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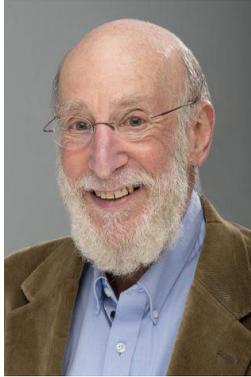
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29. **Swami Shyamananda**, Monk, Formerly Director World Bank,
(Ex) Assistant Prof. DCAC, University of Delhi.
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30. **Gianluigi Segalerba**, The Institute of Philosophical Studies,
University of Coimbra, Vienna (Austria)
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33. **Ms. Rinkal Tyagi**, Ph.D. Research Scholar Department of
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&
Dr. Subhash Kumar Baitha, Assistant Professor, Department
of International Relations, Central University of Jharkhand,
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Non-violence, Delhi

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Rakesh Kumar, Department of Political Science Himachal Pradesh University Summer-Hill Shimla.
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40. **Dr. Ayush Bhardwaj**, Assistant Professor, Pt. Udai Jain College, Jawahar Vidyapeeth, Mohan Lal Sukhadiya University, Udaipur, Rajasthan.
Topic: *Two Roads to Swaraj: Gandhi And Tagore.*



Prof. Douglas Allen

He served as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Maine, USA, for 46 years (1974-2020) and became Professor Emeritus of Philosophy in September 2020. He served as Chairperson of the Department of Philosophy (1979-1982, 1998- 2003). He served as President of the international Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, 2001-2004, and is the Editor of the Lexington Books Series of Studies in Comparative Philosophy and Religion. Author and editor of 18 books and more than 150 book chapters and scholarly journal articles, he has been the recipient of Fulbright (1963-64, 2009-10) and Smithsonian (1992) grants to India, the Maine Presidential Research and Creative Achievement Award, and the Distinguished Maine Professor Award (given to the outstanding professor in teaching, research, and service).

Douglas Allen is often recognized as one of the world's leading scholars in the phenomenology of religion and the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. He knew Mircea Eliade very well and has authored four books on Eliade and the phenomenology of religion, including *Structure and Creativity in Religion: Mircea Eliade and New Directions* (Mouton, 1978) and *Myth*

and Religion in Mircea Eliade (Routledge, 2002).

While continuing to publish book chapters and articles every year on myth, symbolism, the phenomenology of religion, and other topics, Allen's major focus in recent decades has been on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (violence and nonviolence, war and peace, terrorism, truth, Vedanta, *Hind Swaraj* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*, marginality, technology, economic and environmental sustainability). He has authored and edited six Gandhi-informed books, including *The Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi for the Twenty-First Century* (Lexington Books, 2008), *Mahatma Gandhi* (Reaktion Books, 2011), *Gandhi after 9/11: Creative Nonviolence and Sustainability* (Oxford University Press, 2019), and *Special Issue on the Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* (American Philosophical Association, 2022).



Prof. Sugata Bose

Bose's field of specialization is modern South Asian and Indian Ocean history. He obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge. He is Gardiner Chair of Oceanic History Affairs at Harvard University. His books include *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011) and *A Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.) In *A Hundred Horizons*, Bose crosses area studies and disciplinary frontiers as he bridges the domains of political economy and culture. He was a recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship in 1997. Bose is currently writing a book titled *Asia after Europe: Decline and Rise of a Continent (under contract with Harvard University Press)* and working as General Editor on *The Cambridge History of the Indian Ocean*. His Selected Publications are *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), *A Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* Harvard University Press (2006), *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* with Ayesha Jalal (2004, 2011), *Nationalism, Democracy and Development* with Ayesha Jalal (1997), *Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India* (1994), *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital* in The New Cambridge History of India series, (1993), *South Asia and World Capitalism* (1990), *Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social Structure and Politics* in Cambridge University Press (1986)



Dr. Koenraad Elst

He is an independent Scholar with special interest in Hindu Culture and Philosophy. He distinguished himself early on as eager to learn and to dissent. He obtained MA degrees in Sinology, Indology and Philosophy at KU Leuven. After a research stay at Benares Hindu University he did original fieldwork for a doctorate on Hindu nationalism, which he obtained magna cum laude in 1998. As an independent researcher he earned laurels and ostracism with his findings on hot items like Islam, multiculturalism and the secular state, the roots of Indo-European, the Ayodhya temple/mosque dispute and Mahatma Gandhi's legacy. He also published on the interface of religion and politics, correlative cosmologies, the dark side of Buddhism, the reinvention of Hinduism, technical points of Indian and Chinese philosophies, various language policy issues, Maoism, the renewed relevance of Confucius in conservatism, the increasing Asian stamp on integrating world civilization, direct democracy, the defence of threatened freedoms, and the Belgian question. Regarding religion, he combines human sympathy with substantive skepticism.



Dr. Christian Bartolf

Christian Bartolf is a Political and Educational Scientist (post-graduate, graduated with two University Diploma 1986 and 1987, Departments for Educational and Political Sciences, Free University Berlin, Germany). He has visited India (1985, 1998), Israel (1989-1997), Russia (1991-1995, 2000) and several European countries. He has served as a counsellor for Conscientious Objectors and Director of the Peace Education Media Center for the Protestant Church District in Berlin-Spandau (Germany) (1991- 1999) and the Ecumenical Center for Ecology, Peace and One World in Berlin-Spandau (since 2000).

He has contributed to International Conferences on Conscientious Objection and Civilian Peace Services in: Belgium (1991), France (1992), Turkey (1993), Russia (1994), Greece (1995), Belarus (1995), Belgium (1996), Italy (1997) and to Contributions to International Conferences on Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi: "Tolstoy and Ecology" (Tolstoy Society Moscow, Institute for Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia) 1994, "East-West: A Dialogue between Civilizations" (Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow, Russia) 1995, "Gandhi and the Twenty first Century" (Gandhi Peace Foundation, Gujarat Vidyapith, Institute of Gandhian Studies, Delhi / Wardha, India) 1998, "Tolstoy and World Literature" (Leo Tolstoy Estate Museum, YasnayaPolyana, Russia) 2000.



Prof. Uday Singh Mehta

Professor Uday Mehta has joined CSEP Research Foundation as Senior Visiting Fellow from January, 15th 2022. Professor Uday Singh Mehta is a distinguished professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science at City University of New York (“CUNY”). He is an Original Member of the Globalization Committee for Social Change at CUNY since 2010 and was a member of the selection committee for the President of the Graduate Center at CUNY in 2017. He had also provided services to the Executive Committee of the political science department at CUNY in 2017 and to the Admission Committee of the political science department at CUNY in 2017 and 2020.

Professor Mehta is a renowned political theorist whose work encompasses a wide spectrum of philosophical traditions and issues, including the relationship between freedom and imagination, liberalism’s complex link with colonialism and empire, and, more recently, war, peace, and nonviolence. He is the author of two books, *The Anxiety of Freedom: Imagination and Individuality in the Political Thought of John Locke* (1992) and *Liberalism and Empire: Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought* (2000), which won the J. David Greenstone Book Award from the American Political Science Association in 2002 for the best book in history and theory. In 2002, he was one of ten recipients of the “Carnegie Scholars” prize awarded to “scholars of exceptional creativity.” He is currently completing a book on M. K. Gandhi’s critique of political rationality.

Professor Mehta received his undergraduate education at Swarthmore College, where he studied mathematics and philosophy, and holds a Ph.D. in political philosophy from Princeton University. He has held teaching positions at a number of universities, including Princeton, Cornell, MIT, University of Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, and Hull.



Prof. Ishtiaq Ahmed

He is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Stockholm University. He is also Honorary Senior Fellow of the Institute of South Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. He is currently Visiting Professor at the Government College University, Lahore. He was a Visiting Professor at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) during 2013-2015. He is member of the editorial advisory boards of "Asian Ethnicity"; "Journal of Punjab Studies"; "IPRI Journal, Islamabad"; and "PIPS Research Journal of Conflict and Peace Studies, Islamabad". He was a Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), National University of Singapore and at the South Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore from June 2007 to June 2010. He holds a PhD in Political Science from Stockholm University.



Prof. Purushottama Bilimoria

He is currently Professor of Law and International Philosophy at Jindal Global University, Delhi-NCR; has continuing affiliations as faculty and fellow with University of Melbourne, University of California (Merced and Berkeley), and San Francisco State University, California.

Theological Union (GTU). Professor Purushottama Bilimoria is likewise Honorary Research Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Studies at Deakin University, and Senior Research Fellow with the School of Philosophical and Historical Studies and the Australia India Institute at University of Melbourne. Professor Purushottama Bilimoria is an Editor-in-Chief of *Sophia, Journal of Philosophy of Religion*, Springer and has also edited a book series with Springer on *Sophia: cross-cultural studies in Culture and Traditions*. His selected publications are: *Globalization, Transnationalism, Gender and Ecological Engagement* (2015), *Indian Diaspora : Hindus and Sikhs in Australia* (2015), *Emotions in Indian Thought-Systems* (2015), *Postcolonial Reason and Its Critiques: Deliberations on Spivak's Thoughts* (2014), *Postcolonial Philosophy of Religion* (Springer, 2009), *Sabdapramana: Word and Knowledge in Indian Philosophy* (DK PrintWorld, 2008), *Indian Ethics I* (Ashgate, 2007).



Prof. Rajmohan Gandhi

Author of more than a dozen books, Rajmohan Gandhi is a historian and biographer involved in efforts for trust-building and reconciliation. He currently serves as Research Professor at the College of Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. From 1997 to 2012, he was part of this university's Center for South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

Rajmohan's latest book, published in December 2018, is *Modern South India: A History from the 17th Century to Our Times*. Other books by his include *Understanding the Muslim Mind* (1987); *Gandhi: The Man, his People and the Empire* (2008); *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (2013); *Patel: A Life* (1990); and *Understanding the Founding Fathers: An Enquiry into the Beginnings of the Indian Republic* (2016). In 2002, he received the SahityaAkademi Award for his *Rajaji: A Life, a biography of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari*. From 1990 to 1992, Rajmohan was a member of the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament. Earlier in 1990, he led the Indian delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Associated from 1956 with Initiatives of Change (formerly known as Moral Re-Armament), Rajmohan Gandhi served as president of Initiatives of Change International in 2009 and 2010.

Through writing, speaking, public interventions and dialogues he has been engaged for sixty years in efforts for reconciliation and democratic rights. In the 1960s and early 1970s, he played a leading role in establishing Asia Plateau, the 68-acre centre of Initiatives of Change in the mountains of western India, which fosters dialogue, reconciliation and ethical governance, and is recognized on the Indian subcontinent for its ecological contribution. During the 1975-77

Emergency in India, he was active for democratic rights personally and through his weekly journal *Himmat*, published in Bombay from 1964 to 1981. India-Pakistan and Hindu-Muslim reconciliation have remained his goals. Since 9/11, he has also tried to address the divide between the West and the world of Islam. Before teaching at the University of Illinois, he served as Research Professor with the New Delhi think-tank, Centre for Policy Research. From 1985 to 1987, he edited the daily *Indian Express* in Madras.



Prof. Aditya Mukherjee

He was Professor of Contemporary Indian History, Centre for Historical Studies and Dean, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He was educated at St. Stephen's College and JNU. He was the Editor of the 'Sage Series in Modern Indian History' published by SAGE publications, (fifteen monographs already published) and was editor of the Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru (2009-11). He was Member of the Council of The Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR) since 2009. He specializes in Economic History, particularly business history and the political economy of post-colonial development. He was President of the Indian History Congress for Modern India, 2007-8. He has been Visiting Professor at Duke University, U.S.A., 1986; JSPS fellow and Japan Foundation Fellow at University of Tokyo, Japan, 1996 and 1999-2000 respectively; Visiting fellow at the Institutes of Advanced Study at Lancaster, UK and at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil; Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Study at Nantes, France, 2010 and Visiting professor at La Sapienza, University of Rome, Italy, 2013. His publications include the following books: *India's Struggle for Independence*, Viking, 1988, Penguin, 1989, 58th reprint in 2014, and *India Since Independence*, Penguin, 2008, both co-authored and translated into five languages; *Imperialism, Nationalism and the Making of the Indian Capitalist Class 1927-1947*, Sage, 2002; co-author; *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress, 1964-1984*, Vol. V, (editor), Academic Publishers, New Delhi, 2011.



Dr. Gianluigi Segalerba

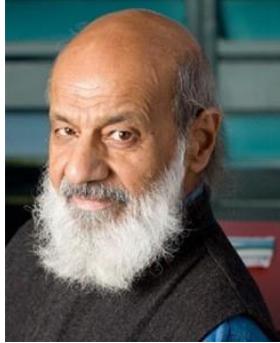
He graduated in Philosophy at the University of Pisa in 1991 and obtained his PhD in Philosophy at the University of Pisa in 1998. He was visiting scholar at the Universities of Tübingen, Berne, and Vienna. He taught at the Institute of Philosophy of the University of Vienna.

His first publication was *Note su Ousia* (Pisa 2001). He was then co-editor of the volume *Substantia – Sic et Non* (Frankfurt on the Main 2008), and he is the author of the book *Semantik und Ontologie: Drei Studien zu Aristoteles* (Berne 2013). His interests include Ancient Greek Philosophy, Spinoza, Indian Philosophy, Amartya Sen, and Jürgen Moltmann. He is a member of the Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos – IEF –, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra.



Prof. Gopal Guru

He retired as Professor from Centre for Political Science, School of Social Sciences, JNU. Central to his work is to testify to the normative set up of the Indian public sphere in order to understand its patterns of inclusivity and exclusivity towards the members of society. His work brings ethics back into theorizing and philosophizing Dalit discourses which, for decades, were lost in the debates of representational politics. His writings can be broadly located in theorizing on the moral categories of self-respect, recognition, dignity, shame, humiliation and asserting a non-instrumentalist view of rationality in explaining matters of social justice. His books are: Gopal Guru (ed). *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, Oxford University Press (2009), New Delhi. Gopal Guru & Sunder Sarukkai. *The Cracked Mirror*, Oxford University Press (2017), New Delhi. Gopal Guru (ed). *Atrophy in Dalit Politics*, Vikas Adhyayan Kendra (2005), Mumbai. Gopal Guru & Sunder Sarukkai. *Experience, Caste, and the Everyday Social*, Oxford University Press (2020), New Delhi. He has many more publications to his name in form of books and articles. He was Editor of Economic and Political weekly.



Prof. Sudhir Chandra

He is a historian, (retd.), Department of History, CSS, Surat, India. He has been associated with several universities and centres of advanced learning, such as Nantes Institute for Advanced Study; Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla; Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh; Banaras Hindu University; Aligarh Muslim University; Jamia Millia Islamia; Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris; Melbourne University; Bellagio Study and Conference Center; University of Chicago; Cornell University; Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; Indian Council of Historical Research and Indian Council for Social Science Research, New Delhi. Among his publications are *The Oppressive Present: Literature and Social Consciousness in Colonial India* (2014/1992) and *Enslaved Daughters: Colonialism, Law and Women's Rights* (1998).



Prof. Salil Mishra

He currently a Prof. in Ambedkar University Delhi, he has also served as Pro VC at AUD. He has taught history at the Department of History and Culture, JamiaMilliaIslamia, 1984-87. Worked as Assistant Research Officer at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, June 1986-April 1987. He taught history at the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) as Lecturer (1988-99), as Reader (1999-2007) and as Professor (2007-10). He hold expertise in Modern Indian History with special focus on Indian National Movement, Communal Politics, Partition of the Sub-Continent, Politics of Language., Hindi and Urdu, Nationalism, Identity Politics, and Social Science Teaching.

Has written two books, *A Narrative of Communal Politics, Uttar Pradesh, 1937-39*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001 and a small monograph entitled *Swaraj Party* (in Hindi), brought out by the National Book Trust (NBT), New Delhi, 1997. It has been translated in other Indian regional languages. He has published over 20 research articles in books and journals on various themes pertaining to communal politics, partition of India, identity politics, Indian National Movement, politics of Language, Hindi and Urdu and social science teaching. He has published over 40 articles at a popular level for The Times of India, The Economic Times, Deccan Herald and also Hindi newspapers like Dainik Bhaskar and Navbharat Times. He has also been regularly reviewing books for The Book Review, Biblio, Seminar and Studies in History. He has co-edited *Towards Freedom*, a collection of documents on the freedom struggle for the year 1942. The volume was sponsored by the Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR) and published by the Oxford University Press.



Dr. Hilal Ahmed

Hilal Ahmed works on political Islam, Indian democracy, and politics of symbols in South Asia. He is associated with the Lokniti programme of the CSDS. His first book *Muslim Political Discourse in Postcolonial India: Monuments, Memory, Contestation* (Routledge 2014) explores these thematic concerns to evolve an interdisciplinary approach to study Muslim politics.

Ahmed's recent books, *Allah Naamki Siyasat* (SetuPrakashan, 2023), *Siyasi Muslims: A story of Political Islam in India* (Penguin-Random House, New Delhi, 2019) and *Democratic Accommodations: Minorities in contemporary India* (With Peter R deSouza, and SanjeerAlam, Bloomsbury, 2019) further elaborate these themes and make a modest attempt to explain the discursively constituted nature of contemporary Muslim political discourse in India.

He has edited *Companion to Indian Democracy: Resilience, Fragility, Ambivalence* (With Peter R deSouza, and SanjeerAlam, Routledge, 2021), *Rethinking Muslim Personal Law: Issues, Debates and Reforms* (with R. K. Mishra & K. N. Jehangir, Routledge, 2022) and *SudiptaKaviraj: A Reader* (Hindi, SetuPrakashan, 2023).

Ahmed is currently working on a book project on the politics of Muslim political representation in postcolonial India. Ahmed is the Associate Editor, *South Asian Studies*, journal of the British Association of South Asian Studies. He is also part of the editorial team of CSDS's Hindi journal *Pratiman*. He was a Visting Professor at Krea University (2021-22), Visting Fellow, Institute of Advanced Studies-Nantes (IAS-Nantes, France, 2018-19), Visiting Fellow, at Victoria University Wellington, (2013-14), Visiting Asia Fellow, University of Dhaka, (2011) and Visiting Professor at University of Pune (2011).He has designed and conducted courses on Research as Practice (2017, 2018), Politics of Political Representation (2016), Research Methods and Identities: Issues and Debates in Postcolonial India (2015), History, Memory and Identity (2009) for the CSDS Teaching Programme, Researching the Contemporary.He also taught a course Political Sociology at the Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand. Ahmed has worked as a lecturer of political science at University of Delhi.

Ahmed writes for academic journals, newspapers, and websites in English and Hindi. He has produced two documentaries, *Encountering the Political Jama Masjid* (English, 2006) and *Qutub: EkAdhuraAfsana* (Qutub: an unfinished story, Hindi with English subtitles, 2016).Ahmed has also conceptualized and developed an academic mobile app *SHARC-DILLI* an app on the Partitioned City of Delhi, (with Deborah Sutton, Lancaster University). It is an outcome of a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), UK.Ahmed did his PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (2007).He was awarded the Institute of Advanced Studies-Nantes (IAS-Nantes, France) Fellowship, 2018-19, the Rajya Sabha Fellowship (2015-2016), the Asia Fellow Award (2008/2010), the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies Fellowship (2009), the Ford Foundation-IFP Fellowship (2002), the ATRI- Charities Aid Foundation Fellowship (2001), and UGC Senior Research Fellowship (1999) and the UGC Junior Research Fellowship (1997).



Dr. Gangeya Mukherji

He is an independent scholar. He taught English at a College for 32 years before taking early retirement in 2021. He was Fellow at Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla from 2008 to 2010, and at Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust, in May-June 2017; and was Visiting Professor with the School of Arts and Sciences, Ahmedabad University (2018). Interested in the history of ideas with particular focus on nineteenth and twentieth century India, he is the author of *Gandhi and Tagore: Politics, Truth and Conscience* (Routledge, 2016), and *An Alternative Idea of India: Tagore and Vivekananda* (Routledge, 2011). Mukherji has edited *Learning Non-Violence* (OUP, 2016), and co-edited *Exploring Agency in the Mahabharata: Ethical and Political Dimensions of Dharma* (Routledge, 2018). He is presently working on *Gandhi: A Contemporary Reader*.



Prof Sundar Sarukkai

He works primarily in the philosophy of the natural and the social sciences. He has held positions of professor of philosophy at the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Founder-Director of the Manipal Centre for Philosophy and Humanities, and, most recently, Visiting Faculty at the Centre for Society and Policy, Indian Institute of Science. He is the founder of *Barefoot Philosophers*, an initiative to take philosophy to children and to the public. He is the author of the following books - *Translating the World: Science and Language*, *Philosophy of Symmetry*, *Indian Philosophy and Philosophy of Science*, *What is Science?*, *JRD Tata and the Ethics of Philanthropy*, and two books co-authored with Gopal Guru - *The Cracked Mirror: An Indian Debate on Experience and Theory* and *Experience, Caste and the Everyday Social*. His book for children titled *Philosophy for Children: Thinking, Reading, Writing* has been translated into Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Hindi. His book titled *The Social Life of Democracy*, a response to the problems of global democracy today and extending Ambedkar's vision of social democracy, was released in 2022. His latest publication is a novel, *Following a Prayer*. He is the Series Editor of Routledge's *Science and Technology Studies*, as well as the Co-Chief Editor of the *Springer Handbook of Logical Thought in India*.



डा. शंकर सरन

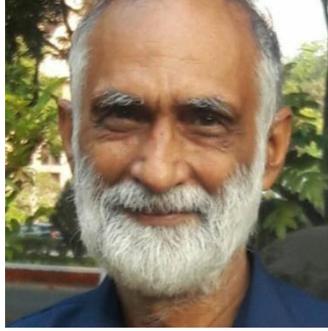
अभी भारतीय उच्च अध्ययन संस्थान, शिमला में राष्ट्रीय अध्येता।
प्रोफेसर, राजनीति शास्त्र, एन.सी.ई.आर.टी.।

पूर्व-प्रोफेसर, महाराजा सायाजीराव विश्वविद्यालय बड़ौदा।

* इन्स्टीच्यूट ऑफ सोशल साइन्सेज, मॉस्को से सोवियत राज्यतंत्र पर डिप्लोमा। जेएनयू, नई दिल्ली से 'सोवियत कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सिद्धांत-व्यवहार' पर पीएच.डी.।

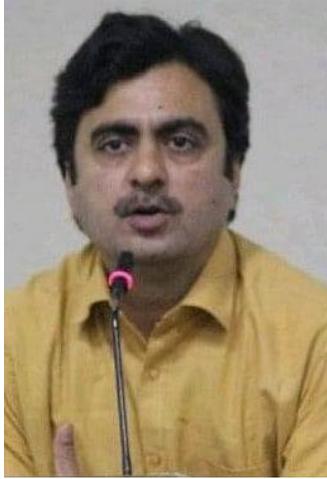
* अब तक २३ पुस्तकें प्रकाशित। उल्लेखनीय: 'भारत पर कार्ल मार्क्स और मार्क्सवादी इतिहास-लेखन'; 'मुसलमानों की घर वापसी - क्यों और कैसे'; 'गाँधी अहिंसा और राजनीति'; 'जिहादी आतंकवाद'; 'गाँधी के ब्रह्मचर्य प्रयोग'; 'भारत में प्रचलित सेक्यूलरवाद'; 'इस्लाम और कम्युनिज्म: तीन चेतावनियाँ', 'संघ परिवार की राजनीति: एक हिन्दू आलोचना', आदि।

* तीन दशकों से राष्ट्रीय पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में राजनीतिक-शैक्षिक विषयों पर लेखन। 'दैनिक जागरण' तथा 'नया इंडिया' में नियमित स्तंभ-लेखन।



डा. आलोक टंडन

टंडन जी ने अपनी पी . एच . डी दर्शन शास्त्र से पूरी की। यह भारतीय सामाजिक विज्ञान अनुसंधान परिषद के सामान्य फ़ेलो के रूप में धर्म और हिंसा पर अनुसंधान कार्य करते रहे हैं। इन्होंने भारतीय दार्शनिक अनुसंधान परिषद के रेजिडेंट फ़ेलो के रूप में भी अपनी शोध में रुचि साबित की। इन्हें भारतीय दार्शनिक अनुसंधान परिषद नैन प्रोजेक्ट फ़ेलो के रूप संस्था से लंबे समय तक जोड़े रखा। यह विभिन्न संपादित पुस्तकों एवं शोध पत्रिकाओं में शोध लेख प्रकाशित कर चुके हैं। 100 से अधिक गोष्ठियों में अपनी भागेदारी दे चुके हैं। इन्हें अखिल भारतीय दर्शन परिषद ने “नागर ” पुरस्कार से सम्मानित भी किया है। इनकी प्रकाशी कृतियों में : *Man and His Destiny with Special reference to Marx and Satre* शामिल है



Dr. Ajay Gudavarthy

Ajay Gudavarthy is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Political Studies, JNU, and his areas of interest include political theory, contemporary political movements, civil society and democracy, post- colonial theory, and populism. Prior to teaching at JNU, he also taught at the National Law School, Bangalore, from 2003 to 2006, and was a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Modern South Asian Studies, Tubingen University, Germany, in 2015. His most recent books: "India after Modi: Populism and the Right" (Bloomsbury, 2018) and (ed) "Secular Sectarianism: Limits of Subaltern Politics" (Sage, 2019). He is currently working on "Democracy and Revolutionary Violence," which will be published by Sage, and writes regularly for various News Dailies including The Hindu, Telegraph, The Wire, and Newsclick.



Dr. Anuradha Veeravalli

Anuradha Veeravalli taught philosophy for 24 years, firstly at Hindu College and 2005 onward at the Dept. of Philosophy, University of Delhi, until she took voluntary retirement in 2017. She has published a book titled, *Gandhi in Political Theory: Truth, Law and Experiment* (Ashgate 2014). She has contributed the entries “Indian Philosophies” and “Nyaya” in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones, 2005. She has worked and written on Gandhi, political theory, and religion from an epistemological point of view and is currently working on a book considering the foundations of the vernacular.



Dr. Suman Khanna Aggarwal

She is a retired Associate Professor in discipline of Philosophy in University of Delhi. She did her PhD in Gandhian Philosophy. She has to her merit three completed Post Doctoral Research Projects with Brock University, Canada, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, Sweden, UGC, India respectively. Her publications include books titled *The Science of Peace*, *Gandhian Vision-Status Growth & Development*, *50years of Independence: 1947-97*, *Gandhi and the Good Life*. She has published articles and papers in edited Books/Journals. She founded Gandhian NGO called SHANTI SAHYOG. The NGO is an active body that works in 17 South Delhi Slums.



Dr Rinku Lamba

She is an associate professor at the National Law School of India University in Bangalore. She was educated in Delhi, Oxford and Toronto. Her research and teaching interests are in the areas of contemporary political theory and modern Indian political thought. Her published work focuses on state power, multiculturalism, secularism, and conceptions of religion in India, as well as on the political thought of Ranade, Phule, Ambedkar and Gandhi. Dr Lamba taught political theory at the Jawaharlal Nehru University for over thirteen years before she joined the National Law School. She has been a Max Weber Fellow at the EUI, a Harold Coward India Research Fellow at the University of Victoria, and has held fellowships at the University of Sydney and at the Australian Catholic University, Sydney. More recently she held fellowships

at the Multiple Secularities research centre in the University of Leipzig, and at the Justitia Amplificata research centre in the Goethe University Frankfurt. She has held visiting teaching positions at the Humboldt University and at the University of Wurzburg. In March 2019 she was the Lansdowne Visiting Scholar in Religious Studies at the University of Victoria in Canada. Her most recent publication is a monographic essay on Rabindranath Tagore's critique of nationalism in the journal *Modern Asian Studies*. She is currently completing a book manuscript on the visions of political community ensconced in the political thought of MK Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and B R Ambedkar.



Dr. Dhananjay Rai

He is Visiting Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, and Faculty at the Centre for Gandhian Thought and Peace Studies, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, India. His select books include *Debating Swaraj* (Forthcoming), *Poorna Swaraj* (2023), '*Contested Representation*' (2022), '*Politics: Essays in Tribute to Randhir Singh*' (edited, 2018), '*Nehru and Modernity*' (edited, 2016, in Hindi), '*Democracy on the Move? Reflections on Moments Promises and Contradictions*' (co-editor, 2013), and '*Contemporary Indian Political Theory: A Critical Analysis*' (2013). His research articles and reviews have been published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Seminar*, *Social Change*, *Social Scientist*, *Think India Quarterly*, *Book Review*, *the Indian Journal of Public Administration*, *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, *Aalochana*, and *Samved*.



Prof. Lajwanti Chatani

Lajwanti Chatani is Professor in Political Science at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, India. Professor Chatani is Convener of the Forum on Contemporary Theory - an internationally recognized and acclaimed space for interdisciplinary academic exchange on issues of contemporary theoretical relevance. She held the positions of Head of the Department of Political Science and Vice Dean of the Faculty of Arts, at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. She has also served as Director of the Institute of Policy Research and International Studies. She is a Member of the International Centre for Advanced Studies' project on the Metamorphosis of the Political. She has edited a special issue of the Journal of Contemporary on "Revisiting the Political". She has edited a special issue of Anekaant on "Gandhi and Time Binding". She is on the advisory board of several referred journals and has contributed to curriculum development and course materials pertaining to political theory. She has several publications to her credit. Professor Chatani's area of research includes political theory and thought: western and Indian, justice, democracy, gender and the nature of the political.



Dr. Sandhya Jain

Sandhya Jain is an author, independent researcher, and writer on political and contemporary affairs. She contributes to Chintan India Foundation Blogs (<https://chintan.indiafoundation.in/>), India Foundation Journal, and edits an online opinions forum, www.vijayvaani.com. Jain contributed a fortnightly column to *The Pioneer*, New Delhi, for over two decades, and contributed to web portals such as www.Niticentral.com (retired), www.pgurus.com and www.abplive.in. She was Senior Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, (December 2017 – December 2019); her research work has been published under the title, *Balochistan: In the Crosshairs of History*. Jain is a post graduate in Political Science from Delhi University, Delhi, and has had nearly four decades of experience as a professional journalist in *The Hindustan Times*, *The Telegraph*, and *Sunday Mail* (weekly). She brief worked with the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC), New Delhi. Jain is a student of the myriad facets of Indian civilisation. Her published works include: *Balochistan: In the Crosshairs of History*, Knowledge World, 2021. *Foreword for From the East to The West. A Message of Peace. Select Essays*. Vladislav Krasnov, Sanbun, 2020. *J&K: Invisible Faultlines* [edited], Pentagon Press, 2019. Hindi edition of *AdiDeo Arya Devata*, PrabhatPrakashan, 2018. Edited a compilation of outsider accounts on India titled, *The India They Saw. Foreign Accounts: 5th century BC – 7th century AD*, Ocean Books Pvt. Ltd, 2011. *Evangelical Intrusions. Tripura: A Case Study*, Rupa, 2009. Contributed chapter on Jain Dharma in “*Why Am I A Believer. Personal Reflections On Nine World Religions*,” ed. Arvind Sharma,

Penguin India, 2009. *AdiDeo Arya Devata. A Panoramic View of Tribal-Hindu Cultural Interface*, Rupa, 2004. Contributed a chapter on Hindu view on population control in *Sacred Rights*, ed. Dan Maguire, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003. *Rethinking India's Foreign Policy: New Challenges & Opportunities*, at seminar on Interface of Economic, Energy and Defence Sectors, by Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, December 2014

Given her varied interests in issues pertaining to women, population, and development, Jain has been associated with multi-religious advocacy bodies such as ECOSOC consultant, *The Religious Consultation on Population, Reproductive Health and Ethics*, and *Religion Counts*. She has attended workshops of *Religion Counts* on issues pertaining to women's rights and human rights. She was a Member of the Indo-UK Round Table, chaired jointly by Mr. K.C. Pant, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, and Lord Swraj Paul, industrialist and philanthropist.

She was a member of the Media Editorial Board, *Stree Shakti Purushkar*, a newsletter brought out by the Department of Women & Child Development, Ministry of Human Resources Development; and of the *Committee on Media and Gender*, National Women's Commission, New Delhi. She was also a member of the Central Press Accreditation Committee.



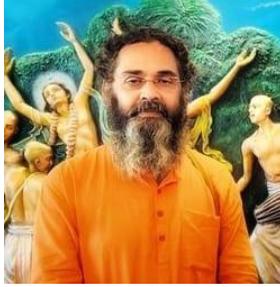
Dr. Rami Niranjana Desai

She is currently associated with India Foundation. she is an Author, Anthropologist and a scholar of the North East region of India. She focuses on ethnic identity, tribal issues and insurgency. She also comments and keeps a track of developments on the Indo Pacific and current affairs. She regularly writes in all major newspapers and is a panelist on Hindi and English news channels.



Reela Hota

She is the youngest celebrity and only Odissi dancer to be featured in by Doordarshan Bharati on the Program. ReelaHota, founded the Rays of Wisdom Society, an organization dedicated to highlighting how music, dance and vital therapeutic practices in traditional systems of healing can combine to meet lifestyle challenges of today. A grade artist, she has been awarded the SanatanNrityaPuraskar for her outstanding contribution to Indian Arts.Reela produced and starred in the first ever Opera "Ramleela in Opera". Ramleela in Opera art form saw 100 artists from 5 countries: Italy, France, Hungary, USA and India, working hard to put the spotlight at the confluence of culture and ideas. In 2013 Reela achieved another milestone in her career to create a unique dance fusion on the healing aspect of Sanskrit when she collaborated with Ballet dancers from Bucharest National Opera House in what is the first-time-ever "amalgamation of Western classical and Odissi, Sometimes a talk from a leading expert in the field precedes the dance performance to enable a better appreciation of the work. In the second day of the International Ancient Arts Festival, 2013, a talk on "Psychodrama as a Living Process" by Psychodrama Institute of Melbourne director Sue Daniel preceded the events for the day.



Swami Shyamananda

He is a monk pursuing his spiritual calling at Rishikesh. He was a student of Hindu College, Delhi University and I started his career as a lecturer at the Delhi College of Arts and Commerce, Delhi University in the early 1990s. He switched several jobs in media, academia, NGOs, and the Government of Odisha. During the period 2000 to 2004 he was a guest faculty at the Department of Development Journalism and Women's Studies at the Utkal University. He also worked as a consulting Social Scientist with Odisha State Disaster Management Authority, and Danish Church Aid for a while. He later worked with the World Bank for about a decade. He left the World Bank in 2016 and moved to Rishikesh to study Vedanta and related scriptures at the Kailash Ashram. He spends his time studying, teaching vedanta, travelling, and counseling students and people in distress.



Dr. Ananya Vajpeyi

She is a scholar and writer and works at the intersection of intellectual history, political theory, and critical philology. She is the author of *Righteous Republic: The Political Foundations of Modern India* published by Harvard University Press (2012), which won the Thomas J. Wilson Memorial Prize (2011), the Crossword Award (2013), and the Tata First Book Prize (2013). In addition to her academic work, she writes widely on politics, arts and ideas for newspapers and magazines in India and abroad. Fellow, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi and a Visiting Professor at Ashoka University. She is currently working on a book about the modern life of Sanskrit.



Dr. Deepalee Rout

She is lecturer in Philosophy at Kandarpur College situated in Cuttack, Odisha. She has taught for 3 years to undergraduate students. Before being posted here, she taught at JKBK Govt. College and Ravenshaw University, Cuttack, Odisha. She completed her PhD coursework from IIT Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh in the year Jan 2020-Dec2021. She has completed her Masters as a gold medalist in Philosophy from Ravenshaw University Cuttack. It was an honor for her to bag the 13th rank in India in GATE exam held in the year 2021 and 1st rank in Odisha State Selection Board exam 2022 for lectureship in Non-Aided Govt. Colleges. Apart from that she qualified NET JRF, in 2018 (first attempt) and 2020 (second attempt) respectively. She has research interest in meta ethics and action theories but not limited to it.



Chetana Jagriti

SHE is a doctoral student in the Department of Philosophy, University of Delhi. She is working on the concept of Conscience from the point of view of epistemology. Her M.Phil dissertation was titled “The Issue of Being and becoming in Plato and Gandhi”. Her research interests include Epistemology and Social and Political Philosophy and with special reference to Gandhi.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND HIS MANY CRITICS: THE NEED FOR NEW, CHALLENGING, CREATIVE INTERPRETATIONS AND APPLICATIONS TODAY

Douglas Allen

This is an extremely important seminar on "Gandhi and His Critics" not only theoretically, but also practically for understanding what has shaped India's past and what is now happening in India and the world. This conference can demonstrate how our creative interpretations and applications are of utmost urgency and significance in relating to our contemporary crises and in dedicating our lives to creating a brighter future in which we and other beings not only survive but can also flourish.

I shall not provide simple Gandhian, non-Gandhian, and anti-Gandhian answers to the many topics and issues that will be considered during the seminar. The methodology, values, conceptual framework, and spirit that inform my keynote are the opposite of the typical, often stereotypical, oversimplified positive and negative responses to Gandhi and his critics. I shall provide an approach, interpretations, and applications that challenge, engage in dialogue, generate critical reflection, and serve as a catalyst for lively interactions and debates that will enrich the seminar and for future creative research and practices.

In my challenging approach and framework, typical dominant dichotomizing approaches by Gandhians and anti-Gandhian critics, while often insightful, usually lead to dead ends, rigid closures, that are central to our contemporary existential and global crises. They restrict or block our human potential for transformative theoretical formulations and cooperative, engaged, transformative practices that are desperately needed in India and the world. I'll suggest ways that we can relate to past and present research on Gandhi and his critics, but in which we can move forward in new creative ways that offer great potential for the seminar and for the future.

THE OTHER LIBERALS: MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS, FRIENDS AND FOES OF THE FIREBRAND GANDHI.

Purushottama Bilimoria

Arguably, liberalism anywhere – as we believe in the case of democracy, to which liberalism is deeply aligned – should carry the same valences, with some variations in degree but not in kind due to differentials circumstances. But that was not the case with liberals in early 20th century India, among whom were moderates and extremists. I locate Gandhi somewhere in this spectrum, though not static and steady as some other liberals ended up being. I begin the genealogical tracing (part of a larger project) with Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice M G Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, Annie Besant, Mohammad Jinnah, Motilal Nehru, Bipin Pal Chandra, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Lord Surendranath P. Sinha, Tyabji, Krishnawamy Iyer, Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar, B. P. Wadia, Lala Lajpat Rai, Madam Mohan Malviya, C. R. Das (founder Swaraj Party), M.R. Jayakar, Subhas Chandra Bose, Bhowanagree, Subbaroa, Govindaraghar Iyer, Rabindranath Tagore, Anand Kentish Coomaraswamy, Nani Palkhivala, Ashoka Gupta, Vidyagauri Neelkanth, Sarala Roy, Baba Ambedkar, Kadambini, Basu, Durgamohan Das, Rasul, Abdul Ghaffār Khān, V D Savarkar; (among the Britishers in India) Sir William Wedderburn, O. A. Hume, Lord Baron Pentland, Lord Hailey, Richard Gregg, C. F. Andrews, (outside India) Henry Thoreau, Rev Pearson, Leo Tolstoy, WEB Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, John Haynes Holmes, A J Muste, Martin Buber, Sue Bailey and Howard Thurman, FDR, among others.

In this brief talk, I will examine Gandhi's literary and personal responses to the critiques and appraisals from an array of liberals of his philosophy and praxis: variously of swadeshi, swarāj, satyāgraha, ahimsā, minimal economy, noncooperation, boycott, Quit India, Constitutional oversights, sarvadharmā-secularism, communal interventions, education, science, modernity, and agro-etc-

technology. Gandhi's burgeoning ideas from his heydays in South Africa to the day he succumbed to the bullet pumped into his frail body by Godse (in this very city), attracted as many sympathizers as indeed detractors and vehement critics. But this a story also about the uneasy and turbulent career of liberalism in the early modern Indian subcontinent.

TAGORE: GANDHI'S AKIN CRITIC

Gangeya Mukherji

The debate between Gandhi and Tagore frames their larger and common concerns regarding the political community. The usual observation of an evidently fundamental divergence between their viewpoints might be more of a speculation than a decisive conclusion. Occasionally, even separate intellectual categories might seem respectively appropriate to the two personalities, that of the moral activist and the moral philosopher, which are suited to two distinct activities. One may, in haste, be inclined to understand Gandhi as primarily a moralist and Tagore as an amoral philosopher. It is perhaps more worthwhile a position to study both of them as a combination of the moral philosopher and the activist in as much as they are engaged simultaneously in reasoning a moral vocabulary and using it for ethical purposes. The debate between them can perhaps be meaningfully understood on the plane of a conversation shared by two individuals with similar ethical imperatives and accomplishments that are aimed at distinguishing modes of thought and action effective in the pursuit of their ethical purpose of life. A convergence and kinship is thus apparent both on the plane of the genealogy and influences of their aspirations and concerns – particularly regarding rural uplift and social reconstruction, their attitude to Western civilization, but most of all in the impeccability of nonviolence as value and instrument.

On one plane the viewpoint of Tagore debate appears to be located on the political plane in its criticism of Gandhi's political program, superficially positing Tagore as an opponent of Gandhi's nationalism. However, even while speaking of Tagore's opposition to nationalism, his universalism ought not to be confused with mere cosmopolitanism. His was more a faith in the harmony of influences and traditions, and spoke of the 'web of unity' in Indian culture, 'which binds all of us' without our 'knowing or not knowing it', and the 'truth of which was not contingent on our knowledge and acknowledgment of it'. In 1915, outlining his own identity, he emphasized the retaining of the distinctiveness of traditions in building bridges between

cultures. Gandhi's position was identical. And even if their differences were, as some contended, fundamental, why should thus there be an overriding desire on their part to reconcile their respective positions? The cordiality of their relationship which remained undiminished by Tagore's criticism of some of Gandhi's essential positions indicates the nuances of the nationalist idea, besides being instructive in a world of acrimonious political difference.

In this paper, I do not propose to describe in detail the very substantial content, and extent, of the debate, but only seek to look at its outline, and delineate some basic issues that figure most prominently in their debate: that on non-cooperation; Tagore's initial support and its subsequent withdrawal, followed by active opposition to the Poona Pact; and in his most controversial novel *Char Adhyaya* (Four Chapters), written as a self-denied critique of revolutionary terrorism, but being by far his closest fictional work on principles akin with Gandhi.

HAS GANDHI TRUMPED LEFT AND AMBEDKAR?

Ajay Gudavarthy

In what is described as the Gandhi-Ambedkar debate, Gandhi had argued not for caste but the varna system as a Hindu way of preserving social collectives without conflict. For M.K. Gandhi, varna taught us the ethics of self-restraint. Gandhi argued against inter-caste marriage because he saw it as a transgression. He had even more idiosyncratic reasoning to avoid inter-dining between castes because eating, like defecation, was an obscene act to be carried out in private. B.R. Ambedkar was dismissive of such formulations and felt that the shift from caste to varna made no difference to discrimination. Left, on the other hand, equated all of culture to conservatism.

It seems that the Gandhian ethic has prevailed over Ambedkar's search for civic republicanism and the Left's project of modernization and secularisation. A survey by the Pew Research Center found that the overwhelming ethic, cutting across castes and religions, is that of 'living together, separately'. Indians value diversity but prefer separate habitations and maintain their own identities. Gandhi seems to have prevailed over Ambedkar in his idea of transformation grounded on Hindu religiosity too. Today, OBCs are responding positively to 'Shiv charchas'; Dalits don't see the Hindu identity as an anathema. They can derive a sense of belonging even if social inclusion is not egalitarian. Ambedkar's signification might be undergoing changing. There has been a subtle Hinduisation of Ambedkar through his conversion to the Father of the Constitution from being a bitter critique of the 'riddles of Hinduism'. There has neither been a reform of Hinduism as suggested by Gandhi, nor the overthrow of the Hindu social order, which was Ambedkar's dream. What we have instead is the emergence of Hinduism as a 'civil religion' that Sociologist Robert Bellah pointed to.

GANDHI AND TAGORE - NONVIOLENT NON- COOPERATION: A CRITICAL DIALOGUE

Christian Bartolf

"Mutual admiration and friendship were the basis for a highly relevant controversial dialogue between Gandhi and Tagore circling around civil disobedience and non-violent cooperation as means to attain hind swaraj (Indian Home Rule) in the context of the emancipation from colonialism and imperialism. While Tagore emphasized the positive global perspective of the methods applied for attaining the obviously legitimate end, Gandhi insisted on the world heritage of Thoreau, Tolstoy, and many others to end the colonial regime by withdrawing consent and support. As the public debate's arguments refer to culture, philosophy, and religion it is high time to recollect this critical dialogue and learn from it for our age of peril."

GANDHI AS GANDHI'S CRITIC

**Hilal Ahmed,
Associate Professor, CSDS**

There is an interesting quote by Gandhi about his writings. He says, "I would like to say to the diligent reader of my writings ...that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent.therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject." (Hind Swaraj, 1938, p.2)

Gandhi's advice is crucial as well as critical. He wants us to contextualize his writings in their historical contexts to extract those possible meanings that he would have preferred. At the same time, this contextualization should not be seen as a direct submission to any given 'chronology of life events'. Gandhi, it seems, is keen to introduce his readers to the slow and gradual unfolding of his context-specific arguments. He, thus, functions not merely as an author in the conventional sense of the term but also as an active participant in the evolving discourses around his writings and speeches. In other words, Gandhi himself would like to be treated as a critique of his perceptions, views, anxieties and arguments.

This paper is an attempt to address two relevant theoretical questions in this regard. First, how should we treat this ever-evolving critical approach, which cannot entirely be reduced to what is known as self-criticism? Second, what are the political implications of this approach?

GANDHI AND NEO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Dhananjay Rai

This paper discussed the implication of Rajniti and Lokniti in Gandhian discourse on neo-social movements. There is a connection between Gandhi and Swaraj. Gandhi rethought the Swaraj concept to distance himself from the conflicting claims.

The idea of Gandhi's Swaraj can be broken down into two main categories. The first is connected to the process of making Swaraj. The second concern is the definition of Swaraj. Most research completely disregards the making-meaning duo or places a disproportionate emphasis on Swaraj's interpretation. The objective of Swaraj is only understandable when not divorced from the complicated question of how Swaraj came to be. This paper delves into the making of swaraj as well as its meaning. After that, it places this particular feature within the context of the argument that is taking place between Rajniti and Lokniti. This discussion was very important for India in the modern era. Rajniti was regarded as the state's politics at the time. As an alternative, the term "Lokniti," often known as "people politics" or "politics of the people," was proposed. This study understands the implications of neo-social movements within the context of the discussion on Rajniti and Lokniti.

GANDHI'S THEORIES AND STRATEGIES.

Rajmohan Gandhi

Abstract: When pressed to expand his notion of satyagraha or nonviolent resistance into a book, Gandhi declined, saying he was made for action, not for theorizing. However, a theory of nonviolent resistance emerges clearly from Gandhi's writings. Explained and amplified by numerous scholars, of whom Gene Sharp is perhaps the best known, that theory is now studied in universities across the world. Another theory that shines at us from Gandhi's body of writings and talks is his understanding of Indian nationhood. As would be true for other thinkers or philosophers, Gandhi's positions on immediate issues arising in his lifetime have to be understood in their context.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE HINDU NATIONALISTS

Koenaard Elst

At present, we see the emergence of a "Hindu ecosystem" featuring many independent Hindu thinkers, often highly critical of organized Hindu Nationalism, esp. of the currently ruling party, the BJP. For the years between Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in Indian politics and his murder, what Hindu Nationalism he had to deal with, only came in organized form: the Hindu Mahāsabhā and the RSS, then not yet with its "family" of organisations (SanghParivār). Whereas today's ecosystem in its emerging new account of India's history is turning distinctly against the Mahatma, the RSS and its front organizations have gradually shifted to a pro-Mahatma position. Back then, however, it was poles apart with him, or so it has come to seem after his murder emphasized the contrast. In reality, their respective outlooks were mostly parallel, especially if we compare them with the post-independence concept of secularism.

“गाँधी जी और आर.एस.एस. : घृणा—प्रेम का संबंध”

शंकर सरन

अपने उत्पत्ति काल से ही आर.एस.एस. (संघ) में महात्मा गाँधी के प्रति दोहरी भावना रही । एक ओर, गाँधी जी से प्रतिद्वंद्विता एवं विरोध, द्वेष तक, तथा दूसरी ओर गाँधी जी का सम्मान करते हुए उनसे सम्मान पाने का भी प्रयास । संघ में लंबे समय तक पहला भाव ही तीव्र रहा । संघ के संस्थापक डॉ. के. बा. हेडगेवार ने स्वयं गाँधी विचारों के प्रति तीखी वितृष्णा व्यक्त की थी । साथ ही, संघ कार्यकर्ताओं को कांग्रेस और उसके कार्यक्रमों को “मौसमी देशभक्ति” कहकर उनसे दूरी रखने के लिए प्रेरित किया । उसके बदले केवल संघ का काम करने का आग्रह किया । यह अघोषित रूप से गाँधीजी के प्रति एक प्रतिद्वंद्विता का भी भाव था । विचार एवं कार्य, दोनों ही क्षेत्रों में । मोटे तौर पर 1970 के दशक तक संघ नेताओं, कार्यकर्ताओं में गाँधीजी के प्रति यही भाव प्रबल था ।

परन्तु हाल के दशकों से गाँधीजी को अपना लेने, या कम से कम इसका भरपूर प्रदर्शन करने की प्रवृत्ति संघ नेताओं में दिनों दिन बलवती हुई है । यद्यपि आम संघ कार्यकर्ताओं में वह भाव अभी भी बहुत कम है । बल्कि, असंख्य संघ कार्यकर्ता सोशल मीडिया पर गाँधीजी के संबंध में नकारात्मक बातें ही अधिक प्रसारित करते मिलते हैं । वे अपने नेताओं द्वारा गाँधीजी के प्रति श्रद्धा प्रदर्शन को औपचारिकता, लाचारी या दिखावा—चतुराई मानते हैं ।

दूसरी ओर, विगत दशकों में आर.एस.एस. नेताओं के विविध विचारों, नीतियों, तौर—तरीकों, कल्पनाओं और उनकी आशाओं—आकांक्षाओं की विस्तृत समीक्षा यह दिखाती है कि अनेकानेक बिन्दुओं पर आर.एस.एस. के नेता गाँधीवादी मनोवृत्ति औरी नीतियों का ही अनुकरण कर रहे हैं । यहाँ तक कि गाँधीजी की आलोचना करने वाले संघ कार्यकर्ता भी अनेकानेक विचारों, नीतियों और कल्पनाओं में जाने—अनजाने वही रूख रखते हैं जो गाँधीजी में था । यह इतने अधिक मुद्दों और प्रवृत्तियों में झलकता है कि एक गंभीर अध्येता के शब्दों में, “आर.एस.एस. आज भारत में सर्वाधिक गाँधीवादी” संगठन है ।

प्रस्तावित आलेख—प्रपत्र गाँधी और गाँधीवाद के प्रति आर.एस.एस. की इन दोहरी भावनाओं का एक तत्यात्मक आकलन, अवलोकन का प्रयास है ।

DOING SUBVERSION: UNCOVERING GANDHI'S POST-GENDERED PERSPECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL

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Among the most revisited ideas of modern-day India political thought have been the Gandhian concepts of swaraj, ahimsa, satyagraha, and even swadeshi, and yet they continue to remain the most slippery, with each attempt at grasping them, resulting in newer and more nuanced understandings. However, the most contested of Gandhi's political ideas and practices relate to his position on women, patriarchy, and the body. A conceptual reading of Gandhi's position on/for women offers a plethora of somewhat compatible, yet essentially contradictory interpretations, ranging from positions of feminist sensibility to those of masculinist chauvinism. How does one read through these contradictions? Did Gandhi intend to extend and make applicable the principle of swaraj to patriarchy, to facilitate the freedom and self-rule of persons from gendered structures of oppression and violation? In what way can we read and uncover Gandhi's perspective on gender equality and justice? This paper attempts to being to respond to these questions by arguing that it is possible to uncover a post-gendered perspective of the political in Gandhi's thoughts and actions. Such a post-gendered perspective of the political transcends the binary and opposition on which the structure of patriarchy gets constructed and legitimized. In uncovering this perspective, the paper will read the relationship between Gandhi and women, mainly Kasturba and Manu. For Gandhi, the body was not a site of passive feminine subjugation; it was the site of a potent political praxis employed for the demands for freedom, equality, and justice. Put differently, the body, for Gandhi, was a site of subversion and empowerment, as well as of the transcendence of the gender binary and a transformation to a post-gendered perspective of the political.

GANDHI AND CHRISTIANS

Sandhya Jain

Living in an age of narrowing intellectual and spiritual boundaries, we often fail to appreciate the wide, expansive horizons of generations before us, especially those who confronted the colonial power and tried to wrest freedom and political agency for the Indian people as a whole. Reading Mahatma Gandhi, we see a traditional yet cosmopolitan personality able to cope with challenges to his religious moorings without ill-will.

Writing in simple prose in his magazines, *Young India* and *Harijan*, Gandhi reveals an intense mental engagement with civilizational issues of his time. He proposed that all religions reveal man's quest for Truth, are imperfect because of incomplete realization, and are subject to evolution and re-interpretation; we must be alive to the defects or inadequacies in our faith, not leave it but strive to overcome these problems.

Gandhi tried to understand Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Hinduism by reading their sacred books. Picking up religion in an eclectic manner from his surroundings, he soon decided that 'Religion' means self-realization or knowledge of self.

Gandhi imbibed the Ramayana from the readings held by father at their home in Porbandar, by Ladhah Maharaj of Bileshvar, who laid the foundations of Gandhi's deep devotion to the Ramayana, especially that of Tulsidas. His parents gave him the quality of respect for all branches of the Hindu faith; Jain monks visited the family as did Muslim and Parsi friends.

Christianity was an exception to this eclectic tradition. Gandhi recalls that in those days, Christian missionaries used to stand in a corner near the High School and pour abuse on Hindus and their gods. He claims to have heard this once himself, though this was contested by Rev. H.R. Scott, the missionary involved. Possibly Gandhi had internalized the distress among Hindus known to his family at the

time.

In England, he met two Theosophist brothers, who shared their enthusiasm for the Gita (Sir Edwin Arnold's translation, *The Song Celestial*) and began reading with them. They introduced him to Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Annie Besant. Blavatsky's *Key to Theosophy* nudged him to read books on Hinduism.

A Christian from Manchester urged Gandhi to read the Bible, and eventually, he found comfort in the *Sermon on the Mount*. Gandhi encountered many Christians in Britain, some keen to convert him, but could not accept the dogma that salvation was impossible without Christianity. He was impressed by Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is within You*.

Later, in South Africa, Gandhi made many Christian friends in Durban and Pretoria. Back in India, Gandhi lamented that missionaries come to India under the protection of a temporal power and viewed it as a land of heathens, idolators, and men who did not know God. He especially resented the conversion of Harijans who did not understand the theology of the faith.

Thakkar Bapa and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (a second-generation Christian) informed Gandhi about the dubious methods used by missionaries. Converts were often denationalized. Gandhi favored the return of misled converts to the Hindu fold without the ceremony of Shuddhi. Emphasizing the equality of all great religions, he said no man is polluted because he has forsaken the branch on which he was sitting and gone over to another of the same tree. He urged Hindus to reform their faith from the evils of untouchability as this taint cannot be eradicated by conversion to Islam or Christianity.

Gandhi's discussions with his contemporaries show wide reading and understanding of the challenges of the age and make fascinating reading.

GANDHI AND THE QUESTION OF TRUTH: A PERSONAL (HARILAL) AND POLITICAL (GOLWALKAR) PERSPECTIVE

Chetana Jagriti

This paper proposes to study Gandhi and his understanding of Truth, with specific reference to the differences he faced in both his personal and political lives. For this purpose, I have taken up Gandhi's troubled relationship with his son, Harilal, as personal; and the differing opinions on the matter of the idea of nationalism with Golwalkar as political. I would argue that these differences were not merely personal, political, or ideological but had their basis firmly rooted in the epistemological presuppositions i.e., in the very theory of Truth.

On a personal level, Gandhi had Harilal who felt neglected and overshadowed by his father's commitments to the nation. As the son, he craved special attention from his father; therefore, it was difficult for him to understand Gandhi treating him equally and not prioritizing his son over other people's children as well as Gandhi's stand against the modern education system as Harilal was drawn in pursuit of it. On a political level, there was Golwalkar who would feel neglected if the idea of nationalism did not prioritize and represent anything other than Hindus. His idea of Nationalism could only be determined by its geographical layout, demanding a strong Hindu state.

Both Harilal and Golwalkar were rigid in their approach regarding their respective matters of family and nation. In contrast, Gandhi's understanding of these issues was quite different. While aware of issues related to a modern educational system, Gandhi not only presented a critique of modern education by presenting a critique of modern civilization but was already experimenting with the possibility of alternative education. On the other hand, as opposed to Golwalkar's narrow and literal definition of nationalism, Gandhi's idea of nationalism was based on the principle of 'serving one's country by serving one's neighbor.'

Through this discussion, it will be seen that underlying their

differences i.e.; Harilal's insistence on modern education against Gandhi's critique of modern education and Golwalkar's idea of nationalism as opposed to Gandhi's idea of nationalism (based on Swadeshi and serving one's neighborhood), there was a fundamental difference in their approach to the question of truth itself. Whereas by drawing on their narrow understanding of family and nation, both Harilal and Golwalkar were focusing on 'particular truths,' Gandhi's understanding of Truth delves much deeper as for him, Truth was the source and foundation of all things and his experiments with Truth were to establish and know particular truths as they manifest in one's dealing in the world, and therefore in our understanding.

GANDHI AND GITA IN CRITIQUE EYES

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The intent of my investigation is to expose and interpret aspects of Gandhi's meditation on the *Bhagavad Gita*. One aim of Gandhi's meditation on the *Gita* consists in searching for the foundations of the right moral thought and for the foundations of the right individual education. The revelation of the *Gita* is for the individual, among other things, a journey towards the discovery of himself and of his position in reality; it is a journey towards the discovery of the possible developments of his soul.

The foundation of the right individual education has immediate social aspects: the right education proves to represent the very foundation of the right political action. In Gandhi's view, the political doctrine and the political action ought to have as their fundament the teachings of the *Gita*. The revelation of the *Gita* gives the individual the right moral education and the right moral foundation: it gives the knowledge of truth, of God, of reality, and of the individual essence. Through and thanks to the teachings of the *Gita*, individual education finds the due foundation. Education is the basis of right political and social order; it represents the basis for the dialogue between individuals and for the peaceful coexistence between individuals. The morally right order of the society is the consequence of the morally right order of the individual.

The theory of non-violence finds its basis in Gandhi's meditation on the *Gita*: the common derivation of all individuals from Atman is the basis of common humanity and the foundation of the principle of non-violence. All individuals are manifestations of Atman. Everybody is an avatar of God, and everybody is a manifestation, a concretization of Atman. Everybody is a manifestation of the Divinity. Individuals are unified in Atman. Atman is identical in all individuals: atman is equally potent in all individuals. The fact that Atman is equally present in all individuals

means that everybody has equal dignity. Since all individuals are avatars of God, and since the Atman is equally potent in all individuals, then all individuals are equal. Hence, no consideration of the individuals as unequal entities is legitimate.

Thus, the meditation on the *Gita* constitutes the foundation as such of the possibility of the right political strategy. Thanks to the education obtained through the meditation on the *Gita*, the individual can understand the right moral behavior: this has an immediate effect on the structure and organization of the whole society. In order for the society can be morally changed, the individual ought to develop his moral constitution in a right way. There may not be any right political program without a previous individual right to moral education.

The analysis of the position of individuals within reality and the investigation of the individual soul constitution enables the individual able to reach an appropriate strategy for a right moral education. Since individuals consist of the three gunas — sattva, rajas, and tamas —, individuals are, as such, complex entities. Individuals are, moreover, dynamic entities: the development of the three gunas inside the individual soul, the relationships between the gunas in the soul, and the prevalence of one guna over the other gunas within the souls are not given once and for all; they depend on the education and the life choices of the individuals. The prevalence of one guna over the other ones is due to the free decision of the individual; depending on how the individual decides to orientate his own life and depending on which parts of the soul the individual decides to cultivate, the soul of the individual will take a corresponding direction and will have a corresponding development. The responsibility for the development of one's life belongs to the individual.

The corporeal dimension puts precise limits on the individual capacity of self-improvement within the corporeal life. Individuals ought to accept the limits due to their bodily dimensions. At the same time, individuals ought to steadily try to improve themselves by promoting the virtues connected to sattva; the limited of individuals does not imply an absence of responsibility of the individuals as regards the moral value of their actions. Individuals have the

responsibility to be aware of their constitution and to fight against the limitations of their condition. The fact that individuals are constitutively imperfect entails that individuals ought to educate themselves continuously; the individual ought to reach a moral foundation and ought to steadily pay attention to the stability of his character.

The main works analyzed throughout my inquiry are Gandhi's *Discourses on the "Gita"*, contained in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, XXXII (November 1926 – January 1927), pp. 94–376, and the work of Mahadev Desai, *The Gospel of selfless action or The Gita according to Gandhi*.

GANDHI AND NEHRU-UNDERCURRENTS OF SYNERGY AND DIVERGENCE

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Gandhi and Nehru, the two great leaders of our freedom movement, though intimately connected, were also quite different from each other. Superficially it would appear that there were significant differences in their approach and orientation to several issues. It would appear that there could hardly be anything common between Nehru focusing on Marxism and science and technology and Gandhi with his khadi, spinning wheel, and inner voice. There existed a very deep bond between the two leaders which helped in taking over their political differences. However, there were diverse facets of their relationship that need to be explored. There were broadly three dimensions of their relationship. Firstly it followed the model of Hegel where there was a thesis, followed by anti-thesis culminating finally in synthesis. Secondly, using mutual criticism and correction, they were able to restrict each other. Another dimension of their relationship was that they together worked in the struggle for freedom and simultaneously worked to create the blueprint for India's socio-political transformation. The illustrations of all three facets of their relationship can be found in their mutual interaction and correspondence with each other in the long course of their political journey.

Nehru wanted to integrate India's struggle for independence against the British with the worldwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Gandhi was also influenced by Nehru in several ways. Nehru was instrumental in adding new dimensions to Thinking and style of politics. For instance, Gandhi was not favorably inclined toward constitutional matters but gradually he became positive toward them. The two leaders not only played a crucial and pioneering role in leading and transforming the freedom movement but also had an impact on each other.

DIFFERENT DISCOURSE OF GANDHI AND NEHRU

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Both Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, two eminent stalwarts in India's independence movement, fought to free their country from British colonial domination. Their methods and philosophies, however, differed in important ways, which affected the course of India's struggle for independence and later attempts at nation-building. Here, we explore the stark contrasts between their leadership philosophies and outlooks for India's future. Gandhi's method was founded on his nonviolent resistance doctrine, known as Satyagraha. He emphasised the transformational power of truth and love and advocated combating injustice without using force. Nehru, on the other hand, had a more realistic and modernist outlook. He highlighted the significance of scientific advancement and education as transformation agents in his vision of an industrialised and technologically evolved India. Gandhi's outlook included social reforms like the abolition of untouchability and the uplift of underprivileged groups. He believed that social peace was crucial to India's development.

To create a country that valued religious and cultural diversity, Nehru was a fervent supporter of secularism and democracy. Gandhi's local and grassroots approach was different from Nehru's internationalism and diplomatic prowess. Gandhi's leadership was incredibly empathetic and motivating. He was highly respected for leading an ascetic lifestyle and his unshakable commitment. Leadership under Nehru was more cerebral and statesmanlike. He was crucial in negotiating India's international transition to independence. Gandhi and Nehru's disagreements weren't merely personality conflicts, they also illustrated the complexity of any struggle for

freedom and nation- building. Their contrasting points of view broadened the conversation and made it possible for an all-encompassing strategy to achieve independence. Despite these disparities, both leaders made a lasting impression on India's history by helping the country transition from colonial oppression to a thriving democracy.

Keywords: Leadership, Satyagraha, Industrialisation, Secularism, Democracy.

EXPANSION OF THE MIND WITH BRAMHACHARYA- A SPIRITUAL PERSPECTIVE WITH REFERANCE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

Reela Hota

The mind as matter, as a subtle form of matter, is an evolving energy, that is undergoing five stages of evolution from the lowest to the highest (Pashu to Divya). This is a natural process which cannot be controlled, but we can accelerate its evolution by different methods. During the process of the evolution of the mind, the Sadhak develops anger, passion, negativity, worries, anxiety and ultimately sheds them. This evolutionary process can be seen in the Life of Mahatma Gandhi. One of the many tools of evolution for Gandhi ji was Bramhacharya which is the restraint of senses to create concentration and it is concentration that leads to self-realization. Gandhi ji transcended his lower tendencies (Tamasic and Rajasic) through mantra, tapasya, self-observation, study of scriptures and experiments on the lines of the Aghori code of conduct to reach the state of ahimsa and complete contentment (Sattwa).

TRACING THE IDEA OF 'POLITICAL' IN GANDHIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A STUDY OF EKTA PARISHAD

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The paper analyses how the idea of 'political' is being framed by Gandhian Social Movements in contemporary times through a study of EktaParishad. It is an attempt to put forth how Gandhi's 'political' has been shaped in the present. The primary objective behind tracing the idea of 'political' by Gandhi and then by Gandhians today is to highlight this ideas progress and the need for it today. 'Political' has primarily been interpreted as one based on vote bank politics, elections and party systems. This kind of 'political' has established itself as a permanent and sole idea of how politics is to be understood. The need of the hour is to question such an assumption. One of the reasons why it needs to be questioned is that this kind of politics is divisive and does not give space to the marginalized sections. Further, the most visible rationale is that this kind of politics is not able to resolve contemporary issues pertaining to feelings of alienation among communities, burgeoning violence in all spheres, environmental degradation, rigid societal divisions in the name of caste, class, religion and so on, escalating political corruption, administrative neglect and so on. One can notice that the political sphere has largely been taken over and has been made a monopoly of a nexus built between the politicians and capitalists. Although this nexus is not as simple as it seems because it involves various other national and international institutions, the long and short of the story is that the contemporary idea of 'political' is being manipulated to leverage the interests of those involved in it. One of the most disheartening realities that this kind of politics has produced is reigning violence in every sphere and that too, subtly and explicitly.

The vicious circle of violence that we are caught up in, is being

sustained by the idea of 'political' that we are presently following. The paper, thus, reflects upon how a Gandhian 'political' could be pitched in to make substantive and radical shifts. The paper argues that Gandhi's idea of 'political' can be understood as an 'embedded political' that seeks to rope together economic, social, political, environmental, and spiritual realm. But, such an idea of 'political' is still incipient in the present social movements that tend to differentiate among different spheres and find it better to have a substantive presence in the social arena. The paper further observes that this kind of limited approach can be sustained only temporarily as contemporary issues are extremely complex and interrelated.

Therefore, to achieve meaningful changes it is indispensable to go beyond the boundaries, as Gandhi had envisioned. It is also to be noted that, even though, movements like EktaParishad walk on Gandhian path, still, subtly add or subtract elements from the framework of Gandhian ethics. Hence, a fresh lens is required to understand the 'Gandhian-ness' of movements like EktaParishad today. The paper takes care of this point and attempts to re-read Gandhi through the lens of EktaParishad.

**OF SYMBOLISM AND MEDIATED IMAGES: A
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GANDHIAN MOVEMENTS
AND POST-LIBERALISATION MOVEMENTS**

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Media use symbols as it becomes easy for common people to understand a particular concept thereby getting attracted to it. Use of symbolism in a movement has become common now. Every public movement has its symbols and icons. This can be traced back to the time of freedom struggle in India where the use of symbols such as the 'charkha' was done and Mahatma Gandhi stood as the apostle of peace and non-violence. Similar methods have been adopted by the social movements of the post-liberalization period but in a much-escalated way. Mention here can be made of the Anti-Corruption movement. The use of self-promoting white Gandhi caps, the great use of national flags and nationalist slogans, and patriotic songs were enough to draw people. In this movement the symbol used was the 'Gandhi topi' and the figure of Anna Hazare was constantly being tried to relate to Gandhi. The background image used during this movement was a portrait of Mother India but as it offended many this was changed to a neutral image of that of Mahatma Gandhi. Saying so, in this paper, a comparative analysis will also be made how role played by media and use of symbolism had changed over time. For this purpose, it is aimed to study social movements during the pre-independence period and post-liberalization period. The connotation 'post-liberalisation movements' is used instead of new-social movements as both media and social movements themselves had a major transformation altogether and the present paper aims to study this change as well.

Keywords: Media, Movements, Symbolism, Liberalisation.

GANDHI'S IDEALISM THROUGH THE MARXIST LENS: A PHILOSOPHER OF THE BOURGEOISIE OR MASSES?

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In their critical appraisal of Gandhian philosophy, several Marxist theorists consider Gandhi as a Bourgeois thinker who represented class interest of class he belonged to i.e. Bourgeois. Gandhi's Idealism largely sourced from religion that sets path of spiritual salvation for masses contradicts the Indian Materialism i.e. Lokayata and other strands of Materialist philosophy opposed quest for Spiritual Salvation, Karl Marx, for instance in, Thesis of Feuerbach— developed nuanced understanding of material basis of religion and located impulse for religion not with individual human rather as an ensemble of social relations over history, or in essence to say Idealism obscures the role of religion as ruling class ideology and is a tool for social control and maintenance of class relations. Gandhi's pedestaling of suffering as spiritual strength or Holy for achieving higher moral plane is contravention of Marxist estimate of Bourgeois morality as an End forced by ruling classes upon society and habituates it to considering all those means which contradicts its end as immoral.

The Idealism versus Materialism forms the base of Marxist problematizing of Gandhian philosophy. However, Gandhi's depiction in Marxist literature is not uniform. Gandhi's critique of Bourgeois modernity and Industrialization responsible for modern social arrangement, despotism and divisions is depicted subjectively as Anti-capitalist by S.A. Dange in his work Gandhi vs. Lenin (1921), it's the method where Communist and Gandhians are deadly opposed to each other. Gandhi's utopia of small village-based production, which paralleled with what many writers like Tolstoy, Rousseau, Thoreau wrote, by some estimate depicted Utopian Socialist ideas of Gandhi where harmonization of class relations was idealized beyond human selfishness and greed. At the same time, it was critiqued as backward-looking romanticism which obscured exploitative caste-based class relations towards preservation of traditional Social order.

Gandhi's philosophy and technique of Non-violence signifying conflict aversion and reconciliation earned him the greatest wrath of Marxist Scholar such as M.N. Roy, E.M.S Namboodiripad and R.P. Dutt. Roy critiqued Gandhian leadership as 'Purely Reactionary' and 'Religious and Cultural Revivalist' which betrayed Revolutionary potential of national movement. Namboodiripad his work Mahatma and the Ism, referred to Gandhi as representative of Bourgeois class and critiqued Gandhian techniques of Resistance such as fasting to check 'militancy of fighting people', also as per him Gandhi's organisation of peasants and worker resistance was supplemented with a resolute indifference in politicising it in terms of 'Class'. R.P. Dutt in his Marxist text India Today referred Gandhi to as 'a mascot of Bourgeoisie, whose methods furthered the interest of Bourgeoisie and staged a absorption of resistance within organization of Congress. Perry Anderson in his work Indian Ideology locate Gandhi's role within class character of Congress party, as per him since Congress was a coalition of Industrialist, Traders, Professional and better off peasants and did not included urban workers or rural Poor, Gandhi's role was that of reconciliation of class conflict to safeguard Bourgeois from threat from toiling masses.

The above Critical commentary on Gandhian philosophy essentially reduces Gandhi as a Philosopher of the Bourgeoisie, however closer examination of works of Dutt and Namboodiripad also provides a some space of approbation of Mass appeal of Gandhi, Dutt writes that Gandhi through his saintly demeanour, prophecy and sacrifice earned reverence of masses which Bourgeois could never get access to, here Dutt is conceding the ability of Gandhi to politicise and awaken masses into Political action. Namboodiripad's evaluation of Gandhi in later years leads him to revisits his approach of treating Gandhi as representative of Bourgeoisie in absolute totality, he concedes that Gandhi's every resistance cannot be ascribed to representation of Bourgeois interest, rather he sees Gandhi's idealism to have functional utility to the interest of Bourgeois during National struggle to that of uniting masses cutting across class against the Imperialism without sabotaging their social power and wealth, with the independence functional utility of Gandhi was exhausted for the Bourgeoisie, who now abandoned and isolated Gandhi as his idealism

would prove impediment to their accumulation process. He also acknowledges Gandhi's contribution to give Political life and consciousness to poor and building a close rapport with Poor masses, besides seeing Merit in Gandhian teachings of 'Right Possession' or trusteeship, which lead to coming of a bhoodan movement, which he adjudged as progressive.

The Marxist literature on Gandhi has not created a absolute umbrella of total Rejection of his philosophy towards consideration of interest of masses. The Soviet literature too provides concession to Gandhi's philosophy against its absolute rejection as that belonged to Bourgeoisie alone. This paper attempts to critically analyse Gandhian philosophy in light of several Critical Marxist literature from a perspective, besides dwelling on the consistencies and inconsistencies Marxist scholar's treatment of Gandhi as a Philosopher of Bourgeoisie.

Keywords: Gandhi, Philosophy, Marxism, Idealism, Materialism, Bourgeoisie.

GANDHI'S VIEWS ON RACISM AND SOUTH AFRICA

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M K Gandhi (1869–1948), a young lawyer who was barely 24 years old, travelled from India to Natal in South Africa in 1893. When he left in July 1914, he had not yet turned 45. Gandhi lived in South Africa for 21 years, with a few interludes, mostly in India and England. Gandhi's perspective on racial issues began to broaden during his time in South Africa, as is commonly mistakenly believed, and was not merely a later development.

The aim of the fight against racism, according to the thesis statement of this essay, is to persuade people to let go of whatever potential ethnic prejudices they may hold. This essay also aims to discuss Gandhi as an illustration of a person who not only let go of his earlier ethnocentric beliefs but went on to inspire African struggles and, as stated by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons upon his assassination in 1948, became during his lifetime “the bearer of the torch of liberty of oppressed peoples” The African continent was impacted by Gandhi. In addition, this essay assesses how his first encounter with civil disobedience in South Africa between 1906 and 1907 had a significant impact on the organisation of the African National Congress and later on, their campaign for independence throughout the apartheid era. Gandhi had a significant influence on Albert Mvumbi Luthuli nonviolent ideology, which made him the first Black African to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. The mobility of the anti-injustice movements is highlighted by Mandela's statement that the Indian struggle had its origins in the African. This essay also looks into how Mandela realised that he and Gandhi shared a link after thinking on his own experience in jail. Desmond Tutu, a South African archbishop, continued Gandhi's emphasis on nonviolent civil disobedience. He used nonviolent methods of opposition to apartheid, such as prayers, sermons, fasting, marches, and boycotts. Tutu later served as head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was set up by Mandela in 1995 and charged with offering amnesty to

individuals who had infringed human rights by giving the victims the chance to extend conditional amnesty based on the wrongdoer's admission of guilt in the past. Tutu expanded this idea to include a forgiveness that is offered unconditionally in his subsequent writings on reconciliation via forgiveness.

This essay also aims to discuss how and why historian Ramachandra Guha claims that apartheid, the racial segregationist policy instituted by the Afrikaners in 1948, would systematically apply the same types of humiliations, prejudices, and restrictions that British and Boer imperialism placed upon Indian immigrants to black Africans. The way the Indians were treated prompted Guha to say, "The Indians should really be considered to be among apartheid's first victims" If so, Gandhi should be recognized for being one of the first opponents of apartheid.

Keywords: Gandhi, South Africa, Racism, Apartheid, Civil disobedience, Discrimination.

WAS GANDHI A STRETCHER-BEARER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA? A CRITICAL REFLECTION

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Majority of Gandhian scholars observe Mahatma Gandhi's legal and political battles in South Africa (1893-1914) as a prelude to the remarkable role that he played in reshaping the strategies of Indian freedom struggle against the British Empire. However, if we study recent academic-works and examine Gandhi's role played in South Africa meticulously then we shall find a different account of his life and works. This paper focuses on some major incidents in South Africa in which Gandhi played an active role. These are: Boer War (1899), the Bhambatha Rebellion (1906), mobilization against fingerprinting in the Transvaal (1907) and importantly the 1913 strike that resulted in Gandhi's South African stay being evaluated as a successful one. In all these campaigns Gandhi worked mainly as a facilitator and a sympathiser of the British Government and hardly had any concern for the rights of African natives.

During the Boer War, he worked as a 'stretcher-bearer' (nursing the sick and wounded soldiers) of the British Empire citing the reason that Indians were 'British subjects... (so they should) render some service' During this war the British interned Boer women and children in concentration camps and thousands died of malnutrition as well as diseases. Rather than denouncing these atrocities, around two decades later in his book "Satyagraha in South Africa" Gandhi tried to justify the death of thousands of Boer women as an example of satyagraha.

During the Bhambatha Rebellion, he has moved ahead from being just a stretcher-bearer to requesting Indians to join as 'colonial militia bearing arms.' Despite British brutality to quell this rebellion, 'Indian Opinion' embraced the patriotism during Empire Day celebration on 24 th May 1906.

When Gandhi planned to depart from South Africa, several

farewell functions were organised in his honour. In all farewell functions Gandhi was hosted by 'white mayors or their representatives'. In most speeches he praised the British Empire saying that 'Englishmen and Indians have been knit together.' Native Africans did not get any mention during his farewell speeches. The primary aim of this paper is not to give factual descriptions of Gandhi's legal and political battles but an in-depth socio-political and philosophical analysis of his work that he did in South Africa.

Gandhi's work and contribution to the India is immense and beyond any doubt. But what he had done in South Africa in his around twenty years' time span raised questions about his idea of human equality, dignity and solidarity. His lack of concern for the rights of native African who were equally denied civil and political rights on the basis of colour is doubttable.

One can accept these aspects of Gandhi's works without any unreasonable liking or disliking and there is no harm in it.

TWO ROADS TO SWARAJ: GANDHI AND TAGORE

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Amongst the leaders of the Indian Independence movement, M.K. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore are the most revered. This could be attributed to their spiritual and philosophical approaches to offering resistance against colonial domination and suppression of the Indian masses. The two philosophers of modern India shared a warm friendship and a vision for an independent India. They also held opposing views on many subjects. The author Rudrangshu Mukherjee writes, "When they disagreed, they walked alone and when agreed they walked together. They had great mutual respect and Gandhi referred to Tagore as Gurudev and the latter to Gandhi as Mahatma."

Gandhi criticized Tagore's educational approach for not being simple and self-sufficient enough. Similarly, there have been many times when Tagore disapproved of Gandhi's methods. Tagore expressed his hesitations about Gandhi's use of Charkha as a symbol to rally people behind the cause of Swadeshi in his essay "Cult of the Charkha (1925)." Tagore believed that there could be several such interventions in the personal sphere emanating out of a small change in daily habits. He argued that Gandhi's insistence on Charkha-spinning is a manipulation of the people, and takes them further away from the attainment of Swaraj.

Gandhi and Tagore's perception of Swaraj wasn't restricted to freedom from foreign rule. Both the emissaries of Indian nationhood saw Swaraj as political freedom coupled with the emancipation of all human beings.

Tagore believed that before the British made inroads into India, the life of rural India had been vibrant with collective and enthusiastic participation in public activities like building roads and irrigation dams, schools or village temples, granaries for times of famine and disaster, etc. Colonialism reduced the villages of India to a wretched

physical and mental dependency on the 'maaibaap government.' Tagore stressed the need for self-confidence and self-reliance so that Indians can solve their problems by themselves, and he termed it 'Atmashakti.'

The paper refers to the Gandhi-Tagore debates on Truth, Conscience, Nationalism, and Swaraj, and attempts to take further the discussion on decolonialism initiated by the writer and scholar Hiren Gohain in his 2011 essay, "Two Roads to Decolonisation: Tagore and Gandhi." In this paper, I posit that the mere transfer of State power that took place in 1947 does not do justice to the ideas and vision of either of them. Further, this paper seeks to unearth the multiple dimensions of Swaraj as constituted by Gandhi's emphasis on 'Abhaya'(fearlessness) and Rabindranath's assertion on the importance of 'Atmashakti' (soul force); while highlighting the similarities and dissimilarities in their ideas of a post-British rule in India.

UNRAVELLING GENDERED PERSPECTIVES: WOMEN'S STATUS AND IDENTITY IN THE PHILOSOPHIES OF GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR

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This research article engages in a comparative analysis of Gandhi and Ambedkar's views on women's status and identity, shedding light on the intricate interplay between their ideologies and the broader societal context of their times. While both leaders recognized the transformative potential of women, their approaches and emphases varied significantly. Gandhi's vision, deeply rooted in his spiritual and ethical beliefs, manifested as a complex blend of traditional values and progressive aspirations. His advocacy for women's involvement in the freedom struggle and education was juxtaposed with his inclination towards traditional gender roles.

Conversely, Ambedkar's perspective on women emanated from his relentless pursuit of social justice and dismantling of oppressive structures.

His recognition of the intersections between caste and gender propelled him to link women's rights with broader struggles against caste-based discrimination. Ambedkar's articulation of legal reforms and constitutional safeguards as pathways to gender equality challenge the very foundations of systematic inequality. The article asserts that while Gandhi's approach often appeared ambivalent due to his dual role as a traditionalist and reformer Ambedkar's views grounded in constitutional empowerment projected a more assertive stance towards women emancipation. It poses that Ambedkar's perspective though less acknowledged offer some more holistic and transformative framework for addressing the complexities of women's status and identity in a deeply stratified society. By examining the convergence and divergence of these two seminal

figures' views, this article aims to contribute to ongoing debate on gender equality and social justice. It argues that their distinct ideologies mirror the spectrum of thought within the broader struggle of, women's empowerment, inviting a re-evaluation of their legacies in shipping contemporary discourses on gender rights and intersectionality of oppression.

Keywords: Gender, Caste, Equality, Social Justice.

GANDHI'S RELATION WITH KASTURBA GANDHI, MANU GANDHI, AND THE FEMINIST CRITIQUES

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Let us not judge an extraordinary man by ordinary standards! The complex and multifaceted relationships that Mahatma Gandhi shared with his wife, Kasturba Gandhi, and his grandniece, Manu Gandhi, have attracted considerable attention from scholars, historians, and feminist theorists. This abstract delves into the intricate dynamics of these relationships, while also exploring the feminist critiques that have emerged around Gandhi's interactions with these two women. Gandhi's relationship with Kasturba Gandhi exemplified his beliefs in both personal and political realms. Until 1906, they experienced the typical challenges and disagreements that come with any ordinary marital union, yet they navigated these issues with profound affection and dedication.

However, in 1906, Mahatma Gandhi embraced a vow of celibacy, a decision to which Kasturba Gandhi acquiesced without objection. Tenacity and courage that Kasturba Gandhi possessed proved to be the backbone for Mahatma Gandhi's fight for justice, first in South Africa and then in India.

Her participation in various social and political movements, including the Salt March and the struggle for Indian independence, demonstrated her determination and advocacy for societal change. Nevertheless, when viewed through a feminist lens, their relationship has been scrutinized for potentially reinforcing conventional gender norms as a result of Gandhi's emphasis on women's involvement primarily within domestic boundaries.

Another significant aspect of Gandhi's personal life was his bond with Manu Gandhi, his grandniece, who became a close companion and secretary during his later years. Their relationship was characterized by mentorship, deep affection, and shared activism.

Manu noted in her diary, “Bapu is more than a mother ... I had a complete experience of him as a mother. Bapu is Bapu and also a mother.” Yet, the relationship between Gandhi and his grandniece has been a subject of endless curiosity and gossip within the context of feminist critique, concerns have been raised about the power dynamics at play, as Gandhi's mentorship of Manu sometimes blurred the lines between professional guidance and personal intimacy.

Feminist critiques of Gandhi's connections with both Kasturba and Manu frequently revolve around the contradictions between his professed ideals of gender equality and the tangible outcomes of his behaviours. Gandhi's stress on women's chastity and modesty, while stemming from his nonviolent philosophy, occasionally clashed with the progressing concepts of women's independence and self-determination. His exploration of celibacy, his perspectives on sexuality, and his particular guidelines for women's behaviour have undergone feminist examination as potential inhibitors of women's empowerment.

In conclusion, the relationships between Mahatma Gandhi, Kasturba Gandhi, and Manu Gandhi reveal a tapestry of personal connections deeply interwoven with political and philosophical ideals. While these relationships were characterized by genuine affection and shared aspirations for societal change, they are not immune to feminist critiques that question the alignment between Gandhi's beliefs and his actions concerning gender roles and women's autonomy. Examining these relationships through a feminist lens offers an opportunity to engage in critical dialogue about the complexities of personal relationships within the context of social and political ideologies, shedding light on both the strengths and limitations of these iconic associations.

GANDHI, AMBEDKAR AND THE CONTESTING CONCEPTIONS ABOUT VILLAGE: A COMPARISON

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The village has remained the arena of contestation that attracts differing standpoints about its importance and place in the history of civilization and political thinking. During the colonial and Indian freedom struggle movement its importance as the foundational pillar of Indian nation and democracy has been stressed by many, especially Gandhi, but for some, like Ambedkar, it was at the core where caste discrimination works at its worst. The foreign presentation of Indian village as ‘little republics’ (Charles Metcalf) and ‘autarchic’ (Karl Marx) in nature has also marked influence on its formal study beyond as a unit of participation and presentation of its importance only for the purpose of Indian freedom struggle. For Gandhi, village was an arena and foundation on which he wanted to erect the formal structure of nation and future democracy for India. It was environmentally resourceful, sustainable and untouched from the Western industrial modernity and machines that for Gandhi immoral and corrupting. The swaraj that Gandhi envisions for India, he placed the utmost importance to village at its foundation. Facing the worst of caste discriminations, trained and experienced in the Western modern political concepts of liberty and equality, Ambedkar identified and presented Indian village at the core of the original form of caste discriminations and altering its practices with modern Western political concepts like equality, was the only solution for him. His continuous pleading for the separate electorate and for the mechanisms of scheduled caste representations in politics remained the sole goal for which he even formed many parties till his death. Two important but contesting standpoints (Gandhian and Ambedkar’s) about the Indian village have been attempted in this study to understand that what differing concerns these two underline

about the same and how their political thinking situate the village in the broader framework of the national movement of the time and what importance these views marked for the future Indian nation and democracy. The article will proceed by conceptualizing the Indian freedom struggle and national movement around the political thinking of these two stalwarts and their role, their differing views about Indian village and the importance they perceive of the same for its role in the future nation and democracy. Reflecting on the same, article will also underline the difference of approaches by outlining the nature of views and situating them in cultural (internal) and non-cultural (external) contexts.

THE CULTURE OF DEBATE, DISSENT AND DIALOGUE: GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR

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The popular perception regarding the relationship between Gandhi and Ambedkar has located them as fierce adversaries. In the last seven decades, the differences in their ideas, praxis, and methodology of anti-colonial resistance have been posited as mutually exclusive, contrary and incompatible. The deification of Gandhi as the Father of the Nation, as a martyr, resulted in a reverential treatment of a thinker and activist as a figurative idol. This disrupted a critical engagement with his ideas, his decisions taken at crucial times of anti-colonial nationalist movement. This led to locating Gandhi as either an idol above questioning or as a clever manipulator who let down communities, both the marginalized and the majoritarian. This phase of polarized response towards Gandhi, interestingly, coincided with the rise of Ambedkar as a Dalit icon. Not only his ideas on the caste question inspired generations of the oppressed to rise against caste-based discrimination, it also led to a sustained inquiry into Ambedkar's debates, differences and disagreements with Gandhi.

It is significant that this critical engagement invigorated the political and cultural spaces equally. The rise of Dalit literary movement illustrates this intertwining most eloquently. The literary self-articulation of Dalits in multiple Indian languages and in English, is a remarkable pan-India movement that bears comparison with the anti-colonial nationalist movement in terms of collective resistance from every region. The centenary celebrations of Ambedkar gave a critical impetus to study the dynamics of the Gandhi-Ambedkar engagement. Both the popular and the political tilt towards Ambedkar in the 1990s led to a corresponding demystifying of Gandhi in those domains.

Reduced to a ritualized, emblematic icon subjected to frequent punching for his frailties and failures, a radically alternate image of Gandhi became the norm. Such an image was invariably juxtaposed

to Ambedkar's as that of an inspiring crusader of the underprivileged. The present appropriation of Ambedkar by conservative, sectarian forces is an indication of the opportunistic co-option that marks the trajectory of both Gandhi and Ambedkar, albeit at different points of time/decades, in the public space. This trend of appropriation by those in power of Gandhi and Ambedkar, by turns, as it were, prompts a critical enquiry into the relationship between these two leaders and thinkers in the public domain, through their writings, confrontations and their standpoints at crucial junctures of our social history.

This paper shall foreground the engagement between Gandhi and Ambedkar in the decades of 1930s and 40s to appreciate the honesty in their debate and dissenting perspective during the Temple entry campaigns, the Poona Pact, on the question of untouchability and their assessment of the caste structure. Unlike their respective followers (and they are always mutually incompatible), both Gandhi and Ambedkar engaged with each other in a candid and subversive manner. Despite their irreconcilable differences, they kept their dialogue alive, ongoing and non-judgmental. This paper will explore the culture of debate and dissent forged by the two thinkers as a healthy critical engagement in social and political domain that our contemporary discourse has not always emulated. The literary representation of Gandhi and Ambedkar, the different dimensions of their bond that set an example of a culture of dissent and mutual respect will be discussed. The performativity of dissent and debate will be studied as reflected in Dalit theatre, in particular, Parmanand Gajjee's and K.A. Gunasekaran's plays that offer possibilities of dialogue in form and content, encapsulating the Gandhi-Ambedkar interface.

GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR: A COMPARATIVE FRAME OF THOUGHTS AND IDEAS

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A Comparative Frame of Thoughts and Ideas. Gandhi and Ambedkar had a diversity of ideas, thoughts, approaches and standpoints. Without any judgement if we learn to go beyond the historical particularities of their controversies to understand the universal elements in their genuine concerns, thoughts and ideas then we would understand the scope of their collaboration. The attempt of this paper is to set the issue of the confrontation of the two great leaders of modern India and respect their diversity of thoughts and ideas.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar happen to be outstanding leaders and intellectuals of modern India. Gandhi is the ‘father of nation’ and Dr Ambedkar is the ‘father of Constitution.’ They have imagined contrasting visions for future of independent India. The Gandhi Ambedkar debate became a fascinating topic for social scientist in the last four decades. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar have contributed a lot to Indian thoughts and ideas in the domain of economy, culture, politics, education and social reforms etc.

They have advanced two different paradigms of thoughts which constituted an exciting debate on wide range of issues such as political representations, philosophical and educational thoughts, electoral politics, Independence and Social Justice, Indian villages, caste system, nature of Hindu religion etc. In the last three decades fascinating studies have been published on the various dimensions of Gandhi and Ambedkar debate. The Gandhi and Ambedkar debate thus constitute a wide spectrum of issues revolving around social justice. Gandhi and Ambedkar fundamentally differed on the way to look at

Indian history and culture.

The relationship between Gandhi and Ambedkar was fraught with differences and therefore not many would consider to studying them together, a larger issue is about looking at thinkers, practitioners beyond their temporal particularities and comparing and comprehending the universal elements in their ideas. Research Methodology Data will be collected from the Secondary sources such as Writing and Speeches of Dr. Ambedkar, The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, Their historical Interviews and the then newspapers, authentic books, relevant publications and articles and reports of various commissions etc. This paper proposes that in spite of serious disagreements between Gandhi and Ambedkar, contemporary society can derive useful benefits by combining the approaches of Gandhi and Ambedkar in the socio-political issues in contemporary India.

The debate of Gandhi and Ambedkar acquired prominence in Indian academia on account of their significant impact on minds of Indians. We can find sharp disagreement between them on the methods and perceptions to look at the socio-political issues in India. In spite of their disagreement modern society can derive useful benefits combining their thoughts and ideas.

THE IDEA OF INDIA: DEBATING GANDHI'S CIVIC NATIONALISM VERSUS SAVARKAR'S ETHNIC NATIONALISM

Alok Tandon

In contemporary times, the idea of India has become problematic as it faces two competing models of nationalism, Gandhi's civic nationalism vs. Savarkar's ethnic nationalism. The present crisis of violently conflicting communal identities calls for the understanding of the two models in depth to make a wise choice. This paper intends to do that.

Though both did not separate religion from politics, yet Gandhi's inclusiveness and Savarkar's exclusions are poles apart. Savarkar's Hindutva ideology is the antithesis of Gandhi's Hinduism because their conceptions of who is a Hindu and what is Hinduism are not the same. An attempt will be made in this paper to understand and analyse the differences. In the next section, the paper will focus on analysing the relationship of the who is Hindu to Hindu nationalism of Savarkar and what is Hinduism to the civic/inclusive nationalism advocated by Gandhi. An evaluation of the two models in the context of multi-religious and multi-cultural Indian society will be made in the last section of the paper, to find out which one can better serve the needs of a peaceful future and conclude that Gandhi's sarva-dharma-sambhava, underlying his concept of civic nationalism, may be an effective basis for tolerance to bring about harmony among the conflicting religious groups, as it gives space to all, equally to participate in the nation building. Thus, the idea of a united India can only be inclusive, not exclusive.

VISIONARIES OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE: MAHATMA GANDHI AND V.D. SAVARKAR

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This research paper presents a comprehensive and illuminating comparative analysis of two iconic leaders whose ideologies significantly shaped India's journey to independence - Mahatma Gandhi and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. This study delves into their contrasting yet complementary visions for a free India, examining their ideologies, methodologies, and lasting impacts on the nation's history and identity.

Mahatma Gandhi, revered worldwide for his principles of non-violence and Satyagraha, emerged as the embodiment of peace and spiritual strength during India's struggle for freedom. His unwavering commitment to truth, non-violence, and inclusivity inspired millions, transcending geographical and cultural boundaries. This paper explores Gandhi's influential leadership, his role in galvanizing the masses, and his pursuit of social and economic justice, making him an immortal symbol of resistance against oppression. In stark contrast, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, a passionate nationalist, advocated for a more assertive approach towards India's independence. His concept of Hindutva aimed at forging a united Hindu identity, fostering pride in the nation's cultural heritage. This study examines Savarkar's call for self-reliance and armed resistance against colonial rule, critically analysing the impact of his ideas on India's political landscape and national consciousness. Through a meticulous review of historical texts, scholarly articles, and archival records, this paper unearths the historical context that shaped Gandhi and Savarkar's ideologies. It highlights their roles as catalysts in mobilizing diverse sections of society and sparking a spirit of patriotism that transcended religious and regional barriers.

By presenting a balanced and nuanced perspective, this research aims to transcend political biases and present a fair portrayal of these two extraordinary leaders. It explores the challenges they

faced, their dynamic strategies, and their continuing influence on contemporary India.

This study's significance lies in its potential to provide valuable insights to scholars, policymakers, and global audiences alike. Understanding the multifaceted dimensions of Gandhi and Savarkar's contributions to India's freedom struggle can offer lessons in peaceful resistance, cultural preservation, and nation-building for today's world grappling with diverse challenges.

In conclusion, this research offers a comprehensive analysis of the legacies of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, two visionaries who left an indelible mark on India's history. Their contrasting ideologies and methodologies continue to inspire and guide societies worldwide in their pursuit of liberty, justice, and unity.