Chapter - I

Introduction

The concept of *swaraj* has attracted attention in the Indian Political thought. The *vedic* word *swaraj* regained its position during the period of Indian freedom struggle which essentially enhanced the sense of nationalism implicitly and gradually explicitly. The glorious word - *swaraj* — was re-interpreted during this phase with its varied connotations to revive the sleeping spirit of the Indian populace and to rejuvenate in them a new spirit of nationalism of which the ultimate goal was freedom or self-rule or *swaraj*.

*Swaraj* was one of the most cherished values during freedom struggle. People of India had been struggling to attain *swaraj* from British rule. They had been struggling to attain *swaraj* from the political, economic, social and spiritual constraints that had bound them. They were not afraid to give-up their lives in the conviction that to die in the struggle against oppression was better than to live without *swaraj*.

Though various great leaders of the Indian freedom struggle had enunciated their ideas on *swaraj* in their own manner and suggested methods for its realisation. However mainly credit goes to Tilak and Gandhi for re-interpreting the meaning of *swaraj* and carrying it to the general masses. They tried to spread the message of *swaraj* to every nook and corner of the country and to inspire the people to struggle for the attainment of *swaraj*.
Tilak and Gandhi led a life of dedication not merely to achieve swaraj but to inculcate in the people the necessary pride in their own culture and to promote the basic qualities required for self-rule or swaraj. They believed in the 'Higher power', which ruled the destinies of men and nations. This faith, coupled with their faith in the people of India, made them fearless advocates of swaraj.

The present study is confined exclusively to an analysis of the concept of swaraj as enunciated by major Indian political thinkers especially Lokamanya Tilak (1856-1920) and Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). An analysis of the concept of swaraj has been selected as a central theme because it occupied a key position in the political thought of these two thinkers. A consideration of this particular concept, which occupied a dominant place in their political thought, throws light upon their whole understanding of the nature of politics. Moreover many ideas on Swaraj which Tilak talked of were later on developed and elaborated by Gandhi during the course of national movement. There were also certain important differences between the two thinkers in their understanding of the concept of Swaraj which will also be explored in the course of the present study.

A number of studies have been undertaken on the political thought of Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. The book Lokamanya Tilak – Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India written by D.V. Tahmankar, Lokamanya Tilak – Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India (London: John Murray, 1956).
Tahmankar is mainly devoted to social and political philosophy of Lokamanya Tilak. His role in the social reforms as well as political struggle for the attainment of Swaraj has been discussed in it. The chapter entitled "Dare and Do" deals with his views on Swaraj and in another chapter entitled "The home rule movement", his views on the establishment of home-rule have been discussed.

The book *Lokamanya Tilak – A Biography*² written by Ram Gopal has discussed different aspects of Tilak's life and thought. In the very beginning of the book, his early life period, education and his active role in the social and political activities have been examined. The author has also expressed Tilak's views on Swaraj in the chapter entitled "Swaraj is my birth right I will have it". Besides this Tilak's views on Swadeshi, Boycott movement and National education have also been analysed.

The book entitled *The Legacy of the Lokamanya: The Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak*³ written by Theodore L. Shay deals with the role Tilak played in developing an Indian philosophy of politics during the early struggle for Indian self-rule, and with the legacy he left to the independence movement and to free India. His legacy is one of his nation's most priceless possessions. The author has dealt with the concept of swaraj in various chapters of the book. He has discussed different connotations of

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swaraj and various means for the attainment of swaraj. The book provides a rich material for analysing the concept of swaraj and other aspects of Lokamanya Tilak's life.

In the book *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of the Indian Freedom Struggle*, Dhananjay Keer has dealt with the contribution made by Tilak in the field of politics, journalism, philosophy and the national struggle for freedom. According to the author, Tilak was a great fighter whose relentless struggle against British imperialism had wide repercussions on the Asian Freedom Movement. The author has highlighted vital facts connected with Tilak's life and struggle chronologically and has tried to show that Tilak was thinking of organising an armed revolt against British rule. He has also taken up Tilak's views on Swaraj in the chapters entitled "Home Rule is my Birth-Right" and "Home Rule Movement". The author has argued that Tilak's concept of Swaraj stressed on home rule or self-rule and demanded that the management of Indian affairs should be in their own hands. The author has also discussed Tilak's views on the need to achieve Swaraj and the ways and means to obtain it.

The book *Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, written by N.G. Jog is mainly concerned with Tilak's role in the national struggle for freedom and reflects his relentless, consistent contribution to achieve it. The author has

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written about Tilak's early life, his views on social versus political reforms and the policies pursued by him to obtain national freedom. The author has also dealt with Tilak's last days and his undaunted crusade for national freedom even at that time. In a subsequent chapter entitled "Home Rule Campaign", the author has discussed very briefly Tilak's views on Swaraj. The author has argued that Tilak declared Swaraj as the legal right and the birth-right of every Indian. According to him, Tilak related home rule league with Swaraj and in various organisations, laid stress on the joint efforts of Mussalmans and Hindus to obtain Swaraj.

The book *The Myth of the Lokamanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra*, concentrates on four mass movements initiated between 1893 and 1908 by Tilak: the Ganapati and the Shivaji festivals, a famine campaign, and an appeal to the urban proletariat of Bombay city. It considers Tilak's appeals to religion, to an heroic leader of the past, to the Deccan peasantry and to an urban proletariat. The study also examines in chapters two and three, the conflicts within Maharashtrian society and the circumstances which thrust Tilak into leadership.

In the book *The Life and Philosophy of Lokamanya Tilak*, V.P. Varma has discussed views of Tilak on various aspects. In the very beginning, the author has written about Tilak's early years, education, family and has tried
to focus on different aspects of his life. The author has also presented a
detailed account of Tilak’s activities in the Congress and has provided
excerpts and quotations from his speeches and writings. This is followed by
a discussion on social and religious philosophy of Tilak. The author has
discussed very briefly Tilak’s views on Swarajya while presenting a critical
and comparative analysis of his political philosophy. According to him,
Tilak’s concept of Swarajya has both political and spiritual connotations. It
is argued that according to Tilak, politically Swarajya meant home rule,
whereas spiritually it meant self-control and self-realisation which reflects
vedantic influence on him.

N.R. Inamdar in his article “The Political Ideas of Lokmanya Tilak” in
the book Political Thought in Modern India edited by Thomas Pantham and
Kenneth L. Deutsch has expressed his views on the main political ideas
expressed by Tilak. In this context he has dealt with Tilak’s views on
nationalism, passive resistance and Swarajya. According to the author,
Tilak’s conception of Indian nationalism was a combination of Vedanta’s
spiritual ideal and western notions of nationalism. Political mobilization of
the people was important component of his nationalism. The author has
argued that Tilak gave primacy to political reforms over the issue of social
reforms. In this context, he urged people to boycott foreign goods, law courts,
educational institutions and to refuse to pay land revenue to make it

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impossible for British government to rule over India. Professor Inamdar has also discussed Tilak's views on Swaraj. He has argued that Tilak raised the famous slogan of “Swarajya is the birth-right of Indians”. However, according to the author, Swarajya for Tilak had not only political connotation but also moral and spiritual connotation.

The book *Bal Gangadhar Tilak* edited by Verinder Grover is divided into three parts. The very first part deals with the political philosophy of Tilak, his social and political contribution, and his part in the Indian National Congress. In the chapter entitled “Social and Political Contributions of Bal Gangadhar Tilak”, I.M. Reisner, has argued that according to Tilak the political struggle was primary and the social reforms were futile so long as power remained in the hands of the colonial rulers and lastly that aim of political struggle was the attainment of power by the people of India, its transfer into Indian hands. Second part of the book is devoted to the writings and speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. While the third part consists of articles dealing with Tilak and his contemporaries.

G.P. Pradhan in his book *Lokamanya Tilak* has discussed Tilak's pioneering role in India's freedom struggle. According to the author, Tilak played an important role for nearly four decades to create consciousness in the people for obtaining Swarajya. In the chapters entitled, “Four Point Programme for Swarajya” and “Broad based political movement”, the author

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has discussed Tilak's views on Swarajya and the role played by other leaders like, Mahatma Gandhi, Lalalajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Vivekananda, Dadabhai Naoroji and Aurobindo etc. in the freedom struggle of India.

Shanta Sathe in the book *Lokmanya Tilak: His Social and Political Thoughts* has mainly dealt with the Tilak's concept of swaraj. In the initial three chapters of the book, the author has discussed Tilak's justification of Swaraj and mobilization of people for the attainment of Swaraj. Author has argued in the book that Tilak maintained that people had the right to claim freedom just by the virtue of their becoming a human society and that no further justification was necessary.

According to the author Tilak, primarily, was an activist and, naturally, he sought to put his ideas into practice. Freedom, thus, emerged as the main aim and objective of his life. Tilak, however, did not have a readymade model to fall back upon. He had to devise his own model and to formulate his own programme for building up the freedom struggle. It has been argued in the book that Tilak took up the cause of swaraj because he had realised that under no circumstances could a foreign imperial government fulfil the due obligations expected of a rightful government.

The book *Indian Nationalism and Tilak: A Critical Analysis* written by Arti is divided into nine chapters. The first four chapters of the book are

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concerned with philosophical, social and political bases of Tilak's nationalism while the last chapters of the book deal with Tilak's fight against bureaucracy and his views on nationalism and Internationalism. It has been argued in this book that Tilak propounded the philosophical content of nationalism by linking the attainment of 'Swaraj' with the Gita's ideal of 'Karmayoga'. He wanted to substantiate the nationalist movement in India by a strong cultural and religious revival of Hinduism.

The book, *Lokmanya Tilak: Symbol of Swaraj* \(^{13}\) written by Sorab Ghaswalla has discussed various aspects of Tilak's life. The author has highlighted Tilak's personality, his role as a true nationalist and in the attainment of Home rule. The author has touched Tilak's concept of *swaraj* very briefly and has discussed methods of attaining *swaraj* like *swadeshi*, boycott, national education etc.

The book *Lokamanya Tilak* \(^{14}\) written by Naveen Kumar Sharma has dealt with the role played by Tilak in developing an Indian philosophy of politics during the early struggle for Indian self-rule, and with the legacy he left to the independence movement and to free India. In the book, author has tried to compare views of Tilak and Gandhi with each-other and in the last chapter he has talked about the legacy of Tilak to Free India. The book provides some information regarding Tilak's concept of *swaraj*.

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S.R. Sharma in the book entitled, *Life and Works of Bal Gangadhar Tilak* highlights the hard life that Tilak lived and the strategies he adopted for opposing the British imperialism. According to the author, the greatest contribution of Tilak was that he gave the slogan: “Freedom is My Birth Right” and he will be remembered for centuries to come in India as an advocate of freedom and dignity of the Indian people. The whole book is divided into ten chapters. The contents of book deal with his social, political and economic ideas. The ideas regarding the concept of *swaraj* are discussed in various chapters but an indepth study of the concept is lacking.

The book *Bal Gangadhar Tilak* written by Vinod Tiwari deals with the life history of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Various aspects of Tilak's life have been touched by the author. The book enriches the knowledge of the reader by highlighting various activities in Tilak's life. The whole book is divided into twenty three chapters. Although the concept of *swaraj* is not dealt extensively in the book. The references of the concept of *swaraj* and the means of attaining it are scattered in various chapters of the book.

Jayashree B. Gokhale in the article, “The Mahratta and Nationalism in Maharashtra” has discussed the two newspapers of Lokamanya Tilak named Kesari and Mahratta. According to the author Mahratta intended to

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interpret what the educated Indian community thought on matters pertaining to British rule. It became a means of radicalizing those westernized intellectuals who used English as a medium of social and political communication. Similarly, *Kesari* was slanted towards the matriculates and non-matriculates, whose primary mode of education was *Marathi*. It has been analysed in the article as to how Tilak used these two newspapers to spread the message of *swaraj* among the people and to make them aware of the political and social situation of the country at that time.

The book *Gandhi: Theory and Practice, Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance* edited by S.C. Biswas has taken-up Gandhi's views on social change, economic and political ideas, Gandhi's legacy and his contemporary relevance by dividing the book into different sections. K.J. Mahale in the chapter entitled “Society and State (*Ramraj* and *Swaraj*)” has examined Gandhi's notions on *Ramraj* and *Swaraj* and has argued that Gandhi often used these terms for indicating his concept of an ideal society and state respectively, though according to the author Gandhi has identified *Ramraj* and *Swaraj* at some places. He has argued that Gandhi believed that *Ramraj* meant the rule of God on the earth and his ideal society would be non-violent society where individuals would enjoy perfect liberty, equality and social justice and like a family its members would have close interdependence. According to the author, in Gandhi's democratic state the

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sovereignty would be given to the people who entrust it to their representatives for the time being. The author has explained that Gandhi advocated decentralisation of political and economic powers, reduction in the functions of the state, establishment of voluntary associations, elimination of economic inequalities through trusteeship system and the decentralisation of the administration of justice. The author has argued that Gandhi's concept of *Ramraj* will remain a distant dream for the world to work for.

In the chapter entitled “Gandhi's Concept of Freedom: People's *Swaraj*” Buddhadeb Bhattacharya has explained that *Swaraj* literally means self-rule and in its original connotations it meant autonomy of the moral self where strict control is exercised over senses. The author has argued that Gandhi seized upon a traditional religious notion and transformed it into a meaningful part of the technique which was to operate not for individual salvation alone but also within the sphere of social polity. Gandhi's *Swaraj* was egalitarian and secular and for him *Hind Swaraj* was the rule of all the people.

In another chapter entitled "Ramrajya" Buddhadeb Bhattacharya expressing his views on Gandhi's conception of *Ramrajya* has argued that the picture of *Ramrajya* that Gandhi visualized was an expression of the yearning for a just and perfect society. *Ramrajya* meant more than *Swaraj* or political self-government. According to the author *Ramrajya* embodied Gandhi's dream of the perfectability of man and society. It stood for an
egalitarian non-violent democratic order with moral values forming the base of such an order.

In the book *Mahatma Gandhi: Political Saint and Unarmed Prophet* \(^{19}\) Dhananjay Keer has depicted not only the outer life of Gandhi's work and activity, but the inner life of emotion, passion and evolution, development and the working of his mind. Besides attempting to present a picture of the various events and incidents in Gandhi's life, this biography gives a comprehensive survey of his activities and movements in South Africa and in India. The author has also very briefly touched Gandhi's views on Swaraj.

Raghavan N. Iyer in the book, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* \(^{20}\) has tried to elucidate the central concepts in the moral and political thought of Mahatma Gandhi, with special attention to the connection between his presuppositions and his precepts. The whole book is divided into fourteen chapters. Mahatma Gandhi's concept of satyagraha has been discussed in the book very extensively. In the chapter entitled "swaraj and swadeshi, self-rule and self-reliance", Gandhi's notions about swaraj and swadeshi have been examined. In this chapter, the author has discussed the role of swadeshi in the attainment of swaraj. Similarly, the connection between swadeshi and swaraj has also been discussed.

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M.L. Sankhdher in the book entitled, *Gandhi, Gandhism and the Partition of India* 21 has argued that Gandhian literature tends to proliferate and views on diverse themes that Gandhi wrote or spoke about create confusion. He further said that it becomes difficult to understand Gandhi's position on scores of topics he favoured. The book has been divided into seven chapters. In addition to the major theme of Gandhi and partition, the book deals with Gandhi's political ideology, religious roots of Gandhism, Gandhi and agitations and the relevance of Gandhism. Different facets of Gandhi's mind are covered in a single volume. In this book, chapters entitled, "Gandhism – A Political Ideology", "Religion and Gandhism", "Quintessence of Gandhism" and "Conclusion" deal with the concept of *swaraj*. These chapters also deal with the ways and means to obtain *swaraj*.

In the book, *Gandhi and Swaraj* 22 S.H. Patil has examined Gandhi's concept of *Swaraj* which visualizes an ideal state. According to the author, the concept of Gandhi's ideal state or *swaraj* can be constructed by referring to his numerous writings, speeches and the kind of life he led. In this book, the author has stressed that the experiments Gandhi conducted in his life's laboratory, the experiences he amassed, bore the stamp of authenticity, tinged, as they were, with the courage of his convictions. The author has also

discussed Gandhi’s views on philosophy of life, economic order, social order, new education and decentralised political system etc. in the book.

M.L. Sharma in the book *Gandhi and Democratic Decentralization in India* has made an attempt to examine Gandhi’s concept of democratic decentralisation and its impact on the present structure of democratic decentralisation as effected in the rural areas of the country. Further, an effort has also been made to find out the possible causes of the deviations, first, from the original Gandhian model and then from the original Balwantray Mehta pattern of democratic decentralisation.

In the chapter entitled “Gandhi on State and Government” the author has discussed about Swaraj and Ramraj. How Swaraj would lead to Ramraj has been taken up in this chapter. Views of Gandhi regarding Democracy, Practical state etc., have also been discussed by the author.

The book *The Penguin Gandhi Reader* edited by Rudrangshu Mukherjee deals with Gandhi’s views on non-violence, caste, untouchability, socialism, trusteeship, Hindu-Muslim unity, swaraj, swadeshi and mass movements etc. Second chapter of the book entitled ‘Swaraj and Swadeshi’ examines Gandhi’s concept of swaraj and it’s relation with swadeshi. In another chapter entitled ‘Independence vs. Swaraj’ Gandhi’s views on swaraj and independence and the differences between them have been analysed.

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According to the editor of the book, Gandhi has stressed that the concept of *swaraj* was broader than independence.

Kamalapati Tripathi in the book *Gandhi and Humanity*\(^2^5\) has made an attempt to study Gandhian thought and system. This attempt has been made particularly to achieve a specific objective. According to the author man has progressed very fast from last few centuries. The world around him is totally changed. In that scenario, Gandhi's teaching is important to understand and analyse.

In the book, author has mainly discussed Gandhi's views on non-violence and references regarding *swaraj* can be traced in different chapters. However, Gandhi's views regarding modern world, league of nations and decentralisation etc., have also been analysed in the book.

Anthony J. Parel in the article "The Doctrine of *Swaraj* in Gandhi's Philosophy" in the book *Crisis and Change in Contemporary India*\(^2^6\) has argued that the concept of *Swaraj* occupied a key position in Gandhi's political philosophy. According to him, the concept of self-government as used in *Hind Swaraj* by Gandhi has a dual meaning. Firstly, it means self-rule of the individual over himself; it is based on self-discipline and self-transformation. Secondly, it means self-government of the nation. It implies political independence achieved and maintained through self-determination.


Swaraj in the first sense is necessary for right human living at the personal level; self-government in the second sense is necessary for the right political ordering of modern nation. In the English text these two distinct meanings are conveyed by means of two different terms – Swaraj in the first case and home-rule in the second. According to Anthony J. Parel the main thesis of the book is that home-rule to be truly beneficial must be based on Swaraj. What the modern notion of home-rule lacks is a basis in Swaraj, and Hind Swaraj is nothing more than an attempt to show how the two may be harmonized.

Bhikhu Parekh in the book *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A critical examination* has analysed Gandhi's views on Indian civilization and his criticism of modern civilization. Author has also discussed Gandhi's philosophy of religion, spirituality and his reinterpretation of Hinduism.

In the chapter entitled “Critique of Modern Civilization” the author has discussed as to how the impact of the British imperialism destroyed the identity and integrity of Indian civilization and turned the Indians into brown Englishmen. The author has argued that Gandhi believed that political independence was important not only as an expression of India’s pride and a necessary means to stop its economic exploitation but also to preserve its civilization, without which political independence would remain fragile.

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Though the concept swaraj is not dealt separately in the book. But references related to it can be traced in the different chapters of the book. The chapter entitled ‘Critique of modern civilization’ is the most relevant chapter regarding swaraj as it provides the basic information for understanding the concept of swaraj.

In the book *Facets of Mahatma Gandhi: Economic and Social Principles*  
28 a colleague of Bapu has discussed Gandhian notion of true Swaraj. He has argued that the notion of true Swaraj does not simply mean the end of foreign rule and the establishment of nationalist government. It is much more than that. According to him, need for constructive work and programme advocated by Gandhi is much more relevant now and in this context he has talked about *khadi, charkha*, hard-work and organised strength of the nation to realise Swaraj. However, as this article is primarily concerned with the beginning of Khadi movement, a detailed discussion on the other aspects of Gandhian conception of Swaraj has not been made.

Anthony J. Parel in his article “Gandhi’s idea of nation in Hind Swaraj”  
29 has argued that this particular book teaches the nature of Swaraj and the ways and means of attaining it. However, according to him, the nature of Swaraj cannot be fully understood unless it is realised that the

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subjects which are going to enjoy it are the nation and the self. It is argued that the originality of Gandhi's teaching in his book consists in arguing that there is a connection between the process by which nation attains its independence and the process by which the self attains control over itself. The author has concluded that Gandhi's most important contribution to Indian thought is the message that self-control, and self-realisation ought to lead simultaneously to the well-being of the individual and the nation as a whole.

In the book *Gandhian Concept of Swaraj* Chitra Purohit has discussed political, economic, sociological and personal dimensions of Gandhi's concept of *swaraj*. Pre-Gandhian and Post-Gandhian concept of *swaraj* has also been taken up in the book. While in the last chapter of the book, the author has tried to evaluate Gandhian concept of *swaraj*. The author has argued in the book that Gandhi's concept of *swaraj* was very comprehensive in nature and had various connotations.

S. Ramakrishna in his book entitled *Mahatma Gandhi: Eternal Pilgrim of Peace and Love* has discussed Gandhi's life, work for peace and his non-violent methods during Indian freedom struggle. The author has regarded Gandhi as a redeemer of *Hinduism* and has argued that Gandhi was non-dogmatic and secular in thought, word and deed. According to the

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author, he was a God-man and his life and work appeared to be a God-ordained mission. S. Ramakrishna is of the view that the Gandhian spark should glow in every Indian soul, which would usher transparency, purity and probity in public life which are basic ingredients of clean, efficient and democratic governance. According to the author, Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest martyr in human history whose life will undoubtedly inspire generations to come. He has concluded that Gandhi was Lord’s precious gift to humanity.

In the book *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction* Bhikhu Parekh has discussed Gandhi’s views regarding religion, human nature, truth, non-violence, criticism of modern civilization etc. The chapter entitled ‘The vision of a non-violent society’ deals with Gandhi’s concept of *swaraj*. Author has talked about village *swaraj* in the chapter. He has stressed that for Gandhi a society based on *swaraj*, a ‘true democracy’ as he called it, was the only morally acceptable alternative to the modern state. However, the concept is not dealt elaborately in the chapter.

The book *Gandhi : In His Time and Ours* is written by David Hardiman, who is the foremost modern historian of Gandhi’s cultural region, Gujarat. He has had a life long interest in Gandhi. The author has systematically and skillfully linked life and thought of Gandhi. In this book,

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author has tried to discuss Gandhi's views on nationalism, modernity, Dalits and Adivasis, religious hatreds and his role as father of nation. The book mainly discusses about non-violence (ahimsa). It is argued that Gandhi believed that one had to be very strong in oneself to be able to practice ahimsa with success and to be non-violent out of weakness was no more than cowardice.

The book entitled *Indian Political Thought* written by Hari Hara Das, has included the ancient political thinkers and reformers and their socio-political and economic ideas. The book also deals with the study of various modern Indian political thinkers as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghosh, M.N. Roy, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, V.D. Savarkar, Bhimrao Ambedkar, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose etc. In the chapter entitled 'Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak', author has discussed his metaphysical and religious ideas, ideas on education, social reform, nationalism and his concept of swaraj. According to the author, Tilak realised that the achievement of Swaraj was a moral national necessity. Swaraj became the reason and justification for the entire programme and movement led by Tilak and the nationalists. Tilak was of the opinion that the attainment of swaraj would be a great victory for Indian nationalism.

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In another chapter entitled 'Mahatma Gandhi', author has examined Gandhi's philosophy behind political action, philosophical anarchism, concept of the state, the philosophy of non-violence, the non-cooperation movement and the influences on the thought of Gandhi. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj has also been briefly discussed.

The book *Gandhi, Freedom and Self-rule*, editor has included various chapters in which writers have examined Gandhi's views on liberty, autonomy, human rights, swaraj etc. In the chapter 'Gandhian Freedoms and Self-rule', the author Anthony J. Parel has argued that Gandhi used the concept of swaraj in different senses and in different contexts. The author has analysed them under four headings – national independence, political freedom of the individual, economic freedom of the individual and spiritual freedom of the individual, or self-rule. According to the author, of these, the first three, in some respects, are negative in character. Thus national independence is freedom from alien rule, political freedom of the individual is freedom from oppression by other individuals, groups, or the state and economic freedom of the individual is freedom from poverty. Freedom as self rule, in contrast, is positive in character. It is a state of being to which everyone, especially those who are politically and economically free, ought to aspire. The author has argued that, Gandhi drew the concept of swaraj from both Indian and western notion of self-rule. Almost all the classical systems

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of Indian philosophy – the *Vedanta* and the *Yoga* systems deal with the ways and means of attaining self-rule, known also as self-realisation or *moksha*. Western sources supplied Gandhi with the starting points of his notions of independence and political and economic freedoms. The fact that Gandhi derived the notions of political and economic freedoms from the West does not mean that he accepted them without making significant modifications. Indeed, a good deal of his creative thought went into the process of introducing into the western notions of freedom the elements he selected from Indian thought.

Bidyut Chakrabarty in the book *Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* has discussed Gandhi's idea of *Swaraj*, his views on *ahimsa* or non-violence, his writings in *Harijan* and political and ideological critique of Gandhi etc. These views are spread in different chapters of the book.

In the chapter entitled “Gandhi: The idea of swaraj” the author has argued that the importance of *swaraj* as an ideology stems from the fact that, not only did it bring together disparate masses politically, it also contributed to a world view with an organic link to the Indian psyche. The aim of the chapter is two fold. Firstly to identify the distinctive features of *swaraj*, which was never a mere political category in the historical context of India's freedom struggle and secondly, to draw out the philosophical basis of the idea.

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of swaraj, an idea also enmeshed in a wider search for human freedom or liberty. Thus the book provides relevant information regarding the concept of swaraj of Gandhi and other various aspects of Gandhi's ideology and their comparison with other thinkers.

The book entitled Encyclopaedia of Great Indian Political Thinkers edited by M.K. Singh, deals with Mahatma Gandhi's views on non-violence, satyagraha, brahmcharya, religion and politics, economy and nationalism vs. internationalism etc.

In the chapters entitled “Gandhi and non-violence” and “Gandhi and satyagraha”, Gandhi's concept of swaraj has been mainly discussed. According to the writers of these chapters, non-violence and satyagraha were the two methods or means of Gandhi for the attainment of swaraj and he suggested that real swaraj could only be attained by truthful and non-violent means.

N. Malla in the article “Swaraj, Science and Civilization” has made an attempt to examine and analyse some of the important concepts in the Gandhian thought. According to the writer, these concepts played a very important role in the Gandhian system. It is argued that Gandhi used swaraj as a purity concept. It stood for the purity of body, mind and soul taken together. Self-rule or home-rule was not necessarily swaraj. Similarly, in

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his *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi seemed to be highly critical of modern civilization. That civilization was based on science and technology. Gandhi seemed to make a very scathing attack not only on science and technology but also the particular type of political and social set-up and the educational system connected with it.

In the article “Swaraj as a Human Value: A Gandhian Reading of Globalization”, Prasenjit Biswas has tried to link outward and inward freedom with each other. It is argued that in Gandhian thought inward and outward freedom were inextricably tied up in complementarity and were not in opposition.

According to the author, Gandhi meant by *swaraj* the complete autonomy of the individual in practicing non-violence as the most universal mode of living in correspondence with others in harmony. Gandhi situated *swaraj* in the individual as a state of being that combines the cosmic principles with one's individual actions.

B.S.R. Anjaneyulu in the paper entitled “Gandhi’s Hind Swaraj: Swaraj, The Swadeshi Way” has examined the book – *Hind Swaraj*—written by Mahatma Gandhi. In this paper, the author has discussed the concept of *swaraj* very elaborately. The origin and development of the concept of *swaraj*
and various connotations of the concept of *swaraj* have been analysed in this paper.

A.S. Malik in his paper\(^41\) has examined local self-government at village level. The writer has discussed Panchayati Raj Institutions in India and village panchayat as local self-government. The study provides rich material to understand the governance at local level or the way to become self-reliant at village level. The study becomes important in highlighting as to how *swaraj* can be attained by becoming self-reliant.

Kaushal Kishore Mishra in his paper entitled “Problem of Sovereignty in Gandhian Thought”\(^42\) has discussed Gandhi’s views regarding state, anarchism, society, sovereignty and *sarvodaya*. The concept of *swaraj* has been dealt by the writer in the paper very briefly. It is argued that according to Gandhi *swaraj* was a condition when none would exercise authority over anybody else.

Shant Bala in her article, “Gandhian Conception of Education – Its Relevance in Present Time”\(^43\) has discussed Gandhi’s views regarding system of education and the aim of education. According to the author Gandhi’s aim of the education was to bring about a harmonious development of all the four aspects of human personality viz. body, heart, mind and spirit. It has been


argued that the broader aim of education according to Gandhi was to inculcate the values of truth, non-violence, bread labour, non-stealing, non-possession, brahmachrya or chastity, swadeshi, anti-untouchability, worship and prayer, fasting and service to humanity. The relevance of Gandhi's method of education has also been discussed.

M.P. Mathai in the paper “The Pursuit of Swaraj: Tracing the Gandhian legacy in the Non-violent Struggles of Modern India”\(^4^4\) has discussed Gandhi's meaning of swaraj and the means advocated by him to achieve it. He has stressed in this paper that swaraj should be attained from below and for this he emphasised on adoption of khadi. Similarly, according to the author Gandhi advocated the extensive use of constructive programme for preparing favourable environment for launching satyagraha.

In the book *Modern Indian Political Thought*\(^4^5\) V.P. Varma has presented a systematic picture of modern Indian political ideas and has analysed various phases, aspects and schools of modern Indian political thought. The explicit and implicit political ideas of various political and social leaders and thinkers in modern India have been discussed systematically in the book. Sociological and philosophical foundations of political ideas have also been examined. The author has also dealt with the ideas of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi in different chapters.


In the chapter on Tilak, the author has discussed his early life, metaphysical and religious ideas, his philosophy of social reforms, political philosophy and his concept of nationalism. He has also dealt with Tilak's philosophy of Swarajya and has argued that Tilak's Swarajya signified the operation and management of the domestic affairs of India by the Indians and advocated Home Rule.

In his views about Gandhi, V.P. Varma has argued that Gandhi made a distinction between his ideal society and Swaraj. He has added that in Gandhi's ideal society of Ramrajya there would be sovereignty of moral authority of the people while under Swaraj, law courts would be the custodians of people's liberty. He has further asserted that according to Gandhi freedom was the foundation of Swaraj and the latter could only be obtained by intense suffering and struggle.

P.K. Jose in the article entitled “Responsive Cooperation and Non-cooperation: Strategies in Strife” has discussed the conflicting strategies of Tilak and Gandhi, represented by terms “responsive cooperation” and “non-cooperation”. Writer has stressed that the two terms “responsive cooperation” and “non-cooperation” had reference as much to the political methods as to ultimate ideals, and hence the confrontation between the two rival programmes.

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The Gandhian programme of non-cooperation embodied the doctrine of Satyagraha which meant vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self. The spirit in which Tilak and his followers approved non-cooperation was far removed from what the Gandhian view represented. To them, non-cooperation represented the sentiment of hostility which would arise wherever government and nationalists were brought together. Responsive cooperation implied a policy of actual contact and struggle with the bureaucracy with a view to making them feel the opposition of the nationalists. The study is important to understand the methods or techniques used to attain swaraj or freedom from the clutches of foreign government.

The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in the Political thought of Tilak, Aurobindo and Gandhi deals with the views of Tilak, Aurobindo and Gandhi on nationalism. According to the author Tilak, Aurobindo and Gandhi in true sense brought nationalism to the masses and made it a mass agitation. They had a clear recognition of vital necessity of converting the national movement into a mass movement incorporating the Indian masses.

In this paper the author has also discussed Tilak's, Aurobindo's and Gandhi's concept of swaraj and the methods and techniques of attaining it. Their views on swadeshi, and boycott have also been analysed. It has been argued that these thinkers had different views as regards the use of means

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for promoting the cause of nationalism, but all of them agreed in not regarding nationalism as a narrow chauvinistic ideal.

All these studies are significant and highlight important aspects of philosophy of Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. However, it is observed that so far, sufficient attention has not been paid to a systematic, comparative and analytical study of their views on Swaraj which is being attempted in the course of the present study.

Now the question arises as to how one can analyse or interpret the ideas of a thinker, who lived in a historical context which was different from the context in which we are living. The study will mainly concentrate on textual approach. Those scholars who advocate textual approach argue that concentration on pieces of writings, texts is sufficient for the understanding of the ideas contained in them. They insist on the autonomy of text itself as a sole necessary key to its own meaning. While conducting research on Lokamanya Tilak, and Mahatma Gandhi's view on Swaraj, the researcher will examine the various original works, documents and speeches written by them. Besides this the secondary sources on these thinkers will also be consulted.

However, it is felt that exclusive concentration on texts, is inadequate to gain insight into thinker's views. The textual approach, assumes the existence of "timeless elements" of "perennial interest" in the past works of

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thinkers, which the researcher hopes to distil from his texts, and in case, even to learn, from them. But as Quentin Skinners argues, "any attempt to justify the study of the subject in terms of the perennial problems and universal truths to be learned from the classic texts must amount to the purchase of justification at the expense of making the subject itself foolishly and needlessly naïve." Any statement he adds, "is inescapably the embodiment of a particular intention, on a particular occasion, addressed to the solution of a particular problem, and thus specific to its situation in a way that it can only be naïve to try to transcend." Consideration of social context helps to have a better understanding of thinkers ideas by grasping what sort of society the given thinkers were writing for and trying to persuade.

Ernest Gellner argues, "Concepts and beliefs do not exist in isolation in texts or in individual mind, but in the life of man and societies. The activities and institutions, in the context of which a word or phrase or set of phrases is used, must be known before that word or those phrases can be understood, before we can really speak of concept or a belief."

It is also observed that the meaning of terms sometimes change over time, and the text itself does not indicate the way terms are used by its author. To understand the meaning of the terms, which a researcher comes

\[49\] Ibid.
\[50\] Ibid.
across in a given text he has to go beyond the text. Pure textual study also
does not enable the researcher to understand the hidden or oblique
references that the thinker may be making, or to see if the thinker is
weaving irony into his arguments. For these again it is necessary to examine
the social context in which the thinkers are writing. Thus, an integrated
approach would be followed involving the study of both text and the social
context in which the text is written.

In the succeeding chapter the concept of *swaraj* is discussed while
third and fourth chapters deal with Tilak’s and Gandhi’s concept of *swaraj*
respectively. A comparative study of the concept of *swaraj* has been
undertaken in the fifth chapter. While the final chapter deals with an
evaluation.