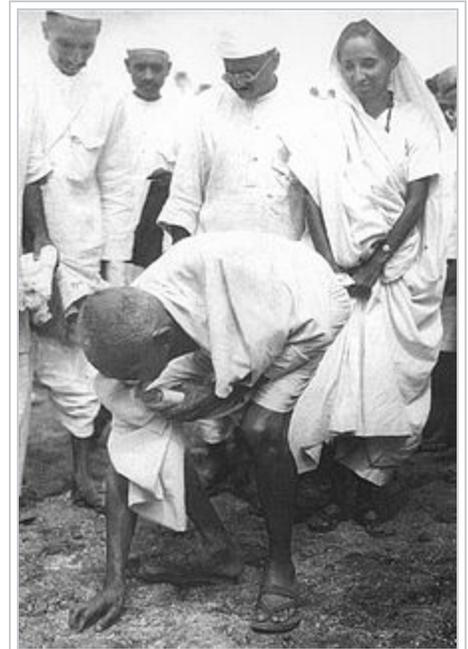
The essence of Satyagraha is "soul force" as a political means, refusing to use brute force against the oppressor, seeking to eliminate antagonisms between the oppressor and the oppressed, aiming to transform or "purify" the oppressor. It is not inaction but determined passive resistance and non-co-operation where, states Arthur Herman, "love conquers hate".<sup>[237]</sup> A euphemism sometimes used for Satyagraha is that it is a "silent force" or a "soul force" (a term also used by Martin Luther King Jr. during his famous "I Have a Dream" speech). It arms the individual with moral power rather than physical power. Satyagraha is also termed a "universal force", as it essentially "makes no distinction between kinsmen and strangers, young and old, man and woman, friend and foe."<sup>[238]</sup>

Gandhi wrote: "There must be no impatience, no barbarity, no insolence, no undue pressure. If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause."<sup>[239]</sup> Civil disobedience and non-co-operation as practised under Satyagraha are based on the "law of suffering",<sup>[240]</sup> a doctrine that *the endurance of suffering is a means to an end*. This end usually implies a moral upliftment or progress of an individual or society. Therefore, non-co-operation in Satyagraha is in fact a means to secure the co-operation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice.<sup>[241]</sup>

While Gandhi's idea of *satyagraha* as a political means attracted a widespread following among Indians, the support was not universal. For example, Muslim leaders such as Jinnah opposed the *satyagraha* idea, accused Gandhi to be reviving Hinduism through political activism, and began effort to counter Gandhi with Muslim nationalism and a demand for Muslim homeland.<sup>[242][243][244]</sup> The untouchability leader Ambedkar, in June 1945, after his decision to convert to Buddhism and a key architect of the Constitution of modern India, dismissed Gandhi's ideas as loved by "blind Hindu devotees", primitive, influenced by spurious brew of Tolstoy and Ruskin, and "there is always some simpleton to preach them".<sup>[245][246]</sup> Winston Churchill caricatured Gandhi as a "cunning huckster" seeking selfish gain, an "aspiring dictator", and an "atavistic spokesman of a pagan Hinduism". Churchill stated that the civil disobedience movement spectacle of Gandhi only increased "the danger to which white people there [British India] are exposed".<sup>[247]</sup>

## Nonviolence

Although Gandhi was not the originator of the principle of nonviolence, he was the first to apply it in the political field on a large scale.<sup>[248]</sup> The concept of nonviolence (*ahimsa*) has a long history in Indian religious thought, with it being considered the highest dharma (ethical value virtue), a precept to be observed towards all living beings (*sarvbhuta*), at all times (*sarvada*), in all respects (*sarvatha*), in action, words and thought.<sup>[249]</sup> Gandhi explains his philosophy and ideas about *ahimsa* as a political means in his autobiography The Story of My Experiments with Truth.<sup>[250][251][252]</sup>



Gandhi picking salt during Salt Satyagraha to defy colonial law giving salt collection monopoly to the British.<sup>[233]</sup> His *satyagraha* attracted vast numbers of Indian men and women.<sup>[234]</sup>

Gandhi was criticised for refusing to protest the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Udham Singh and Rajguru.<sup>[253][254]</sup> He was accused of accepting a deal with the King's representative Irwin that released civil disobedience leaders from prison and accepted the death sentence against the highly popular revolutionary Bhagat Singh, who at his trial had replied, "Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind".<sup>[117]</sup>

Gandhi's views came under heavy criticism in Britain when it was under attack from Nazi Germany, and later when the Holocaust was revealed. He told the British people in 1940, "I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions... If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourselves, man, woman, and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them."<sup>[255]</sup> George Orwell remarked that Gandhi's methods confronted 'an old-fashioned and rather shaky despotism which treated him in a fairly chivalrous way', not a totalitarian Power, 'where political opponents simply disappear'.<sup>[256]</sup>

In a post-war interview in 1946, he said, "Hitler killed five million Jews. It is the greatest crime of our time. But the Jews should have offered themselves to the butcher's knife. They should have thrown themselves into the sea from cliffs... It would have aroused the world and the people of Germany... As it is they succumbed anyway in their millions."<sup>[257]</sup> Gandhi believed this act of "collective suicide", in response to the Holocaust, "would have been heroism".<sup>[258]</sup>

## On inter-religious relations

### Jews

According to Kumaraswamy, Gandhi initially supported Arab demands with respect to Palestine. He justified this support by invoking Islam, stating that "non-Muslims cannot acquire sovereign jurisdiction" in *Jazirat al-Arab* (Arabian Peninsula).<sup>[259]</sup> These arguments, states Kumaraswamy, were a part of his political strategy to win Muslim support during the Khilafat movement. In post-Khilafat period, Gandhi neither negated Jewish demands nor did he use Islamic texts or history to support Muslim claims against Israel. Gandhi's silence after the Khilafat period may represent an evolution in his understanding of the conflicting religious claims over Palestine, according to Kumaraswamy.<sup>[259]</sup> In 1938, Gandhi spoke in favour of Jewish claims. In March 1946, he said to the Member of British Parliament Sidney Silverman, "if the Arabs have a claim to Palestine, the Jews have a prior claim", a position very different from his earlier stance.<sup>[259][260]</sup>

Gandhi discussed the persecution of the Jews in Germany and the emigration of Jews from Europe to Palestine through his lens of Satyagraha.<sup>[167][261]</sup> In 1937, Gandhi discussed Zionism with his close Jewish friend Hermann Kallenbach.<sup>[262]</sup> He said that Zionism was not the right answer to the problems faced by Jews<sup>[263]</sup> and instead recommended Satyagraha. Gandhi thought the Zionists in Palestine represented European imperialism and used violence to achieve their goals; he argued that "the Jews should disclaim any intention of realizing their aspiration under the protection of arms and should rely wholly on the goodwill of Arabs. No exception can possibly be taken to the natural desire of the Jews to find a home in Palestine. But they must wait for its fulfillment till Arab opinion is ripe for it."<sup>[167]</sup>



Gandhi with textile workers at Darwen, Lancashire, 26 September 1931.

In 1938, Gandhi stated that his "sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions." Philosopher Martin Buber was highly critical of Gandhi's approach and in 1939 wrote an open letter to him on the subject. Gandhi reiterated his stance that "the Jews seek to convert the Arab heart", and use "*satyagraha* in confronting the Arabs" in 1947.<sup>[264]</sup> According to Simone Panter-Brick, Gandhi's political position on Jewish-Arab conflict evolved over the 1917-1947 period, shifting from a support for the Arab position first, and for the Jewish position in the 1940s.<sup>[265]</sup>

## Christians

Gandhi criticised as well as praised Christianity. He was critical of Christian missionary efforts in British India, because they mixed medical or education assistance with demands that the beneficiary convert to Christianity.<sup>[266]</sup> According to Gandhi, this was not true "service" but one driven by ulterior motive of luring people into religious conversion and exploiting the economically or medically desperate. It did not lead to inner transformation or moral advance or to the Christian teaching of "love", but was based on false one-sided criticisms of other religions, when Christian societies faced similar problems in South Africa and Europe. It led to the converted person hating his neighbours and others religions, it divided people rather than bringing them closer in compassion. According to Gandhi, "no religious tradition could claim a monopoly over truth or salvation".<sup>[266][267]</sup> Gandhi did not support laws to prohibit missionary activity, but demanded that Christians should first understand the message of Jesus, and then strive to live without stereotyping and misrepresenting other religions. According to Gandhi, the message of Jesus wasn't to humiliate and imperialistically rule over other people considering them inferior or second class or slaves, but that "when the hungry are fed and peace comes to our individual and collective life, then Christ is born".<sup>[268]</sup>

Gandhi believed that his long acquaintance with Christianity had made him like it as well as find it imperfect. He asked Christians to stop humiliating his country and his people as heathens, idolators and other abusive language, and to change their negative views of India. He believed that Christians should introspect on the "true meaning of religion" and get a desire to study and learn from Indian religions in the spirit of universal brotherhood.<sup>[268]</sup> According to Eric Sharpe – a professor of Religious Studies, though Gandhi was born in a Hindu family and later became Hindu by conviction, many Christians in time thought of him as an "exemplary Christian and even as a saint".<sup>[269]</sup>

## Muslims

Gandhi believed there were material contradictions between Hinduism and Islam, and he shared his thoughts on Quran and on Muslims many times.<sup>[270]</sup> He stated in 1925, for example, that he has not criticised the teachings of the Quran, but he does criticise the interpreters of Quran. Gandhi believed that numerous interpreters have interpreted it to fit their preconceived notions.<sup>[271]</sup> He believed Muslims should welcome criticism of Quran, because "every true scripture only gains from criticism". Gandhi criticised Muslims who "betray intolerance of criticism by a non-Muslim of anything related to Islam", such as the penalty of stoning to death under Islamic law. To Gandhi, Islam has "nothing to fear from criticism even if it be unreasonable".<sup>[272][270]</sup> According to him, Islam like communism was too quick in resorting to violence.<sup>[273]</sup>

One of the strategies Gandhi adopted was to work with Muslim leaders of pre-partition India, to oppose the British imperialism in and outside the Indian subcontinent.<sup>[96][97]</sup> After the World War I, in 1919–22, he won Muslim leadership support of Ali Brothers by backing the Khilafat Movement in favour the Islamic Caliph and his historic Ottoman Caliphate, and opposing the secular Islam supporting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. By 1924, Atatürk had ended the Caliphate, the Khilafat Movement was over, and Muslim support for Gandhi had largely evaporated.<sup>[96][274][97]</sup>

In 1925, Gandhi gave another reason to why he got involved in the Khilafat movement and the Middle East affairs between Britain and the Ottoman Empire. Gandhi explained to his co-religionists (Hindu) that he sympathised and campaigned for the Islamic cause, not because he cared for the Sultan, but because "I wanted to enlist the Mussalman's sympathy in the matter of cow protection".<sup>[275]</sup> According to the historian M. Naeem Qureshi, like the then Indian Muslim leaders who had combined religion and politics, Gandhi too imported his religion into his political strategy during the Khilafat movement.<sup>[276]</sup>

In the 1940s, Gandhi pooled ideas with some Muslim leaders who sought religious harmony like him, and opposed the proposed partition of British India into India and Pakistan. For example, his close friend Badshah Khan suggested that they should work towards opening Hindu temples for Muslim prayers, and Islamic mosques for Hindu prayers, to bring the two religious groups closer.<sup>[277]</sup> Gandhi accepted this and began having Muslim prayers read in Hindu temples to play his part, but was unable to get Hindu prayers read in mosques. The Hindu nationalist groups objected and began confronting Gandhi for this one-sided practice, by shouting and demonstrating inside the Hindu temples, in the last years of his life.<sup>[278][177][279]</sup>

### **Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs**

Gandhi believed that Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism were traditions of Hinduism, with shared history, rites and ideas. At other times, he acknowledged that he knew little about Buddhism other than his reading of Edwin Arnold's book on it. Based on that book, he considered Buddhism to be a reform movement and the Buddha to be a Hindu.<sup>[280]</sup> He stated he knew Jainism much more, and he credited Jains to have profoundly influenced him. Sikhism, to Gandhi, was an integral part of Hinduism, in the form of another reform movement. Sikh and Buddhist leaders disagreed with Gandhi, a disagreement Gandhi respected as a difference of opinion.<sup>[280][281]</sup>

## **On life, society and other application of his ideas**

### **Vegetarianism, food, and animals**

Gandhi was brought up as a vegetarian by his devout Hindu mother.<sup>[282][283]</sup> The idea of vegetarianism is deeply ingrained in Hindu Vaishnavism and Jain traditions in India, such as in his native Gujarat, where meat is considered as a form of food obtained by violence to animals.<sup>[284][285]</sup> Gandhi's rationale for vegetarianism was largely along those found in Hindu and Jain texts. Gandhi believed that any form of food inescapably harms some form of living organism, but one should seek to understand and reduce the violence in what one consumes because "there is essential unity of all life".<sup>[283][286]</sup>

Gandhi believed that some life forms are more capable of suffering, and non-violence to him meant not having the intent as well as active efforts to minimise hurt, injury or suffering to all life forms.<sup>[286]</sup> Gandhi explored food sources that reduced violence to various life forms in the food chain. He believed that slaughtering animals is unnecessary, as other sources of foods are available.<sup>[284]</sup> He also consulted with vegetarianism campaigners during his lifetime, such as with Henry Stephens Salt. Food to Gandhi was not only a source of sustaining one's body, but a source of his impact on other living beings, and one that affected his mind, character and spiritual well being.<sup>[287][288][289]</sup> He avoided not only meat, but also eggs and milk. Gandhi wrote the book *The Moral Basis of Vegetarianism* and wrote for the London Vegetarian Society's publication.<sup>[290]</sup>

Beyond his religious beliefs, Gandhi stated another motivation for his experiments with diet. He attempted to find the most non-violent vegetarian meal that the poorest human could afford, taking meticulous notes on vegetables and fruits, and his observations with his own body and his *ashram* in Gujarat.<sup>[291][292]</sup> He tried fresh and dry fruits (Fruitarianism), then just sun dried fruits, before resuming his prior vegetarian diet on advice of his doctor and concerns of his friends. His experiments with

food began in 1890s and continued for several decades.<sup>[291][292]</sup> For some of these experiments, Gandhi combined his own ideas with those found on diet in Indian yoga texts. He believed that each vegetarian should experiment with his or her diet because, in his studies at his *ashram* he saw "one man's food may be poison for another".<sup>[293][294]</sup>

Gandhi championed animal rights in general. Other than making vegetarian choices, he actively campaigned against dissection studies and experimentation on live animals (vivisection) in the name of science and medical studies.<sup>[284]</sup> He considered it a violence against animals, something that inflicted pain and suffering. He wrote, "Vivisection in my opinion is the blackest of all the blackest crimes that man is at present committing against god and his fair creation."<sup>[295]</sup>

## Fasting

See also: *List of fasts undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi*

Gandhi used fasting as a political device, often threatening suicide unless demands were met. Congress publicised the fasts as a political action that generated widespread sympathy. In response the government tried to manipulate news coverage to minimise his challenge to the Raj. He fasted in 1932 to protest the voting scheme for separate political representation for Dalits; Gandhi did not want them segregated. The British government stopped the London press from showing photographs of his emaciated body, because it would elicit sympathy. Gandhi's 1943 hunger strike took place during a two-year prison term for the anticolonial Quit India movement. The government called on nutritional experts to demystify his action, and again no photos were allowed. However, his final fast in 1948, after the end of British rule in India, his hunger strike was lauded by the British press and this time did include full-length photos.<sup>[296]</sup>



Gandhi's last political protest using fasting, in January 1948.

Alter states that Gandhi's fasting, vegetarianism and diet was more than a political leverage, it was a part of his experiments with self restraint and healthy living. He was "profoundly skeptical of traditional Ayurveda", encouraging it to study the scientific method and adopt its progressive learning approach. Gandhi believed yoga offered health benefits. He believed that a healthy nutritional diet based on regional foods and hygiene were essential to good health.<sup>[297]</sup>

## Women

Gandhi strongly favoured the emancipation of women, and urged "the women to fight for their own self-development." He opposed pardah, child marriage, dowry and sati.<sup>[298]</sup> A wife is not a slave of the husband, stated Gandhi, but his comrade, better half, colleague and friend, according to Lyn Norvell.<sup>[298]</sup> In his own life however, according to Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert, Gandhi's relationship with his wife were at odds with some of these values.<sup>[122]</sup>

At various occasions, Gandhi credited his orthodox Hindu mother, and his wife, for first lessons in *satyagraha*.<sup>[299]</sup> He used the legends of Hindu goddess Sita to expound women's innate strength, autonomy and "lioness in spirit" whose moral compass can make any demon "as helpless as a goat".<sup>[299]</sup> To Gandhi, the women of India were an important part of the "swadeshi movement" (Buy Indian), and his goal of decolonising the Indian economy.<sup>[299]</sup>

Some historians such as Angela Woollacott and Kumari Jayawardena state that even though Gandhi often and publicly expressed his belief in the equality of sexes, yet his vision was one of gender difference and complementarity between them. Women, to Gandhi, should be educated to be better in the domestic realm and educate the next generation. His views on women's right were

less liberal and more similar to puritan-Victorian expectations of women, states Jayawardena, than other Hindu leaders with him who supported economic independence and equal gender rights in all aspects.<sup>[300][301]</sup>

### **Brahmacharya: abstinence from sex and food**

Along with many other texts, Gandhi studied *Bhagavad Gita* while in South Africa.<sup>[302]</sup> This Hindu scripture discusses *jnana yoga*, *bhakti yoga* and *karma yoga* along with virtues such as non-violence, patience, integrity, lack of hypocrisy, self restraint and abstinence.<sup>[303]</sup> Gandhi began experiments with these, and in 1906 at age 37, although married and a father, he vowed to abstain from sexual relations.<sup>[302]</sup>

Gandhi's experiment with abstinence went beyond sex, and extended to food. He consulted the Jain scholar Rajchandra, whom he fondly called Raychandbhai.<sup>[304]</sup> Rajchandra advised him that milk stimulated sexual passion. Gandhi began abstaining from cow's milk in 1912, and did so even when doctors advised him to consume milk.<sup>[215][305]</sup> According to Sankar Ghose, Tagore described Gandhi as someone who did not abhor sex or women, but considered sexual life as inconsistent with his moral goals.<sup>[306]</sup>

Gandhi tried to test and prove to himself his *brahmacharya*. The experiments began some time after the death of his wife in February 1944. At the start of his experiment he had women sleep in the same room but in different beds. He later slept with women in the same bed but clothed, and finally he slept naked with women. In April 1945, Gandhi referenced being naked with several "women or girls" in a letter to Birla as part of the experiments.<sup>[307]</sup> According to the 1960s memoir of his grandniece Manu, Gandhi feared in early 1947 that he and she may be killed by Muslims in the run up to India's independence in August 1947, and asked her when she was 18-year-old if she wanted to help him with his experiments to test their "purity", for which she readily accepted.<sup>[308]</sup> Gandhi slept naked in the same bed with Manu with the bedroom doors open all night. Manu stated that the experiment had no "ill effect" on her. Gandhi also shared his bed with 18 year Abha, wife of his grandnephew Kanu. Gandhi would sleep with both Manu and Abha at the same time.<sup>[308][309]</sup> None of the women who participated in the *brahmachari* experiments of Gandhi indicated that they had sex or that Gandhi behaved in any sexual way. Those who went public said they felt they were sleeping with their ageing mother.<sup>[306][307][310]</sup>

According to Sean Scalmer, Gandhi in his final year of life was an ascetic, looked ugly and a sickly skeletal figure, already caricatured in the Western media.<sup>[311]</sup> In February 1947, he asked his confidants such as Birla and Ramakrishna if it was wrong for him to experiment his *brahmacharya* oath.<sup>[306]</sup> Gandhi's public experiments, as they progressed, were widely discussed and criticised by his family members and leading politicians. However, Gandhi said that if he would not let Manu sleep with him, it would be a sign of weakness. Some of his staff resigned, including two of his newspaper's editors who had refused to print some of Gandhi's sermons dealing with his experiments.<sup>[308]</sup> Nimalkumar Bose, Gandhi's Bengali interpreter, for example criticised Gandhi, not because Gandhi did anything wrong, but because Bose was concerned about the psychological effect on the women who participated in his experiments.<sup>[309]</sup> Veena Howard states Gandhi's views on *brahmacharya* and religious renunciation experiments were a method to confront women issues in his times.<sup>[312]</sup>

### **Untouchability and castes**

Gandhi spoke out against untouchability early in his life.<sup>[313]</sup> Before 1932, he and his colleagues used the term *Antyaja* for untouchables. One of the major speeches he made on untouchability was at Nagpur in 1920, where he called untouchability as a great evil in Hindu society. In his remarks, he stated that the phenomena of untouchability is not unique to the Hindu society, but has deeper roots because Europeans in South Africa treat "all of us, Hindus and Muslims, as untouchables; we may not reside in their midst, nor enjoy the rights which they do".<sup>[314]</sup> He called it intolerable. He stated this practice can be eradicated, Hinduism is flexible to allow this, and a concerted effort is needed to persuade it is wrong and by all to eradicate it.<sup>[314]</sup>

According to Christophe Jaffrelot, while Gandhi considered untouchability to be wrong and evil, he believed that caste or class are based neither on inequality nor on inferiority.<sup>[313]</sup> Gandhi believed that individuals should freely intermarry whoever they want to, but no one should expect everyone to befriend them. Every individual regardless of his or her background, stated Gandhi, has a right to choose who they welcome into their home, who they befriend and who they spend time with.<sup>[313][314]</sup>

In 1932, Gandhi began a new campaign to improve the lives of the untouchables, whom he started referring to as Harijans or "the children of god".<sup>[315]</sup> On 8 May 1933, Gandhi began a 21-day fast of self-purification and launched a one-year campaign to help the Harijan movement.<sup>[316]</sup> This new campaign was not universally embraced within the Dalit community. Ambedkar and his allies felt Gandhi was being paternalistic and was undermining Dalit political rights. Ambedkar described him as "devious and untrustworthy".<sup>[317]</sup> He accused Gandhi as someone who wished to retain the caste system.<sup>[135]</sup> Ambedkar and Gandhi debated their ideas and concerns, where both tried to persuade each other.<sup>[318][319]</sup>

In 1935, Ambedkar announced his intentions to leave Hinduism and join Buddhism.<sup>[135]</sup> According to Sankar Ghose, the announcement shook Gandhi, who reappraised his views and wrote many essays with his views on castes, inter-marriage and what Hinduism says on the subject. These views contrasted with those of Ambedkar.<sup>[320]</sup> In actual elections of 1937, except for some seats in Mumbai where Ambedkar's party won, India's untouchables voted heavily in favour of Gandhi's campaign and his party, the Congress.<sup>[321]</sup>

Gandhi and his colleagues continued to consult Ambedkar, keeping him influential. Ambedkar worked with other Congress leaders through the 1940s, wrote large parts of India's constitution in late 1940s, and converted to Buddhism in 1956.<sup>[135]</sup> According to Jaffrelot, Gandhi's views evolved between 1920s and 1940s, when in 1946 he actively encouraged inter-marriage across castes. However, Gandhi's approach to untouchability was different than Ambedkar because Gandhi championed fusion, choice and free intermixing. Ambedkar, in contrast states Jaffrelot, envisioned each segment of society to maintain their identity group, and each group then separately advanced the "politics of equality".<sup>[313]</sup>

The criticism of Gandhi by Ambedkar continued to influence the Dalit movement past Gandhi's death. According to Arthur Herman, Ambedkar's hate for Gandhi and Gandhi's ideas was so strong that after he heard the news of Gandhi's assassination, remarked after a momentary silence a sense of regret and then "my real enemy is gone; thank goodness the eclipse is over now".<sup>[245][322]</sup> According to Ramachandra Guha, "ideologues have carried these old rivalries into the present, with the demonization of Gandhi now common among politicians who presume to speak in Ambedkar's name."<sup>[323]</sup>

## **Nai Talim, basic education**

*Main article: Nai Talim*

Gandhi rejected the colonial Western format of education system. He stated that it led to disdain for manual work, generally created an elite administrative bureaucracy. Gandhi favoured an education system with far greater emphasis on learning skills in practical and useful work, one that included physical, mental and spiritual studies. His methodology sought to treat all professions equal and pay everyone the same.<sup>[324][325]</sup>

Gandhi called his ideas *Nai Talim* (literally, 'new education'). He believed that the Western style education violated and destroyed the indigenous cultures. A different basic education model, he believed, would lead to better self awareness, prepare people to treat all work equally respectable and valued, and lead to a society with less social diseases.<sup>[326][327]</sup>

Nai Talim evolved out of his experiences at the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, and Gandhi attempted to formulate the new system at the Sevagram ashram after 1937.<sup>[325]</sup> Nehru government's vision of an industrialised, centrally planned economy after 1947 had scant place for Gandhi's village-oriented approach.<sup>[328]</sup>

In his autobiography, Gandhi wrote that he believed every Hindu boy and girl must learn Sanskrit because its historic and spiritual texts are in that language.<sup>[40]</sup>

## **Swaraj, self-rule**

*Main article: Swaraj*

Gandhi believed that *swaraj* not only can be attained with non-violence, it can be run with non-violence. Military is unnecessary, because any aggressor can be thrown out using the method of non-violent non-co-operation. While military is unnecessary in a nation organised under *swaraj* principle, Gandhi added that a police force is necessary given human nature. However, the state would limit the use of weapons by the police to the minimum, aiming for their use as a restraining force.<sup>[329]</sup>

According to Gandhi, a non-violent state is like an "ordered anarchy".<sup>[329]</sup> In a society of mostly non-violent individuals, those who are violent will sooner or later accept discipline or leave the community, stated Gandhi.<sup>[329]</sup> He emphasised a society where individuals believed more in learning about their duties and responsibilities, not demanded rights and privileges. On returning from South Africa, when Gandhi received a letter asking for his participation in writing a world charter for human rights, he responded saying, "in my experience, it is far more important to have a charter for human duties."<sup>[330]</sup>

Swaraj to Gandhi did not mean transferring colonial era British power brokering system, favours-driven, bureaucratic, class exploitative structure and mindset into Indian hands. He warned such a transfer would still be English rule, just without the Englishman. "This is not the Swaraj I want", said Gandhi.<sup>[331][332]</sup> Tewari states that Gandhi saw democracy as more than a system of government; it meant promoting both individuality and the self-discipline of the community. Democracy meant settling disputes in a nonviolent manner; it required freedom of thought and expression. For Gandhi, democracy was a way of life.<sup>[333]</sup>

## **Hindu nationalism and revivalism**

Some scholars state Gandhi supported a religiously diverse India,<sup>[334]</sup> while others state that the Muslim leaders who championed the partition and creation of a separate Muslim Pakistan considered Gandhi to be Hindu nationalist or revivalist.<sup>[335][336]</sup> For example, in his letters to Mohammad Iqbal, Jinnah accused Gandhi to be favouring a Hindu rule and revivalism, that Gandhi led Indian National Congress was a fascist party.<sup>[337]</sup>

In an interview with C.F. Andrews, Gandhi stated that if we believe all religions teach the same message of love and peace between all human beings, then there is neither any rationale nor need for proselytisation or attempts to convert people from one religion to another.<sup>[338]</sup> Gandhi opposed missionary organisations who criticised Indian religions then attempted to convert followers of Indian religions to Islam or Christianity. In Gandhi's view, those who attempt to convert a Hindu, "they must harbour in their breasts the belief that Hinduism is an error" and that their own religion is "the only true religion".<sup>[338][339]</sup> Gandhi believed that people who demand religious respect and rights must also show the same respect and grant the same rights to followers of other religions. He stated that spiritual studies must encourage "a Hindu to become a better Hindu, a Mussalman to become a better Mussalman, and a Christian a better Christian."<sup>[338]</sup>

According to Gandhi, religion is not about what a man believes, it is about how a man lives, how he relates to other people, his conduct towards others, and one's relationship to one's conception of god.<sup>[340]</sup> It is not important to convert or to join any religion, but it is important to improve one's way of life and conduct by absorbing ideas from any source and any religion, believed Gandhi.<sup>[340]</sup>

## **Gandhian economics**

## *Main article: Gandhian economics*

Gandhi believed in *sarvodaya* economic model, which literally means "welfare, upliftment of all".<sup>[341]</sup> This, states Bhatt, was very different economic model than the socialism model championed and followed by free India by Nehru – India's first prime minister. To both, according to Bhatt, removing poverty and unemployment were the objective, but Gandhian economic and development approach preferred adapting technology and infrastructure to suit local situation, in contrast to Nehru's large scale, socialised state owned enterprises.<sup>[342]</sup>

To Gandhi, the economic philosophy that aims at "greatest good for the greatest number" was fundamentally flawed, and his alternative proposal *sarvodaya* set its aim at "greatest good for all". He believed that the best economic system not only cared to lift the "poor, less skilled, of impoverished background" but also empowered to lift the "rich, highly skilled, of capital means and landlords". Violence against any human being, born poor or rich, is wrong believed Gandhi.<sup>[341][343]</sup> He stated that mandate theory of majoritarian democracy shouldn't be pushed to absurd extremes, individual freedoms should never be denied, and no person should ever be made a social or economic slave to the "resolutions of majorities".<sup>[344]</sup>

Gandhi challenged Nehru and the modernizers in the late 1930s who called for rapid industrialisation on the Soviet model; Gandhi denounced that as dehumanising and contrary to the needs of the villages where the great majority of the people lived.<sup>[345]</sup> After Gandhi's assassination, Nehru led India in accordance with his personal socialist convictions.<sup>[346][347]</sup> Historian Kuruvilla Pandikattu says "it was Nehru's vision, not Gandhi's, that was eventually preferred by the Indian State."<sup>[348]</sup>

Gandhi called for ending poverty through improved agriculture and small-scale cottage rural industries.<sup>[349]</sup> Gandhi's economic thinking disagreed with Marx, according to the political theory scholar and economist Bhikhu Parekh. Gandhi refused to endorse the view that economic forces are best understood as "antagonistic class interests".<sup>[350]</sup> He argued that no man can degrade or brutalise the other without degrading and brutalising himself, that sustainable economic growth comes from service, not from exploitation. Further, believed Gandhi, that in a free nation, victims exist only when they co-operate with their oppressor, and an economic and political system that offered increasing alternatives gave power of choice to the poorest man.<sup>[350]</sup>

While disagreeing with Nehru about socialist economic model, Gandhi also critiqued capitalism that was driven by endless wants and a materialistic view of man. This, he believed, created a vicious vested system of materialism at the cost of other human needs such as spirituality and social relationships.<sup>[350]</sup> To Gandhi, states Parekh, both communism and capitalism were wrong, in part because both focussed exclusively on materialistic view of man, and because the former deified the state with unlimited power of violence, while the latter deified capital. A better economic system is one which does not impoverish one's culture and spiritual pursuits.<sup>[351]</sup>

## **Gandhism**

### *Main article: Gandhism*

*Gandhism* designates the ideas and principles Gandhi promoted. Of central importance is nonviolent resistance. A Gandhian can mean either an individual who follows, or a specific philosophy which is attributed to, Gandhism.<sup>[88]</sup> M. M. Sankhdher argues that Gandhism is not a systematic position in metaphysics or in political philosophy. Rather, it is a political creed, an economic doctrine, a religious outlook, a moral precept, and especially, a humanitarian world view. It is an effort not to systematise wisdom but to transform society and is based on an undying faith in the goodness of human nature.<sup>[352]</sup> However Gandhi himself did not approve of the notion of "Gandhism", as he explained in 1936:

There is no such thing as "Gandhism", and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems...The opinions I have formed and the conclusions I

have arrived at are not final. I may change them tomorrow. I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills.<sup>[353]</sup>

## Literary works

Gandhi was a prolific writer. One of Gandhi's earliest publications, *Hind Swaraj*, published in Gujarati in 1909, became "the intellectual blueprint" for India's independence movement. The book was translated into English the next year, with a copyright legend that read "No Rights Reserved".<sup>[354]</sup> For decades he edited several newspapers including *Harijan* in Gujarati, in Hindi and in the English language; *Indian Opinion* while in South Africa and, *Young India*, in English, and Navajivan, a Gujarati monthly, on his return to India. Later, Navajivan was also published in Hindi. In addition, he wrote letters almost every day to individuals and newspapers.<sup>[355]</sup>

Gandhi also wrote several books including his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Gujarātī "વ્રતવિધાનું વર્ણન" *Vratavidhānaṃ Varṇanaṃ*), of which he bought the entire first edition to make sure it was reprinted.<sup>[317]</sup> His other autobiographies included: *Satyagraha in South Africa* about his struggle there, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, a political pamphlet, and a paraphrase in Gujarati of John Ruskin's *Unto This Last*.<sup>[356]</sup> This last essay can be considered his programme on economics. He also wrote extensively on vegetarianism, diet and health, religion, social reforms, etc. Gandhi usually wrote in Gujarati, though he also revised the Hindi and English translations of his books.<sup>[357]</sup>

Gandhi's complete works were published by the Indian government under the name *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* in the 1960s. The writings comprise about 50,000 pages published in about a hundred volumes. In 2000, a revised edition of the complete works sparked a controversy, as it contained a large number of errors and omissions.<sup>[358]</sup> The Indian government later withdrew the revised edition.<sup>[359]</sup>

## Legacy and depictions in popular culture

*See also: List of artistic depictions of Mahatma Gandhi and List of roads named after Mahatma Gandhi*

- The word *Mahatma*, while often mistaken for Gandhi's given name in the West, is taken from the Sanskrit words *maha* (meaning *Great*) and *atma* (meaning *Soul*). Rabindranath Tagore is said to have accorded the title to Gandhi.<sup>[360]</sup> In his autobiography, Gandhi nevertheless explains that he never valued the title, and was often pained by it.<sup>[361][362][363]</sup>
- Innumerable streets, roads and localities in India are named after M.K.Gandhi. These include M.G.Road (the main street of a number of Indian cities including Mumbai and Bangalore), Gandhi Market (near Sion, Mumbai) and Gandhinagar (the capital of the state of Gujarat, Gandhi's birthplace).<sup>[364]</sup>

## Followers and international influence

Gandhi influenced important leaders and political movements. Leaders of the civil rights movement in the United States, including Martin Luther King Jr., James Lawson, and James Bevel, drew from the writings of Gandhi in the development of their own theories about nonviolence.<sup>[365][366][367]</sup> King said "Christ gave us the goals and Mahatma Gandhi the tactics."<sup>[368]</sup> King sometimes referred to Gandhi as "the little brown saint."<sup>[369]</sup> Anti-apartheid activist and former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, was inspired by Gandhi.<sup>[370]</sup> Others include Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,<sup>[371]</sup> Steve Biko, and Aung San Suu Kyi.<sup>[372]</sup>



*Young India*, a weekly journal published by Gandhi from 1919 to 1932

In his early years, the former President of South Africa Nelson Mandela was a follower of the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi.<sup>[370]</sup> Bhana and Vahed commented on these events as "Gandhi inspired succeeding generations of South African activists seeking to end White rule. This legacy connects him to Nelson Mandela...in a sense Mandela completed what Gandhi started."<sup>[373]</sup>

Gandhi's life and teachings inspired many who specifically referred to Gandhi as their mentor or who dedicated their lives to spreading Gandhi's ideas. In Europe, Romain Rolland was the first to discuss Gandhi in his 1924 book *Mahatma Gandhi*, and Brazilian anarchist and feminist Maria Lacerda de Moura wrote about Gandhi in her work on pacifism. In 1931, notable European physicist Albert Einstein exchanged written letters with Gandhi, and called him "a role model for the generations to come" in a letter writing about him.<sup>[374]</sup> Einstein said of Gandhi:

Mahatma Gandhi's life achievement stands unique in political history. He has invented a completely new and humane means for the liberation war of an oppressed country, and practised it with greatest energy and devotion. The moral influence he had on the consciously thinking human being of the entire civilised world will probably be much more lasting than it seems in our time with its overestimation of brutal violent forces. Because lasting will only be the work of such statesmen who wake up and strengthen the moral power of their people through their example and educational works. We may all be happy and grateful that destiny gifted us with such an enlightened contemporary, a role model for the generations to come.

Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this walked the earth in flesh and blood.

Lanza del Vasto went to India in 1936 intending to live with Gandhi; he later returned to Europe to spread Gandhi's philosophy and founded the Community of the Ark in 1948 (modelled after Gandhi's ashrams). Madeleine Slade (known as "Mirabehn") was the daughter of a British admiral who spent much of her adult life in India as a devotee of Gandhi.<sup>[375][376]</sup>

In addition, the British musician John Lennon referred to Gandhi when discussing his views on nonviolence.<sup>[377]</sup> At the Cannes Lions International Advertising Festival in 2007, former US Vice-President and environmentalist Al Gore spoke of Gandhi's influence on him.<sup>[378]</sup>

US President Barack Obama in a 2010 address to the Parliament of India said that:

I am mindful that I might not be standing before you today, as President of the United States, had it not been for Gandhi and the message he shared with America and the world.<sup>[379]</sup>



Statue of Mahatma Gandhi at York University.



Mahatma Gandhi on a 1969 postage stamp of the Soviet Union



Mahatma Gandhi at Praça Túlio Fontoura, São Paulo, Brazil. Statue by Gautam Pal

Obama in September 2009 said that his biggest inspiration came from Gandhi. His reply was in response to the question 'Who was the one person, dead or live, that you would choose to dine with?'. He continued that "He's somebody I find a lot of inspiration in. He inspired Dr. King with his message of nonviolence. He ended up doing so much and changed the world just by the power of his ethics."<sup>[380]</sup>

*Time Magazine* named The 14th Dalai Lama, Lech Wałęsa, Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, Aung San Suu Kyi, Benigno Aquino, Jr., Desmond Tutu, and Nelson Mandela as *Children of Gandhi* and his spiritual heirs to nonviolence.<sup>[381]</sup> The Mahatma Gandhi District in Houston, Texas, United States, an ethnic Indian enclave, is officially named after Gandhi.<sup>[382]</sup>

## Global days that celebrate Gandhi

In 2007, the United Nations General Assembly declared Gandhi's birthday 2 October as "the International Day of Nonviolence."<sup>[383]</sup> First proposed by UNESCO in 1948, as the School Day of Nonviolence and Peace (DENIP in Spanish),<sup>[384]</sup> 30 January is observed as the School Day of Nonviolence and Peace in schools of many countries<sup>[385]</sup> In countries with a Southern Hemisphere school calendar, it is observed on 30 March.<sup>[385]</sup>

## Awards

*Time magazine* named Gandhi the Man of the Year in 1930. Gandhi was also the runner-up to Albert Einstein as "Person of the Century"<sup>[386]</sup> at the end of 1999. The Government of India awarded the annual Gandhi Peace Prize to distinguished social workers, world leaders and citizens. Nelson Mandela, the leader of South Africa's struggle to eradicate racial discrimination and segregation, was a prominent non-Indian recipient. In 2011, *Time* magazine named Gandhi as one of the top 25 political icons of all time.<sup>[387]</sup>

Gandhi did not receive the Nobel Peace Prize, although he was nominated five times between 1937 and 1948, including the first-ever nomination by the American Friends Service Committee,<sup>[388]</sup> though he made the short list only twice, in 1937 and 1947.<sup>[389]</sup> Decades later, the Nobel Committee publicly declared its regret for the omission, and admitted to deeply divided nationalistic opinion denying the award.<sup>[389]</sup> Gandhi was nominated in 1948 but was assassinated before nominations closed. That year, the committee chose not to award the peace prize stating that "there was no suitable living candidate" and later research shows that the possibility of awarding the prize posthumously to Gandhi was discussed and that the reference to no suitable living candidate was to Gandhi.<sup>[389]</sup> Geir Lundestad, Secretary of Norwegian Nobel Committee in 2006 said, "The greatest omission in our 106-year history is undoubtedly that Mahatma Gandhi never received the Nobel Peace prize. Gandhi could do without the Nobel Peace prize, whether Nobel committee can do without Gandhi is the question".<sup>[390]</sup> When the 14th Dalai Lama was awarded the Prize in 1989, the chairman of the committee said that this was "in part a tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi".<sup>[389]</sup>



Monument to M. K. Gandhi in Madrid, Spain.

## Father of the Nation

Indians widely describe Gandhi as the father of the nation.<sup>[8][9]</sup> Origin of this title is traced back to a radio address (on Singapore radio) on 6 July 1944 by Subhash Chandra Bose where Bose addressed Gandhi as "The Father of the Nation"<sup>[391]</sup>. On 28 April 1947, Sarojini Naidu during a conference also referred Gandhi as "Father of the Nation".<sup>[392][393]</sup>

## Film, theatre and literature

A 5 hours, 9 minutes long biographical documentary film,<sup>[394]</sup> *Mahatma: Life of Gandhi, 1869–1948*, made by Vithalbhai Jhaveri<sup>[395]</sup> in 1968, quoting Gandhi's words and using black & white archival footage and photographs, captures the history of those times. Ben Kingsley portrayed him in Richard Attenborough's 1982 film *Gandhi*,<sup>[396]</sup> which won the Academy Award for Best Picture. The 1996 film *The Making of the Mahatma* documented Gandhi's time in South Africa and his transformation from an inexperienced barrister to recognised political leader.<sup>[397]</sup> Gandhi was a central figure in the 2006 Bollywood comedy film *Lage Raho Munna Bhai*. Jahnu Barua's *Maine Gandhi Ko Nahin Mara* (I did not kill Gandhi), places contemporary society as a backdrop with its vanishing memory of Gandhi's values as a metaphor for the senile forgetfulness of the protagonist of his 2005 film,<sup>[398]</sup> writes Vinay Lal.<sup>[399]</sup>

Anti-Gandhi themes have also been showcased through films and plays. The 1995 Marathi play *Gandhi Virudh Gandhi* explored the relationship between Gandhi and his son Harilal. The 2007 film, *Gandhi, My Father* was inspired on the same theme. The 1989 Marathi play *Me Nathuram Godse Boltoy* and the 1997 Hindi play *Gandhi Ambedkar* criticised Gandhi and his principles.<sup>[400][401]</sup>

Several biographers have undertaken the task of describing Gandhi's life. Among them are D. G. Tendulkar with his *Mahatma. Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* in eight volumes, Chaman Nahal's Gandhi Quartet, and Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar with their *Mahatma Gandhi* in 10 volumes. The 2010 biography, *Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle With India* by Joseph Lelyveld contained controversial material speculating about Gandhi's sexual life.<sup>[402]</sup> Lelyveld, however, stated that the press coverage "grossly distort[s]" the overall message of the book.<sup>[403]</sup> The 2014 film *Welcome Back Gandhi* takes a fictionalised look at how Gandhi might react to modern day India.<sup>[404]</sup>

"Mahatma Gandhi" is used by Cole Porter in his lyrics for the song You're the Top which is included in the 1934 musical Anything Goes. In the song Porter rhymes "Mahatma Gandhi" with "Napoleon Brandy."

## Current impact within India

India, with its rapid economic modernisation and urbanisation, has rejected Gandhi's economics<sup>[405]</sup> but accepted much of his politics and continues to revere his memory. Reporter Jim Yardley notes that, "modern India is hardly a Gandhian nation, if it ever was one. His vision of a village-dominated economy was shunted aside during his lifetime as rural romanticism, and his call for a national ethos of personal austerity and nonviolence has proved antithetical to the goals of an aspiring economic and military power." By contrast Gandhi is "given full credit for India's political identity as a tolerant, secular democracy."<sup>[406]</sup>

Gandhi's birthday, 2 October, is a national holiday in India, Gandhi Jayanti. Gandhi's image also appears on paper currency of all denominations issued by Reserve Bank of India, except for the one rupee note.<sup>[407]</sup> Gandhi's date of death, 30 January, is commemorated as a Martyrs' Day in India.<sup>[408]</sup>

There are three temples in India dedicated to Gandhi.<sup>[409]</sup> One is located at Sambalpur in Orissa and the second at Nidaghatta village near Kadur in Chikmagalur district of Karnataka and the third one at Chityal in the district of Nalgonda, Telangana.<sup>[409]</sup><sup>[410]</sup> The Gandhi Memorial in Kanyakumari resembles central Indian Hindu temples and the Tamukkam or Summer Palace in Madurai now houses the Mahatma Gandhi Museum.<sup>[411]</sup>



The Gandhi Mandapam, a temple in Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu in India. This temple was erected to honour M.K. Gandhi.

## See also

---

- [List of peace activists](#)
- [List of civil rights leaders](#)
- [Daridra Narayana, an axiom enunciated by Swami Vivekananda that espouses service of the poor as equivalent in importance and piety to the service of God popularised by Mahatma Gandhi](#)
- [Seven Social Sins](#)
- [Gandhi cap](#)
- [Gandhi Teerth – Gandhi International Research Institute and Museum for Gandhian study, research on Mahatma Gandhi and dialogue.](#)
- [Trikaranasuddhi](#)
- [Gandhi \(bookstore\)](#)

## References

---

- ↑ 1.0 1.1 Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006) pp. 1–3.
- ↑ Jeffrey M. Shaw; Timothy J. Demy (2017). *War and Religion: An Encyclopedia of Faith and Conflict*. ABC-CLIO. p. 309. ISBN 978-1-61069-517-6.
- ↑ "Gandhi" Archived 14 January 2015 at the [Wayback Machine](#).. *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*.
- ↑ McGregor, Ronald Stuart (1993). *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. p. 799. ISBN 978-0-19-864339-5. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 31 August 2013. Quote: (*mahā-* (S. "great, mighty, large, ..., eminent") + *ātmā* (S. "1.soul, spirit; the self, the individual; the mind, the heart; 2. the ultimate being."): "high-souled, of noble nature; a noble or venerable man."
- ↑ Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006) p. 172: "... Kasturba would accompany Gandhi on his departure from Cape Town for England in July 1914 *en route* to India. ... In different South African towns ([Pretoria](#), [Cape Town](#), [Bloemfontein](#), [Johannesburg](#), and the [Natal](#) cities of [Durban](#) and [Verulam](#)), the struggle's martyrs were honoured and the Gandhi's bade farewell. Addresses in [Durban](#) and [Verulam](#) referred to Gandhi as a 'Mahatma', 'great soul'. He was seen as a great soul because he had taken up the poor's cause. The whites too said good things about Gandhi, who predicted a future for the Empire if it respected justice." (p. 172).
- ↑ 6.0 6.1 McAllister, Pam (1982). *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence*. New Society Publishers. p. 194. ISBN 978-0-86571-017-7. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 31 August 2013. Quote: "With love, Yours, Bapu (You closed with the term of endearment used by your close friends, the term you used with all the movement leaders, roughly meaning 'Papa.'" Another letter written in 1940 shows similar tenderness and caring.
- ↑ Eck, Diana L. (2003). *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras*. Beacon Press. p. 210. ISBN 978-0-8070-7301-8. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 31 August 2013. Quote: "... his niece Manu, who, like others called this immortal Gandhi 'Bapu,' meaning not 'father,' but the familiar, 'daddy.'" (p. 210)
- ↑ 8.0 8.1 "Gandhi not formally conferred 'Father of the Nation' title: Govt" Archived 6 September 2014 at the [Wayback Machine](#)., *The Indian Express*, 11 July 2012.
- ↑ 9.0 9.1 "Constitution doesn't permit 'Father of the Nation' title: Government" Archived 7 January 2017 at the [Wayback Machine](#)., *The Times of India*, 26 October 2012.

10. ↑ [10.0](#) [10.1](#) [10.2](#) Khan, Yasmin (2007). *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Yale University Press. p. 18. ISBN 978-0-300-12078-3. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 1 September 2013. Quote: "the Muslim League had only caught on among South Asian Muslims during the Second World War. ... By the late 1940s, the League and the Congress had impressed in the British their own visions of a free future for Indian people. ... one, articulated by the Congress, rested on the idea of a united, plural India as a home for all Indians and the other, spelt out by the League, rested on the foundation of Muslim nationalism and the carving out of a separate Muslim homeland." (p. 18)
11. ↑ Khan, Yasmin (2007). *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Yale University Press. p. 1. ISBN 978-0-300-12078-3. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 1 September 2013. Quote: "South Asians learned that the British Indian empire would be partitioned on 3 June 1947. They heard about it on the radio, from relations and friends, by reading newspapers and, later, through government pamphlets. Among a population of almost four hundred million, where the vast majority lived in the countryside, ..., it is hardly surprising that many ... did not hear the news for many weeks afterwards. For some, the butchery and forced relocation of the summer months of 1947 may have been the first they know about the creation of the two new states rising from the fragmentary and terminally weakened British empire in India." (p. 1)
12. ↑ [12.0](#) [12.1](#) [12.2](#) Brown (1991), p. 380: "Despite and indeed because of his sense of helplessness Delhi was to be the scene of what he called his greatest fast. ... His decision was made suddenly, though after considerable thought – he gave no hint of it even to Nehru and Patel who were with him shortly before he announced his intention at a prayer-meeting on 12 January 1948. He said he would fast until communal peace was restored, real peace rather than the calm of a dead city imposed by police and troops. Patel and the government took the fast partly as condemnation of their decision to withhold a considerable cash sum still outstanding to Pakistan as a result of the allocation of undivided India's assets, because the hostilities that had broken out in Kashmir; ... But even when the government agreed to pay out the cash, Gandhi would not break his fast: that he would only do after a large number of important politicians and leaders of communal bodies agreed to a joint plan for restoration of normal life in the city."
13. ↑ [13.0](#) [13.1](#) Cush, Denise; Robinson, Catherine; York, Michael (2008). *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Taylor & Francis. p. 544. ISBN 978-0-7007-1267-0. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013. Retrieved 31 August 2013. Quote: "The apotheosis of this contrast is the assassination of Gandhi in 1948 by a militant Nathuram Godse, on the basis of his 'weak' accommodationist approach towards the new state of Pakistan." (p. 544)
14. ↑ Todd, Anne M. (2012) Mohandas Gandhi, Infobase Publishing, ISBN 1438106629, p. 8: *The name Gandhi means "grocer", although Mohandas's father and grandfather were politicians not grocers.*
15. ↑ Renard, John (1999). *Responses to One Hundred and One Questions on Hinduism By John Renard*. p. 139. ISBN 9780809138456.
16. ↑ Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Autobiography* chapter 1 (Dover edition, page 1).
17. ↑ *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. pp. 19–21. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
18. ↑ *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 16 March 2015. pp. 19–21. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
19. ↑ Misra, Amalendu (2004). *Identity and Religion: Foundations of anti-Islamism in India*. p. 67. ISBN 9780761932277.
20. ↑ Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006). *Mohandas: A True Story of a Man, His People, and an Empire By Gandhi*. p. 5. ISBN 9780143104117.
21. ↑ [21.0](#) [21.1](#) [21.2](#) [21.3](#) [21.4](#) [21.5](#) Tendulkar, D. G. (1951). *Mahatma; life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*. Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
22. ↑ Malhotra, S.L (2001). *Lawyer to Mahatma: Life, Work and Transformation of M. K. Gandhi*. p. 5. ISBN 9788176292931.
23. ↑ *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 16 March 2015. p. 21. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
24. ↑ *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 16 March 2015. p. 512. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
25. ↑ *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 16 March 2015. p. 22. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.

26. † Sorokin, Pitirim Aleksandrovich (2002). *The Ways and Power of Love: types, factors, and techniques of moral transformation*. Templeton Foundation Press. p. 169. ISBN 978-1-890151-86-7.
27. † Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber & Rudolph, Lloyd I. (1983). *Gandhi: The Traditional Roots of Charisma*. University of Chicago Press. p. 48. ISBN 9780226731360.
28. † Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006) pp. 2, 8, 269
29. † <sup>29.0</sup> <sup>29.1</sup> Arvind Sharma (2013). *Gandhi: A Spiritual Biography*. Yale University Press. pp. 11–14. ISBN 978-0-300-18738-0.
30. † Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber & Rudolph, Lloyd I. (1983). *Gandhi: The Traditional Roots of Charisma*. University of Chicago Press. p. 17. ISBN 9780226731360.
31. † Gerard Toffin (2012). John Zavos; et al., eds. *Public Hinduisms*. SAGE Publications. pp. 249–257. ISBN 978-81-321-1696-7.
32. † *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 16 March 2015. p. 23. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
33. † *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. pp. 24–25. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
34. † <sup>34.0</sup> <sup>34.1</sup> Rajmohan Gandhi (2015). *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. pp. 24–25. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
35. † Louis Fischer (1982). *Gandhi, his life and message for the world*. Penguin. p. 96. ISBN 978-0-451-62142-9.
36. † Rajmohan Gandhi (2015). *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. pp. 25–26. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
37. † Sankar Ghose (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. p. 4. ISBN 978-81-7023-205-6.
38. † Ramachandra Guha (2015). *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. pp. 27–28. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
39. † <sup>39.0</sup> <sup>39.1</sup> Mohanty, Rekha (2011). "From Satya to Sadbhavna" (PDF). *Orissa Review* (January 2011): 45–49. Archived (PDF) from the original on 1 January 2016. Retrieved 23 February 2012.
40. † <sup>40.0</sup> <sup>40.1</sup> Gandhi (1940). Chapter "At the High School"; Archived 30 June 2012 at the Wayback Machine..
41. † Gandhi (1940). Chapter "Playing the Husband"; Archived 1 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine..
42. † Ramachandra Guha (2015). *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. pp. 28–29. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
43. † <sup>43.0</sup> <sup>43.1</sup> *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. p. 29. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
44. † *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. p. 30. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
45. † <sup>45.0</sup> <sup>45.1</sup> *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. p. 32. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
46. † Gandhi (1940). Chapter "Preparation for England". Archived 2 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine.
47. † Rajmohan Gandhi (2015). *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. p. 32. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
48. † <sup>48.0</sup> <sup>48.1</sup> *Gandhi before India*. Vintage Books. 4 April 2015. pp. 33–34. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
49. † Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006) pp. 20–21.
50. † M K Gandhi (1940), *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* Archived 17 April 2016 at the Wayback Machine., Autobiography, Wikisource
51. † Thomas Weber (2004). *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 19–25. ISBN 978-1-139-45657-9.
52. † <sup>52.0</sup> <sup>52.1</sup> <sup>52.2</sup> <sup>52.3</sup> Brown (1991).
53. † <sup>53.0</sup> <sup>53.1</sup> Herman (2008), pp. 82–83
54. † Giliomee, Hermann & Mbenga, Bernard (2007). "3". In Roxanne Reid. *New History of South Africa* (1st ed.). Tafelberg. p. 193. ISBN 978-0-624-04359-1.
55. † <sup>55.0</sup> <sup>55.1</sup> Power, Paul F. (1969). "Gandhi in South Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 7 (3): 441–55. doi:10.1017/S0022278X00018590. JSTOR 159062.
56. † <sup>56.0</sup> <sup>56.1</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu C. (2001). *Gandhi: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press. p. 7. ISBN 978-0-19-285457-5.
57. † Gandhi (1940). Chapter "More Hardships". Archived 2 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine.

58. ↑ <sup>58.0</sup> <sup>58.1</sup> <sup>58.2</sup> S. Dhiman (2016). *Gandhi and Leadership: New Horizons in Exemplary Leadership*. Springer. pp. 25–27. ISBN 978-1-137-49235-7.
59. ↑ <sup>59.0</sup> <sup>59.1</sup> Fischer (2002)
60. ↑ Gandhi (1940). Chapter "Some Experiences". Archived 2 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine.
61. ↑ Gandhi (1940). Chapter "What it is to be a coolie". Archived 11 April 2016 at the Wayback Machine.
62. ↑ Herman (2008), pp. 87–88
63. ↑ Allen, Jeremiah (2011). *Sleeping with Strangers: A Vagabond's Journey Tramping the Globe*. Other Places Publishing. p. 273. ISBN 978-1-935850-01-4.
64. ↑ <sup>64.0</sup> <sup>64.1</sup> Herman (2008), pp. 88–89
65. ↑ " March 1897 Memorial".  *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Wikisource.: correspondence and newspaper accounts of the incident.
66. ↑ Herman (2008), page 125
67. ↑ Herman (2008) chapter 6.
68. ↑ Rai, Ajay Shanker (2000). *Gandhian Satyagraha: An Analytical And Critical Approach*. Concept Publishing Company. p. 35. ISBN 978-81-7022-799-1.
69. ↑ Tolstoy, Leo (14 December 1908). "A Letter to A Hindu: The Subjection of India-Its Cause and Cure". *The Literature Network*. The Literature Network. Retrieved 12 February 2012. "THE HINDU KURAL"
70. ↑ Parel, Anthony J. (2002), "Gandhi and Tolstoy", in M. P. Mathai, M. S. John, Siby K. Joseph, *Meditations on Gandhi : a Ravindra Varma festschrift*, New Delhi: Concept, pp. 96–112, retrieved 2012-09-08
71. ↑ Guha, Ramachandra (2013), *Gandhi Before India*, Vol. 1, Ch. 22, Allen Lane, ISBN 0670083879.
72. ↑ Charles R. DiSalvo (2013). *M.K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law: The Man before the Mahatma*. pp. 14–15.
73. ↑ Jones, Constance; Ryan, James (2009). *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Infobase Publishing. pp. 158–59. ISBN 978-1-4381-0873-5. Archived from the original on 21 October 2015. Retrieved 5 October 2012.
74. ↑ <sup>74.0</sup> <sup>74.1</sup> <sup>74.2</sup> <sup>74.3</sup> Ashwin Desai; Goolem Vahed (2015). *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*. Stanford University Press. pp. 22–26, 33–38. ISBN 978-0-8047-9717-7.
75. ↑ Edward Ramsamy; Michael Mbanaso; Chima Korieh. *Minorities and the State in Africa*. Cambria Press. pp. 71–73. ISBN 978-1-62196-874-0.
76. ↑ <sup>76.0</sup> <sup>76.1</sup> <sup>76.2</sup> Herman (2008), pp. 136–137.
77. ↑ <sup>77.0</sup> <sup>77.1</sup> Herman (2008), pp. 280–281, 154–157
78. ↑ See "Gandhi – A Medium for Truth" (link to article in *Philosophy Now* magazine) Archived 24 March 2014 at the Wayback Machine.. Retrieved March 2014.
79. ↑ Corder, Catherine; Plaut, Martin (2014). "Gandhi's Decisive South African 1913 Campaign: A Personal Perspective from the Letters of Betty Molteno". *South African Historical Journal*. **66** (1): 22–54. doi:10.1080/02582473.2013.862565.
80. ↑ Smith, Colleen (1 October 2006). "Mbeki: Mahatma Gandhi Satyagraha 100th Anniversary (01/10/2006)". *Speeches*. Polityorg.za. Archived from the original on 2 May 2013. Retrieved 20 January 2012.
81. ↑ Prashad, Ganesh (September 1966). "Whiggism in India". *Political Science Quarterly*. **81** (3): 412–31. doi:10.2307/2147642. JSTOR 2147642.
82. ↑ Markovits, Claude (2004). *A History of Modern India, 1480–1950*. Anthem Press. pp. 367–86. ISBN 9781843310044.
83. ↑ Chronology of Mahatma Gandhi's Life:India 1918 in WikiSource based on the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. Based on public domain volumes.
84. ↑ <sup>84.0</sup> <sup>84.1</sup> Desai, Mahadev Haribhai (1930). "Preface". *Day-to-day with Gandhi: secretary's diary*. Hemantkumar Nilkanth (translation). Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan. Archived from the original on 3 June 2007.
85. ↑ Gandhi (1940). Chapter "Recruiting Campaign" Archived 2 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine..

86. † [Gandhi \(1965\)](#), *Collected Works*, Vol 17. Archived 15 October 2009 at the [Wayback Machine](#). Chapter "67. Appeal for enlistment", Nadiad, 22 June 1918.
87. † [Gandhi \(1965\)](#), *Collected Works*, Vol 17. Archived 15 October 2009 at the [Wayback Machine](#). "Chapter 8. Letter to J. L. Maffey", Nadiad, 30 April 1918.
88. † [88.0 88.1](#) Hardiman, David (April 2001). "Champaran and Gandhi: Planters, Peasants and Gandhian Politics by Jacques Pouchepadass (Review)". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. **11** (1): 99–101. doi:[10.1017/S1356186301450152](#). JSTOR [25188108](#).
89. † "Satyagraha Laboratories of Mahatma Gandhi". *Indian National Congress website*. All India Congress Committee. 2004. Archived from [the original](#) on 6 December 2006. Retrieved 25 February 2012.
90. † [Gandhi, Rajmohan \(2006\)](#) pp. 196–97.
91. † [Brown, Judith M. \(1974\)](#). *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915–1922*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 94–102. ISBN [978-0-521-09873-1](#).
92. † [92.0 92.1](#) Keith Robbins (2002). *The First World War*. Oxford University Press. pp. 133–137. ISBN [978-0-19-280318-4](#).
93. † [93.0 93.1 93.2](#) Michael J. Green; Nicholas Szechenyi (2017). *A Global History of the Twentieth Century: Legacies and Lessons from Six National Perspectives*. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 89–90. ISBN [978-1-4422-7972-8](#).
94. † [94.0 94.1 94.2](#) Minault, Gail (1982) *The Khilafat Movement Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Columbia University Press, ISBN [0231050720](#), pages 68–72, 78–82, 96–102, 108–109
95. † [Minault, Gail \(1982\)](#) *The Khilafat Movement Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Columbia University Press, ISBN [0231050720](#), pages 4–8
96. † [96.0 96.1 96.2 96.3 96.4 96.5](#) Sarah C.M. Paine (2015). *Nation Building, State Building, and Economic Development: Case Studies and Comparisons*. Routledge. pp. 20–21. ISBN [978-1-317-46409-9](#).
97. † [97.0 97.1 97.2 97.3 97.4 97.5](#) Ghose, Sankar (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. pp. 161–164. ISBN [9788170232056](#).
98. † [Roderick Matthews \(2012\)](#). *Jinnah vs. Gandhi*. Hachette. p. 31. ISBN [978-93-5009-078-7](#)., Quote: "Rabindranath Tagore heavily criticized Gandhi at the time in private letters (...). They reveal Tagore's belief that Gandhi had committed the Indian political nation to a cause that was mistakenly anti-Western and fundamentally negative"; Kham, Aqeeluzzafar (1990). "The All-India Muslim Conference and the Origin of the Khilafat Movement in India". *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*. **38** (2): 155–62.
99. † [99.0 99.1](#) Roberts, W. H. (1923). "A Review of the Gandhi Movement in India". *Political Science Quarterly*. **38** (2): 227–48. doi:[10.2307/2142634](#). JSTOR [2142634](#).
100. † [Bose, Sugata & Jalal, Ayesha \(2004\)](#). *Modern South History, Culture, Political Economy*. Psychology Press. pp. 112–14. ISBN [9780203712535](#).
101. † [Brown \(1991\)](#) pp. 140–47.
102. † [Minault, Gail \(1982\)](#) *The Khilafat Movement Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Columbia University Press, ISBN [0231050720](#), pages 113–116
103. † [Akbar S. Ahmed \(1997\)](#). *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin*. Routledge. pp. 57–71. ISBN [978-0-415-14966-2](#). Archived from the original on 30 May 2016.
104. † [von Pochhammer, Wilhelm \(2005\)](#). *India's Road to Nationhood: A Political History of the Subcontinent*. Allied Publishers. p. 440. ISBN [9788177647150](#).
105. † [Brown, Judith Margaret \(1994\)](#). *Modern India: the origins of an Asian democracy*. Oxford U. Press. p. 228. ISBN [9780198731122](#).
106. † [Sarkar, Sumit \(1983\)](#). *Modern India: 1885–1947*. Macmillan. p. 233. ISBN [9780333904251](#).
107. † [Markovits, Claude, ed. \(2004\)](#). *A History of Modern India, 1480–1950*. Anthem Press. p. 372. ISBN [9781843310044](#).

108. ↑ [Mary Elizabeth King](#), "Mohandas K, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Bequest: Nonviolent Civil Resistance in a Globalized World" in Lewis V. Baldwin & Paul R. Dekar (2013). *"In an Inescapable Network of Mutuality": Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Globalization of an Ethical Ideal*. Wipf and Stock. pp. 168–69. [Archived](#) from the original on 1 January 2016.
109. ↑ [109.0](#) [109.1](#) [109.2](#) [109.3](#) [109.4](#) [Stanley Wolpert](#) (2002). *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. pp. 99–103. ISBN 978-0-19-515634-8. [Archived](#) from the original on 19 February 2017.
110. ↑ [Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand](#) (1940). *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments With Truth* (2 ed.). Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. p. 82. ISBN 0-8070-5909-9. Also available at [Wikisource](#).
111. ↑ [Chakrabarty, Bidyut](#) (2008). *Indian Politics and Society since Independence: events, processes and ideology*. Routledge. p. 154. ISBN 978-0-415-40868-4. Retrieved 4 April 2012.
112. ↑ [Desai](#), p. 89.
113. ↑ [Shashi](#), p. 9.
114. ↑ [Desai](#), p. 131.
115. ↑ [Datta, Amaresh](#) (1 January 2006). *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature (Volume Two) (Devraj To Jyoti)*. Sahitya Akademi. p. 1345. ISBN 978-81-260-1194-0. Retrieved 4 April 2012.
116. ↑ [116.0](#) [116.1](#) [Gandhi 1990](#), p. 172.
117. ↑ [117.0](#) [117.1](#) [Sankar Ghose](#) (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. pp. 199–204. ISBN 978-81-7023-205-6.
118. ↑ [Arthur Herman](#) (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 419–420. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5.
119. ↑ [Hatt](#) (2002), p. 33.
120. ↑ [Sarma, Bina Kumari](#) (January 1994). "Gandhian Movement and Women's Awakening in Orissa". *Indian Historical Review*. **21** (1/2): 78–79. ISSN 0376-9836.
121. ↑ [121.0](#) [121.1](#) [Marilyn French](#) (2008). *From Eve to Dawn, A History of Women in the World, Volume IV: Revolutions and Struggles for Justice in the 20th Century*. City University of New York Press. pp. 219–220. ISBN 978-1-55861-628-8.
122. ↑ [122.0](#) [122.1](#) [Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert](#) (2006). *Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930–42*. SAGE Publications. pp. 77–79. ISBN 978-0-7619-3407-3.
123. ↑ [Murali, Atlury](#) (January 1985). "Non-Cooperation in Andhra in 1920–22: Nationalist Intelligentsia and the Mobilization of Peasantry". *Indian Historical Review*. **12** (1/2): 188–217. ISSN 0376-9836.
124. ↑ [124.0](#) [124.1](#) [124.2](#) [Dennis Dalton](#) (2012). *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*. Columbia University Press. pp. 8–14, 20–23, 30–35. ISBN 978-0-231-15959-3.
125. ↑ [S. Dhiman](#) (2016). *Gandhi and Leadership: New Horizons in Exemplary Leadership*. Springer. pp. 46–49. ISBN 978-1-137-49235-7.
126. ↑ [John M Levine; Michael A. Hogg](#) (2010). *Encyclopedia of Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. SAGE Publications. p. 73. ISBN 978-1-4129-4208-9.
127. ↑ [Herman](#) (2008) pp. 375–77.
128. ↑ [Arthur Herman](#) (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. p. 359. [Archived](#) from the original on 1 January 2016.
129. ↑ [129.0](#) [129.1](#) [Arthur Herman](#) (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 378–381. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. [Archived](#) from the original on 13 September 2014.
130. ↑ [130.0](#) [130.1](#) [Andrew Muldoon](#) (2016). *Empire, Politics and the Creation of the 1935 India Act: Last Act of the Raj*. Routledge. pp. 92–99. ISBN 978-1-317-14431-1.
131. ↑ [Rajmohan Gandhi](#) (2006). *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. University of California Press. pp. 332–333. ISBN 978-0-520-25570-8. [Archived](#) from the original on 22 February 2017.

132. ↑ Andrew Muldoon (2016). *Empire, Politics and the Creation of the 1935 India Act: Last Act of the Raj*. Routledge. p. 97. ISBN 978-1-317-14431-1.
133. ↑ Judith Margaret Brown (1991). *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*. Yale University Press. pp. 252–257. ISBN 978-0-300-05125-4. Archived from the original on 7 March 2017.
134. ↑ Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 382–390. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. Archived from the original on 13 September 2014.
135. ↑ <sup>135.0</sup> <sup>135.1</sup> <sup>135.2</sup> <sup>135.3</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks (2011). *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton University Press. pp. 267–274. ISBN 1-4008-4094-5.
136. ↑ Kamath, M. V. (1995). *Gandhi's Coolie: Life & Times of Ramkrishna Bajaj*. Allied Publishers. p. 24. ISBN 8170234875.
137. ↑ Rachel Fell McDermott; et al. (2014). *Sources of Indian Traditions: Modern India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*. Columbia University Press. pp. 369–370. ISBN 978-0-231-51092-9.
138. ↑ *Gandhi 1990*, p. 246.
139. ↑ Ghose, Sankar (1992). *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography*, p. 137. Allied Publishers Limited.
140. ↑ *Gandhi 1990*, pp. 277–281.
141. ↑ Sarkar, Jayabrata (18 April 2006). "Power, Hegemony and Politics: Leadership Struggle in Congress in the 1930s". *Modern Asian Studies*. **40** (2): 333–70. doi:10.1017/S0026749X0600179X.
142. ↑ Dash, Siddhartha (January 2005). "Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose" (PDF). *Orissa Review*. Archived from the original (PDF) on 24 December 2012. Retrieved 12 April 2012.
143. ↑ <sup>143.0</sup> <sup>143.1</sup> <sup>143.2</sup> <sup>143.3</sup> <sup>143.4</sup> <sup>143.5</sup> Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 467–470. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. Archived from the original on 13 September 2014.
144. ↑ Bipan Chandra (2000). *India's Struggle for Independence*. Penguin Books. p. 543. ISBN 978-81-8475-183-3.
145. ↑ <sup>145.0</sup> <sup>145.1</sup> <sup>145.2</sup> Stanley Wolpert (2002). *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. pp. 74–75. ISBN 978-0-19-515634-8. Archived from the original on 19 February 2017.
146. ↑ *Gandhi 1990*, p. 309.
147. ↑ Gurcharan Das (1990). *A Fine Family*. Penguin Books. pp. 49–50. ISBN 978-0-14-012258-9.
148. ↑ <sup>148.0</sup> <sup>148.1</sup> <sup>148.2</sup> Stanley Wolpert (2002). *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. pp. 205–211. ISBN 978-0-19-515634-8. Archived from the original on 19 February 2017.
149. ↑ Brock, Peter (1983). *The Mahatma and mother India: essays on Gandhi's nonviolence and nationalism*. Navajivan Publishing House. p. 34.
150. ↑ Limaye, Madhu (1990). *Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru: a historic partnership*. B. R. Publishing Corporation. p. 11. ISBN 8170185475.
151. ↑ von Pochhammer, Wilhelm (2005). *India's Road to Nationhood: A Political History of the Subcontinent*. Allied Publishers. p. 469. ISBN 8177647156.
152. ↑ Lapping, Brian (1989). *End of empire*. Paladin. ISBN 978-0-586-08870-8.
153. ↑ Mahatma Gandhi (2000). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. pp. 456–462. ISBN 978-81-230-0169-2., Archive of Gandhi-Jinnah communications (pp. 11–34)
154. ↑ "Gandhi, Jinnah Meet First Time Since '44; Disagree on Pakistan, but Will Push Peace". *The New York Times*. 7 May 1947. Archived from the original on 30 April 2013. Retrieved 25 March 2012. (subscription required)
155. ↑ Bhattacharya, Sanjoy (2001). *Propaganda and information in Eastern India, 1939–45: a necessary weapon of war*. Psychology Press. p. 33. ISBN 978-0-7007-1406-3.
156. ↑ Shashi, p. 13.
157. ↑ Reprinted in Fischer (2002), pp. 106–08.

158. ↑ [Hermann Kulke; Dietmar Rothermund \(2004\). \*A History of India\*. Routledge. pp. 311–312, context: 308–316. ISBN 978-0-415-32920-0.](#)
159. ↑ [Penderel Moon \(1962\). \*Divide and Quit\*. University of California Press. pp. 11–28.](#)
160. ↑ [Jack, p. 418.](#)
161. ↑ [161.0 161.1 Stanley Wolpert \(2009\). \*Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India\*. Oxford University Press. pp. 118–121. ISBN 978-0-19-539394-1. Archived from the original on 1 October 2013.](#)
162. ↑ [162.0 162.1 Wolpert, Chapter 1. Archived 21 March 2016 at the Wayback Machine., Oxford University Press](#)
163. ↑ [Stanley Wolpert \(2009\). \*Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India\*. Oxford University Press. pp. 118–127. ISBN 978-0-19-539394-1. Archived from the original on 1 October 2013.](#)
164. ↑ [164.0 164.1 164.2 Dennis Dalton \(2012\). \*Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action\*. Columbia University Press. pp. 64–66. ISBN 978-0-231-53039-2.](#)
165. ↑ [Wolpert, Oxford University Press, p. 7.](#)
166. ↑ [Metcalf, Barbara Daly; Metcalf, Thomas R. \(2006\). \*A concise history of modern India\*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 221–22. ISBN 978-0-521-86362-9.](#)
167. ↑ [167.0 167.1 167.2 Lelyveld, Joseph \(2011\). \*Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle with India\*. Random House Digital, Inc. pp. 278–81. ISBN 978-0-307-26958-4.](#)
168. ↑ [Mahatma Gandhi \(2000\). \*The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi\*. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. p. 130. ISBN 978-81-230-0154-8.](#)
169. ↑ [Gandhi, Tushar A. \(2007\). "\*Let's Kill Gandhi !\*": \*A Chronicle of His Last Days, the Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation, and Trial\*. Rupa & Company. p. 12. ISBN 978-81-291-1094-7. Archived from the original on 1 January 2016.](#)
170. ↑ [Nicholas Henry Pronko \(2013\). \*Empirical Foundations of Psychology\*. Routledge. pp. 342–343. ISBN 978-1-136-32701-8.](#)
171. ↑ [Sankar Ghose \(1991\). \*Mahatma Gandhi\*. Allied Publishers. p. 386. ISBN 978-81-702-3205-6.](#)
172. ↑ [Jain, 1996, pp. 45–47.](#)
173. ↑ [Jay Robert Nash \(1981\). \*Almanac of World Crime\*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 69. ISBN 978-1-4617-4768-0.](#)
174. ↑ [G.D. Khosla \(1965\), \*The Murder of the Mahatma\* Archived 21 September 2015 at the Wayback Machine., Chief Justice of Punjab, Jaico Publishers, pages 38](#)
175. ↑ [Hardiman, David \(2003\). \*Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas\*. Columbia University Press. pp. 174–76. ISBN 9780231131148.](#)
176. ↑ [176.0 176.1 176.2 Claude Markovits \(2004\). \*The UnGandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma\*. Anthem Press. pp. 57–59. ISBN 978-1-84331-127-0.](#)
177. ↑ [177.0 177.1 N V Godse \(1948\). \*Why I assassinated Mahatma Gandhi?\*. Surya Bharti Parkashan \(Reprint: 1993\). OCLC 33991989.](#)
178. ↑ [Mahatma Gandhi \(1994\). \*The Gandhi Reader: A Sourcebook of His Life and Writings\*. Grove Press. pp. 483–489. ISBN 978-0-8021-3161-4. Archived from the original on 18 September 2014.](#)
179. ↑ ["Over a million get last darshan". \*The Indian Express\*. 1 February 1948. p. 1 \(bottom left\). Retrieved 19 January 2012.](#)
180. ↑ ["Of all faiths and races, together they shed their silent tears". \*The Indian Express\*. 31 January 1948. p. 5 \(top centre\). Retrieved 19 January 2012.](#)
181. ↑ [Guha, Ramachandra \(2007\), \*India after Gandhi\*, Harper Collins, ISBN 978-0-330-50554-3, pp. 37–40.](#)
182. ↑ [Gopal, Sarvepalli \(1979\), \*Jawaharlal Nehru\*, Jonathan Cape, London, ISBN 0224016210, pp. 16–17.](#)
183. ↑ [Khan, Yasmin \(2011\). "Performing Peace: Gandhi's assassination as a critical moment in the consolidation of the Nehruvian state". \*Modern Asian Studies\*. 45 \(1\): 57–80. doi:10.1017/S0026749X10000223. \(subscription required\)](#)

184. ↑ [Claude Markovits \(2004\). \*The UnGandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma\*. Anthem Press. pp. 58–62. ISBN 978-1-84331-127-0.](#)
185. ↑ [LIFE. Time Inc. 15 March 1948. p. 76. ISSN 0024-3019.](#)
186. ↑ [186.0 186.1 Ramesh, Randeep \(16 January 2008\). "Gandhi's ashes to rest at sea, not in a museum". \*The Guardian\*. London. Archived from the original on 1 September 2013. Retrieved 14 January 2012.](#)
187. ↑ [Kumar, Shanti \(2006\). \*Gandhi meets primetime: globalization and nationalism in Indian television\*. University of Illinois Press. p. 170. ISBN 978-0-252-07244-4.](#)
188. ↑ [Ferrell, David \(27 September 2001\). "A Little Serenity in a City of Madness" \(Abstract\). \*Los Angeles Times\*. p. B 2. Archived from the original on 5 October 2013. Retrieved 14 January 2012.](#)
189. ↑ [Margot Bigg \(2012\). \*Delhi\*. Avalon. p. 14. ISBN 1-61238-490-0.](#)
190. ↑ [Lal, Vinay \(January 2001\). "'Hey Ram': The Politics of Gandhi's Last Words". \*Humanscape\*. 8 \(1\): 34–38. Archived from the original on 4 June 2004.](#)
191. ↑ [William Borman \(1986\). \*Gandhi and Non-Violence\*. State University of New York Press. pp. 192–195, 208–209. ISBN 978-0-88706-331-2.](#)
192. ↑ [Dennis Dalton \(2012\). \*Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action\*. Columbia University Press. pp. 30–35. ISBN 978-0-231-15959-3., Quote: "Yet he \[Gandhi\] must bear some of the responsibility for losing his followers along the way. The sheer vagueness and contradictions recurrent throughout his writing made it easier to accept him as a saint than to fathom the challenge posed by his demanding beliefs. Gandhi saw no harm in self-contradictions: life was a series of experiments, and any principle might change if Truth so dictated".](#)
193. ↑ [193.0 193.1 Brown, Judith M. & Parel, Anthony \(2011\). \*The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi\*. Cambridge University Press. p. 93. ISBN 978-0-521-13345-6.](#)
194. ↑ [Indira Carr \(2012\). Stuart Brown; et al., eds. \*Biographical Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Philosophers\*. Routledge. pp. 263–264. ISBN 978-1-134-92796-8., Quote: "Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand. Indian. born: 2 October 1869, Gujarat; \(...\) Influences: Vaishnavism, Jainism and Advaita Vedanta."](#)
195. ↑ [J. Jordens \(1998\). \*Gandhi's Religion: A Homespun Shawl\*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 116. ISBN 978-0-230-37389-1., Quote: "I am an advaitist, and yet I can support Dvaitism".](#)
196. ↑ [Jeffrey D. Long \(2008\). Rita Sherma and Arvind Sharma, ed. \*Hermeneutics and Hindu Thought: Toward a Fusion of Horizons\*. Springer. p. 194. ISBN 978-1-4020-8192-7.](#)
197. ↑ [Gandhi, Mahatma \(2013\). \*Hinduism According to Gandhi: Thoughts, Writings and Critical Interpretation\*. Orient Paperbacks. p. 85. ISBN 978-81-222-0558-9.](#)
198. ↑ [Anil Mishra \(2012\). \*Reading Gandhi\*. Pearson. p. 2. ISBN 978-81-317-9964-2.](#)
199. ↑ [Cribb, R. B. \(1985\). "The Early Political Philosophy of M. K. Gandhi, 1869–1893". \*Asian Profile\*. 13 \(4\): 353–60.](#)
200. ↑ [Crib \(1985\).](#)
201. ↑ [Bhikhu C. Parekh \(2001\). \*Gandhi\*. Sterling Publishing. pp. 43, 71. ISBN 978-1-4027-6887-3.](#)
202. ↑ [Indira Carr \(2012\). Stuart Brown; et al., eds. \*Biographical Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Philosophers\*. Routledge. p. 263. ISBN 978-1-134-92796-8.](#)
203. ↑ [Glyn Richards \(2016\). \*Studies in Religion: A Comparative Approach to Theological and Philosophical Themes\*. Springer. pp. 64–78. ISBN 978-1-349-24147-7.](#)
204. ↑ [Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind \(1972\). "Gandhi and History". \*History and Theory\*. 11 \(2\): 214–25. doi:10.2307/2504587. JSTOR 2504587.](#)
205. ↑ [Williams, Raymond Brady \(2001\). \*An introduction to Swaminarayan Hinduism\*. Cambridge University Press. p. 173. ISBN 0-521-65422-X.](#)
206. ↑ [Meller, Helen Elizabeth \(1994\). \*Patrick Geddes: social evolutionist and city planner\*. Routledge. p. 159. ISBN 0-415-10393-2.](#)
207. ↑ [Spodek, Howard \(1971\). "On the Origins of Gandhi's Political Methodology: The Heritage of Kathiawad and Gujarat". \*Journal of Asian Studies\*. 30 \(2\): 361–72. JSTOR 2942919.](#)

208. ↑ B. Srinivasa Murthy, ed. (1987). *Mahatma Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy: Letters*. ISBN 0-941910-03-2.
209. ↑ Murthy, B. Srinivasa, ed. (1987). *Mahatma Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy: Letters* (PDF). Long Beach, California: Long Beach Publications. ISBN 0-941910-03-2. Archived (PDF) from the original on 17 September 2012. Retrieved 14 January 2012.
210. ↑ Green, Martin Burgess (1986). *The origins of nonviolence: Tolstoy and Gandhi in their historical settings*. Pennsylvania State University Press. ISBN 978-0-271-00414-3. Retrieved 17 January 2012.
211. ↑ Bhana, Surendra (1979). "Tolstoy Farm, A Satyagrahi's Battle Ground". *Journal of Indian History*. **57** (2/3): 431–40.
212. ↑ Gandhi, Mahatma. *Gandhi: An Autobiography* (Beacon Press ed.). pp. 63–65. ISBN 0807059099.
213. ↑ Webber, Thomas (3 March 2011). *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor* (3 ed.). Cambridge University Press. pp. 33–36. ISBN 0521174481.
214. ↑ Gandhi, Mahatma (June 1930). "Modern Review".
215. ↑ <sup>215.0</sup> <sup>215.1</sup> Mahatma Gandhi (1957). *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. **39**. Beacon Press. p. 262. ISBN 978-0-8070-5909-8. Retrieved 23 November 2016.
216. ↑ Thomas Weber (2 December 2004). *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 34–36. ISBN 978-1-139-45657-9.
217. ↑ <sup>217.0</sup> <sup>217.1</sup> <sup>217.2</sup> <sup>217.3</sup> "Mahatma Gandhi – The religious quest | Biography, Accomplishments, & Facts". *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2015. Archived from the original on 13 May 2017. Retrieved 3 June 2017.
218. ↑ Martin Burgess Green (1993). *Gandhi: voice of a new age revolution*. Continuum. pp. 123–125. ISBN 978-0-8264-0620-0.
219. ↑ Fischer Louis (1950). *The life of Mahatma Gandhi*. HarperCollins. pp. 43–44. ISBN 978-0-06-091038-9.
220. ↑ Ghose, Sankar (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. pp. 377–378. ISBN 9788170232056.
221. ↑ Richard H. Davis (2014). *The "Bhagavad Gita": A Biography*. Princeton University Press. pp. 137–145. ISBN 978-1-4008-5197-3.
222. ↑ <sup>222.0</sup> <sup>222.1</sup> <sup>222.2</sup> <sup>222.3</sup> Ghose, Sankar (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. p. 275. ISBN 9788170232056.
223. ↑ Simone Panter-Brick (2015). *Gandhi and Nationalism: The Path to Indian Independence*. I.B.Tauris. pp. 75–77. ISBN 978-1-78453-023-5.
224. ↑ Mahatma Gandhi (2005). *All Men Are Brothers*. Bloomsbury Academic. p. 22. ISBN 978-0-8264-1739-8.
225. ↑ Rahul Sagar (2015). David M. Malone; et al., eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press. pp. 71–73. ISBN 978-0-19-106118-9.
226. ↑ Rahul Sagar (2015). David M. Malone; et al., eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press. p. 70. ISBN 978-0-19-106118-9.
227. ↑ Gene Sharp (1960). *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories*. Navajivan. p. 4.
228. ↑ Dennis Dalton (2012). *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*. Columbia University Press. pp. 30–32. ISBN 978-0-231-15959-3.
229. ↑ William Borman (1986). *Gandhi and Non-Violence*. State University of New York Press. pp. 26–34. ISBN 978-0-88706-331-2.
230. ↑ Indira Carr (2012). Stuart Brown; et al., eds. *Biographical Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Philosophers*. Routledge. p. 264. ISBN 978-1-134-92796-8.
231. ↑ Watson, I. Bruce (1977). "Satyagraha: The Gandhian Synthesis". *Journal of Indian History*. **55** (1/2): 325–35.
232. ↑ <sup>232.0</sup> <sup>232.1</sup> Glyn Richards (1986), *Gandhi's Concept of Truth and the Advaita Tradition*, *Religious Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar. 1986), pp. 1–14
233. ↑ *Salt March: Indian History* Archived 1 July 2017 at the *Wayback Machine*., *Encyclopædia Britannica*
234. ↑ Sita Anantha Raman (2009). *Women in India: A Social and Cultural History*. ABC-CLIO. pp. 164–166. ISBN 978-0-313-01440-6.

235. ↑ Parel, Anthony (2006). *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony*. Cambridge University Press. p. 195. ISBN 978-0-521-86715-3. Retrieved 13 January 2012.
236. ↑ Nicholas F. Gier (2004). *The Virtue of Nonviolence: From Gautama to Gandhi*. State University of New York Press. pp. 40–42. ISBN 978-0-7914-5949-2.
237. ↑ Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. p. 176. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5.
238. ↑ Gandhi, M.K. "Some Rules of Satyagraha *Young India (Navajivan)* 23 February 1930". *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. **48**: 340.
239. ↑ Prabhu, R. K. and Rao, U. R. (eds.) (1967) from section "[Power of Satyagraha](#)" Archived 2 September 2007 at the [Wayback Machine](#)., of the book *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, Ahemadabad, India.
240. ↑ Gandhi, M. K. (1982) [Young India, 16 June 1920]. "156. The Law of Suffering". *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (PDF). **20** (electronic ed.). New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. pp. 396–99. Archived (PDF) from the original on 28 January 2012. Retrieved 14 January 2012.
241. ↑ Sharma, Jai Narain (2008). *Satyagraha: Gandhi's approach to conflict resolution*. Concept Publishing Company. p. 17. ISBN 978-81-8069-480-6. Retrieved 26 January 2012.
242. ↑ R. Taras (2002). *Liberal and Illiberal Nationalisms*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 91. ISBN 978-0-230-59640-5., Quote: "In 1920 Jinnah opposed satyagraha and resigned from the Congress, boosting the fortunes of the Muslim League."
243. ↑ Yasmin Khan (2007). *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Yale University Press. pp. 11–22. ISBN 0-300-12078-8. Archived from the original on 12 October 2013.
244. ↑ Rafiq Zakaria (2002). *The Man who Divided India*. Popular Prakashan. pp. 83–85. ISBN 978-81-7991-145-7.
245. ↑ <sup>245.0</sup> <sup>245.1</sup> Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. p. 586. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. Archived from the original on 13 September 2014.
246. ↑ Cháirez-Garza, Jesús Francisco (2 January 2014). "Touching space: Ambedkar on the spatial features of untouchability". *Contemporary South Asia*. Taylor & Francis. **22** (1): 37–50. doi:10.1080/09584935.2013.870978.; B.R. Ambedkar (1945), *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*, Thacker & Co. Editions, First Edition, pages v, 282–297
247. ↑ Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 359, 378–380. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. Archived from the original on 13 September 2014.
248. ↑ Asirvatham, Eddy. *Political Theory*. S.chand. ISBN 81-219-0346-7.
249. ↑ Christopher Chapple (1993). *Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Traditions*. State University of New York Press. pp. 16–18, 54–57. ISBN 978-0-7914-1497-2.
250. ↑ Gandhi, Mohandis K. (11 August 1920), "The Doctrine of the Sword", *Young India*, M. K. Gandhi: 3, retrieved 3 May 2017 Cited from Borman, William (1986). *Gandhi and nonviolence*. SUNY Press. p. 253. ISBN 9780887063312.
251. ↑ Faisal Devji, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence* (Harvard University Press; 2012)
252. ↑ Johnson, Richard L. (2006). *Gandhi's Experiments With Truth: Essential Writings By And About Mahatma Gandhi*. Lexington Books. p. 11. ISBN 978-0-7391-1143-7. Retrieved 9 May 2012.
253. ↑ Mahatma Gandhi on Bhagat Singh.
254. ↑ Rai, Raghunath. *Themes in Indian History*. FK Publications. p. 282. ISBN 9788189611620.
255. ↑ Wolpert, p. 197.
256. ↑ Orwell, review of Louis Fischer's *Gandhi and Stalin*, *The Observer*, 10 October 1948, reprinted in *It Is what I Think*, pp. 452–453.
257. ↑ Fischer, Louis (1950). *The life of Mahatma Gandhi*. Harper. p. 348.
258. ↑ George Orwell, "Reflections on Gandhi", *Partisan Review*, January 1949.
259. ↑ <sup>259.0</sup> <sup>259.1</sup> <sup>259.2</sup> P. R. Kumaraswamy (2010). *India's Israel Policy*. Columbia University Press. pp. 36–38. ISBN 978-0-231-52548-0.

260. ↑ Fischer Louis (1950). *The life of Mahatma Gandhi*. HarperCollins. p. 424. ISBN 978-0-06-091038-9.
261. ↑ Panter-Brick, Simone (2008), *Gandhi and the Middle East: Jews, Arabs and Imperial Interests*. London: I.B. Tauris, ISBN 1845115848.
262. ↑ Panter-Brick, Simone. "Gandhi's Dream of Hindu-Muslim Unity and its two Offshoots in the Middle East" Archived 17 July 2012 at the Wayback Machine.. *Durham Anthropology Journal*, Volume 16(2), 2009: pp. 54–66.
263. ↑ Jack, p. 317.
264. ↑ Murti, Ramana V.V. (1968). "Buber's Dialogue and Gandhi's Satyagraha". *Journal of the History of Ideas*. **29** (4): 605–13. doi:10.2307/2708297. JSTOR 2708297.
265. ↑ Simone Panter-Brick (2009), *Gandhi's Views on the Resolution of the Conflict in Palestine: A Note*, Middle Eastern Studies, Taylor & Francis, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan. 2009), pp. 127–133
266. ↑ <sup>266.0</sup> <sup>266.1</sup> Chad M. Bauman (2015). *Pentecostals, Proselytization, and Anti-Christian Violence in Contemporary India*. Oxford University Press. pp. 50, 56–59, 66. ISBN 978-0-19-020210-1.
267. ↑ Robert Eric Frykenberg; Richard Fox Young (2009). *India and the Indianness of Christianity*. Wm. B. Eerdmans. pp. 211–214. ISBN 978-0-8028-6392-8.
268. ↑ <sup>268.0</sup> <sup>268.1</sup> John C.B. Webster (1993). Harold Coward, ed. *Hindu-Christian Dialogue: Perspectives and Encounters*. Motilal Banarsidass. pp. 81–86, 89–95. ISBN 978-81-208-1158-4. Archived from the original on 17 March 2015.
269. ↑ Eric J. Sharpe (1993). Harold Coward, ed. *Hindu-Christian Dialogue: Perspectives and Encounters*. Motilal Banarsidass. p. 105. ISBN 978-81-208-1158-4. Archived from the original on 17 March 2015.
270. ↑ <sup>270.0</sup> <sup>270.1</sup> Mohandas K. Gandhi; Michael Nagler (Ed) (2006). *Gandhi on Islam*. Berkeley Hills. pp. 1–17, 31–38. ISBN 1-89316-3644.
271. ↑ M K Gandhi (1925). *Young India*. Navajivan Publishing. pp. 81–82.
272. ↑ Mohandas Karmchand Gandhi (2004). V Geetha, ed. *Soul Force: Gandhi's Writings on Peace*. Gandhi Publications Trust. pp. 193–194. ISBN 978-81-86211-85-4.
273. ↑ Niranjan Ramakrishnan (2013). *Reading Gandhi in the Twenty-First Century*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 59. ISBN 978-1-137-32514-3.
274. ↑ Kumaraswamy, P. R. (1992). "Mahatma Gandhi and the Jewish National Home: An Assessment". *Asian and African studies: Journal of the Israel Oriental Society*. **26** (1): 1–13.
275. ↑ Simone Panter-Brick (2015). *Gandhi and Nationalism: The Path to Indian Independence*. I.B.Tauris. pp. 118–119. ISBN 978-1-78453-023-5.
276. ↑ M. Naeem Qureshi (1999). Reinhard Schulze, ed. *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918–1924*. BRILL Academic. pp. 104–105 with footnotes. ISBN 90-04-11371-1. Archived from the original on 24 April 2016.
277. ↑ Muhammad Soaleh Korejo (1993). *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History*. Oxford University Press. pp. 77–79. ISBN 978-0-19-577461-0.
278. ↑ Stanley Wolpert (2001). *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. pp. 243–244. ISBN 978-0-19-972872-5.
279. ↑ Rein Fernhout (1995). 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Na'im, Jerald Gort and Henry Jansen, ed. *Human Rights and Religious Values: An Uneasy Relationship?*. Rodopi. pp. 126–131. ISBN 978-9-05-183777-3.
280. ↑ <sup>280.0</sup> <sup>280.1</sup> J.T.F. Jordens (1998). *Gandhi's Religion: A Homespun Shawl*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 107–108. ISBN 978-0-230-37389-1.
281. ↑ Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh (2003). Harold Coward, ed. *Indian Critiques of Gandhi*. State University of New York Press. pp. 185–188. ISBN 978-0-7914-8588-0.
282. ↑ Stanley Wolpert (2002). *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. pp. 14, 25–27. ISBN 978-0-19-515634-8. Archived from the original on 19 February 2017., Quote: "The Gandhis had always been strict vegetarians, as are all devout Hindus".

283. ↑ <sup>283.0</sup> <sup>283.1</sup> Lisa Kemmerer (2012). *Animals and World Religions*. Oxford University Press. pp. 65–68. ISBN 978-0-19-979068-5.
284. ↑ <sup>284.0</sup> <sup>284.1</sup> <sup>284.2</sup> Unto Tähtinen (1979). *The Core of Gandhi's Philosophy*. Abhinav Publications. pp. 61–62, 51–52. ISBN 978-0-8364-0516-3.
285. ↑ Chitrita Banerji, *Eating India: an odyssey into the food and culture of the land of spices* (2007), p. 169.
286. ↑ <sup>286.0</sup> <sup>286.1</sup> Ronald Terchek (1998). *Gandhi: Struggling for Autonomy*. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 204–206. ISBN 978-0-8476-9215-6.
287. ↑ Becker, Carol (2006). "Gandhi's Body and Further Representations of War and Peace". *Art Journal*. **65** (4): 78. doi:10.2307/20068500.
288. ↑ Joseph S. Alter (2011). *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism*. University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 4–5, 21–22, 34–38, 162–163. ISBN 0-8122-0474-3.
289. ↑ Kerry S. Walters; Lisa Portmess (1999). *Ethical Vegetarianism: From Pythagoras to Peter Singer*. State University of New York Press. pp. 139–144. ISBN 978-0-7914-4043-8.
290. ↑ Wolpert, p. 22.
291. ↑ <sup>291.0</sup> <sup>291.1</sup> Arthur Herman (2008). *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged Our Age*. Random House. pp. 89–90, 294–295. ISBN 978-0-553-90504-5. Archived from the original on 13 September 2014.
292. ↑ <sup>292.0</sup> <sup>292.1</sup> Mahatma Gandhi (1957). *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Beacon Press. pp. 328–330. ISBN 978-0-8070-5909-8.
293. ↑ Joseph S. Alter (2011). *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism*. University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 21–22, 34–34, 74–75, 162–163. ISBN 0-8122-0474-3.
294. ↑ Georg Feuerstein (2011). *The Path of Yoga: An Essential Guide to Its Principles and Practices*. Shambhala Publications. p. 66. ISBN 978-0-8348-2292-4.
295. ↑ "Towards an understanding of Gandhi's views on Science". Mkgandhi.org. 1 November 1934. Archived from the original on 11 March 2016. Retrieved 12 July 2016.
296. ↑ Pratt, Tim & Vernon, James (2005). "'Appeal from this fiery bed...': The Colonial Politics of Gandhi's Fasts and Their Metropolitan Reception". *Journal of British Studies*. **44** (1): 92–114. doi:10.1086/424944.
297. ↑ Alter, Joseph S. (1996). "Gandhi's body, Gandhi's truth: Nonviolence and the biomoral imperative of public health". *Journal of Asian Studies*. **35** (2): 305–306, 309–310, 313–317, 320–321 (all with footnotes). doi:10.2307/2943361. JSTOR 2943361.
298. ↑ <sup>298.0</sup> <sup>298.1</sup> Norvell, Lyn (1997). "Gandhi and the Indian Women's Movement". *British Library Journal*. **23** (1): 12–27. ISSN 0305-5167. Archived from the original on 4 October 2013.
299. ↑ <sup>299.0</sup> <sup>299.1</sup> <sup>299.2</sup> Madhu Purnima Kishwar (2008). *Zealous Reformers, Deadly Laws*. SAGE Publications. pp. 132–133. ISBN 978-81-321-0009-6.
300. ↑ Angela Woollacott (2006). *Gender and Empire*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 107–108. ISBN 978-0-230-20485-0.
301. ↑ Kumari Jayawardena (2016). *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. Verso. pp. 95–99. ISBN 978-1-78478-431-7.
302. ↑ <sup>302.0</sup> <sup>302.1</sup> A. P. Sharma (2010). *Indian & Western Educational Philosophy*. Pustak Mahal. pp. 154–156. ISBN 81-7806-201-1.
303. ↑ Winthrop Sargeant (2010). Christopher Key Chapple, ed. *The Bhagavad Gita: Twenty-fifth–Anniversary Edition*. State University of New York Press. pp. x–xviii, 285 (verse 6.14), 415 (verse 10.5), 535 (verse 13.7). ISBN 978-1-4384-2840-6. Archived from the original on 15 April 2017.
304. ↑ Thomas Weber (2004). *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*. Cambridge University Press. p. 33. ISBN 978-1-139-45657-9.
305. ↑ Sankar Ghose (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. pp. 66–67. ISBN 978-81-7023-205-6.
306. ↑ <sup>306.0</sup> <sup>306.1</sup> <sup>306.2</sup> Sankar Ghose (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. pp. 354–357. ISBN 978-81-7023-205-6.

307. ↑ <sup>307.0</sup> <sup>307.1</sup> Bhikhu C. Parekh (1999). *Colonialism, tradition, and reform: an analysis of Gandhi's political discourse*. Sage Publications. pp. 210–221. ISBN 978-0-7619-9382-7. Archived from the original on 29 June 2014.
308. ↑ <sup>308.0</sup> <sup>308.1</sup> <sup>308.2</sup> Jad Adams (2 January 2012). "Thrill of the chaste: The truth about Gandhi's sex life". *The Independent*. Archived from the original on 3 June 2013.
309. ↑ <sup>309.0</sup> <sup>309.1</sup> Uma Majmudar (2012). *Gandhi's Pilgrimage of Faith: From Darkness to Light*. State University of New York Press. pp. 224–225. ISBN 978-0-7914-8351-0.
310. ↑ Lal, Vinay (Jan–Apr 2000). "Nakedness, Nonviolence, and Brahmacharya: Gandhi's Experiments in Celibate Sexuality". *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. **9** (1/2): 105–36. JSTOR 3704634.
311. ↑ Sean Scalmer (2011). *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 12–17 with footnotes. Archived from the original on 1 January 2016.
312. ↑ Howard, Veena R. (2013). "Rethinking Gandhi's celibacy: Ascetic power and women's empowerment". *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. Oxford University Press. **81** (1): 130, 137, 130–161. doi:10.1093/jaarel/lfs103.
313. ↑ <sup>313.0</sup> <sup>313.1</sup> <sup>313.2</sup> <sup>313.3</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot (2005). *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Fighting the Indian Caste System*. Columbia University Press. pp. 60–63. ISBN 978-0-231-13602-0.
314. ↑ <sup>314.0</sup> <sup>314.1</sup> <sup>314.2</sup> MK Gandhi (1920), *Speech at Antyaj Conference, Nagpur*, pages 148–155
315. ↑ Coward, Harold G. (2003). *Indian Critiques of Gandhi*. SUNY Press. pp. 52–3. ISBN 978-0-7914-5910-2.
316. ↑ Desai, pp. 230–89.
317. ↑ <sup>317.0</sup> <sup>317.1</sup> Roberts, Andrew (26 March 2011). "Among the Hagiographers (A book review of "Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle With India" by Joseph Lelyveld)". *The Wall Street Journal*. Archived from the original on 3 January 2012. Retrieved 14 January 2012.
318. ↑ *Gandhi-Ambedkar correspondence* Archived 9 January 2017 at the *Wayback Machine*., Mahatma Gandhi writings, An Archive
319. ↑ Rajmohan Gandhi (2006). *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. University of California Press. pp. 333–359. ISBN 978-0-520-25570-8. Archived from the original on 22 February 2017.
320. ↑ Sankar Ghose (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. p. 236. ISBN 978-81-7023-205-6.
321. ↑ Rajmohan Gandhi (2006). *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. University of California Press. p. 385. ISBN 978-0-520-25570-8.
322. ↑ KR Rao (1975). MVVS Murthi; et al., eds. "Satyagraha: Gandhi's yoga of nonviolence". *Journal of Gandhian Studies*. Gandhi Bhawan, University of Allahabad. **3**: 48.;  
Laxman Kawale (2012), *Dalit's Social Transformation: Redefining the Social Justice*, ISRJ, Volume 1, Issue XII, page 3; Quote: "Even though Ambedkar was a party to Poona Pact, he was never reconciled to it. His contempt against Gandhi which was [sic] continued even after his assassination on January 30, 1948. On the death of Gandhi he expressed, "My real enemy has gone; thank goodness the eclipse is over". He equated the assassination of Gandhi with that of Caesar and the remark of Cicero to the messenger – "Tell the Romans, your hour of liberty has come". He further remarked, "While one regrets the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, one cannot help finding in his heart the echo of the sentiments expressed by Cicero on the assassination of Caesar".
323. ↑ Guha, Ramachandra (22 June 2012) "The Other Liberal Light" Archived 24 October 2015 at the *Wayback Machine*.. *The New Republic*.
324. ↑ V.R. Devika and G. Arulmani (2014). Gideon Arulmani; et al., eds. *Handbook of Career Development: International Perspectives*. Springer Science. p. 111. ISBN 978-1-4614-9460-7.
325. ↑ <sup>325.0</sup> <sup>325.1</sup> Weber, Thomas (2004). *Gandhi As Disciple And Mentor*. Cambridge U. Press. p. 80 with footnote 42. ISBN 9781139456579.
326. ↑ J.J. Chambliss (2013). *Philosophy of Education: An Encyclopedia*. Routledge. p. 233. ISBN 978-1-136-51161-5.
327. ↑ Dehury, Dinabandhu "Mahatma Gandhi's Contribution to Education", *Orissa Review*, September/October 2006, pp. 11–15 Archived 15 February 2010 at the *Wayback Machine*.; December 2008, pp. 1–5.

328. ↑ [Yencken, David; Fien, John & Sykes, Helen \(2000\). \*Environment, Education, and Society in the Asia-Pacific: Local Traditions and Global Discourses\*. Psychology Press. p. 107. ISBN 9780203459263.](#)
329. ↑ [329.0 329.1 329.2 Chakrabarty, Bidyut \(2006\). \*Social and political thought of Mahatma Gandhi\*. Routledge. pp. 138–139. ISBN 978-0-415-36096-8.](#)
330. ↑ [Easwaran, Eknath. \*Gandhi the Man\*. Nilgiri Press, 2011. p. 49.](#)
331. ↑ [Gillen, Paul & Ghosh, Devleena \(2007\). \*Colonialism and Modernity\*. UNSW Press. pp. 129–131. ISBN 9780868407357.](#)
332. ↑ [Anil Mishra \(2012\). \*Reading Gandhi\*. Pearson. pp. 167–170. ISBN 978-81-317-9964-2.](#)
333. ↑ [Tewari, S. M. \(1971\). "The Concept of Democracy in the Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi". \*Indian Political Science Review\*. \*\*6\*\* \(2\): 225–51.](#)
334. ↑ [John L. Esposito; Darrell J. Fasching; Todd Lewis \(2007\). \*Religion & globalization: world religions in historical perspective\*. Oxford University Press. pp. 543–544. ISBN 978-0-19-517695-7.](#)
335. ↑ [Chetan Bhatt \(2001\). \*Hindu nationalism: origins, ideologies and modern myths\*. Berg. pp. 111–112. ISBN 978-1-85973-343-1.](#)
336. ↑ [Leora Batnitzky; Hanoch Dagan \(2017\). \*Institutionalizing Rights and Religion: Competing Supremacies\*. Cambridge University Press. p. 250. ISBN 978-1-108-17953-9., Quote: "Many Muslims viewed Gandhi not as a secularist, but as a Hindu nationalist."](#)
337. ↑ [Lars Tore Flåten \(2016\). \*Hindu Nationalism, History and Identity in India: Narrating a Hindu past under the BJP\*. Taylor & Francis. p. 249. ISBN 978-1-317-20871-6.](#)
338. ↑ [338.0 338.1 338.2 Singh AR; Singh SA \(2004\). "Gandhi on religion, faith and conversion: secular blueprint relevant today". \*Mens Sana Monographs\*. \*\*2\*\* \(1\): 79–88. PMC 3400300. PMID 22815610.](#)
339. ↑ [Mahatma Gandhi; Anand T. Hingorani \(1962\). \*All Religions are True\*. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. pp. 112–113.](#)
340. ↑ [340.0 340.1 Bhikhu C. Parekh \(2001\). \*Gandhi\*. Sterling Publishing. pp. 82–84. ISBN 978-1-4027-6887-3.](#)
341. ↑ [341.0 341.1 Rivett, Kenneth \(1959\). "The Economic Thought of Mahatma Gandhi". \*The British Journal of Sociology\*. JSTOR. \*\*10\*\* \(1\): 1–15. doi:10.2307/587582.](#)
342. ↑ [Bhatt, V. V. \(1982\). "Development Problem, Strategy, and Technology Choice: Sarvodaya and Socialist Approaches in India". \*Economic Development and Cultural Change\*. \*\*31\*\* \(1\): 85–99. doi:10.1086/451307. JSTOR 1153645.](#)
343. ↑ [Rothermund, Indira \(1969\). "The Individual and Society in Gandhi's Political Thought". \*The Journal of Asian Studies\*. Cambridge University Press. \*\*28\*\* \(2\): 313–320. doi:10.2307/2943005.](#)
344. ↑ [Ramjee Singh \(1997\). Ronald Bontekoe; et al., eds. \*Justice and Democracy: Cross-cultural Perspectives\*. University of Hawaii Press. pp. 233–235. ISBN 978-0-8248-1926-2.](#)
345. ↑ [Chakrabarty, Bidyut \(1992\). "Jawaharlal Nehru and Planning, 1938–1941: India at the Crossroads". \*Modern Asian Studies\*. \*\*26\*\* \(2\): 275–87. doi:10.1017/S0026749X00009781.](#)
346. ↑ [Padma Desai and Jagdish Bhagwati \(1975\). "Socialism and Indian economic policy". \*World Development\*. \*\*3\*\* \(4\): 213–21. doi:10.1016/0305-750X\(75\)90063-7.](#)
347. ↑ [B.K. Nehru \(Spring 1990\). "Socialism at crossroads". \*India International Centre Quarterly\*. \*\*17\*\* \(1\): 1–12. JSTOR 23002177.](#)
348. ↑ [Pandikattu, Kuruvila \(2001\). \*Gandhi: the meaning of Mahatma for the millennium\*. CRVP. p. 237. ISBN 978-1-56518-156-4.](#)
349. ↑ [Rivett, Kenneth \(1959\). "The Economic Thought of Mahatma Gandhi". \*British Journal of Sociology\*. \*\*10\*\* \(1\): 1–15. doi:10.2307/587582. JSTOR 587582.](#)
350. ↑ [350.0 350.1 350.2 Bhikhu C. Parekh \(2001\). \*Gandhi\*. Sterling Publishing. pp. 5–6, 15–16. ISBN 978-1-4027-6887-3.](#)
351. ↑ [Bhikhu Parekh \(1991\). \*Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination\*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 133–136. ISBN 978-1-349-12242-4.](#)
352. ↑ [Sankhdher, M. M. \(1972\), "Gandhism: A Political Interpretation", \*Gandhi Marg\*, pp. 68–74.](#)

353. ↑ Kamath, M. V. (2007), *Gandhi, a spiritual journey*, Indus Source, ISBN 8188569119, p. 195.
354. ↑ "Would Gandhi have been a Wikipedian?". *The Indian Express*. 17 January 2012. Archived from the original on 9 December 2012. Retrieved 26 January 2012.
355. ↑ "Peerless Communicator" Archived 4 August 2007 at the Wayback Machine. by V. N. Narayanan. Life Positive Plus, October–December 2002.
356. ↑ Gandhi, M. K. *Unto this Last: A paraphrase* (PDF). Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. ISBN 81-7229-076-4. Archived from the original on 30 October 2012.
357. ↑ Pareku, Bhikhu (2001). *Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. p. 159. ISBN 978-0-19-160667-0.
358. ↑ "Revised edition of Bapu's works to be withdrawn". *The Times of India*. 16 November 2005. Retrieved 25 March 2012.
359. ↑ Peter Rühle. "Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG) Controversy". Gandhiserve.org. Archived from the original on 7 September 2016. Retrieved 12 July 2016.
360. ↑ Tagore, Rabindranath (15 December 1998). Dutta, Krishna, ed. *Rabindranath Tagore: an anthology*. Robinson, Andrew. Macmillan. p. 2. ISBN 978-0-312-20079-4.
361. ↑ Desai, p. viii.
362. ↑ Basu Majumdar, A. K. (1993), *Rabindranath Tagore: The Poet of India*, Indus Publishing, ISBN 8185182922, p. 83: "When Gandhi returned to India, Rabindranath's eldest brother Dwijendranath, was perhaps the first to address him as Mahatma. Rabindranath followed suit and then the whole of India called him Mahatma Gandhi."
363. ↑ Ghose, Sankar (1991). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Allied Publishers. p. 158. ISBN 9788170232056. "So Tagore differed from many of Gandhi's ideas, but yet he had great regard for him and Tagore was perhaps the first important Indian who called Gandhi a Mahatma. But in 1921 when Gandhi was asked whether he was really a Mahatma Gandhi replied that he did not feel like one, and that, in any event he could not define a Mahatma for he had never met any."
364. ↑ Guha, Ramachandra (24 July 2007). *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. Delhi: Ecco Press. ISBN 0060198818.
365. ↑ "King's Trip to India". *mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu*. Archived from the original on 21 March 2009. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
366. ↑ Sidner, Sara (17 February 2009). "King moved, as father was, on trip to Gandhi's memorial". *cnn.com Asia-Pacific*. CNN. Archived from the original on 14 April 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
367. ↑ D'Souza, Placido P. (20 January 2003). "Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr.: Gandhi's influence on King". *San Francisco Chronicle*. Archived from the original on 10 December 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
368. ↑ Tougas, Shelley (1 January 2011). *Birmingham 1963: How a Photograph Rallied Civil Rights Support*. Capstone Press. p. 12. ISBN 978-0-7565-4398-3. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
369. ↑ Cone, James (1992). *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream Or a Nightmare*. Orbis Books. ISBN 0883448246.
370. ↑ <sup>370.0</sup> <sup>370.1</sup> Nelson Mandela, "The Sacred Warrior: The liberator of South Africa looks at the seminal work of the liberator of India" Archived 5 October 2013 at the Wayback Machine., *Time*, 3 January 2000
371. ↑ Pal, Amitabh (February 2002). "A pacifist uncovered- Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pakistani pacifist". *The Progressive*. Archived from the original on 7 January 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
372. ↑ "An alternative Gandhi". *The Tribune*. India. 22 February 2004. Archived from the original on 14 May 2009. Retrieved 12 March 2009.
373. ↑ Bhana, Surendra; Vahed, Goolam H. (2005). *The Making of a Political Reformer: Gandhi in South Africa, 1893–1914*. Manohar. pp. 44–5, 149. ISBN 978-81-7304-612-4.
374. ↑ "Einstein on Gandhi (Einstein's letter to Gandhi – Courtesy: Saraswati Albano-Müller & Notes by Einstein on Gandhi – Source: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)". Gandhiserve.org. 18 October 1931. Archived from the original on 17 January 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
375. ↑ Dhupelia-Mesthrie, Uma (1 January 2005). *Gandhi's prisoner?: the life of Gandhi's son Manilal*. Permanent Black. p. 293. ISBN 978-81-7824-116-6. Retrieved 26 January 2012.

376. ↑ "In the company of Babu". *The Telegraph*. 3 October 2004. Archived from the original on 8 February 2012. Retrieved 26 January 2012.
377. ↑ Gilmore, Mikal (5 December 2005). "Lennon Lives Forever". *Rolling Stone*. Archived from the original on 28 May 2007. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
378. ↑ Kar, Kalyan (23 June 2007). "Of Gandhigiri and Green Lion, Al Gore wins hearts at Cannes". *Cannes Lions 2007*. exchange4media. Archived from the original on 11 January 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
379. ↑ "Remarks by the President to the Joint Session of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, India". The White House. 8 November 2010. Archived from the original on 13 January 2012. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
380. ↑ "Obama steers clear of politics in school pep talk". MSNBC. Associated Press. 8 September 2009. Archived from the original on 4 October 2013. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
381. ↑ "The Children of Gandhi" (excerpt). *Time*. 31 December 1999. Archived from the original on 5 October 2013.
382. ↑ Moreno, Jenalia (16 January 2010). "Houston community celebrates district named for Gandhi". *Houston Chronicle*. Archived from the original on 30 April 2015. Retrieved 24 January 2012.
383. ↑ "UN declares 2 October, Gandhi's birthday, as International Day of Nonviolence". UN News Centre. 15 June 2007. Archived from the original on 23 January 2012. Retrieved 2 April 2012.
384. ↑ "School Day of Nonviolence And Peace". *Letter of Peace addressed to the UN*. cartadelapaz.org. 30 January 2009. Archived from the original on 1 November 2011. Retrieved 9 January 2012.
385. ↑ <sup>385.0</sup> <sup>385.1</sup> Eulogio Díaz del Corral (31 January 1983). "DENIP: School Day of Nonviolence and Peace". *DENIP* (in Spanish). Archived from the original on 27 February 2012. Retrieved 30 January 2012.
386. ↑ Rushdie, Salman (13 April 1998). "The Time 100". *Time*. Archived from the original on 15 September 2013. Retrieved 3 March 2009.
387. ↑ "Top 25 Political Icons". *Time*. 4 February 2011. Archived from the original on 28 December 2013. Retrieved 9 February 2011.
388. ↑ "Nobel Peace Prize Nominations". American Friends Service Committee. Archived from the original on 4 February 2012. Retrieved 30 January 2012.
389. ↑ <sup>389.0</sup> <sup>389.1</sup> <sup>389.2</sup> <sup>389.3</sup> Tønnesson, Øyvind (1 December 1999). "Mahatma Gandhi, the Missing Laureate". Nobelprize.org. Archived from the original on 5 July 2013. Retrieved 16 January 2012.
390. ↑ "Relevance of Gandhian Philosophy in the 21st Century" Archived 15 September 2011 at the Wayback Machine.. lcrs.ugm.ac.id. Retrieved 5 August 2013.
391. ↑ "Crusade with arms". *The Hindu*.
392. ↑ "Father of the Nation RTI". NDTV. Archived from the original on 4 December 2016. Retrieved 21 September 2016.
393. ↑ "Constitution does not permit any titles". *The Times of India*. Archived from the original on 7 January 2017. Retrieved 21 September 2016.
394. ↑ "Mahatma: Life of Gandhi, 1869–1948 (1968 – 5hrs 10min)". Channel of GandhiServe Foundation. Archived from the original on 18 January 2015. Retrieved 30 December 2014.
395. ↑ "Vithalbai Jhaveri". GandhiServe Foundatiom. Archived from the original on 31 December 2014. Retrieved 30 December 2014.
396. ↑ Dwyer, Rachel (2011). "The Case of the Missing Mahatma:Gandhi and the Hindi Cinema" (PDF). *Public Culture* 23:2. Duke University Press. doi:10.1215/08992363-1161949. Archived (PDF) from the original on 21 March 2017.
397. ↑ Melvani, Lavina (February 1997). "Making of the Mahatma". *Hinduism Today*. hinduismtoday.com. Archived from the original on 3 February 2012. Retrieved 26 January 2012.
398. ↑ Pandohar, Jaspreet (Reviewer). "Movies – Maine Gandhi Ko Nahin Mara (I Did Not Kill Gandhi) (2005)". BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation). Archived from the original on 4 July 2015. Retrieved 30 December 2014.
399. ↑ Lal, Vinay. "Moving Images of Gandhi" (PDF). Archived (PDF) from the original on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 30 December 2014.

400. ↑ ["It's fashionable to be anti-Gandhi"](#). DNA. 1 October 2005. [Archived](#) from the original on 22 June 2013. Retrieved 25 January 2013.
401. ↑ [Dutt, Devina \(20 February 2009\). "Drama king". \*Live Mint\*. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 30 April 2013. Retrieved 25 January 2013.](#)
402. ↑ [Kunzru, Hari \(29 March 2011\). "Appreciating Gandhi Through His Human Side". \*The New York Times\*. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 31 January 2012. Retrieved 26 January 2012. \(Review of \*Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle With India\* by Joseph Lelyveld\).](#)
403. ↑ ["US author slams Gandhi gay claim". \*The Australian\*. Agence France-Presse. 29 March 2011. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 1 May 2013. Retrieved 26 January 2012.](#)
404. ↑ ["A Welcome Effort". \*The Hindu\*. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 2 February 2014. Retrieved 24 January 2014.](#)
405. ↑ [Ghosh, B. N. \(2001\). \*Contemporary issues in development economics\*. Psychology Press. p. 211. ISBN 978-0-415-25136-5.](#)
406. ↑ [Yardley, Jim \(6 November 2010\). "Obama Invokes Gandhi, Whose Ideal Eludes India". \*Asia-Pacific\*. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 17 August 2013. Retrieved 22 January 2012.](#)
407. ↑ ["Reserve Bank of India – Bank Notes". Rbi.org.in. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 26 October 2011. Retrieved 5 November 2011.](#)
408. ↑ [Chatterjee, Sailen. "Martyrs' Day". \*Features\*. Press Information Bureau. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 2 February 2012. Retrieved 30 January 2012.](#)
409. ↑ [<sup>409.0</sup> <sup>409.1</sup> Kaggere, Niranjana \(2 October 2010\). "Here, Gandhi is God". BangaloreMirror.com. \[Archived\]\(#\) from the original on 4 October 2013. Retrieved 29 January 2011.](#)
410. ↑ ["Mahatma Gandhi Temple" \[Archived\]\(#\) 5 October 2016 at the \[Wayback Machine\]\(#\).](#). *Mahatma Gandhi Temple Website*,
411. ↑ [Abram, David; Edwards, Nick \(27 November 2003\). \*The Rough Guide to South India\*. Rough Guides. p. 506. ISBN 978-1-84353-103-6. Retrieved 21 January 2012.](#)

## Bibliography

---

### Books

- Barr, F. Mary (1956). *Bapu: Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi* (2nd ed.). Bombay, India: International Book House. OCLC 8372568. (see [book article](#))
- [Bondurant, Joan Valérie \(1971\). \*Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian philosophy of conflict\*. University of California Press.](#)
- Brown, Judith M. "Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand [Mahatma Gandhi] (1869–1948)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2011. Retrieved 25 February 2012 (subscription required)
- Brown, Judith M., and Anthony Parel, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi* (2012); [14 essays by scholars excerpt and text search](#)
- Brown, Judith Margaret (1991). *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*. Yale University Press. ISBN 978-0-300-05125-4.
- Chadha, Yogesh (1997). *Gandhi: a life*. John Wiley. ISBN 978-0-471-24378-6.
- [Easwaran, Eknath \(2011\). \*Gandhi the Man: How One Man Changed Himself to Change the World\*. Nilgiri Press. ISBN 978-1-586380-55-7.](#)
- Hook, Sue Vander (1 September 2010). *Mahatma Gandhi: Proponent of Peace*. ABDO. ISBN 978-1-61758-813-6.
- Gandhi, Rajmohan (1990), *Patel, A Life*, Navajivan Pub. House
- Gandhi, Rajmohan (2006). *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. University of California Press. ISBN 978-0-520-25570-8.

- Gangrade, K.D. (2004). "Role of Shanti Sainiks in the Global Race for Armaments". *Moral Lessons From Gandhi's Autobiography And Other Essays*. Concept Publishing Company. ISBN 978-81-8069-084-6.
- Guha, Ramachandra (2013). *Gandhi Before India*. Vintage Books. ISBN 978-0-385-53230-3.
- Hardiman, David (2003). *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: the global legacy of his ideas*. C. Hurst & Co. ISBN 978-1-85065-711-8.
- Hatt, Christine (2002). *Mahatma Gandhi*. Evans Brothers. ISBN 978-0-237-52308-4.
- Herman, Arthur (2008). *Gandhi and Churchill: the epic rivalry that destroyed an empire and forged our age*. Random House Digital, Inc. ISBN 978-0-553-80463-8.
- Jai, Janak Raj (1996). *Commissions and Omissions by Indian Prime Ministers: 1947–1980*. Regency Publications. ISBN 978-81-86030-23-3.
- Johnson, Richard L. (2006). *Gandhi's Experiments with Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi*. Lexington Books. ISBN 978-0-7391-1143-7.
- Jones, Constance & Ryan, James D. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Infobase Publishing. p. 160. ISBN 978-0-8160-5458-9.
- Majmudar, Uma (2005). *Gandhi's Pilgrimage of Faith: from darkness to light*. SUNY Press. ISBN 978-0-7914-6405-2.
- Mathew, Sarah; Afreen, Munnazza (9 July 2013). *An Introduction to Education*. AuthorHouse. ISBN 978-1-4772-0447-4.
- Miller, Jake C. (2002). *Prophets of a just society*. Nova Publishers. ISBN 978-1-59033-068-5.
- Pāṇḍeya, Viśva Mohana (2003). *Historiography of India's Partition: an analysis of imperialist writings*. Atlantic Publishers & Dist. ISBN 978-81-269-0314-6.
- Pilisuk, Marc; Nagler, Michael N. (2011). *Peace Movements Worldwide: Players and practices in resistance to war*. ABC-CLIO. ISBN 978-0-313-36482-2.
- Rūhe, Peter (5 October 2004). *Gandhi*. Phaidon. ISBN 978-0-7148-4459-6.
- Schouten, Jan Peter (2008). *Jesus as Guru: the image of Christ among Hindus and Christians in India*. Rodopi. ISBN 978-90-420-2443-4.
- Sharp, Gene (1979). *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: with essays on ethics and politics*. P. Sargent Publishers. ISBN 978-0-87558-090-6.
- Shashi, S. S. (1996). *Encyclopaedia Indica: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*. Anmol Publications. ISBN 978-81-7041-859-7.
- Sofri, Gianni (1999). *Gandhi and India: a century in focus*. Windrush Press. ISBN 978-1-900624-12-1.
- Thacker, Dhirubhai (2006). "'Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand" (entry)". In Amaresh Datta. *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature (Volume Two) (Devraj To Jyoti)*. Sahitya Akademi. p. 1345. ISBN 978-81-260-1194-0.
- Todd, Anne M (2004). *Mohandas Gandhi*. Infobase Publishing. ISBN 978-0-7910-7864-8.; short biography for children
- Wolpert, Stanley (2002). *Gandhi's Passion: the life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780199728725.

## Primary sources

- Abel M (2005). *Glimpses of Indian National Movement*. ICFAI Books. ISBN 978-81-7881-420-9.
- Andrews, C. F. (2008) [1930]. "VII – The Teaching of Ahimsa". *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas Including Selections from His Writings*. Pierides Press. ISBN 978-1-4437-3309-0.
- Dalton, Dennis, ed. (1996). *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*. Hackett Publishing. ISBN 978-0-87220-330-3.
- Duncan, Ronald, ed. (2011). *Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*. Literary Licensing, LLC. ISBN 978-1-258-00907-6.

- Gandhi, M. K.; Fischer, Louis (2002). Louis Fischer, ed. *The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology of His Writings on His Life, Work and Ideas*. Vintage Books. ISBN 978-1-4000-3050-7.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1928). *Satyagraha in South Africa* (in Gujarati) (1 ed.). Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. "Translated by Valji G. Desai" Free online access at Wikilivres.ca (1/e). Pdfs from Gandhiserve (3/e) & Yann Forget (hosted by Arvind Gupta) (1/e).
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1994). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. ISBN 978-81-230-0239-2. (100 volumes). Free online access from Gandhiserve.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1928). "Drain Inspector's Report". *The United States of India*. 5 (6,7,8): 3–4.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1990), Desai, Mahadev H., ed., *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments With Truth*, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, ISBN 0-486-24593-4
- Gandhi, Rajmohan (2007). *Mohandas: True Story of a Man, His People*. Penguin Books Limited. ISBN 978-81-8475-317-2.
- Guha, Ramachandra (2013). *Gandhi Before India*. Penguin Books Limited. ISBN 978-93-5118-322-8.
- Jack, Homer A., ed. (1994). *The Gandhi Reader: A Source Book of His Life and Writings*. Grove Press. ISBN 978-0-8021-3161-4.
- Johnson, Richard L. & Gandhi, M. K. (2006). *Gandhi's Experiments With Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi*. Lexington Books. ISBN 978-0-7391-1143-7.
- Todd, Anne M. (2009). *Mohandas Gandhi*. Infobase Publishing. ISBN 978-1-4381-0662-5.
- Parel, Anthony J., ed. (2009). *Gandhi: "Hind Swaraj" and Other Writings Centenary Edition*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-14602-9.

## External links

- Bibliowiki has original media or text related to this article: [Mohandas K. Gandhi](#) (in the public domain in Canada)
- [Mahatma Gandhi](#) at *Encyclopædia Britannica*
- [Mahatma Gandhi](#) at Curlie (based on DMOZ)
- [Gandhi's correspondence with the Indian government 1942–1944](#)
- [About Mahatma Gandhi](#)
- [Gandhi Ashram at Sabarmati](#)
- [Gandhi Smriti](#) — Government of India website
- [Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya Gandhi Museum & Library](#)
- [Works by Mahatma Gandhi](#) at Project Gutenberg
- [Works by or about Mahatma Gandhi](#) at Internet Archive
- [Works by Mahatma Gandhi](#) at LibriVox (public domain audiobooks) 🔊

Find more about  
**Mahatma Gandhi**  
at Wikipedia's [sister projects](#)



[Media](#) from Wikimedia  
Commons



[Quotations](#) from Wikiquote



[Texts](#) from Wikisource



[Data](#) from Wikidata

## Mahatma Gandhi

**Life events and movements**
 • [Indian Ambulance Corps](#)
 • [Bardoli Satyagraha](#)
 • [Champaran Satyagraha](#)
 • [Kheda Satyagraha](#)
 • [Indian independence movement \(Gandhi cap\)](#)
 • [Non-cooperation Movement](#)
 • [Chauri Chaura incident](#)
 • [Purna Swaraj \(flag\)](#)
 • [Salt March](#)
 • [Dharasana Satyagraha](#)
 • [Vaikom Satyagraha](#)
 • [Aundh Experiment](#)
 • [Gandhi–Irwin Pact](#)

		<p>(<a href="#">Second Round Table Conference</a>) · <a href="#">Padayatra</a> · <a href="#">Poona Pact</a> · <a href="#">Natal Indian Congress</a> · <a href="#">Quit India (speech)</a> · <a href="#">Gujarat Vidyapith University</a> · <a href="#">Harijan Sevak Sangh</a> · <a href="#">Ashrams (Kochrab)</a> · <a href="#">Tolstoy Farm</a> · <a href="#">Sabarmati</a> · <a href="#">Sevagram</a>) · <a href="#">List of fasts</a> · <a href="#">Assassination</a></p>
<b>Philosophy</b>		<p><a href="#">Gandhism</a> · <a href="#">Economics (trusteeship)</a> · <a href="#">Education</a> · <a href="#">Sarvodaya</a> · <a href="#">Satyagraha</a> · <a href="#">Swadeshi</a> · <a href="#">Swaraj</a></p>
<b>Publications</b>		<p><i><a href="#">Harijan</a></i> · <i><a href="#">Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)</a></i> · <i><a href="#">Indian Opinion</a></i> · <i><a href="#">The Story of My Experiments with Truth</a></i> · <i><a href="#">Young India</a></i> · <i><a href="#">Seven Social Sins</a></i> · (<a href="#">Gandhi Heritage Portal</a>)</p>
<b>Influences</b>		<p><i><a href="#">A Letter to a Hindu</a></i> · <a href="#">Ahimsa (nonviolence)</a> · <i><a href="#">Bhagavad Gita</a></i> · <a href="#">Henry David Thoreau</a> · <i><a href="#">Civil Disobedience (essay)</a></i> · <a href="#">Civil disobedience</a> · <a href="#">Fasting</a> · <a href="#">Harishchandra</a> · <a href="#">Hinduism</a> · <a href="#">John Ruskin</a> · <a href="#">Parsee Rustomjee</a> · <a href="#">Leo Tolstoy</a> · <i><a href="#">The Kingdom of God Is Within You</a></i> · <i><a href="#">The Masque of Anarchy</a></i> · <a href="#">Muhammad</a> · <a href="#">Narmad</a> · <a href="#">Pacifism</a> · <a href="#">Sermon on the Mount</a> · <a href="#">Shravan</a> · <a href="#">Shrimad Rajchandra</a> · <a href="#">Henry Stephens Salt</a> · <a href="#">Tirukkural</a> · <i><a href="#">Unto This Last</a></i> (Gandhi's translation) · "<a href="#">Vaishnava Jana To</a>" · <a href="#">Vegetarianism</a></p>
<b>Associates</b>		<p><a href="#">Swami Anand</a> · <a href="#">C. F. Andrews</a> · <a href="#">Jamnalal Bajaj</a> · <a href="#">Shankarlal Banker</a> · <a href="#">Sarla Behn</a> · <a href="#">Vinoba Bhave</a> · <a href="#">Brij Krishna Chandiwala</a> · <a href="#">Sudhakar Chaturvedi</a> · <a href="#">Jugatram Dave</a> · <a href="#">Mahadev Desai</a> · <a href="#">Dada Dharmadhikari</a> · <a href="#">Kanu Gandhi</a> · <a href="#">Shiv Prasad Gupta</a> · <a href="#">Umar Hajee Ahmed Jhaveri</a> · <a href="#">J. C. Kumarappa</a> · <a href="#">Hermann Kallenbach</a> · <a href="#">Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan</a> · <a href="#">Acharya Kripalani</a> · <a href="#">Mirabehn</a> · <a href="#">Mohanlal Pandya</a> · <a href="#">Vallabhbhai Patel</a> · <a href="#">Narhari Parikh</a> · <a href="#">Mithuben Petit</a> · <a href="#">Chakravarti Rajagopalachari</a> · <a href="#">Bibi Amtus Salam</a> · <a href="#">Sonja Schlesin</a> · <a href="#">Anugrah Narayan Sinha</a> · <a href="#">Sri Krishna Sinha</a> · <a href="#">Rettamalai Srinivasan</a> · <a href="#">V. A. Sundaram</a> · <a href="#">Abbas Tyabji</a> · <a href="#">Ravishankar Vyas</a></p>
<b>Legacy</b>		<p><a href="#">Artistic depictions</a> · <a href="#">Gandhigiri</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Peace Award</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Peace Prize</a> · <a href="#">Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapith</a> · <a href="#">Indian currency</a></p>
<b>Family</b>		<p><a href="#">Karamchand Gandhi (father)</a> · <a href="#">Kasturba (wife)</a> · <a href="#">Harilal (son)</a> · <a href="#">Manilal (son)</a> · <a href="#">Ramdas (son)</a> · <a href="#">Devdas (son)</a> · <a href="#">Maganlal (cousin)</a> · <a href="#">Samaldas (nephew)</a> · <a href="#">Arun (grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Ela (granddaughter)</a> · <a href="#">Rajmohan (grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Gopalkrishna (grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Ramchandra (grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Kanu (grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Kanu (grandnephew)</a> · <a href="#">Tushar (great-grandson)</a> · <a href="#">Leela (great-granddaughter)</a></p>
<b>Influenced</b>		<p><a href="#">James Bevel</a> · <a href="#">Steve Biko</a> · <a href="#">14th Dalai Lama</a> · <a href="#">Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai</a> · <a href="#">Morarji Desai</a> · <a href="#">Eknath Easwaran</a> · <a href="#">Maria Lacerda de Moura</a> · <a href="#">James Lawson</a> · <a href="#">Martin Luther King Jr.</a> · <a href="#">Nelson Mandela</a> · <a href="#">Brajkishore Prasad</a> · <a href="#">Rajendra Prasad</a> · <a href="#">Ramjee Singh</a> · <a href="#">Aung San Suu Kyi</a> · <a href="#">Lanza del Vasto</a> · <a href="#">Abhay Bang</a> · <a href="#">Sane Guruji</a></p>
<b>Memorials</b>	<b>Statuses</b>	<p><a href="#">Houston</a> · <a href="#">Johannesburg</a> · <a href="#">London (Parliament Square)</a> · <a href="#">New York</a> · <a href="#">Patna</a> · <a href="#">Pieternaritzburg</a> · <a href="#">Washington</a></p>
	<b>Observances</b>	<p><a href="#">Gandhi Jayanti</a> · <a href="#">International Day of Non-Violence</a> · <a href="#">Martyrs' Day</a> · <a href="#">Season for Nonviolence</a></p>
	<b>Other</b>	<p><a href="#">Aga Khan Palace</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Bhawan</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Mandapam</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Market</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Promenade</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Smriti</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Memorial</a> · <a href="#">Gandhi Memorial Museum, Madurai</a> · <a href="#">Kaba Gandhi No Delo</a> · <a href="#">Kirti Mandir</a> · <a href="#">Mahatma Gandhi College</a> · <a href="#">Mohandas Gandhi High School</a> ·</p>

[National Gandhi Museum](#) · [Raj Ghat](#) · [Sabarmati Ashram](#) ·  
[Satyagraha House](#) · [Roads named after Gandhi](#) ·  
[Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Centre, Matale](#)

## Articles related to Mahatma Gandhi

### Hindu reform movements

[Ayyavazhi](#) · [Arya Samaj](#) · [Brahma Kumaris](#) · [BAPS](#) · [Chinmaya Mission](#) · [Divine Life Society](#) · [ISKCON](#) ·  
[Ramakrishna Mission](#) · [Sri Aurobindo Ashram](#) · [Swadhyay Parivar](#) · [Swaminarayan Sampraday](#) · [YSS](#)

**Topics** [Bhakti](#) · [Brahmacharya](#) · [Caste](#) · [Persecution of Hindus](#) · [Shuddhi](#) · [Women in Hinduism](#)  
[Arumuka Navalar](#) · [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) · [Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay](#) ·  
[Dayananda Saraswati](#) · [Debendranath Tagore](#) · [Keshub Chandra Sen](#) · [Mahatma Gandhi](#) ·  
[Mirra Alfassa](#) · [Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar](#) · [Pandurang Shastri Athavale](#) ·  
[Ram Mohan Roy](#) · [Ramakrishna](#) · [Sister Nivedita](#) · [Sivananda Saraswati](#) · [Sri Aurobindo](#) ·  
[Swami Shraddhanand](#) · [Swami Vipulananda](#) · [Swaminarayan](#) · [Vivekananda](#) · *more*

**Reformers and revivalist writers**

### Indian Independence Movement

**History** [Colonisation](#) · [Porto Grande de Bengala](#) · [Dutch Bengal](#) · [East India Company](#) · [British Raj](#) ·  
[French India](#) · [Portuguese India](#) · [Battle of Plassey](#) · [Battle of Buxar](#) · [Anglo-Mysore Wars \(](#)  
[First](#) · [Second](#) · [Third](#) · [Fourth](#)) · [Anglo-Maratha Wars \(](#) [First](#) · [Second](#) · [Third](#)) · [Polygar Wars](#) ·  
[Vellore Mutiny](#) · [First Anglo-Sikh War](#) · [Second Anglo-Sikh War](#) · [Sannyasi Rebellion](#) ·  
[Rebellion of 1857](#) · [Radcliffe Line](#) · *more*

**Philosophies and ideologies**

[Ambedkarism](#) · [Gandhism](#) · [Hindu nationalism](#) · [Indian nationalism](#) · [Khilafat Movement](#) ·  
[Muslim nationalism in South Asia](#) · [Satyagraha](#) · [Socialism](#) · [Swadeshi movement](#) · [Swaraj](#)  
[Partition of Bengal \(1905\)](#) · [Partition of Bengal \(1947\)](#) · [Revolutionaries](#) · [Direct Action Day](#) ·  
[Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy](#) · [The Indian Sociologist](#) · [Singapore Mutiny](#) ·  
[Hindu–German Conspiracy](#) · [Champaran Satyagraha](#) · [Kheda Satyagraha](#) · [Rowlatt Committee](#)  
· [Rowlatt Bills](#) · [Jallianwala Bagh massacre](#) · [Noakhali riots](#) · [Non-Cooperation Movement](#) ·  
[Christmas Day Plot](#) · [Coolie-Begar Movement](#) · [Chauri Chaura incident, 1922](#) ·  
[Kakori conspiracy](#) · [Qissa Khwani Bazaar massacre](#) · [Flag Satyagraha](#) · [Bardoli](#) ·  
[1928 Protests](#) · [Nehru Report](#) · [Fourteen Points of Jinnah](#) · [Purna Swaraj](#) · [Salt March](#) ·  
[Dharasana Satyagraha](#) · [Vedaranyam March](#) · [Chittagong armoury raid](#) · [Gandhi–Irwin Pact](#) ·  
[Round table conferences](#) · [Act of 1935](#) · [Aundh Experiment](#) · [Indische Legion](#) ·  
[Cripps' mission](#) · [Quit India](#) · [Bombay Mutiny](#) · [Coup d'état of Yanaon](#) ·  
[Provisional Government of India](#) · [Independence Day](#)

**Events and movements**

**Organisations**

[All India Kisan Sabha](#) · [All-India Muslim League](#) · [Anushilan Samiti](#) · [Arya Samaj](#) · [Azad Hind](#)  
· [Berlin Committee](#) · [Ghadar Party](#) · [Hindustan Socialist Republican Association](#) ·  
[Indian National Congress](#) · [India House](#) · [Indian Home Rule movement](#) ·  
[Indian Independence League](#) · [Indian National Army](#) · [Jugantar](#) · [Khaksar Tehrik](#) ·  
[Khudai Khidmatgar](#) · [Swaraj Party](#) · *more*

**Social reformers**

[A. Vaidyanatha Iyer](#) · [Ayya Vaikundar](#) · [Ayyankali](#) · [B. R. Ambedkar](#) · [Baba Amte](#) ·  
[Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) · [Dayananda Saraswati](#) · [Dhondo Keshav Karve](#) · [G. Subramania Iyer](#) ·

[Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty](#) · [Gopal Ganesh Agarkar](#) · [Gopal Hari Deshmukh](#) · [Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai](#) · [Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar](#) · [J. B. Kripalani](#) · [Jyotirao Phule](#) · [Kandukuri Veeresalingam](#) · [Mahadev Govind Ranade](#) · [Mahatma Gandhi](#) · [Muthulakshmi Reddi](#) · [Narayana Guru](#) · [Niralamba Swami](#) · [Pandita Ramabai](#) · [Periyar E. V. Ramasamy](#) · [Ram Mohan Roy](#) · [Rettamalai Srinivasan](#) · [Sahajanand Saraswati](#) · [Savitribai Phule](#) · [Shahu](#) · [Sister Nivedita](#) · [Sri Aurobindo](#) · [Syed Ahmad Khan](#) · [Vakkom Moulavi](#) · [Vinayak Damodar Savarkar](#) · [Vinoba Bhave](#) · [Vitthal Ramji Shinde](#) · [Vivekananda](#)

[Abul Kalam Azad](#) · [Accamma Cherian](#) · [Achyut Patwardhan](#) · [A. K. Fazlul Huq](#) · [Alluri Sitarama Raju](#) · [Annapurna Maharana](#) · [Annie Besant](#) · [Ashfaqulla Khan](#) · [Babu Kunwar Singh](#) · [Bagha Jatin](#) · [Bahadur Shah II](#) · [Bakht Khan](#) · [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) · [Basawon Singh](#) · [Begum Hazrat Mahal](#) · [Bhagat Singh](#) · [Bharathidasan](#) · [Bhavabhushan Mitra](#) · [Bhikaiji Cama](#) · [Bhupendra Kumar Datta](#) · [Bidhan Chandra Roy](#) · [Bipin Chandra Pal](#) · [C. Rajagopalachari](#) · [Chandra Shekhar Azad](#) · [Chetram Jatav](#) · [Chittaranjan Das](#) · [Dadabhai Naoroji](#) · [Dayananda Saraswati](#) · [Dhan Singh](#) · [Dukkipati Nageswara Rao](#) · [Gopal Krishna Gokhale](#) · [Govind Ballabh Pant](#) · [Har Dayal](#) · [Hemu Kalani](#) · [Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi](#) · [Jatindra Mohan Sengupta](#) · [Jatindra Nath Das](#) · [Jawaharlal Nehru](#) · [K. Kamaraj](#) · [Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi](#) · [Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan](#) · [Khudiram Bose](#) · [Shri Krishna Singh](#) · [Lala Lajpat Rai](#) · [M. Bhaktavatsalam](#) · [M. N. Roy](#) · [Mahadaji Shinde](#) · [Mahatma Gandhi](#) · [Mangal Pandey](#) · [Mir Qasim](#) · [Mithuben Petit](#) · [Muhammad Ali Jauhar](#) · [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](#) · [Muhammad Mian Mansoor Ansari](#) · [Nagnath Naikwadi](#) · [Nana Fadnavis](#) · [Nana Sahib](#) · [P. Kakkan](#) · [Prafulla Chaki](#) · [Pritilata Waddedar](#) · [Pritilata Waddedar](#) · [Purushottam Das Tandon](#) · [R. Venkataraman](#) · [Rahul Sankrityayan](#) · [Rajendra Prasad](#) · [Ram Prasad Bismil](#) · [Rani Lakshmbai](#) · [Rash Behari Bose](#) · [Sahajanand Saraswati](#) · [Sangolli Rayanna](#) · [Sarojini Naidu](#) · [Satyapal Dang](#) · [Shuja-ud-Daula](#) · [Shyamji Krishna Varma](#) · [Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi](#) · [Siraj ud-Daulah](#) · [Subhas Chandra Bose](#) · [Subramania Bharati](#) · [Subramaniya Siva](#) · [Surya Sen](#) · [Syama Prasad Mukherjee](#) · [Tara Rani Srivastava](#) · [Tarak Nath Das](#) · [Tatya Tope](#) · [Tiruppur Kumaran](#) · [Ubaidullah Sindhi](#) · [V O Chidambaram](#) · [V. K. Krishna Menon](#) · [Vallabhbhai Patel](#) · [Vanchinathan](#) · [Veeran Sundaralingam](#) · [Vinayak Damodar Savarkar](#) · [Virendranath Chattopadhyaya](#) · [Yashwantrao Holkar](#) · [Yogendra Shukla](#) · *more*

## Independence activists

## British leaders

[Wavell](#) · [Canning](#) · [Cornwallis](#) · [Irwin](#) · [Chelmsford](#) · [Curzon](#) · [Ripon](#) · [Minto](#) · [Dalhousie](#) · [Bentinck](#) · [Mountbatten](#) · [Wellesley](#) · [Lytton](#) · [Clive](#) · [Outram](#) · [Cripps](#) · [Linlithgow](#) · [Hastings](#)

## Independence

[Cabinet Mission](#) · [Annexation of French colonies in India](#) · [Constitution](#) · [Republic of India](#) · [Indian annexation of Goa](#) · [Indian Independence Act](#) · [Partition of India](#) · [Political integration](#) · [Simla Conference](#)

## Indian National Congress

[Seva Dal](#) · [Minority Congress](#) · [Youth Congress](#) · [National Students Union of India \(NSUI\)](#) · [Indian National Trade Union Congress \(INTUC\)](#) · [Congress Karma Parishad](#)

## History

[Statewise Election history of Congress Party](#) · [Nehru–Gandhi family](#) · [Congress Radio](#) · [10 Janpath](#) ·

[The Emergency](#) · [Bofors scandal](#) · [INA Defence Committee](#) · [Indian National Congress \(Organisation\)](#) · [Breakaway parties](#)

### Internal Organisations

[Congress President](#) · [Working President](#) · [Congress Working Committee](#) · [Central Election Committee](#) · [All India Congress Committee](#)

### Pradesh Congress Committees (PCC)

[Andhra Pradesh CC](#) · [Assam PCC](#) · [Bihar PCC](#) · [Chhattisgarh PCC](#) · [Core group](#) · [Gujarat PCC](#) · [Karnataka PCC](#) · [Kerala PCC](#) · [Maharashtra PCC](#) · [Mizoram PCC](#) · [Mumbai PCC](#) · [Punjab PCC](#) · [Tamil Nadu PCC](#) · [Telangana PCC](#) · [Uttarakhand PCC](#) · [West Bengal PCC](#)

[Banerjee](#) · [Naoroji](#) · [Tyabji](#) · [Yule](#) · [Wedderburn](#) · [Mehta](#) · [Charlappa](#) · [Banerjee](#) · [Naoroji](#) · [Webb](#) · [Banerjee](#) · [Sayani](#) · [Nair](#) · [A. M. Bose](#) · [Dutt](#) · [Chandavarkar](#) · [Wacha](#) · [Banerjee](#) · [L. Ghosh](#) · [H. Cotton](#) · [Gokhale](#) · [Naoroji](#) · [R. Ghosh \(1907–1908\)](#) · [Malaviya](#) · [Wedderburn](#) · [Dar](#) · [Mudholkar](#) · [Bahadur](#) · [B. N. Bose](#) · [Sinha](#) · [Mazumdar](#) · [Besant](#) · [Malaviya](#) · [Imam](#) · [M. Nehru](#) · [Rai](#) ·

### Presidents

[C. Vijayaraghavachariar](#) · [Khan](#) · [Das](#) · [M. Ali](#) · [A. K. Azad](#) · [Mahatma Gandhi](#) · [Naidu](#) · [Iyengar](#) · [Ansari](#) · [Motilal Nehru](#) · [Jawaharlal Nehru](#) · [S. V. Patel](#) · [Malaviya \(1932–1933\)](#) · [Nellie Sengupta](#) · [Rajendra Prasad \(1934–1935\)](#) · [Jawaharlal Nehru \(1936–1937\)](#) · [S. C. Bose \(1938–1939\)](#) · [A. K. Azad \(1940–1946\)](#) · [J. B. Kripalani](#) · [Sitaramayya \(1948–1949\)](#) · [Tandon](#) · [Jawaharlal Nehru \(1951–1954\)](#) · [Dhebar \(1955–1959\)](#) · [Indira Gandhi](#) · [Neelam Sanjiva Reddy \(1960–1963\)](#) · [K. Kamaraj \(1964–1967\)](#) · [S. Nijalingappa \(1968–1969\)](#) · [Jagjivan Ram \(1970–1971\)](#) · [S. D. Sharma \(1972–1974\)](#) · [Baruah \(1975–1977\)](#) · [Indira Gandhi \(1978–1984\)](#) · [Rajiv Gandhi \(1985–1991\)](#) · [Narasimha Rao \(1992–1996\)](#) · [Kesri \(1996–1998\)](#) · [Sonia Gandhi \(1998–2017\)](#) · [Rahul Gandhi \(2017-present\)](#)

### Leaders in the Lok Sabha

[Gandhi](#) · [Rao](#) · [Pawar](#) · [S. Gandhi](#) · [Mukherjee](#) · [Shinde](#) · [Kharge](#)

### Leaders in the Rajya Sabha

[Manmohan Singh](#) · [Vora](#) · [Patel](#) · [Sharma](#) · [Azad](#) · [Ramesh](#) · [Antony](#) · [Digvijay](#) · [Chidambaram](#) · [Singhvi](#) · [Sibal](#)

### Category

## Social and political philosophy

### Philosophers

[Alinsky](#) · [Ambedkar](#) · [Arendt](#) · [Aristotle](#) · [Augustine](#) · [Aurobindo](#) · [Aquinas](#) · [Aron](#) · [Averroes](#) · [Azurmendi](#) · [Badiou](#) · [Bakunin](#) · [Baudrillard](#) · [Bauman](#) · [Benoist](#) · [Bentham](#) · [Berlin](#) · [Bonald](#) · [Bosanquet](#) · [Burke](#) · [Judith Butler](#) · [Camus](#) · [Chanakya](#) · [Chomsky](#) · [Cicero](#) · [Comte](#) · [Confucius](#) · [De Beauvoir](#) · [Debord](#) · [Djilas](#) · [Du Bois](#) · [Durkheim](#) · [Emerson](#) · [Engels](#) · [Foucault](#) · [Fourier](#) · [Franklin](#) · [Gandhi](#) · [Gehlen](#) · [Gentile](#) · [Al-Ghazali](#) · [Gramsci](#) · [Grotius](#) · [Habermas](#) · [Han Fei](#) · [Hayek](#) · [Hegel](#) · [Heidegger](#) · [Hobbes](#) · [Hume](#) · [Irigaray](#) · [Jefferson](#) · [Kant](#) · [Kierkegaard](#) · [Kirk](#) · [Kropotkin](#) · [Laozi](#) · [Le Bon](#) · [Le Play](#) · [Leibniz](#) · [Lenin](#) · [Locke](#) ·

[Luxemburg](#) · [Machiavelli](#) · [Maistre](#) · [Malebranche](#) · [Mao](#) · [Marcuse](#) · [Maritain](#) · [Marsilius](#) · [Marx](#) · [Mencius](#) · [Michels](#) · [Mill](#) · [Mises](#) · [Montesquieu](#) · [Möser](#) · [Mozi](#) · [Muhammad](#) · [Negri](#) · [Nehru](#) · [Niebuhr](#) · [Nietzsche](#) · [Nozick](#) · [Oakeshott](#) · [Ortega](#) · [Paine](#) · [Pareto](#) · [Pettit](#) · [Plamenatz](#) · [Plato](#) · [Polanyi](#) · [Popper](#) · [Radhakrishnan](#) · [Rand](#) · [Rawls](#) · [Renan](#) · [Rothbard](#) · [Rousseau](#) · [Royce](#) · [Ruskin](#) · [Russell](#) · [Sade](#) · [Santayana](#) · [Sarkar](#) · [Sartre](#) · [Schmitt](#) · [Searle](#) · [Shang](#) · [Simonović](#) · [Skinner](#) · [Smith](#) · [Socrates](#) · [Sombart](#) · [Spann](#) · [Spencer](#) · [Spinoza](#) · [Spirito](#) · [Stirner](#) · [Strauss](#) · [Sun](#) · [Sun Tzu](#) · [Taine](#) · [Taylor](#) · [Thucydides](#) · [Thoreau](#) · [Tocqueville](#) · [Vivekananda](#) · [Voltaire](#) · [Walzer](#) · [Weber](#) · [Žižek](#)

[Ambedkarism](#) · [Anarchism](#) · [Authoritarianism](#) · [Collectivism](#) · [Communism](#) · [Communitarianism](#) · [Conflict theories](#) · [Confucianism](#) · [Consensus theory](#) · [Conservatism](#) · [Contractualism](#) · [Cosmopolitanism](#) · [Culturalism](#) · [Fascism](#) · [Feminist political theory](#) · [Gandhism](#) · [Individualism](#) · [Legalism](#) · [Liberalism](#) · [Libertarianism](#) · [Mohism](#) · [National liberalism](#) · [Republicanism](#) · [Social constructionism](#) · [Social constructivism](#) · [Social Darwinism](#) · [Social determinism](#) · [Socialism](#) · [Utilitarianism](#) · [Vaisheshika](#)

## **Social theories**

## **Social concepts**

[Civil disobedience](#) · [Democracy](#) · [Four occupations](#) · [Justice](#) · [Law](#) · [Mandate of Heaven](#) · [Peace](#) · [Property](#) · [Revolution](#) · [Rights](#) · [Social contract](#) · [Society](#) · [War](#) · **[more...](#)**

## **Related articles**

[Jurisprudence](#) · [Philosophy and economics](#) · [Philosophy of education](#) · [Philosophy of history](#) · [Philosophy of love](#) · [Philosophy of sex](#) · [Philosophy of social science](#) · [Political ethics](#) · [Social epistemology](#)

[Category](#) · [Portal](#) · [Task Force](#)

## **Simple living**

### **Practices**

[Barter](#) · [Cord-cutting](#) · [DIY ethic](#) · [Downshifting](#) · [Dry toilet](#) · [Forest gardening](#) · [Freeganism](#) · [Frugality](#) · [Gift economy](#) · [Intentional community](#) · [Local currency](#) · [Low-impact development](#) · [Minimalism](#) · [No frills](#) · [Off-the-grid](#) · [Permaculture](#) · [Self-sufficiency](#) · [Subsistence agriculture](#) · [Sustainable living](#) · [Sustainable sanitation](#) · [Veganism](#) · [Vegetarianism](#) · [War tax resistance](#) · [WWOOF](#)

### **Religious and spiritual**

[Asceticism](#) · [Aparigraha](#) · [Cynicism](#) · [Detachment](#) · [Distributism](#) · [Jesus movement](#) · [Mendicant](#) · [Mindfulness](#) · [Monasticism](#) · [New Monasticism](#) · [Plain dress](#) · [Plain people](#) · [Quakers](#) · [Rastafari](#) · [Temperance](#) · [Testimony of simplicity](#) · [Tolstoyan movement](#)

### **Secular movements**

[Back-to-the-land](#) · [Car-free](#) · [Compassionate living](#) · [Environmental](#) · [Hippie](#) · [Slow](#) · [Small house](#) · [Transition town](#) · [Open Source Ecology](#)

### **Notable writers**

[Wendell Berry](#) · [Ernest Callenbach](#) · [G. K. Chesterton](#) · [Duane Elgin](#) · [Mahatma Gandhi](#) · [Richard Gregg](#) · [Tom Hodgkinson](#) · [Harlan Hubbard](#) · [Satish Kumar](#) · [Helen Nearing](#) · [Scott Nearing](#) · [Peace Pilgrim](#) · [Vicki Robin](#) · [Nick Rosen](#) · [Dugald Semple](#) · [E. F. Schumacher](#) · [Henry David Thoreau](#) · [Leo Tolstoy](#)

### **Modern-day adherents**

[Mark Boyle](#) · [Jim Merkel](#) · [Suelo](#) · [Thomas](#)

### **Media**

"[Anekdotė zur Senkung der Arbeitsmoral](#)" · [Escape from Affluenza](#) · [The Good Life](#) · [The Moon and the Sledgehammer](#) · [Mother Earth News](#) · [The Power of Half](#) ·

*Small Is Beautiful* · *Walden*

**Related topics**

Affluenza · Agrarianism · Anarcho-primitivism · Anti-consumerism · Appropriate technology · Bohemianism · Consumerism · Deep ecology · Degrowth · Ecological footprint · Food miles · Green anarchism · The good life · Global warming · Hedonophobia · Intentional living · Itinerant · Low-technology · Nonviolence · Peak oil · Sustainability · Work–life balance

**Veganism and vegetarianism**

**Perspectives**

**Veganism** Animal-free agriculture · Fruitarianism · History · Juice fasting · Low-carbon diet · Raw veganism · Nutrition · Vegan organic gardening

**Vegetarianism** Economic vegetarianism · Environmental vegetarianism · History · Lacto vegetarianism · Ovo vegetarianism · Ovo-lacto vegetarianism · Cuisine · Vegetarian Diet Pyramid · Ecofeminism · Nutrition · By country

**Semi-vegetarianism** Macrobiotic diet · Pescetarianism

**Lists** Vegans · Vegetarians · Vegetarian festivals · Vegetarian organizations · Vegetarian restaurants

**Ethics**

**Secular** Animal rights · Animal welfare · Carnism · Deep ecology · Environmental vegetarianism · Ethics of eating meat · Meat paradox · Nonviolence · Speciesism · Tirukkural

**Religious** Buddhism · Christianity · Hinduism ( Sattvic · Ahimsa) · Sikhism · Rastafari · Jainism · Judaism · Pythagorean diet

**Food, drink**

Agar · Agave nectar · Meat analogue (List of meat substitutes) · Miso · Mochi · Mock duck · Nutritional yeast · Plant cream · Plant milk · Quinoa · Quorn · Seitan · Soy yogurt · Tempeh · Tofu · Tofurkey · Cheese · Hot dog · Vegetarian mark · Sausage · Beer · Wine · Veggie burger

**Groups, events, companies**

**Vegan** American Vegan Society · Beauty Without Cruelty · Food Empowerment Project · Go Vegan · Movement for Compassionate Living · Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine · Plamil Foods · Vegan Awareness Foundation · Vegan flag · Vegan Ireland · Vegan Outreach · Vegan Prisoners Support Group · The Vegan Society · Veganz · World Vegan Day

**Vegetarian** American Vegetarian Party · Boston Vegetarian Society · Christian Vegetarian Association · European Vegetarian Union · Hare Krishna Food for Life · International Vegetarian Union · Jewish Veg · Linda McCartney Foods · Meat-free days (Meatless Monday) · Swissveg · Toronto Vegetarian Association · Vegetarian Society · Vegetarian Society (Singapore) · Veggie Pride · Viva! Health · World Esperantist Vegetarian Association · World Vegetarian Day

**Books, reports**

*Thirty-nine Reasons Why I Am a Vegetarian* (1903) · *The Benefits of Vegetarianism* (1927) · *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971) · *Moosewood Cookbook* (1977) · *Fit for Life* (1985) ·

[Diet for a New America](#) (1987) · [The China Study](#) (2004) · [Raw Food Made Easy for 1 or 2 People](#) (2005) · [Skinny Bitch](#) (2005) · [Livestock's Long Shadow](#) (2006) · [Eating Animals](#) (2009) · [The Kind Diet](#) (2009) · [Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows](#) (2009) · [Eat & Run](#) (2012) · [Meat Atlas](#) (annual)

**Films** [Meet Your Meat](#) (2002) · [Peaceable Kingdom](#) (2004) · [Earthlings](#) (2005) · [A Sacred Duty](#) (2007) · [Fat, Sick and Nearly Dead](#) (2010) · [Planeat](#) (2010) · [Forks Over Knives](#) (2011) · [Vegucated](#) (2011) · [Live and Let Live](#) (2013) · [Cowspiracy](#) (2014) · [What the Health](#) (2017) · [Carnage](#) (2017)

**Magazines** [Naked Food](#) · [Vegetarian Times](#) · [VegNews](#)

**Physicians, academics** [Neal D. Barnard](#) · [T. Colin Campbell](#) · [Caldwell Esselstyn](#) · [Gary L. Francione](#) · [Joel Fuhrman](#) · [Michael Greger](#) · [Melanie Joy](#) · [Michael Klaper](#) · [John A. McDougall](#) · [Reed Mangels](#) · [Dean Ornish](#) · [Richard H. Schwartz](#)

## **Modern Hindu writers** (1848 to date)

[Hinduism](#) · [Hinduism in the West](#) · [Indian philosophy](#) · [Indian religions](#)

**Religious writers** [Mirra Alfassa \(The Mother\)](#) · [Sri Anirvan](#) · [Sri Aurobindo](#) · [Ananda Coomaraswamy](#) · [Dayananda](#) · [Eknath Easwaran](#) · [Satsvarupa dasa Goswami](#) · [Mahendranath Gupta](#) · [Jiddu Krishnamurti](#) · [Nisargadatta Maharaj](#) · [Ramana Maharshi](#) · [Sister Nivedita](#) · [Swami Prabhavananda](#) · [A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada](#) · [Krishna Prem](#) · [Swami Rama](#) · [Swami Ramdas](#) · [Chinmayananda Saraswati](#) · [Dayananda Saraswati \(Arya Samaj\)](#) · [Krishnananda Saraswati](#) · [Sivananda Saraswati](#) · [Swami Shraddhanand](#) · [Ram Swarup](#) · [Swami Vivekananda](#) · [Paramahansa Yogananda](#)

**Political writers** [Mahatma Gandhi](#) · [François Gautier](#) · [Sita Ram Goel](#) · [Ram Gopal](#) · [Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan](#) · [H. V. Sheshadri](#) · [Arun Shourie](#) · [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#)

**Literary writers** [Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay](#) · [Ramdhari Singh Dinkar](#) · [C. Rajagopalachari](#) · [K. D. Sethna](#) · [Amish Tripathi](#)

**Westerners influenced by Hinduism** [Annie Besant](#) · [Helena Blavatsky](#) · [Deepak Chopra](#) · [Aleister Crowley](#) · [Ram Dass](#) · [T. S. Eliot](#) · [R.W. Emerson](#) · [Allen Ginsberg](#) · [René Guénon](#) · [George Harrison](#) · [Aldous Huxley](#) · [Christopher Isherwood](#) · [David Lynch](#) · [André Malraux](#) · [Henry Miller](#) · [Maria Montessori](#) · [H.S. Olcott](#) · [Oppenheimer](#) · [Helena Roerich](#) · [Romain Rolland](#) · [Arthur Schopenhauer](#) · [Erwin Schrödinger](#) · [Thoreau](#) · [Leo Tolstoy](#) · [Voltaire](#) · [Alan Watts](#) · [Ken Wilber](#) · [W. B. Yeats](#)

**Scholars** [Alain Daniélou](#) · [S. N. Balagangadhara](#) · [Michel Danino](#) · [Paul Deussen](#) · [Dharampal](#) · [Mircea Eliade](#) · [Koenraad Elst](#) · [Georg Feuerstein](#) · [David Frawley](#) · [Meenakshi Jain](#) · [Subhash Kak](#) · [Nicholas Kazanas](#) · [Klaus Klostermaier](#) · [Hajime Nakamura](#) · [Harsh Narain](#) · [Rajiv Malhotra](#) · [Anantanand Rambachan](#) · [Ramesh Nagaraj Rao](#) · [Yvette Rosser](#) · [Arvind Sharma](#) · [Graham Schweig](#)

**Lists** [List of modern Eastern religions writers](#) · [List of writers on Hinduism](#)

[Hinduism Portal](#) · [Indian religions Portal](#) · [India Portal](#)

## ***Time* Persons of the Year**

**1927–1950**

[Charles Lindbergh \(1927\)](#) · [Walter Chrysler \(1928\)](#) · [Owen D. Young \(1929\)](#) · [Mohandas Gandhi \(1930\)](#) · [Pierre Laval \(1931\)](#) · [Franklin D. Roosevelt \(1932\)](#) · [Hugh S. Johnson \(1933\)](#) · [Franklin D. Roosevelt \(1934\)](#) · [Haile Selassie \(1935\)](#) · [Wallis Simpson \(1936\)](#) · [Chiang Kai-shek / Soong Mei-ling \(1937\)](#) · [Adolf Hitler \(1938\)](#) · [Joseph Stalin \(1939\)](#) · [Winston Churchill \(1940\)](#) · [Franklin D. Roosevelt \(1941\)](#) · [Joseph Stalin \(1942\)](#) · [George Marshall \(1943\)](#) · [Dwight D. Eisenhower \(1944\)](#) · [Harry S. Truman \(1945\)](#) · [James F. Byrnes \(1946\)](#) · [George Marshall \(1947\)](#) · [Harry S. Truman \(1948\)](#) · [Winston Churchill \(1949\)](#) · [The American Fighting-Man \(1950\)](#)

**1951–1975**

[Mohammed Mosaddeq \(1951\)](#) · [Elizabeth II \(1952\)](#) · [Konrad Adenauer \(1953\)](#) · [John Foster Dulles \(1954\)](#) · [Harlow Curtice \(1955\)](#) · [Hungarian Freedom Fighters \(1956\)](#) · [Nikita Khrushchev \(1957\)](#) · [Charles de Gaulle \(1958\)](#) · [Dwight D. Eisenhower \(1959\)](#) · U.S. Scientists: [George Beadle / Charles Draper / John Enders / Donald A. Glaser / Joshua Lederberg / Willard Libby / Linus Pauling / Edward Purcell / Isidor Rabi / Emilio Segrè / William Shockley / Edward Teller / Charles Townes / James Van Allen / Robert Woodward \(1960\)](#) · [John F. Kennedy \(1961\)](#) · [Pope John XXIII \(1962\)](#) · [Martin Luther King Jr. \(1963\)](#) · [Lyndon B. Johnson \(1964\)](#) · [William Westmoreland \(1965\)](#) · [The Generation Twenty-Five and Under \(1966\)](#) · [Lyndon B. Johnson \(1967\)](#) · [The Apollo 8 Astronauts: William Anders / Frank Borman / Jim Lovell \(1968\)](#) · [The Middle Americans \(1969\)](#) · [Willy Brandt \(1970\)](#) · [Richard Nixon \(1971\)](#) · [Henry Kissinger / Richard Nixon \(1972\)](#) · [John Sirica \(1973\)](#) · [King Faisal \(1974\)](#) · American Women: [Susan Brownmiller / Kathleen Byerly / Alison Cheek / Jill Conway / Betty Ford / Ella Grasso / Carla Hills / Barbara Jordan / Billie Jean King / Susie Sharp / Carol Sutton / Addie Wyatt \(1975\)](#)

**1976–2000**

[Jimmy Carter \(1976\)](#) · [Anwar Sadat \(1977\)](#) · [Deng Xiaoping \(1978\)](#) · [Ayatollah Khomeini \(1979\)](#) · [Ronald Reagan \(1980\)](#) · [Lech Wałęsa \(1981\)](#) · [The Computer \(1982\)](#) · [Ronald Reagan / Yuri Andropov \(1983\)](#) · [Peter Ueberroth \(1984\)](#) · [Deng Xiaoping \(1985\)](#) · [Corazon Aquino \(1986\)](#) · [Mikhail Gorbachev \(1987\)](#) · [The Endangered Earth \(1988\)](#) · [Mikhail Gorbachev \(1989\)](#) · [George H. W. Bush \(1990\)](#) · [Ted Turner \(1991\)](#) · [Bill Clinton \(1992\)](#) · [The Peacemakers: Yasser Arafat / F. W. de Klerk / Nelson Mandela / Yitzhak Rabin \(1993\)](#) · [Pope John Paul II \(1994\)](#) · [Newt Gingrich \(1995\)](#) · [David Ho \(1996\)](#) · [Andrew Grove \(1997\)](#) · [Bill Clinton / Ken Starr \(1998\)](#) · [Jeffrey P. Bezos \(1999\)](#) · [George W. Bush \(2000\)](#)

**2001–present**

[Rudolph Giuliani \(2001\)](#) · [The Whistleblowers: Cynthia Cooper / Coleen Rowley / Sherron Watkins \(2002\)](#) · [The American Soldier \(2003\)](#) · [George W. Bush \(2004\)](#) · [The Good Samaritans: Bono / Bill Gates / Melinda Gates \(2005\)](#) · [You \(2006\)](#) · [Vladimir Putin \(2007\)](#) · [Barack Obama \(2008\)](#) · [Ben Bernanke \(2009\)](#) · [Mark Zuckerberg \(2010\)](#) · [The Protester \(2011\)](#) · [Barack Obama \(2012\)](#) · [Pope Francis \(2013\)](#) · [Ebola Fighters: Dr. Jerry Brown / Dr. Kent Brantly / Ella Watson-Stryker / Foday Gollah / Salome Karwah \(2014\)](#) · [Angela Merkel \(2015\)](#) · [Donald Trump \(2016\)](#) · [The Silence Breakers \(2017\)](#)

 [Book](#)

**Asian of the Century The Big Five**

[Deng Xiaoping](#) · [Akio Morita](#) · [Akira Kurosawa](#) · [Charles K. Kao](#) · [Mohandas K. Gandhi](#)

**Authority control**

WorldCat Identities · VIAF: 71391324 · LCCN: n79041626 · ISNI: 0000 0001 2138 6043 ·  
GND: 118639145 · SELIBR: 275000 · SUDOC: 026880504 · BNF: cb11904030r (data) ·  
BIBSYS: 90687101 · MusicBrainz: 22b8fa02-4a80-4362-ae0b-70787ffabbb1 · NLA: 35111345  
· NDL: 00440485 · NKC: jn20000601721 · BNE: XX1150077 · CiNii: DA00595167 ·  
IATH: w6110pkc