



**NEERAJ®**

# M.G.P.-4

## Gandhi's Political Thought

Chapter Wise Reference Book  
Including Many Solved Sample Papers

*Based on*

# I.G.N.O.U.

**& Various Central, State & Other Open Universities**

*By: Mehdi Hassain*



**NEERAJ  
PUBLICATIONS**

*(Publishers of Educational Books)*

Retail Sales Office:

1507, First Floor, Nai Sarak, Delhi - 6 | Mob.: 8510009872, 8510009878

E-mail : [info@neerajbooks.com](mailto:info@neerajbooks.com) Website : [www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com)

**MRP ₹ 280/-**

Published by:



## NEERAJ PUBLICATIONS

(Publishers of Educational Books)

Retail Sales Office: 1507, First Floor, Nai Sarak, Delhi - 6 | Mob.: 8510009872, 8510009878

E-mail : [info@neerajbooks.com](mailto:info@neerajbooks.com) Website : [www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com)

© Copyright Reserved with the Publishers only.

**Reprint Edition with Updation of Sample Question Paper Only**

Typesetting by: Competent Computers, Printed at: Novelty Printing Press

### Disclaimer/T&C

1. For the best & up-to-date study & results, please prefer the recommended textbooks/study material only.
2. This book is just a Guide Book/Reference Book published by NEERAJ PUBLICATIONS based on the suggested syllabus by a particular Board/University.
3. These books are prepared by the author for the help, guidance and reference of the student to get an idea of how he/she can study easily in a short time duration. Content matter & Sample answers given in this Book may be Seen as the Guide/Reference Material only. Neither the publisher nor the author or seller will be responsible for any damage or loss due to any mistake, error or discrepancy as we do not claim the Accuracy of these Solutions/Answers. Any Omission or Error is highly regretted though every care has been taken while preparing, printing, composing and proofreading of these Books. As all the Composing, Printing, Publishing and Proof Reading, etc., are done by Human only and chances of Human Error could not be denied. Any mistake, error or discrepancy noted may be brought to the publishers notice which shall be taken care of in the next edition and thereafter as a good gesture by our company he/she would be provided the rectified Book free of cost. Please consult your Teacher/Tutor or refer to the prescribed & recommended study material of the university/board/institute/ Govt. of India Publication or notification if you have any doubts or confusions regarding any information, data, concept, results, etc. before you appear in the exam or Prepare your Assignments before submitting to the University/Board/Institute.
4. In case of any dispute whatsoever the maximum anybody can claim against NEERAJ PUBLICATIONS is just for the price of the Book.
5. The number of questions in NEERAJ study materials are indicative of general scope and design of the question paper.
6. Any type of ONLINE Sale/Resale of "NEERAJ BOOKS" published by "NEERAJ PUBLICATIONS" in Printed Book format (Hard Copy), Soft Copy, E-book on any Website, Web Portals, any Social Media Platforms – Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, LinkedIn etc. and also on any Online Shopping Sites, like – Amazon, Flipkart, eBay, Snapdeal, Meesho, Kindle, etc., is strictly not permitted without prior written permission from NEERAJ PUBLICATIONS. Any such online sale activity of any NEERAJ BOOK in Printed Book format (Hard Copy), Soft Copy, E-book format by an Individual, Company, Dealer, Bookseller, Book Trader or Distributor will be termed as ILLEGAL SALE of NEERAJ BOOKS and will invite legal action against the offenders.
7. The User agrees Not to reproduce, duplicate, copy, sell, resell or exploit for any commercial purposes, any portion of these Books without the written permission of the publisher. This book or part thereof cannot be translated or reproduced in any form (except for review or criticism) without the written permission of the publishers.
8. All material prewritten or custom written is intended for the sole purpose of research and exemplary purposes only. We encourage you to use our material as a research and study aid only. Plagiarism is a crime, and we condone such behaviour. Please use our material responsibly.
9. All matters, terms & disputes are subject to Delhi Jurisdiction only.

### Get books by Post & Pay Cash on Delivery :

If you want to Buy NEERAJ BOOKS by post then please order your complete requirement at our Website [www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com) where you can select your Required NEERAJ BOOKS after seeing the Details of the Course, Subject, Printed Price & the Cover-pages (Title) of NEERAJ BOOKS.

While placing your Order at our Website [www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com) You may also avail the “Special Discount Schemes” being offered at our Official website [www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com).

No need to pay in advance as you may pay “Cash on Delivery” (All The Payment including the Price of the Book & the Postal Charges, etc.) are to be Paid to the Delivery Person at the time when You take the Delivery of the Books & they shall Pass the Value of the Goods to us. We usually dispatch the books Nearly within 2-3 days after we receive your order and it takes Nearly 3-4 days in the postal service to reach your Destination (In total it take nearly 6-7 days).

## Content

# **GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT**

### *Question Bank – (Previous Year Solved Question Papers)*

Question Paper—June-2023 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—December-2022 (Solved) .....	1-2
Question Paper—Exam Held in March-2022 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—Exam Held in August-2021 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—Exam Held in February-2021 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—June, 2019 (Solved) .....	1-2
Question Paper—December, 2018 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—June, 2018 (Solved) .....	1
Question Paper—December, 2017 (Solved) .....	1-2
Question Paper—June, 2017 (Solved) .....	1-2

---

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
1.	Introduction to Gandhian Political Thought .....	1
2.	Gandhi's Views on State and Citizenship ( <i>Ramrajya</i> ) .....	8
3.	Gandhi's Views on Democracy ( <i>Gram Swaraj</i> ) .....	17
4.	Gandhi's Concept of Nationalism .....	25
5.	Rights and Duties .....	33
6.	Means and Ends .....	39
7.	Liberty and Equality .....	46
8.	Power and Authority .....	56
9.	Gandhi's Views on Colonialism and Imperialism .....	63

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
10.	Gandhi's Views on Liberalism and Constitutionalism .....	71
11.	Fascism .....	78
12.	Gandhi's Views on Socialism and Communism .....	84
13.	Gandhi on Structural Violence .....	91
14.	<i>Satyagraha</i> as a Means of Conflict Resolution .....	98
15.	Gandhi on Pacifism .....	106
16.	World Order .....	114

■ ■

**Sample Preview  
of the  
Solved  
Sample Question  
Papers**

*Published by:*



**NEERAJ  
PUBLICATIONS**

[www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com)

# QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

## GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

M.G.P.-4

Time: 2 Hours ]

[ Maximum Marks: 50

Note: (i) Attempt any five questions. (ii) Attempt at least two questions from each section.

### SECTION-I

**Q. 1. Give reasons for Gandhi's admiration for British institutions.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-1, Page No. 4, Q. No. 3.

**Also Add :** The use of the technique of Satyagraha is also an offshoot of Gandhi's understanding of both British history and character. He was convinced that the redressal of grievances could be expected only when the people demonstrated that they were willing to suffer for getting relief. In this context, he gave the example of the British Suffragists asking the Indians in South Africa to emulate them by developing the capacity to endure suffering. The best of suffering was the yardstick by which the British conceded and Gandhi gave the example of the century long struggle for women in Britain to secure the right to vote. Many years later, he recollected that "An Englishman never respects you till you stand up to him. Then, he begins to like you. He is afraid of nothing physical, but he is mortally afraid of his own conscience, if even you appeal to it and show him to be in the wrong. He does not like to be rebuked for wrong doing at first, but he will think over it, and it will get hold of him and hurt him till he does something to put it right".

Gandhi's innate respect for the British sense of justice continued even after his return to India and during the First World War, he recruited soldiers for the British army unconditionally. This confidence which he had in the ultimate British sense of justice was shattered by the horrors of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. His faith in the British sense of fair play was shaken but not his faith about the feasibility of the essential mechanism of the British parliamentary institutions.

**Q. 2. What is your assessment of Gandhi's views on citizenship?**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-2, Page No. 10, 'Citizenship'.

**Q. 3. Examine Gandhi's criticism of industrialization.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-3, Page No. 20, Q. No. 3.

**Q. 4. What role does an individual have in realising Satyagraha?**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-5, Page No. 33, 'Individual and Satyagraha'.

**Q. 5. Elaborate the impact of colonialism on the socio-economic life of a nation.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-9, Page No. 64, 'Impact of Socio-economic Life' and Page No. 65, Q. No. 1.

### SECTION-II

**Q. 6. Examine Gandhi's views on constitutionalism.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-10, Page No. 74, Q. No. 2.

**Q. 7. Discuss in detail Gandhi's thoughts on socialism and communism.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-12, Page No. 87, Q. No. 1.

**Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:**

**(a) Cultural Violence**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-13, Page No. 92, 'Cultural Violence'.

**(b) Justice and Duty**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-16, Page No. 114, 'Justice and Duty', Chapter-10, Page No. 75, '(a) Concept of Justice' and Chapter-5, Page N. 34, 'Rights and Duty'.

**Q. 9. What, according to Gandhi, are the pre-requisites of a peaceful world order?**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-16, Page No. 114, 'Requisites for Peaceful World Order'.

**Q. 10. 'Satyagraha and pacifism are inter-linked.' Examine the link between these concepts.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-15, Page No. 110, Q. No. 2.

■ ■

# QUESTION PAPER

December – 2022

(Solved)

## GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

M.G.P.-4

Time: 2 Hours ]

[ Maximum Marks: 50

Note: (i) Attempt any **five** questions. (ii) Attempt at least **two** questions from each section.

### SECTION – I

**Q. 1. What are the intellectual influences on Gandhiji that shaped his political ideas?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 3, Q. No. 1.

**Q. 2. What are Gandhi's views on State and Swaraj? Are they identical entities?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 8, 'Notions of State and Swaraj'.

**Q. 3. "Gram Swaraj was important for the overall political scenario, according to Gandhiji." Do you agree this statement?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 17, 'Gram Swaraj'.

**Q. 4. Discuss Gandhiji views on rights and duties.**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-5, Page No. 34, 'Right and Duties' and Page No. 36, Q. No. 4.

**Q. 5. Why does Gandhiji insist on purity of means for realizing the end?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 43, Q. No. 2.

### SECTION – II

**Q. 6. According to Gandhiji why is economic equality important? What political purpose does it serve?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 52, Q. No. 4.

**Q. 7. What do you understand by the term 'Power'? What are Gandhiji views on it?**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 56, 'Concept of Power'.

**Q. 8. Discuss at length Gandhiji non-violent struggle against colonialism.**

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 66, Q. No. 3.

**Q. 9. Write short notes on the following:**

(a) Concept of Justice

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 73, 'Concept of Justice'.

(b) Socialism

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 87, Q. No. 1.

**Q. 10. What is the link between fascism and socialism? Analyse in your own words.**

Ans. Fascism is a dictatorial form of political ideology. Socialism, on the other hand, is an ideology where individuals of a society own the means of production. A fascist ruler wields supreme power and authority over a country. In contrast, rulers of socialist nations distribute power and authority among the states. For decades, the two terms have been used to identify two opposing political, social and economic theories that have dramatically marked human history during the 20th century. To date, fascism and socialism as such no longer exist (besides in some rare cases), and have been replaced by "neo-fascism" and "neo-socialism". Yet, modern thinking remains strictly intertwined with the originating paradigms. Arguably, the dynamics of political expediency inspired the proponents of fascism to adopt the ideology of socialism as an instrument of regulating the economic life of the people in society.

# Sample Preview of The Chapter

*Published by:*



**NEERAJ  
PUBLICATIONS**

[www.neerajbooks.com](http://www.neerajbooks.com)



# GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

## Introduction to Gandhian Political Thought

1

### **INTRODUCTION**

Gandhi is regarded as one of the greatest activist-theoreticians of the 20th century. His writings emerged mainly during the turbulent phase of history. His book "*Hind Swaraj*" is considered to be the most important work in political theory. Whatever philosophical formulations he made were directed towards solving of immediate problems. Dalton observes that Gandhi formed his beliefs much before he arrived in South Africa. Gandhi in his autobiography mentioned his childhood experiences and lessons which helped him to imbibe two of his core ideas – (i) Truth, and (ii) Non-violence. Later, South Africa proved to be an excellent testing ground for his ideas. Gandhi comes with the *Hind Swaraj* which contains the idea and experiences which Gandhi gained in South Africa. The *Hind Swaraj* taught the value of non-violence and *satyagraha*.

### **CHAPTER AT A GLANCE**

#### **AUTONOMY OF MODERN INDIAN THOUGHT**

India's ancient political thought, culture and history is both rich and varied. We can trace the origin of India's ancient history to the vedic period followed by *Upanishads*, Buddhist literature, *Manu Smriti*, *Santi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*. This was followed by the advent of Islamic thought from 18th century onwards. The best flowering of Islamic Political Theory came during the reign of Akbar. In the backdrop of British imperialism and domination of western thought and

culture Modern Political Theory found itself in deep crisis of identity. In sharp contrast to other areas of world where imperialism destroyed all traces of indigenous culture, traditions and even languages. Indian society maintained its distinct and rich cultural heritage and it did not completely surrendered to western domination. With the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and establishment of Asiatic Society in 1844 under the able guidance of William Jones, the rich ancient Indian culture and sanskrit literature came to light which helped Indians to regain their lost pride and confidence. The path initiated, by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was further elaborated by K.C. Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, etc. Gandhi initiated a totally new kind of political discourse dealing with important concepts like truth, non-violence, ideal state. However, even during this period which was called Gandhian Era the autonomy and diversity of Modern Indian Political Theory reflects in the debates between Gandhi and Marxists, Gandhi-Tagore, etc.

#### **INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES ON GANDHI**

Mahatma Gandhi was very much influenced by the ideas of Western thinkers like Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy and Plato. He regarded Plato as a great philosopher and an example to emulate and even translated Plato's apology in Gujarati. Ruskin's principles inspired Gandhi to stress on co-operation rather than competition. These ideas were put into practice during the mill strike in Ahmedabad. Ruskin ideas further influenced Gandhi to identify himself with the poor masses and live a simple life.

2 / NEERAJ : GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Further, Thoreau's notion of civil-disobedience helped Gandhi to advocate his concept of satyagraha, emancipation of the human being from external bondage.

Like the marxists and socialists Gandhi desired an egalitarian just and Non-exploitative society but opposed the Marxists deterministic account of society and history, their belief in class polarisation and antagonisms, denial of God and their emphasis on violent revolutionary change. Gandhi always favoured non-violent struggle, private property and that society should recognise the art of creating wealth. Though he proposes the institution of trusteeship based on harmonious relationship between the capitalists and the workers.

Gandhi also differed considerably from the liberals though he cherished individual rights he paid little or no importance to the notion of maximising freedom without assigning proper responsibility. Like liberals Gandhi preferred a society where the state would be reduced to its minimalist role. Like Rosseau and Ruskin he also envisaged the perfect society as anarchical where each individual is a law to himself living peacefully controlling all his passion.

#### CRITIC OF THE WEST

Though Gandhi was influenced by western ideas yet he rejected western civilisation both as a model and as an inspiration. He denounced western materialism and modern technology like railways, telephone, technology and industrialisation as the basic cause of human misery in modern society.

**Gandhi rejected the western civilisation for two reasons:**

1. It basis the extreme inequality.
2. It dehumanises the individual.

Gandhi believed that both western ideas and way of life are alien to Indian traditions and is inadequate in fulfilling India's requirements. Gandhi desired that free India should not emulate western path this means giving up machinery, modern medicines, machine spun cloth; modern transportation. Though he modified some of his ideas later. The solution to the Indian problem has to come from within India rather than importing foreign ideas and institutions. In country like India abundant labour and large scale unemployment and under employment should restrict the use of machines. The main aim of industrialization should be to satisfy wants like food, shelter, healthcare and basic education. He regarded European opulence as scandalous for it has founded on

slavery. His entire emphasis revolves around the proposition that Indian problems should be solved by indigenous methods and not by western ideas as these are incompatible.

#### A SEEKER OF INDIGENOUS ROOTS

Gandhi's conception of *Swaraj* is totally different from others. He is an ardent individualist like the liberals but his ideal is to maximising individual freedom by promoting common good. His ideal remains a society where the state play a minimal role but he always opposed violence. Like socialists he desires an egalitarian society but opposes their deterministic view of history and human nature. He always put importance on retaining India's ancient heritage and modernising whatever is work salvaging and useful. His thoughts are concerned with contemporary problems which aimed at finding solutions that are both desirable and feasible.

Gandhi never wanted India to get benefits at the expenses of other nation. He considered humanity as one family because of this Gandhi transcended Bourgeois Nationalism.

#### ADMIRATION OF THE BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

Gandhi's technique of *satyagraha* is the outcome of Gandhi's understanding about the British history. He was convinced that the redressal of grievance could be expected only when people exhibit their courage and willingness to suffer. Initially, he use this technique in South Africa asking the Indians to endure suffering for a noble cause. Gandhi believed that the doctrine of *Satyagraha* should be invoked only after exhausting other constitutional means of protests South African experience taught him two basic lessons:

- (a) Unity between masses a must for any revolution to succeed.
- (b) Subline importance of non-violent struggle.

Gandhi had a deep respect for British sense of justice. It continued even after his return to India. But unfortunately his confidence in British System of Justice shattered after Jallianwala Bagh Massacre but still he continued to maintain his faith on the British Parliamentary institutions and its feasibility in the Indian context. He even proclaimed in 1921 that his immediate aim was parliamentary *swaraj*. Famous scholar Orwell is of the view that Gandhi's struggles were confined against the British and related with the nature of modern totalitarianism.

## CONCLUSION

Greatness and relevance can be judged in the time frame and circumstances one has in his life tenure. Gandhi is no exception to the rule. He continues to hold the interest of present historians for his amazing achievement during his own lifetime in convincing the majority of the British population that imperialism and colonialism were totally wrong.

Gandhi's non-deterministic and skeptical outlook based on the scientific method of seeking the truth allowed him to arrive at a bigger consensus on the basis of individual judgement. He believed that no society can develop in a meaningful way by denying individual freedom that's why he rejected total state control over individual freedom even in matters of practical utility. Gandhi's dictums remain relevant. He demonstrated that Indians were also capable of matching the British model capacity of providing a unified administrative structure. He duplicated the British of self-identity by indigenous dress, language and accountability and with a democratic process of election in which no single individual become absolute powerful or indispensable. His whole life was a kind of pilgrimage British officials liked and admired Gandhi because he could not be blamed for corruption, ambition in the bad sense and actions which could not be attributed either to fear or malice. He believed in inherent goodness of man. He never thought in terms of race. His technique of *Satyagraha* is a method of detecting the enemy without preaching hatred.

Many of Gandhi's ideas have found resonance in the else and particularly among peace activists, environmental groups and feminists. His technique of non-violent civil disobedience has many adherents like Martin King, Nelson Mandela, Bertrand Russell. They re-discovered the East through the West.

## TERMINAL QUESTIONS

**Q. 1. What are the major intellectual influences on Gandhi ?**

**Ans.** Gandhi was very much influenced by the ideas of Ruskin, Thoreau, Tolstoy, Plato, etc. He grew to political maturity in the West. His ideas shows considerable influence of western thinkers like Ruskin, Thoreau, Tolstoy, etc. He regarded Plato as a great philosopher.

Ruskin's principles inspired Gandhi to stress on co-operation rather than competition and he put into

## INTRODUCTION TO GANDHIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT / 3

practice these ideas during the famous mill strike in Ahmedabad. Ruskin influenced Gandhi to identify himself with the poor masses and spend a simple life. It can be clearly seen that Gandhi throughout his life devoted his time for the sake of poor downtrodden masses and untouchables. He lived a simple life. Further Thoreau's notion of civil disobedience helped Gandhi to advocate his concept of *Satyagraha*.

Like the Marxists and socialists he wanted an egalitarian, just and non-exploitative society but opposed the Marxists deterministic account of society, their belief in class polarisation and antagonism, denial of God and their emphasis on violent revolutionary change. Gandhi always favoured non-violent struggle, private property and that society should recognise the art of creating wealth. Though he proposes the institution of trusteeship based on harmonious relationship between the capitalists and the workers.

Gandhi formulated his notion of civil disobedience from the teaching and ideas of Tolstoy and Thoreau. Tolstoy's faith in love and teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, the Bible and the New Testament and Thoreau's Notion of Civil Disobedience helped Gandhi to delineate his concept of *Satyagraha*.

He was opposed to the sort of social organisation idealized by Plato in the Republic and envisaged the perfect society as anarchical where each individual is a law to himself, living peacefully and with goodwill towards all, controlling all his passion, and living by his own labour. Though Gandhi was influenced from the western ideas still he made certain modifications in those ideas to suit in Indian context. Though he cherished individual rights and initiatives still he was least concerned with maximising freedom. Like Green, he emphasised the social nature of human individual as essentially as a social being.

### Q. 2. Why does Gandhi criticise the West ?

**Ans.** Gandhi rejected western civilisation both as a model and as an inspiration. He denounced western materialism and modern technology like railways, telegraph, heavy industries, etc. He considered the advent of technology and industrialisation as the basic cause of human misery in modern society. Though Gandhi was influenced by western ideas still he rejected the western civilisation for two reasons:

- (i) Its basis is extreme inequality.
- (ii) It dehumanises the individual.

4 / NEERAJ : GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

After analyzing western ideas and way of life Gandhi found the western ideas and way of life are alien to Indian traditions and is inadequate in fulfilling India's requirements. He always desired that free India should not emulate western path blindly, this means giving up machinery, modern medicines and modern transportation.

Gandhi believed that the solution to the Indian problem has to come from within India rather than blindly importing foreign ideas. In India, abundant labour and large scale unemployment and under employment should restrict the use of machinery, and the prime aim of industrialization should be to satisfy wants like food, shelter, healthcare and education. He regarded European opulence as scandalous for it has been founded on slavery.

In his book "*Hind Swaraj*", Gandhi specifically mentioned Italian example that how ruling class ignored the aspirations of common people. That's why Gandhi believed that true freedom lay in the freedom of the working class and the poorest.

Gandhi's attitude differed considerably. It is true that he was influenced by number of western thinkers still his feet remained firmly entrenched in his own culture. It is this synthetic outlook retaining the best of the western traditions and integrating it with indigenous roots of the Indian traditions that makes Gandhi unique on one side. He was a strong supporter of Indian culture and traditions. On the other side, he castigated Indians for not reforming outdated social practices and customs and always he stressed on the importance of social justice and equity.

**Q. 3. What are the reasons for Gandhi's admiration of British institutions ?**

**Ans.** Gandhi was very impressed by British institutions, British sense of justice and parliamentary system, etc. His technique of *Satyagraha* is the outcome of his understanding of both British history. He was convinced that the redressal of grievances could be expected only when people exhibit their courage and technique first in South Africa asking the Indians to endure suffering for a noble cause. Gandhi believed that the doctrine of *Satyagraha* should be invoked only after exhausting other constitutional means of protests. South African experience taught him the basic lessons:

- (i) Unity between masses is a must for any revolution to succeed.
- (ii) Sublime importance of non-violent struggle.

Further, Gandhi had a deep respect of British sense of justice. His innate love for the British sense of justice continued even after his return to India. During the first World War, he recruited soldiers for the British army unconditionally. Whereas, both Tilak and Jinnah refused to do so without any advancement of the nationalist cause.

Unfortunately the confidence which Gandhi had in British sense of justice shattered by the mishappening of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.

Though Gandhi criticised western civilisation still he admired British Parliamentary Institutions. He had faith about the feasibility of the essential mechanism of the British Parliamentary Institutions in the Indian context. He even proclaimed in 1921 that his immediate aim was the Parliamentary *Swaraj*.

**Q. 4. Why is Gandhi described as a seeker of indigenous roots ?**

**Ans.** It is true that Gandhi admired British institutions, emulated ideas of many western thinkers and philosophers still he never blindly copied ideas from the west. He re-discovered East through the West. His entire emphasis revolved around the proposition that Indian problems could be solved by indigenous methods and not by western ideas as these are incompatible. His feet remained firmly entrenched in his own culture. Gandhi's conception of *Swaraj* is different to the one that is articulated by the Western Marxists, socialists or even the liberals though he assimilated their ideas. Though Gandhi is an ardent individualist like the liberals but still he believed in maximising individual freedom by promoting common good. He was a true seeker of indigenous roots that's why like Burke. He always emphasised to retain India's ancient heritage and modernising whatever is worth salvaging and useful. Though throughout his life he emphasised on truth and non-violence yet he never lost his profoundly revolutionary character. He always focussed on solving contemporary problems and tried to find solutions that were desirable and feasible.

It must be noted that Gandhi always opposed British rule in India and made *Swaraj* as the soul of his national struggle for freedom. He always believed in the purity of means as well as ends. The means that he employed are such that they will successfully end only if the masses become self-acting towards the latter part of the revolution and the chances are that if the masses gain success through their fully developed conscious strength,