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Gandhi's Political Thought

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QUESTION PAPER

June – 2024

(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 major intellectual influences on Gandhi?

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

Q. 2. Explain Gandhi's notions of State and Swaraj.

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

Q. 3. How does Gandhi link individual Satyagraha?

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

Q. 4. Why did Gandhi view economic equality as the basis of non-violence and freedom?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 48, 'Economic Equality'.

Q. 5. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Gandhi's critique of machinery

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 19, 'Critique of Machinery'.

(b) Authority in an Anarchist society

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 61, Q. No. 5.

SECTION-II

Q. 6. Discuss Gandhi's views on Liberalism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 71, 'Gandhi and Core Concepts of Liberalism and Constitutionalism'.

Q. 7. Critically analyse Gandhi's views on Fascism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 78, 'Gandhi on Fascism'.

Q. 8. Explain Gandhian techniques of Satyagaraha.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 100, 'Techniques of *Satyagaraha*' and Page No. 102, Q. No. 3.

Q. 9. What is the framework of Gandhi's theory of conflict resolution?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 100, 'Satyagraha as a Tool of Conflict Resolution'.

Q. 10. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Constitutionalism

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 73, 'Constitutionalism'.

(b) War: The unsolved problem of International Relations

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 115, 'War: The Unsolved Problem of International Relations'.

QUESTION PAPER

December – 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. Explain the 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 the role of constructive programmes in Gandhi's idea of social progress and transformation?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 12, Q. No. 3.

Q. 3. Explain the role of self-rule in bridging the gulf between the elite and the masses.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 26, 'Self-Rule: Need to Bridge the Gap between the Elite and the Masses'.

Q. 4. How did Gandhi conceive *Ahimsa* as the basis to realize *Swarai*?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-15, Page No. 111, Q. No. 3 and Q. No. 4.

Q. 5. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Critique of industrialization by Gandhi

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 18, 'Critique of Industrialization'.

(b) Concept of power

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

SECTION-II

Q. 6. Critically analyse Gandhi's non-violent struggle against colonialism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 64, 'Gandhi's Non-violent Struggle Against Colonialism'.

Q. 7. What was Gandhi's prescription for preventing structural violence?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 93, 'Preventing Structural Violence'.

Q. 8. Discuss Gandhi's views on Satyagraha.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 98, 'Gandhi and Satyagraha'.

Q. 9. Do you agree with the view that Gandhi was a qualified pacifist?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-15, Page No. 107, 'Gandhi as a Qualified Pacifist'.

Q. 10. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Social transformation

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 84, 'Social Transformation'.

(b) Pre-requisites for a peaceful world order

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 114, 'Introduction' and Page No. 119, Q. No. 2.

Sample Preview of The Chapter

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GANDHI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduction to Gandhian Political Thought

1

INTRODUCTION

Gandhi is regarded as one of the greatest activisttheoreticians of the 20th centry. 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) Nonviolence. 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-voilence 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 Smirti*, *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 litrerature 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 Politcal 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.

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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 voilent 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 maxising 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 transporation. Though he modified some of his ideas later. The solution to the Indian problem has to come from with 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 Marting 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, Talstoy, 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 cooperation 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 poors 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.

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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) Subline 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,