UNIT 1: MANU

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1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- discuss Manu's views on King and King's duties
- examine Manu's views on Government and its policies and principles
- analyse Manu's theory of coercive authority and administration of justice
- discuss Manu's views on inter-state relations and foreign policy.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

In the history of political thought, two great thinkers of ancient India, Manu and Kautilya have occupied a very important position as they provided the major contributions in developing and enriching Indian political thought. In fact, it is not only political thought but also each and every aspect of Indian life and polity to which Manu made major contribution with lasting impact on the life of the Indian people. Manu, the great sage is often regarded as the oldest lawmaker in human civilization.

1.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MANU

Manu was the first Indian political philosopher who provided the basic philosophy regarding mankind, society, state, government and economy of ancient India. Therefore, Manu is known as the father of Ancient Indian Political thought. In fact, Manu is considered, mythologically, to be the father of human race and the first lawgiver. In the following sections, we will discuss various aspects of Manu's contribution towards political thought.

1.3.1 Manu and Manusmriti

Manu's *'Manusmriti'* is the most important and the earliest work which provided

insights on various aspects related to the state, government, king, council of ministers, foreign policy, economy, and military policy of ancient India. Manu's greatest contribution is his consideration of law as dharma. The most important and unique work of Manu i.e. *Manusmriti* consists of 12 chapters which deal with the creation of mankind, society, religion, economy and state-craft of ancient India.

1.3.2 Manu's Views on Social Organization or Social Order

Manu provided his views regarding social organisation or social order in Manusmriti. He provided a social order which was based on division of society into four different castes such as- Brahmins, Kshyatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Manu said that God has created these four castes of people for the smooth functioning of the society. Manu provided a type of social order in which people performed functions and duties according to their respective caste. So, in other words, Manu talked about functional specialization and division of labour which he termed as 'Varnashrama Dharma'. The four castes of the society represented different attributes, for example, the Brahmins represented 'Sattava', which means knowledge, and they were devoted to study and gather knowledge; the Kshyatriya caste, basically comprising rajas and soldiers, represented the attributes of power and physical strength and they were primarily devoted to the defence of the state, the king and the people; the Vaishyas and Sudras represented the element of Tamas, which means desire for material pleasure, and these two castes were devoted to material gains and hard work. Manu, through his views on social organization, provided superior status to the Brahmins in the society and a very low position to the Sudras.

While discussing his views regarding the social order, Manu said that there were four ends of life, such as Dharma (virtue), Artha (wealth), Kama (desire and pleasure) and Moksha (salvation). Manu carved out a lifespan of one hundred years for each individual and divided the life span of each individual into four respective stages or Ashramas, such as Brahmacharya, Garhastha, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa. During the period of Brahmacharya, which is the first stage of life, a person maintains complete celibacy (being unmarried) and gathers knowledge. After that stage the person gets married and enters into the stage of Garhastha. After completing his Garhastha stage, the person enters into the stage of Vanaprastha where he gives up worldly life, leaves home for the forest to meditate. At the last stage, the person leads a life of an ascetic, conquering desires for worldly gains and attains purity of body and mind.

Manu provided for a social order which was strictly based on division of labour. He prevented the lower caste people from performing the occupation of higher caste people. Manu believed that it is better to perform one's duty perfectly than performing other's functions imperfectly. Regarding the position of women in society, Manu said that women were entrusted with vast responsibilities mainly concerning the household. He was not in favour of giving freedom to women in the society. However, he opined that women should be properly taken care of.

Manu's view on social organization or social order has been criticised on various grounds, some of which can be mentioned as follows:

- Manu's view of social organization was marked by severe inequality among people. His classification of people into different castes may lead to social inequality and injustice.
- Manu's view on social organisation or order is also criticised because he had given an inferior position to women. He denied freedom to women and made them subordinate to men.

1.3.3 Views on King and King's Duties

Manu has expressed his views on kings and king's duties in his *Manusmriti*. According to Manu the institution of king is created by God. The king is said to be composed of divine particles of several gods, including Yama, Indra, Varuna and Kubera. Manu said that the King was created by Lord Brahma to help and protect people from the prevailing disharmony, distrust and conflict. Regarding the position of the King, Manu said that the King enjoyed supreme power. King's order and authority must be followed by all, because the king works according to the instruction of God. In *Manusmriti,* it is stated that even an infant king must never be treated with disrespect. His words should be regarded as law. This is in contrast to earlier Dharmasastra texts, which seem to stress the king's subordinate status in comparison to Brahmins. One important thing to be mentioned here is that Manu emphasised on noble qualities of the king and knowledge of the king about the Vedas. Some of the important qualities which the king should possess, according to Manu, are- that the king should be trained, self-disciplined and should have self-control.

Regarding the duties of the king, Manu said that the king should "behave like a father towards all men" and must please all. The king should regulate the social, political and economic life of the subjects. The king should protect his subjects from all forms of possible external aggression. The king has the duty to maintain law and order within the state. He should keep the state free from thieves and robbers and protect the life and private property of his subjects. The king should also regulate the economic life of the community. Manu also mentioned economic duties of the king, such as- the king should control the price of the commodities, should encourage trade and agriculture and should provide security to the traders coming into the state. In other words, Manu put utmost importance on duty of the King to protect the subjects from all possible irregularities. That is why, Manu stated that God created the king to restore order to the chaotic world. People from all the occupation should come under state supervision. Thus, according to Manu, the king should perform his duty as protector and punisher. To ensure responsibility of the King to protect people from all types of conflict and troubles and to promote welfare of the people, Manu emphasised that the King must be learned, righteous, modest and free from vices springing from pleasure and wealth.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) The *Manusmriti* consists of ……. chapters. (Fill in the blank).

.....

Q2) Into how many castes did Manu divide the people?

.....

Q3) Manu believed in the divine origin of the state. (True/False).

.....

1.3.4 Theory of Danda or Coercive Authority

The theory of 'Danda' or 'Coercive Authority' is an important idea provided by Manu. The word Danda meant Punishment. Manu propounded the theory of Danda to justify supreme authority of the King. Manu emphasised on Danda as it is necessary for ensuring individual security as well as maintaining social order. Manu said that the king must rule on the basis of Danda which will help him in protecting the people and the law (Dharma). According to him, Danda should always be accompanied by law. Fear of Danda is another important factor which may lead the people to adopt the right path. Manu believed that with the help of danda, all people are made conscious about their duties and responsibilities. The king is the inflictor of Danda. King's mode of application of Danda is the key to individual security. Therefore, the good qualities of a king, such as- truthfulness and wisdom should be the qualifying factor for the ruler to exercise Danda over his subjects. Manu said that Danda which is exercised by the king is to be accompanied by factors like reason, wisdom and truthfulness and thus it becomes identical with dharma or law.

1.3.5 Views on Administration of Justice

Manu believed in total justice in the society. According to him, the king should be consistent and impartial to render justice in his kingdom. Manu said that the king should himself preside over the court of justice. Wise Brahmans and learned Mantries should assist the king in the administration of justice. The king should always respect and follow the opinion of the members of the Council of Ministers. Though the king is all in all in decision-making and fully entrusted for the execution of all decisions, he should consult his ministers. If the king is absent, a learned Brahman should act as the judge. Though the king acts as the administrator of justice, according to Manu, the king is also made liable to be fined. He believed that the king should be fined thousand times more than the common man. According to "Laws for Kings", the king's power and the obligations are defined in the law-sutras. So, Manu believes that the king should be constitutional and responsible one and must always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.

1.3.6 Theory of Government

Manu believed that ruler is the most important unit of the state administration. Manu asked the king to follow the advice of Brahmans as given in the Vedas. The king should constantly worship and acquire the knowledge of the supreme soul. He should exert every effort to conquer his senses to control his subjects. The king is the protector of the subjects and everybody must obey the king. As regards the king's officials, Manu also discussed the part played by the king's ministers and other officers in the administration of the state. In fact, Manu emphasised that the king must be assisted by the ministers, officials and

army for better administration of the state. Manu distinctly pointed out the position and role of different officials such as the officers, the ambassador and the superintendents of the administrative departments. Manu showed the impossibility of one-man rule in view of the difficulty and complexity of government affairs. Therefore, he pleaded for the appointment of high officials or ministers to look after each department of government separately. Manu also mentioned about decentralisation of power while discussing the theory of government. He provided for a structure of the local government where power is given to the village headman. However, the final power of supervision and control remained with the king.

According to Manu's theory of Government, the army which has the controlling authority depends upon the ministers and the revenue and the kingdom depend upon the king, while peace and war depend upon the ambassador. In case of local government, the ultimate unit was the village. Every village must have a headman. The higher areas of local government were formed by groups of ten, twenty, hundred and a thousand villages. Local government as a whole should be placed in charge of a minister at the headquarters.

1.3.7 Manu's Views on Inter-State Relations or Foreign Policy

While discussing the inter-state relation or foreign policy, Manu said that full security of the state should be the goal of foreign policy of any state. Regarding inter-state relations or foreign policy, Manu indicated the principle of application of six types of foreign policy. The first policy, according to Manu, is that the king should make peace when he is sure of his gain and superiority in future. The second policy is that the king should wage war when he thinks that he is strong enough to conquer or defeat the enemy. Thirdly, the king should march against the enemy when his army is well-disposed towards him and is comparatively superior. The fourth policy is that the king should be neutral when he is weak in chariots and troops. Fifthly, the king should divide his forces when he finds that his enemy is stronger in every respect. The last policy is that the king should take refuge with a rich and powerful king, when he is very easily assailable by the enemy's force. Thus, Manu emphasised that the king, while determining his war policy, should consider the present as well as future situation.

Regarding the policy of inter-state relations, Manu made use of the old *Arthasastra* doctrine of conciliation, bribery, discussion and force. As a general principle, Manu urged the king to strive for the acquisition of countries that have not been conquered and to protect those that have been acquired. At the end, Manu concluded by asking the king to abandon even a rich and fertile land without hesitation for the safety of the state.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4) According to Manu, who should provide assistance to the king while presiding over the court of justice?

.....

Q5) Write any two foreign policies of the state as mentioned by Manu.

.....

.....

Q6) Who was the inflictor of Danda?

.....

Q7) Briefly explain Manu's views on administration of justice.

.....

21.4 LET US SUM UP

- Manu was an important philosopher who marked the beginning of ancient Indian political thought. He is considered, mythologically, to be the father of human race and the first law giver.
- The most important and unique work of Manu is *Manusmriti*. The *Manusmriti*, consisting of 12 chapters which deal with the creation of mankind, society, religion, economy and state-craft of ancient India.
- Regarding social organisation or social order, Manu provided a social order which was based on the division of society into four different castes, such as- Brahmins, Kshyatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras.
- Manu carved out a lifespan of one hundred years for each individual and divided the life span of each individual into four respective stages or Ashramas, such as Brahmacharya, Garhastha, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa.
- According to Manu, the institution of king is created by God. The King was created by Lord Brahma to help and protect people from the prevailing disharmony, distrust and conflict.
- Manu emphasised on noble qualities of the king and knowledge of the king about the Vedas. Some of the important qualities which the king should possess, according to Manu are- that the king should be trained, self-disciplined and should have self-control.
- According to Manu, the king should regulate the social, political and economic life of the subjects whom he should protect from any external aggression. Besides maintaining law and order within the state, the king should perform his duty as protector and punisher.
- Manu propounded the theory of Danda or coercive authority to justify the supreme authority of the King. Danda is necessary for ensuring individual security as well as maintaining social order. The king should exercise Danda in accordance with factors like reason, wisdom, truthfulness etc.
- Manu believed in total justice in the society. The king should be very consistent and impartial in rendering justice in his kingdom. The king should always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.
- Regarding the government of the state, Manu believed that the ruler is the most important unit of the state administration. The king must be assisted by the ministers, officials and army for better administration of the state.
- Manu also mentioned about decentralisation of power while discussing the theory of government. He provided for structure of local government where power is given to

the village headman. However, the final power of supervision and control remained with the king.

- While discussing the inter-state relation or foreign policy, Manu said that full security of the state should be the goal of foreign policy of any state.
- Regarding inter- state relation or foreign policy, Manu indicated the principle of application of six types of foreign policy. Regarding the policy of inter-state relations, Manu made use of the old *Arthasastra* doctrine of conciliation, bribery, discussion and force.

1.5 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, P. and Grover, B. (n. d.). *Selected western and indian political thinkers*. Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

2) Bhagavan, V. (1999). *Indian political thinkers*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons Publications.

3) Gupta, R.C. (1970). *Great political thinkers: East and west*. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal.

4) Mohanty, D.K. (2007). *Indian political tradition: From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

1.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 12

Ans to Q No 2: 4

Ans to Q No 3: True.

Ans to Q No 4: Wise Brahmans and learned Mantries.

Ans to Q No 5: (i) The king should make peace when he is sure of his gain and superiority in future.

(ii) The king should wage war when he thinks that he is strong enough to conquer or defeat the enemy.

Ans to Q No 6: The king.

Ans to Q No 7: Manu believed in total justice in the society. According to him, the king should be consistent and impartial to render justice in his kingdom. Manu said that the king should himself preside over the court of justice. Wise Brahmans and learned Mantries should assist the king in the administration of justice. The king should always respect and follow the opinion of the members of the Council of Ministers. Though the king is all in all in decision-making and fully entrusted for the execution of all decisions, he should consult his ministers. Though the king acts as the administrator of justice, according to Manu, the king is also made liable to be fined. He believed that the king should be fined thousand times more than the common man. According to "laws for kings", the king's power and the obligations are defined in the law-sutras. So, Manu believes that the king should be constitutional and responsible one and must always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.

M 1.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who is the author of *Manusmriti*?

Q 2: The *Manusmriti* consists of how many chapters?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about Manu's theory of Danda.

Q 2: Explain Manu's views on foreign policy of a state.

Q 3: Write briefly about Manu's views on women.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically discuss Manu's views on social organisation.

Q 2: Explain Manu's views on inter-state relations and foreign policy.

Q 3: Describe the duties of the kings as suggested by Manu along with his views on King.

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UNIT 2: KAUTILYA

UNIT STRUCTURE

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    2.3.5 Views on Inter-state Relation: Foreign Policy
2.4 Let Us Sum Up
2.5 Further Reading
2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
2.7 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss Kautilya's great book - the *Arthasastra*
- explain the theory of statecraft
- explain his views on government
- examine Kautilya's views on state policy and foreign policy.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

As we have discussed in the previous unit, in the history of political thought, the two great thinkers of ancient India Manu and Kautilya have occupied a very important position as they provided the major contributions in developing and enriching Indian political thought. In fact, it is not only political thought but also each and every aspect of Indian life and polity to which Manu made major contribution with lasting impact on the life of the Indian people which are discussed in the previous unit. Another great political thinker, Kautilya is considered as one of the most able politicians and ministers in Indian history. He was a great philosopher who authored the ancient Indian political treatise called *Arthasastra*. Kautilya has been considered the pioneer in the field of study of economics and political science. In the western world, he is referred to as the Indian Machiavelli. In this unit, we will discuss Kautilya's views regarding state, government, foreign policy etc.

2.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF KAUTILYA

Kautilya, also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta, was another important philosopher who provided the foundation of Ancient Indian political thought. Regarding the time and place of birth of Kautilya, it is generally believed that Kautilya lived between the period of 400 to 320 BC and was born in Taxila (now in Pakistan). The most important and valuable work of Kautilya was his famous book '*The Arthasastra*'. The book throws light on various

aspects of central and local administration, home and foreign policy, civil and criminal law and the art of warfare.

The political thoughts of Kautilya are summarised in his famous book the *Arthashastra*, a Sanskrit name which when translated means "*The Science of Material Gain*." In fact, the book is a hand book for running an empire effectively and it contains detailed information about specific topics, such as diplomacy, war, recommendations on law, prisons, taxation, fortification, coinage, manufacturing trade administration and spys. Even, it would not be wrong to say that Kautilya's '*Arthashastra*' is probably the most important source about the ancient times.

2.3.1 Kautilya and Arthasastra

Kautilya's famous book *Arthasastra* is on the subject of acquisition and maintenance of dominion over earth (Prithvi). Although there were already three Arthasastra schools, those of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas, yet Kautilya's *Arthasastra* is the only complete work of this kind that has come down to us. The *Arthasastra* comprises 15 books. Kautilya, in framing the rules and principles in *Arthasastra*, in general, applied the method of observation, analysis and deduction in respect of the phenomena of political life. The *Arthasastra* is an ancient Indian treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy. In fact, the *Arthasastra* is a practical manual of state administration.

2.3.2 Theory of Statecraft

Kautilya, in *Arthasastra* provided the detailed theory that described the entire rules and regulations for the administration of the state. This theory of Kautilya is also known as Saptanga theory. Regarding the origin of the state, Kautilya opined that the state originated to fulfill the desire of the people for securing a peaceful society. According to Kautilya, there are seven elements of the state which are very important for the efficient and proper administration of the state. These elements are, Swamin, Amatya, Janapad, Durga, Kosa, Bala and Mitra. It is explained below:

- *Swamin* means the lord or the sovereign and here Kautilya indicated the King by the word Swamin. Being the sovereign, Swamin is the supreme authority in the state and he has allegiance to none. However, Kautilya mentioned that the king should be ready to make sacrifices of all kinds for the interest of the state. According to him, if the king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he is lazy, the subjects will also be lazy and thereby will eat into his wealth.
- *Amatya* is another element of the state. Amatya means minister or high official. According to Kautilya, the king cannot rule the state alone. The king must be assisted by the Amatyas. The Amatyas must be native of the state and should possess certain qualities like wisdom, courage, and loyalty to the state and the king.
- By the element *Janapada*, Kautilya referred to both territory and population. For the existence of the state, both the territory and population are very important.

The territory of a state should contain fertile lands, mines, forests, waterways etc. Regarding the population of the state, Kautilya said that it should include men with good character and other qualities like intelligence and wisdom.

- Kautilya attached great importance to the *Durga* (fort) for the defense of the country. Many functions of the state, related to defence, such as - secret war, preparation of the army and fighting the enemy are carried out from the fort. Kautilya referred to four kinds of Durgas, such as - water fort, desert fort, hill fort and forest fort.
- Another important element of the state is *Kosa*. Kosa means treasury. According to Kautilya, Kosa or treasury has a great role in promoting welfare of the state. The Kosa or treasury becomes very helpful during the time of natural calamities. Kosa also helps in maintaining internal and external independence of the state. A good state should be rich in gold and silver. Through the development of agriculture, commerce, collection of taxes and efficient functioning of various departments, the state can achieve a very good Kosa or treasury. It is to be mentioned here that Kautilya emphasised on enriching treasury through righteous and legitimate means.
- *Bala* constitutes another important element of the state. Bala means army. The main duty of Bala or army is to protect the independence of the state by preventing external aggression. The army should be loyal to the king and should be trained in fighting various types of battles and skill in handling various types of weapon. According to Kautilya, a state should have four wings of the army, namely, elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry. He also opined that the army should contain both hereditary and hired soldiers.
- *Mitra* also constitutes a very important element of the state. *Mitra* means ally. To increase power and defense of the state, friendship with other states is very important. Kautilya mentioned about two types of allies- Sahaja and Kritrima. Sahaja mitra referred to those allies which were derived from the time of ancestors and were situated close to the territory of the immediately neighbouring enemy. Kritrima mitra referred to the ally which is acquired and is needed for the protection of wealth and life.

Thus, Kautilya mentioned about the seven elements of the state. The prosperity of the state, according to Kautilya, depends on the efficiency of the king in dealing with these elements.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) By what name is Kautilya popularly known ?

.....

Q2) Who is the author of the book *'Arthasastra'* ?

.....

Q3) By the element 'Janapada', Kautilya referred to ..... and ..... (Fill in the blanks)

Q4) What are the four types of forts mentioned by Kautilya?

.....

.....

2.3.3 Views on Government

Kautilya's views on Government can be discussed under three heads: the king, the officials and the mechanism of the administration.

The king is the head of the government and administration of the state. Kautilya favoured dynastic rule which, he believed, ensured better administration and greater loyalty. Kautilya emphasised that the king should be more concerned about the welfare of the people. In fact, he talked about the king being well-trained and well-disciplined. About the position of the king, he says that the king is the main constitutional element of the state. The king appoints the officials of the state and also assigns the functions to be performed by the officials. The king directs the head of the administrative departments, provides remedies to the calamities of the citizens and replaces bad officers with good ones and punishes the wicked. In other words, the king is the centre point or master-key of the whole administrative machine. Kautilya said that the king has different types of duties, such as- executive, legislative, administrative, judicial, revenue, religious, military and enlightenment.

According to Kautilya, the officials or the *Amatyas* are the very important parts of the government. Kautilya believes that it is only with the proper council of ministers and their cooperation that it is possible for a king to run the administration properly. The council of ministers is necessary to approve different laws which are initiated by the king. Those kings are regarded as unfit and foolish who attempt to carry out the administration by themselves. It is remarkable that the king is not given even the power of voting and the majority of decisions should be carried out by the king. Therefore, the appointment of *Amatyas* (the officials) is indispensable for carrying out the work of government.

Kautilya, while discussing the theory of government also mentioned about the mechanism of administration. Kautilya laid stress on civil, financial, judicial and military administration, each one being of vital importance for a state. The civil administration should follow a number of principles, such as the king should keep the revenue under his supervision, and the *Amatyas* should be selected on the basis of merit. Regarding financial administration, Kautilya said that the treasury is the most important element of the state. Kautilya stated that the king should properly supervise the treasury by keeping proper account of taxes and should also notice that the money is spent wisely. He also advised the state regulation over industry and commerce. Regarding judicial administration, Kautilya was in favour of giving a separate status to the judiciary and decentralisation of judiciary. He believed that for the protection of the state and the subjects, the existence of the law court was very important and for him nobody was above the law. Regarding military administration, Kautilya said that the king should keep the army under his control and there should be four wings of army, such as- the elephants, the cavalry, the chariots and the infantry and these four wings should be headed by four different officers so that they

do not fall prey to the enemy's plans due to fear of each other.

2.3.4 Views on Principles of State Policy

Kautilya's principle of government was that the king should be well alert all the time because, if he is careless, then he may be overthrown by his enemies. The king should make a great physical or mental effort to attain success. He should be like a father to the people and was required to maintain the infants, the aged, the diseased and the distressed. The king should save his territory from the enemy as well as from epidemics and famines. All these mean that there are two aspects of the king's paternal rule over his subjects, namely, the humanitarian and the authoritarian. According to Kautilya's policy, acquisition of dominion has to be secured by adopting five methods, namely, by creating dissatisfaction among the enemy's partisans, by getting rid of enemies through secret tactics, by setting spies on the enemy's kingdom, by siege, and by assault. Relating to the safety of the king, Kautilya said, the king should secure his safety in his palace while moving from one part to another. He should also appoint spies with high responsibility and technical perfection.

2.3.5 Views on Inter-State Relation: Foreign Policy

While discussing foreign policy of the state, Kautilya mentioned that the main objective of foreign policy was to create a strong state. Kautilya advocated for a foreign policy based on expediency, diplomacy and war. To maintain relations with other states, the king should appoint ambassadors *(Duta)*. In regards to foreign policy, the ambassador acts as the spokesman of the king. Some of the important functions of the ambassador are- settlement of peace and conclusion of treaties with foreign states. Kautilya said that the king, while conquering enemies, should adopt the principle of conciliation by creating dissension through the ambassador.

Kautilya also advised the king to keep his subjects happy, because if the subjects are not happy, their dissatisfaction may render the king prone to attack from outside. The king shall be considered as good when only he is successful in pleasing his subjects, and for that purpose the king can resort to various tactics like diplomacy, force etc. He says in the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of the king; in their welfare his welfare. However, it may be mentioned here that though Kautilya talks of war, but he did not favour territorial aggrandisement. Kautilya warned the king coveting the territory, wealth, sons and wives of one who was slain. Kautilya advised the conqueror king to accord kind and considerate treatment to the people of conquered territory. The king should respect the established customs of the people of the territory conquered and adopt same mode of living and participate in the festivals of the people, so that the people can accept him as a part of them and he can also identify him with that of the people.

Thus, Kautilya gave an elaborate interpretation as to the activities and role of the state.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5) Kautilya provided for decentralisation of judiciary. (True/False)

.....

Q6) According to Kautilya, who acted as the spokesman of the king?

.....

Q7) Write any two functions of the king as mentioned by Kautilya.

.....

.....

Q8) Write a short note on Kautilya's views on foreign policy.

.....

.....

Q9) Write the methods given by Kautilya for acquisition and security of dominion.

.....

2 2.4 LET US SUM UP

- Kautilya was one of the most important philosophers who marked the beginning of ancient Indian political thought.
- Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, provided the foundation of ancient Indian political thought. The most important and valuable work of Kautilya was his famous book *The Arthasastra*. The *Arthasastra* comprises of 15 books.
- Kautilya in *Arthasastra* provided a detailed theory that described the entire rules and regulations for the administration of the state and this theory of Kautilya is also known as Saptanga theory.
- According to Kautilya there are seven elements of the state which are very important for the efficient and proper administration of the state. These elements are- Swamin, Amatya, Janapad, Durga, Kosa, Bala and Mitra.
- Kautilya's discussed his views on Government under three heads: the king, the officials and the mechanism of the administration. The king is the head of the government and administration of the state.
- Kautilya favoured dynastic rule, which, he believed, would ensure better administration and greater loyalty. Kautilya emphasised that the king should be more concerned about the welfare of the people.
- According to Kautilya the officials or the *Amatyas* are a very important part of the government. Kautilya believes that only with the proper council of ministers and their cooperation, it is possible for a king to run the administration properly.
- Kautilya, while discussing theory of government, has also mentioned the mechanism of administration and laid stress on civil, financial, judicial and military administrations.
- While discussing foreign policy of the state Kautilya mentioned that the main objective of foreign policy was to create a strong state.

- Kautilya provided for a foreign policy based on expediency, diplomacy and war. For maintaining relation with other states, the king should appoint ambassadors *(Duta)*.

O 2.5 FURTHER READING

1) Arora, P. and Grover, B. (n. d.). *Selected western and indian political thinkers*. Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

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K 2.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Chanakya or Vishnugupta

Ans to Q No 2: Kautilya

Ans to Q No 3: Territory and population

Ans to Q No 4: Water fort, desert fort, hill fort, forest fort

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Duta or Ambassador

Ans to Q No 7: (i) The King directs the head of the administrative departments.

(ii) The king provides remedies to the calamities of the citizens.

Ans to Q No 8: Kautilya, regarding foreign policy of the state mentioned that the main objective of foreign policy was to create a strong state. Kautilya advocated for a foreign policy based on expediency, diplomacy and war. To maintain relations with other states, the king should appoint ambassadors *(Duta)*. In regards to foreign policy, the ambassador acts as the spokesman of the king. Some of the important functions of the ambassador are- settlement of peace and conclusion of treaties with foreign states. Kautilya said that the king, while conquering enemies, should adopt the principle of conciliation by creating dissension through the ambassador.

Ans to Q No 9: According to Kautilya's policy, acquisition of dominion has to be secured by adopting five methods, namely, by creating dissatisfaction among the enemy's partisans, by getting rid of enemies through secret tactics, by setting spies on the enemy's kingdom, by siege, and by assault.

M 2.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who is the author of the book *Arthasastra* ?

Q 2: The Theory of State Craft by Kautilya is also known as ?

Q 3: The Arthasastra consists of how many chapters ?

Q 4: What are the two types of *Mitras* as mentioned by Kautilya ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about Kautilya's views on principles of state policy.

Q 2: Explain Kautilya's views on foreign policy of a state.

Q 3: Write briefly about Kautilya's views on state policy and foreign policy.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically discuss Kautilya's views on foreign policy.

Q 2: Explain Kautilya's theory of statecraft.

Q 3: Describe Kautilya's views on government.

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UNIT 3: RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy
    3.3.1 Theory of Personal and Political Freedom
3.4 Roy's Ideas on Educational, Economic and Political issues
3.5 Roy as a Progressive and Liberal Thinker
3.6 Subjects of Law and Morality
3.7 Brahmo Samaj
3.8 Let Us Sum Up
3.9 Further Reading
3.10 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.11 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, learners will be able to:

- understand Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political ideas and intellectual background.
- examine Roy's views on freedom, education, law, and social reform.
- assess Roy's role in the development of modern Indian political thought.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) occupies a unique and pioneering position in the history of modern India. Often described as the "Father of Indian Renaissance", Roy was not merely a social reformer but also a political thinker of remarkable depth and foresight. His political ideas were shaped during a period when India was undergoing profound transformations under British colonial rule, while simultaneously grappling with deeply rooted social and religious orthodoxies.

Roy lived at the intersection of tradition and modernity. He was deeply grounded in Indian philosophical traditions, particularly the Upanishads and Vedanta, yet he was equally influenced by Western liberalism, rationalism, and Enlightenment ideas. This dual intellectual inheritance allowed him to critique Indian society from within while also engaging critically with colonial governance.

Unlike later nationalist thinkers who emphasized political independence as the primary goal, Roy focused on individual freedom, civil rights, social reform, rule of law, freedom of expression, and moral governance. He believed that political freedom could not be meaningful unless society was reformed and individuals were educated, rational, and morally conscious.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political thought was not systematised into a single theoretical framework. Instead, it emerged through his pamphlets, petitions, journals, letters, and

reformist activities. Nevertheless, his ideas laid the intellectual foundation of Indian liberalism, constitutionalism, and democratic values.

This unit explores Roy's political ideas in a comprehensive manner, focusing on his views on freedom, education, economy, law, morality, and the BrahmoSamaj, while assessing his legacy as a progressive and liberal thinker.

3.3 POLITICAL IDEAS OF RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

In this section we shall discuss political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

3.3.1 Theory of Personal and Political Freedom

At the heart of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political philosophy lies the concept of freedom, which he understood in both personal and political terms.He envisioned freedom as a multifaceted concept, where individual liberty and societal well-being coexist in harmony. For Roy, freedom was not merely the absence of restraint but the presence of rational choice, moral autonomy, and social justice.

- **Personal Freedom**

  Roy strongly believed that individual liberty was essential for human development. He opposed social practices that curtailed personal freedom, such as:

  - Sati: He fought tirelessly to abolish this inhumane practice, framing it as a women's rights issue and a matter of dignity.
  - Child marriage: Roy advocated for women's empowerment and education, recognizing the importance of informed life choices.
  - Polygamy: He condemned this practice as exploitative and unjust.
  - Caste discrimination: Roy saw casteism as undemocratic and inhumane, working to dismantle these social barriers.
  - Religious superstition: He emphasized reason and rational thought over blind faith.

    He argued that these practices were not sanctioned by true religion but were distortions created by vested interests. Roy's fight against Sati was not only a humanitarian effort but also a political assertion of women's right to life and dignity.

Roy believed that personal freedom required:

- Freedom of conscience: The ability to make choices without external coercion.
- Freedom of thought and expression: A cornerstone of individual liberty.
- Freedom from irrational customs: Rejecting traditions that stifle human progress.
- He emphasized that reason should guide human behaviour rather than blind faith or tradition.

- **Political Freedom**

  Although Roy did not demand immediate independence from British rule, he was deeply concerned about the arbitrary nature of colonial governance. He advocated

for:

- Rule of law: Ensuring accountability and justice
- Equality before law: Irrespective of social status or background.
- Protection of civil liberties: Safeguarding individual rights.
- Freedom of press: crucial tool for democracy and public opinion.
- Accountability of the government: Preventing misuse of power.

Roy supported constitutional governance and believed that despotism—whether indigenous or colonial—was morally unjustifiable. His demand for freedom of the press was particularly significant. He opposed censorship laws and argued that a free press was essential for educating the public, criticizing government policies and for preventing misuse of power.Roy supported constitutional governance, believing despotism – whether indigenous or colonial – was morally unjustifiable. His advocacy for press freedom was groundbreaking, recognizing its role in educating the public, critiquing government policies, and preventing abuse of power.

Roy's theory of freedom combines individual autonomy with institutional safeguards, cementing his legacy as a pioneer of liberal democracy in India. His ideas continue influencing India's socio-political fabric, inspiring future reformers and thinkers.

3.4 ROY'S IDEAS ON EDUCATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES

- **Educational Ideas**

  Raja Ram Mohan Roy considered education the most powerful instrument of social and political transformation. He criticized the traditional system of education for being narrow, unscientific, and disconnected from practical life.

He strongly supported:

- Modern scientific education
- Teaching of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and medicine
- Study of Western philosophy and political thought
- Education in English to access global knowledge

Roy opposed the exclusive promotion of Sanskrit learning by colonial authorities, arguing that it perpetuated intellectual stagnation. However, he did not reject Indian knowledge systems; rather, he advocated a synthesis of Eastern wisdom and Western science.

According to Roy, education should promote rational thinking, encourage moral values and prepare individuals for civic participation.

- **Economic Ideas**

  Roy was deeply concerned about the economic exploitation of India under British rule. He criticized:

- Excessive land revenue demands

- Permanent Settlement for benefiting zamindars
- Drain of wealth from India to Britain

He advocated economic reforms in India that would protect peasants from exploitation, encourage agricultural productivity and promote Indian industry and trade.Roy believed that economic justice was essential for political stability and social harmony. He viewed poverty as a major obstacle to freedom and progress.

- **Political Ideas**

  Roy supported gradual political reform rather than revolutionary change. He believed in:

  - Administrative accountability
  - Indian participation in governance
  - Codification of laws
  - Separation of judiciary from executive

  He submitted petitions to the British Parliament demanding reforms in colonial administration. His approach reflected constitutional liberalism rather than militant nationalism.

3.5 ROY AS A PROGRESSIVE AND LIBERAL THINKER

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, often hailed as the "Father of Modern India," was a trailblazing thinker who laid the foundation for India's intellectual and social awakening. As a visionary, he was instrumental in shaping the contours of Indian modernity, blending traditional wisdom with progressive ideals. His contributions as a social reformer, educator, and advocate of women's rights have been extensively documented, but his role as a liberal thinker and a proponent of rational inquiry is equally significant.

The Liberal Core: Individual Rights, Rationalism, and Secular Ethics

At the heart of Roy's liberalism was a deep commitment to individual rights, which he believed were intrinsic to human dignity. He championed the cause of freedom of expression, arguing that individuals should be free to pursue their own conception of the good, as long as it did not harm others. This stance was revolutionary in a context where traditional hierarchies and collective identities often overshadowed individual autonomy.

Roy's faith in rational inquiry was unwavering. He viewed reason as a universal guide to understanding both the natural and social worlds. In his famous work, "Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin" (1804), he emphasized the importance of questioning dogma and seeking truth through evidence and logical reasoning. His advocacy for rationalism was not an endorsement of atheism but a call for a purified, ethical monotheism that transcended sectarian divisions.

Secular ethics formed another pillar of Roy's thought. He believed that moral principles were universal and could be derived from reason and human nature, independent of religious doctrines. This belief led him to advocate for a society where individuals of all faiths could coexist in mutual respect and understanding.

Tolerance and Pluralism: The Path to Social Harmony

Roy's vision of a pluralistic society was ahead of its time. He argued that all religions, at their core, shared a common ethical framework cantered on the worship of a single, benevolent deity and the practice of moral virtues. His efforts to promote interfaith dialogue and understanding were not merely pragmatic but rooted in a conviction that social harmony required tolerance and mutual respect.

As he famously stated in his "Precepts of Jesus" (1820), "The unity of God is a doctrine on which the whole foundation of religious morality is built, and without it, there could be no perfect obedience to the will of God". This ethical monotheism, he believed, was the key to overcoming sectarian divisions and fostering a spirit of universal brotherhood.

Progressivism in Action: Women's Rights, Social Justice, and Education

Roy's progressivism was most evident in his campaigns against social evils like Sati, child marriage, and the denial of property rights to women. He was a staunch advocate of women's education and their right to property, challenging the deeply entrenched patriarchal norms of his time. His "Brief Remarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females" (1822), is a testament to his commitment to gender equality.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Roy did not limit his reform agenda to ritual purification or superficial changes. He believed in transforming society through education, rational debate, and legal reforms. His advocacy for the abolition of sati was not merely a reaction to British pressure but part of a broader vision of a just and compassionate society.

A Balanced Modernity: Selective Assimilation and Cultural Pride

One of the most striking aspects of Roy's thought was his ability to navigate the complex interplay between tradition and modernity. He was not an uncritical admirer of Western ideas; instead, he selectively appropriated elements of Western science, philosophy, and political thought to address India's unique challenges.

As historian Amartya Sen notes, "Roy's engagement with western ideas was not a rejection of Indian traditions but an attempt to enrich them through a process of critical dialogue". His advocacy for modern education, including the study of science and European languages, was balanced by a deep respect for India's cultural and spiritual heritage.

Legacy and Relevance: A Thinker for All Times

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's legacy as a progressive and liberal thinker remains profoundly relevant in today's world. His emphasis on rational inquiry, individual rights, and social justice continues to inspire movements for equality and democracy. His vision of a pluralistic, inclusive society is a guiding light for addressing contemporary challenges, from religious intolerance to gender discrimination.

In an era of increasing polarization, Roy's call for tolerance, dialogue, and mutual respect is a reminder of the enduring value of liberal humanism. As we grapple with the complexities of the 21st century, his ideas offer a roadmap for balancing tradition and modernity, individual freedom and collective responsibility.

3.6 SUBJECTS OF LAW AND MORALITY

Raja Ram Mohan Royfirmly believed that law and morality are intertwined concepts that cannot be separated. He argued that laws lacking moral principles can become tools of oppression, while morality without legal backing remains ineffective.

Law: Key Principles

- Equality before the law: Roy championed equal treatment for all, regardless of caste, creed, or social status.
- Codified legal systems: He advocated for clear, precise laws that apply to everyone, reducing arbitrary interpretations.
- Judicial independence: Roy believed in separating powers to ensure impartial justice.
- Humane punishment: He opposed brutal punishments, pushing for reforms in criminal law.

He criticized traditional practices that discriminated against marginalized groups, advocating for a more just and equitable society.

- Morality: Core Values
- Justice: Roy saw justice as a universal principle, essential for societal progress.
- Compassion: He emphasized empathy and kindness towards all individuals.
- Truth: Roy believed in the power of honesty and transparency.
- Human dignity: He championed the inherent worth and respect of every human being.

Roy argued that moral progress is crucial for achieving political freedom and sustaining democratic institutions. His thoughts integrated ethical humanism with legal rationality, laying the groundwork for modern Indian society.

In essence, Roy's philosophy cantered on creating a harmonious balance between law and morality, ensuring that both serve the greater good of society.

3.7 BRAHMO SAMAJ

The establishment of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 marked a decisive moment in the history of modern India. Founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Brahmo Samaj was not merely a religious organization but a powerful movement for social, moral, and intellectual regeneration. At a time when Indian society was deeply entrenched in rigid traditions, social inequalities, and religious orthodoxy, the Brahmo Samaj sought to introduce a rational, ethical, and reformist worldview. Its influence extended far beyond religion and played a significant role in shaping the social and political consciousness of colonial India.

Background and Foundation

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was deeply influenced by the "Upanishadic Philosophy" of monotheism, Enlightenment Rationalism, and Western Liberal Thought. He believed that

many social evils in Indian society were sustained by misinterpretations of religious texts and blind adherence to ritualism. To counter these tendencies, he founded the Brahmo Sabha in 1828, which later came to be known as the Brahmo Samaj. The movement aimed to purify religion by stripping it of superstition, idol worship, and dogma, while emphasizing reason, morality, and universal human values.

Objectives of the Brahmo Samaj:

The Brahmo Samaj was guided by a set of clear and progressive objectives that distinguished it from traditional religious practices:

- Worship of One Universal God
- The Brahmo Samaj advocated belief in a single, formless, and universal God. It rejected polytheism and emphasized that God transcends all human-made images and representations.
- Rejection of Idol Worship and Superstition

One of the central principles of the movement was the rejection of idol worship, rituals, and superstitious practices that, according to its founders, had obscured the true essence of religion.

Promotion of Moral and Ethical Living

The Samaj stressed ethical conduct, truthfulness, compassion, and moral responsibility as the core of religious life, rather than ritual observance.

Opposition to Caste Discrimination

The Brahmo Samaj strongly criticized the caste system and upheld the idea of social equality. The Brahmo Samaj maintained that all human beings are equal before God, regardless of birth or social status.

Support for Social Reform

The movement opposed social evils such as sati, child marriage, and polygamy, and supported widow remarriage and women's education.

Social Impact of Brahmo Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj played a pioneering role in initiating social reform in nineteenth-century India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's campaign against sati, which culminated in its legal abolition in 1829, was closely associated with the ideals of the Brahmo Samaj. The movement also encouraged women's education and questioned patriarchal norms that confined women to subordinate roles in society. By advocating widow remarriage and opposing child marriage, the Samaj laid the groundwork for later reform movements across India.

Furthermore, the Brahmo Samaj fostered a spirit of critical inquiry and debate. It encouraged individuals to question inherited traditions and customs using reason and ethical judgment. This emphasis on rational thinking helped create a new educated middle class that was more open to reform and modernization.

Political Significance of the Brahmo Samaj

Although the Brahmo Samaj was not a political organization in the conventional sense, its political significance was profound. By promoting ideas such as individual conscience, freedom of thought, and social equality, it indirectly contributed to the growth of political awareness in India.

The Samaj helped create a new public sphere where educated Indians could openly discuss issues related to religion, society, governance, and justice. Public meetings, debates, and publications associated with the Brahmo Samaj encouraged intellectual engagement and collective reflection on India's condition under colonial rule.

Many members and sympathizers of the Brahmo Samaj later became influential figures in the Indian nationalist movement. The emphasis on liberty, rationality, and reform nurtured a mindset that questioned not only social injustice but also political subjugation. Historians have noted that the ideological environment created by reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj played a crucial role in preparing the ground for organized nationalism in the late nineteenth century.

Brahmo Samaj as a Bridge Between Reform and Nationalism

The Brahmo Samaj can be seen as a bridge between social reform and political awakening. While its immediate focus was religious and social transformation, its long-term impact was the cultivation of a modern, critical, and reformist consciousness among Indians. By challenging orthodoxy and encouraging moral courage, the movement empowered individuals to imagine a more just and equitable society.

Sumit Sarkar has argued that such reform movements were instrumental in shaping the ideological foundations of Indian nationalism, as they introduced concepts of rational debate, civic responsibility, and universal human rights into Indian public life (Sarkar, 1983).

In addition, the Brahmo Samaj was one of the most influential reform movements of nineteenth-century India. Founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, it sought to reform religion by emphasizing monotheism, rationality, and ethical living, while simultaneously addressing deep-rooted social injustices. Its contributions to social reform, women's upliftment, and the creation of an enlightened public sphere were immense. Though not overtly political, the BrahmoSamaj played a vital role in awakening political consciousness and preparing the intellectual ground for Indian nationalism. Thus, it stands as a landmark institution in India's journey from tradition-bound society to modern nationhood.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What was Raja Ram Mohan Roy's view on the relationship between law and morality?

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Q2) What were the main objectives of the Brahmo Samaj?

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Q3) Analyse Raja Ram Mohan Roy's concept of personal freedom and its significance in modern India.

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Q4) Discuss Raja Ram Mohan Roy's views on education and their impact on Indian society.

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Q5) Evaluate the role of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in shaping modern Indian thought and society.

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2 3.8 LET US SUM UP

- Raja Ram Mohan Roy stands as a towering figure in the evolution of modern Indian political thought. His ideas on freedom, education, economy, law, morality, and social reform laid the foundations of Indian liberalism and constitutionalism.
- He believed that true political freedom required educated citizens, social justice, moral governance and rational religion.

- Roy's approach was reformist, inclusive, and humane. He sought transformation through dialogue, persuasion, and institutional reform rather than confrontation or violence.In an age of global challenges and ideological polarization, Roy's emphasis on reason, tolerance, and human dignity remains deeply relevant.

3.9 FURTHER READING

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3.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Roy believed that law and morality are intertwined, and laws lacking moral principles can become tools of oppression, while morality without legal backing remains ineffective.

Ans to Q No 2: The Brahmo Samaj aimed to promote monotheism, reject idol worship and superstition, and advocate for social equality, women's education, and widow remarriage.

Ans to Q No 3: Roy's concept of personal freedom emphasized individual liberty, rational choice, and moral autonomy. He opposed social practices like Sati, child marriage, and polygamy, advocating for women's empowerment and education. His ideas on personal freedom remain relevant in modern India, highlighting the importance of individual rights and social justice.

Ans to Q No 4: Roy believed education was key to social reform and advocated for modern, scientific, and rational learning. He established Vedanta College in 1825 and supported English language education, aiming to create a more enlightened and progressive society. His efforts laid the foundation for India's intellectual awakening and modernization.

Ans to Q No 5: Roy played a pivotal role in shaping modern Indian thought, advocating for social reform, individual freedom, and rational inquiry. His ideas on law, morality, and education continue influencing India's socio-political fabric, inspiring future reformers

and thinkers. He is regarded as the “Father of Modern India” for his contributions to social and intellectual awakening.

3.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: In which year was the Brahmo Samaj founded?

Q 2: Mention any two prerequisites of personal freedom as opined by Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Q 3: Write briefly about Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s views on individual rights.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Examine Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s concept of personal and political freedom.

Q 2: Explain Roy’s views on education and their significance for modern India.

Q 3: How did Roy critique colonial economic policies?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Analyse Raja Ram Mohan Roy as a liberal and progressive thinker.

Q 2: Evaluate the role of the Brahmo Samaj in social and political reform.

Q 3: Discuss Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s ideas on law and morality.

Q 4: Discuss Roy’s views on education and their significance for modern India.

Q 5: Assess the relevance of Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s political ideas in contemporary India.

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UNIT 4: JYOTIBA PHULE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives
4.2 Introduction
4.3 Jyotiba Phule's Attitude towards the Colonial Government
4.4 Critique of Indian Social Order
    4.4.1 Varna and Caste System
    4.4.2 Equality between Men and Women
4.5 Jyotiba Phule'sViews on Religion
4.6 Jyotiba Phule's Views Indian Economy and the Agrarian Problem
    4.6.1 Critique of Agrarian Exploitation
    4.6.2 Solutions to the Agrarian Problem
4.7 Let Us Sum Up
4.8 Further Reading
4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
4.10 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, thelearners will able to:

- learn Jyotiba Phule's attitude towards the colonial government
- understand Phule's critique of the Indian social order, especially the varna and caste system
- discuss Phule's views on equality between men and women
- know Phule's understanding of religion and his ideas on the Indian economy and solutions to agrarian problems.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Jyotiba Phule (1827–1890) was one of the earliest and most radical social thinkers of modern India. He lived during the nineteenth century, a time when Indian society was undergoing profound changes due to British colonial rule, social reform movements, and the emergence of modern education. Phule's importance lies in the fact that he questioned not only colonial domination but also the deep-rooted social inequalities within Indian society, particularly those arising from the varna and caste system, patriarchy, religious orthodoxy, and economic exploitation of peasants.

Unlike many contemporary reformers who focused mainly on upper-caste reform or religious revival, Phule spoke from the perspective of the oppressed—Shudras, Ati-Shudras, women, and peasants. His ideas were grounded in lived experience and aimed at social transformation through education, equality, and rational thinking. His writings such as Gulamgiri (1873), Shetkaryacha Asud (Cultivator's Whipcord), and Sarvajanik Satyadharma reflect his critique of Indian social order, religion, economy, and his complex attitude toward British colonial rule.

4.3 JYOTIBA PHULE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

Jyotiba Phule's attitude towards the British colonial government was neither fully supportive nor entirely hostile. Instead, it was shaped by his deep awareness of the harsh realities of caste oppression in pre-colonial Indian society and by the limited but significant opportunities that colonial modernity created for marginalized communities. Phule evaluated colonial rule not from the standpoint of elite nationalism, but from the perspectives of Shudras, Ati-Shudras, women, and peasants who had long been excluded from power, knowledge, and dignity.

Phule believed that British rule, although exploitative in nature, weakened the traditional Brahmanical dominance over education, administration, and systems of knowledge. In pre-British India, access to learning, religious authority, and political power was largely monopolized by upper castes, especially Brahmins. The caste system ensured that lower castes were denied education and were forced into hereditary occupations. According to Phule, this monopoly over knowledge was the main source of Brahmanical power and social control. The arrival of colonial institutions disrupted this system to some extent by introducing modern education and bureaucratic structures that were not entirely based on caste hierarchy (O' Hanlon, 1985).

Colonial rule, particularly through English education, opened limited spaces for social mobility. Schools, colleges, and administrative positions, though still restricted, were no longer completely closed to lower castes and women. Phule recognized this shift and viewed it as an opportunity to challenge centuries of social injustice. He argued that even partial access to education could weaken the ideological foundations of caste oppression. Thus, while Phule did not glorify colonial rule, he acknowledged its role in undermining traditional Brahmanical authority.

Phule strongly believed that English education was a powerful tool of liberation. He argued that modern education introduced ideas of equality, rationality, liberty, and human rights, ideas that were absent or suppressed in traditional Brahmanical education. For Phule, education was not merely about acquiring literacy; it was about developing critical thinking and self-respect among the oppressed. He believed that once Shudras and Ati-Shudras became educated, they would begin to question religious texts, customs, and social practices that justified their exploitation (Phule, 1873).

In this sense, Phule welcomed certain aspects of colonial rule, especially laws and institutions that weakened caste-based privileges. He supported reforms that promoted education for lower castes and women, legal equality, and the reduction of priestly control over social life. His engagement with colonial modernity was practical and reform-oriented. He used colonial platforms, language, and institutions to voice his critique of caste and social inequality. However, this should not be misunderstood as loyalty to colonial power.

Phule was fully aware of the exploitative nature of British colonialism. He sharply criticized British economic policies that devastated Indian peasants, artisans, and rural communities. He understood that colonial rule was primarily designed to serve British

economic and political interests, not the welfare of Indian society. Heavy land revenue demands, destruction of indigenous industries, and neglect of peasant welfare were central features of colonial exploitation. Phule condemned these policies and expressed deep concern for the suffering of farmers and laborers.

At the same time, Phule also criticized Indian intermediaries, such as landlords, moneylenders, and upper-caste officials, who collaborated with colonial authorities and intensified exploitation at the local level. He believed that colonial exploitation and caste oppression worked together, reinforcing each other. Therefore, for Phule, the problem was not only foreign rule but also internal social hierarchies that allowed exploitation to continue unchecked.

Phule's relative support for the colonial government was strategic rather than ideological. He believed that political freedom alone would not automatically bring justice to oppressed communities. If power were transferred to upper-caste elites without dismantling caste hierarchy, the condition of Shudras and Ati-Shudras would remain unchanged. Hence, Phule emphasized social reform over immediate political independence. He argued that eliminating internal inequalities was a necessary condition for meaningful freedom (Omvedt, 1976).

Thus, Jyotiba Phule's attitude towards colonial rule can best be described as one of critical pragmatism. He neither idealized the British nor rejected all aspects of colonial modernity. Instead, he selectively used the opportunities provided by colonial rule—such as education, law, and public discourse—to fight social injustice and challenge Brahmanical dominance. At the same time, he remained conscious of colonial exploitation and consistently spoke for the economic and social rights of the oppressed. Phule's position reflects a nuanced understanding that true liberation requires both freedom from external domination and the destruction of internal systems of oppression.

4.4 CRITIQUE OF INDIAN SOCIAL ORDER

Jyotiba Phule's critique of the Indian social order was rooted in his deep concern for equality, justice, and human dignity. Living in a society dominated by rigid caste hierarchies and patriarchal norms, Phule questioned the moral and social legitimacy of the varna and caste system. He argued that social inequality was not natural but historically constructed to maintain the dominance of upper castes, particularly Brahmins, over the majority of the population. Through his writings and social activism, Phule highlighted how caste, religion, and tradition were used as tools of oppression against Shudras, Ati-Shudras, and women, and called for a rational, egalitarian social order based on education and justice (Phule, 1873).

4.4.1 Varna and Caste System

Jyotiba Phule offered one of the most radical critiques of the varna and caste system in Indian history. He rejected the idea that caste divisions were natural, divinely ordained, or necessary for social harmony. According to Phule, the caste system was a man-made

structure designed to maintain the dominance of Brahmins over the majority of the population (Phule, 1873).

In Gulamgiri, Phule compared the condition of lower castes in India to slavery in America. He argued that upper caste Hindus enslaved Shudras and Ati-Shudras through religious texts, rituals, and customs. He described the varna system as a system of exploitation that denied education, property rights, and dignity to the lower castes (Zelliot, 2001).

Phule strongly criticized the Manusmriti and other Brahmanical texts for justifying inequality. He believed that these texts created false myths to legitimize upper caste Hindu's superiority and portray lower castes as impure and inferior. For Phule, caste was not a social arrangement but a form of structural violence.

He also challenged the historical narratives that glorified Aryan conquest and Brahmin leadership. Phule argued that Shudras and Ati-Shudras were the original inhabitants of India who were subjugated by invading Aryans. This reinterpretation of history was meant to instill self-respect among oppressed communities.

4.4.2 Equality between Men and Women

Jyotiba Phule was a pioneer of women's emancipation in India. His views on gender equality were far ahead of his time. He believed that the oppression of women and the oppression of lower castes were interconnected and rooted in patriarchal Brahmanical ideology.

Phule strongly opposed child marriage, sati, and the denial of education to women. Along with his wife Savitribai Phule, he started the first school for girls in Pune in 1848. Savitribai became India's first modern woman teacher, symbolizing Phule's belief that women's education was essential for social reform (Tharu & Lalita, 1991).

Phule argued that women were treated as property by men and denied autonomy over their bodies and lives. He criticized religious customs that enforced widowhood and punished women for social transgressions. He also established a home for widows and orphaned children, showing his commitment to practical reform.

For Phule, equality between men and women was not merely a moral issue but a social necessity. He believed that a society could not progress if half its population remained oppressed and uneducated (Phule, 1882).

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Who was the author of the book Gulamgiri?

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Q2) Who was first modern woman teacher of India?

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Q3) How did Jyotiba Phule view the varna and caste system?

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Q4) Why did Phule emphasize education as a tool of social reform?

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4.5 JYOTIBA PHULE'S VIEWS ON RELIGION

Jyotiba Phule was a severe critic of organized religion, especially Brahmanical Hinduism. He believed that religion, instead of promoting morality and compassion, had become a tool of domination and exploitation.

Phule rejected idol worship, rituals, pilgrimages, and priestly authority. He argued that Brahmins used religion to maintain their control over knowledge and resources. According to Phule, religious myths were deliberately constructed to justify caste hierarchy and suppress rational thinking (Phule, 1873).

However, Phule was not against spirituality or ethical values. He proposed an alternative ethical system called 'Sarvajanik Satyadharma' (Universal Religion of Truth). This religion was based on principles of equality, justice, rationality, and human dignity. It emphasized moral conduct over rituals and social service over blind faith (Omvedt, 1976).

Phule believed that true religion should unite humanity rather than divide it. His religious thought was deeply influenced by enlightenment ideas and humanism. He saw education and critical thinking as the means to free people from religious superstition and social bondage.

4.6 JYOTIBA PHULE'S VIEWS INDIAN ECONOMY AND THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

Jyotiba Phule gave serious attention to the economic structure of Indian society, especially the condition of peasants and agricultural labourers. Unlike many reformers who focused mainly on social or religious issues, Phule clearly understood that social oppression was closely linked to economic exploitation. His ideas on the agrarian problem emerged from his close connection with rural life and his observation of the daily hardships faced by farmers. Phule believed that the Indian peasantry formed the backbone of Indian society, yet remained the most exploited and neglected section.

4.6.1 Critique of Agrarian Exploitation

Jyotiba Phule had deep insights into the economic problems faced by Indian peasants. Being closely connected to rural society, he understood the suffering of farmers under both traditional landlords and the colonial revenue system. He observed that peasants worked relentlessly on the land, yet lived in extreme poverty, insecurity, and dependence. According to Phule, this condition was not accidental but the result of systematic exploitation.

In Shetkaryacha Asud (The Cultivator's Whipcord), Phule vividly exposed how peasants were oppressed by moneylenders, landlords, village officials, and the colonial state. He argued that peasants were trapped in continuous cycles of debt due to high land revenue, absence of institutional credit, unpredictable agricultural conditions, and lack of education (Phule, 1881). Once farmers fell into debt, they were rarely able to escape, as interest rates were high and legal systems favoured moneylenders.

Phule strongly criticized the British land revenue system, which he considered insensitive to the realities of Indian agriculture. He pointed out that land revenue was collected rigidly, regardless of droughts, crop failures, or natural calamities. Such excessive taxation pushed farmers deeper into poverty and forced many to sell their land or become bonded labourers. Phule argued that a government that depended on agriculture for revenue had a moral responsibility to protect farmers instead of exploiting them.

At the same time, Phule did not place the blame solely on the British administration. He condemned Indian intermediaries such as landlords, upper-caste village heads, moneylenders, and clerks who collaborated with colonial authorities for personal gain. According to Phule, these intermediaries exploited peasants even more harshly than colonial officials. They manipulated records, charged illegal interest, and used caste power to silence resistance. Thus, agrarian exploitation was both colonial and social in nature.
Phule also highlighted the role of caste in agrarian distress. Most peasants belonged to Shudra and Ati-Shudra communities, while land ownership, credit, and administration were controlled by upper castes. This caste-based structure ensured that economic exploitation remained unchallenged. Phule believed that without addressing caste hierarchy, agrarian reform would remain incomplete.

4.6.2 Solutions to the Agrarian Problem

Jyotiba Phule did not limit himself to criticism; he also proposed practical solutions to address agrarian distress. His solutions were rooted in education, state responsibility, collective action, and social equality.

First, Phule emphasized the need for education among farmers. He believed that ignorance was one of the biggest reasons for peasant exploitation. Illiterate farmers were unable to understand land records, revenue demands, or legal procedures, which made them easy targets for exploitation. Phule argued that education would enable peasants to become aware of their rights, understand government policies, and resist unfair practices. For him, education was a powerful tool for economic as well as social empowerment.

Second, Phule strongly advocated state responsibility in protecting farmers. He believed that the government should act as a guardian of peasant interests rather than as an agent of extraction. Phule argued that land revenue should be reduced and adjusted according to agricultural conditions. He demanded regulation of moneylenders to prevent usurious interest rates and exploitation. He also emphasized the need for state investment in irrigation, water management, and agricultural infrastructure to improve productivity and reduce dependence on nature (Omvedt, 1976).

Phule further believed that government officials should be accountable to farmers. He criticized corruption at the village level and argued that administrative reforms were necessary to ensure justice. According to him, the state had a moral duty to protect those who produced food for society.

Third, Phule supported collective organization among peasants. He believed that individual farmers were powerless against landlords, moneylenders, and officials, but collective unity could challenge both colonial policies and local exploitation. Phule encouraged peasants to organize, share knowledge, and stand together against injustice. Though limited in scope during his lifetime, these ideas later influenced peasant movements and non-Brahmin mobilization in Maharashtra.

Most importantly, Phule believed that economic justice was inseparable from social equality. He argued that as long as caste hierarchy remained intact, economic reforms would benefit only the privileged sections of society. Upper castes would continue to control land, credit, and administration, while lower castes would remain dependent and exploited. Therefore, Phule insisted that agrarian reform must go hand in hand with the destruction of caste oppression.

In addition, Jyotiba Phule was a revolutionary thinker whose ideas challenged the very foundations of Indian society. His critique of caste, patriarchy, religion, and economic exploitation was rooted in a deep concern for social justice and human dignity. Unlike many reformers of his time, Phule consistently spoke for the most marginalized sections of that time—Shudras, Ati-Shudras, women, and peasants—who had been excluded from power and knowledge for centuries.

His attitude towards colonial rule was complex and strategic. While he recognized that colonial modernity weakened Brahmanical dominance and created limited opportunities for the oppressed, he remained sharply critical of economic exploitation under British rule. Phule believed that political freedom without social and economic equality would not bring real liberation.

Phule's vision of equality between men and women, his rejection of oppressive religious practices, and his practical solutions to agrarian distress establish him as a foundational thinker of modern India. His emphasis on education, rationality, and collective struggle continues to inspire movements for social justice.

Even today, Phule's ideas remain deeply relevant in contemporary debates on caste inequality, gender justice, peasant distress, and agrarian reform. His legacy reminds us that true freedom requires not only political independence but also the establishment of social and economic equality for all sections of society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5) Analyze Jyotiba Phule's views on religion and their role in social oppression.

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Q6) Why did Phule emphasis the need of education among the farmers of India?

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4.7 LET US SUM UP

- Jyotiba Phule was a pioneering social thinker who critically examined Indian society from the perspective of the oppressed sections, especially Shudras, Ati-Shudras, women, and peasants.
- Phule strongly rejected the varna and caste system, arguing that it was a man-made structure created to preserve Brahmanical dominance rather than a divinely sanctioned social order.
- Phule emphasized education as the most powerful instrument for social change, believing it could awaken critical thinking and self-respect among marginalized communities.
- Phule's views on women's emancipation were revolutionary, as he advocated equal rights, opposed oppressive customs, and actively supported women's education and dignity.
- Phule was highly critical of organized religion and ritualism, which he believed were used to justify social inequality, while promoting a universal ethical religion based on truth and equality.
- Phule'sattitude towards British colonial rule was pragmatic; he recognized its role in weakening caste monopoly over education but remained critical of economic exploitation.
- Phule highlighted the severe exploitation of peasants under colonial revenue systems and local intermediaries, linking agrarian distress with caste oppression.

- Phuleargued that true freedom requires social and economic equality, insisting that political independence alone is meaningless without the destruction of caste hierarchy and injustice.

4.8 FURTHER READING

1) Chanchreek, K. L. (2006). *Social Reform Movement and Jyotiba Phule*. Shree Publishers
2) Phule, J. (1873). *Gulamgiri*. Pune.
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4) Tharu, S., &Lalita, K. (1991). *Women Writing in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Jyotiba Phule

Ans to Q No 2: Savitribai Phule

Ans to Q No 3: Jyotiba Phule viewed the varna and caste system as an artificial and unjust social structure created to preserve Brahmin dominance. He rejected the idea that caste was divinely ordained and argued that it was used to deny education, dignity, and economic opportunities to Shudras and Ati-Shudras. According to Phule, caste functioned as a system of social slavery that needed to be completely dismantled for true social equality to emerge.

Ans to Q No 4: Phule emphasized education because he believed ignorance was the main cause of oppression. Education, especially modern and rational education, enabled marginalized communities to question caste hierarchy, religious superstition, and social injustice. He saw education as the foundation for self-respect, awareness of rights, and social transformation.

Ans to Q No 5: Jyotiba Phule was deeply critical of organized religion, particularly Brahmanical Hinduism, which he believed reinforced caste hierarchy and social inequality. He argued that religious myths, rituals, and priestly authority were used to legitimize the exploitation of lower castes and suppress rational thinking. However, Phule did not reject moral values or spirituality. Instead, he proposed Sarvajanik Satyadharma, a universal religion based on truth, equality, and ethical conduct. His critique of religion was aimed at freeing society from superstition and promoting human dignity, making religion a force for unity rather than division.

Ans to Q No 6: Phule emphasized the need for education among farmers. He believed that ignorance was one of the biggest reasons for peasant exploitation. Illiterate farmers were unable to understand land records, revenue demands, or legal procedures, which made them easy targets for exploitation. Phule argued that education would enable peasants to become aware of their rights, understand

government policies, and resist unfair practices. For him, education was a powerful tool for economic as well as social empowerment.

4.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Name two important books authored by Jyotiba Phule.

Q 2: In which year was the first school for girls established in Pune?

Q 3: What did Jyotiba Phule mean by Sarvajanik Satyadharma?

B) Short Questions (answer each question in around 150 words)

Q 1: Critically examine Jyotiba Phule's critique of the Indian social order.

Q 2: Critically assess Jyotiba Phule's views on the connection between social inequality and economic exploitation in colonial India.

Q 3: Discuss Jyotiba Phule's understanding of social and economic justice.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in around 300-500 words)

Q 1: Examine Jyotiba Phule's interpretation of history and its role in challenging Brahmanical dominance in Indian society.

Q 2: Analyze the relationship between caste and education in Jyotiba Phule's thought.

Q 3: Discuss Jyotiba Phule's concept of 'Sarvajanik Satyadharma'. How does it differ from traditional religious practices in India?

Q 4: Evaluate Jyotiba Phule's relevance in contemporary India with reference to caste, gender justice, and agrarian issues.

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UNIT 5: MAHATMA GANDHI

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives
5.2 Introduction
5.3 Mahatma Gandhi
  5.3.1 Views on Non-Violence
  5.3.2 Views on Satyagraha
  5.3.3 Views on Swadeshi
  5.3.4 Views on State
  5.3.5 Views on Economy
  5.3.6 Views on Religion and Politics
5.4 Let Us Sum Up
5.5 Further Reading
5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
5.7 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the social and political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi
- explain the concepts of non-violence and satyagraha propounded by Gandhi
- discuss his views on religion and politics.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The evolution of any political system is often moulded by the values and ideas cherished and expressed by significant personalities at different stages of its history. In India, leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and B. R. Ambedkar among others, have played a pivotal role in awakening the collective consciousness of the Indian nation through their contributions in thought and deed. In this unit, we will discuss about the important views and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi.

5.3 MAHATMA GANDHI

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869 in Porbandar in Gujarat. Gandhi was the leading figure of the freedom movement in India and it was due to his endeavours that the country finally gained independence from two hundred years of British rule in India. Rabindranath Tagore addressed Gandhiji as "Mahatma" for the first time due to his noble and peaceful thoughts and activities.

5.3.1 Views on Non-violence

One of the distinctive contributions of Mahatma Gandhi is that he provided a comprehensive definition on the concept of ahimsa (non-violence). Instead of regarding it as a principle of personal motivation, he considered it as a successful technique of direct

mass action. Gandhi's concept of non-violence had several significant aspects.

Non-violence literally means causing no harm or injury to others. But, in a wider sense, it implies a positive quality of doing well to others instead of merely refraining from doing bad. It teaches one to be tolerant and to love the opponent. A non-violent man does not regard anyone as an enemy and bears no ill will against others. For Gandhi, non-violence is the creed of the brave and not of the timid. It does not mean passivity or pacifism or sitting with one's hand folded in the face of danger or evil or actual attack. It does not mean meek surrender or submission to the evil doer.

- **Requisites of Ahimsa or Non-Violence**
  - **Truth:** It is the basic factor of non-violence. Gandhi did not confine himself to the belief that "God is Truth". His belief was that "Truth is God". A believer in non-violence will not shy away from telling the truth whatever the reaction of those around him may be.
  - **Inner purity:** A true believer in Ahimsa is expected to observe inner purity as well. A believer of non-violence should prepare himself for it through self-discipline, civility and inner purity.
  - **Fasting:** It is an agent of self-purification. Gandhi believed that a genuine fast cleans the body, mind and soul. Thus, a complete fast may be considered as a complete denial of the self. It is a potential weapon of a non-violent follower. Gandhi frequently observed fasting to bring the ***erring*** countrymen to the right path. Even the colonial rulers were forced to ***succumb*** to his demands in the face of his rigid fasting.
  - **Fearlessness:** It is another important requisite of Ahimsa. Non-violence is the virtue of the brave. Gandhi pleaded for the heroic non-violent action of the brave and never stood for the violent resistance. He wanted a non-violent follower to develop moral courage and strength. Ahimsa means absolute fearlessness. It is the strongest and subtlest force. It is the demonstration of the resolute strength of the heroic soul which declines to injure anybody. Cowardice is to be shunned by non-violent followers.
  - **Non-possession:** A follower of non-violence is expected to develop an attitude of non-attachment or a detached interest in the material things of life. Non-possession is a principle applicable to thoughts as well as material things. Thoughts, which turn us away from God, constitute impediments in our path to development.
  - **Perseverance:** It is seen that violence yields results very fast compared to non-violence. Hence, a person who believes in non-violence and Ahimsa should cultivate both patience and perseverance. He should realise the fact that quick results through violence are neither stable nor lasting. A non-violent person knows no defeat as he has infinite faith on God. The practice of patience and perseverance does not imply ***lethargy*** or ***fatalism***. Gandhi's Quit India Movement is an example of such perseverance and non-violence.

. erring: making or committing a mistake. ***succumb:*** give in or to surrender.

. Lethargy: Lack of energy or enthusiasm. ***Fatalism:*** The belief that all events are decided in advance by a supernatural power over which humans have no control.

5.3.2 Views on Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi devised the technique of Satyagraha to implement the philosophy of non-violence. Satyagraha implies moral pressure for the sake of truth. According to Gandhi, it is the imperative duty of the Satyagrahi to make endless endeavours towards the realisation of truth through non-violence. Satyagraha is a technique of resisting all that is evil, unjust, untrue and impure by virtue of love, self-suffering and self-purification and by appealing to the divine spark in the soul of the opponent. Gandhi considered it as a love force or soul force. The practice of satyagraha is a non-violent method employed through the virtue of love. It is the opposite of ***coercion***. Satyagaraha does not injure the opponent. But on the other hand, it appeals to one's reason through gentle argument or to one's heart through sacrifice of self. A Satyagrahi does not passively wait for transformation of the opponent, he boldly takes the course that enlightens the opponent and changes his heart.

. Coercion: Persuading an unwilling person to do something by using force or threat.

Gandhi preferred the term 'Satyagraha' to passive resistance as the designation of his instrument for political transformation. Gandhi was even willing to undergo physical injury at the hands of the opponent with the hope that it would prick the conscience of the opponent and enable him to see the truth. A satyagrahi is willing to die if that can change the heart of the opponent and inspire him to embrace the truth. A satyagrahi has a lot of patience and can give up his life if that can inspire and change the heart of the opponent to embrace the path of truth. He fights the opponent with patience and sympathy and pursues the truth by making himself rather than the opponent suffer.

- **Methods of Satyagraha:** Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are the two chief methods of offering satyagraha.
  - **Non-cooperation:** Gandhi was of the view that a government can perpetuate injustice only when the people of a country cooperate with injustice. Non-cooperation of the people is bound to paralyse the government. Non-cooperation may be resorted to in the form of the techniques of hartal, social ostracism or picketing.
    (a) **Hartal:** The word 'hartal' means bringing daily business to a standstill as a mark of protest. Its main objective is to stir the consciousness of the citizens and the government or the policy makers. Hartal may be voluntary and non-violent in its protest but resorting to hartal frequently may not be necessary.
    (b) **Social Ostracism:** Social Ostracism (exclusion from a society or group) is equivalent to social ***boycott*** of those who defy public opinion. However, this should be used in a very limited form.
    (c) **Picketing:** Technically, picketing means an action where a group of people standing outside a workplace trying to persuade others not to enter during a strike. Picketing may also be undertaken to draw public attention to a cause. The object of picketing is not to block the path of a person who wants to do a particular thing rather, it is to rely on the force of public opinion and to warn oppressors. Picketing should avoid coercion, intimidation, discourtesy, burning of ***effigies*** and hunger strike.

. Boycott: Refuse to have dealings with a person, organization or country as a protest.

. Effigy: A dummy of a real person.

Gandhi expressed the view that his non-cooperation movement was not against any community or persons. His aim was to instil courage and fearlessness in the minds of the Indian people.

The Non-cooperation programme includes the following activities: (i) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in the local bodies (ii) Refusal to attend official and non-official functions hold by government officials or in their honour (iii) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government (iv) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private disputes (v) Withdrawal of candidature for election to the reformed councils by the candidates and refusal of the voters to vote for any candidate (vi) Boycott of foreign goods (vii) Laying down of arms and the suspension of taxes.

- **Civil Disobedience:** Gandhiji defined Civil Disobedience as the breach of immoral statutory enactments. He considered it as a complete effective and bloodless substitute for armed revolt. To him, it signified in his own words, the "Total resistance to the authority in a peaceful manner". According to him, "Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well understood principle, must not be ***capricious*** and have no ill will or hatred behind it". He was of the view that civil disobedience was to be practised with great caution. All possible steps were to be taken to avoid an outbreak of violence and general lawlessness.

. Capricious: Being prone to sudden change of mood or behaviour.

According to Gandhi, there can be both individual and mass civil disobedience. Gandhi was of the view that complete civil disobedience can prove to be a strong weapon that can be more effective than an armed rebellion itself.

5.3.3 Views on Swadeshi

Swadesh literally means 'of one's own country'. Politically, for Gandhi, the term meant nationalism. It is a principle of enlightened patriotism. In the economic sphere, it means the use of only those things that are produced by one's immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. The swadeshi doctrine, in fact was a plea for the protection of home industries having the potentiality of growth. However, swadeshi never means ill will towards any country. Gandhi considered "Khadi" as the most important part of the principle of swadeshi. Khadi refers to the concept of producing home spun yarn instead of depending on foreign goods. Thus, it came to symbolise the values of independence and self-reliance to the Indian people.

5.3.4 Views on State

Gandhi wanted to establish a stateless society. But unlike the Marxists, he did not want to bring a revolutionary end to the state. Through non-violence and Ahimsa, he wanted to establish a new pattern of society where the state will have little role to play. In his view, the state was neither a natural nor a necessary institution. He rejected the existence of the state on the following grounds that: (a) the state is rooted in violence. It represents violence in concentrated and organised form. The state is a soulless machine which can hardly be

weaned away from violence to which it owes its very existence, (b) the state's coercive authority is destructive towards freedom and personality of individuals and (c) the state is not essential in a non-violent society.

Gandhi's stateless society envisioned a number of self-contained and self- regulated village communities. In his vision, every village would have a panchayat, with full powers of administration and capable of meeting all its essential needs to the extent of defending itself. The self-sufficient village would be voluntarily bound to a federation which would be so constituted without any form of police or military force. There would be no big cities, law courts, jails or heavy industries. Thus, life would be simple and civilization would be rural without the centralisation of authority. Voluntarily cooperation and decentralisation would be the two essential marks of Gandhi's non-violent society. And, when such villages would be self-sufficient and autonomous, Swaraj would prevail in the true sense.

Gandhi's dream state was a non-violent democratic state where social life would remain self-regulated and where everyone would be his or her own ruler. Gandhi preferred to call his ideal state a "Ramrajya" which would be based on mutual goodwill and tolerance.

5.3.5 Views on Economy

Gandhiji believed in high thinking and simple living. He laid stress on non-accumulation, non-stealing and sharing of one's possessions with the needy by emphasising on strengthening the economy of the villages. He believed that due recognition should be given to the hard work and labour put in by the people. Also, he wanted to make the Khadi industry the symbol of India's economic independence which he felt would help in the decentralisation process.

Gandhi was in favour of cottage and other indigenous industries. He was against centralisation of the production system and he was in favour of establishing a trust system whereby the industrialists and zamindars would transfer their surplus land and wealth to trusts. These trusts would be managed collectively by the industrialists, zamindars and labourers for the welfare of the people in general. In order to solve the unemployment problem, Gandhi wanted that Khadi, cottage and indigenous industries should be expanded and be highly equipped and modernised to produce maximum goods. Also, Gandhi was of the opinion that goods required for home consumption should not be exported.

5.3.6 Views on Religion and Politics

. ***Un-flinching:*** Not afraid or hesitant. ***Creed:*** A system of religious belief or faith.

Gandhi believed in religion and non-violence. He stated that to him there was no politics without religion. Further, he stated that politics without religion is a death trap that kills the soul. In his view, true religion implied an ***unflinching*** stress on the moral values of man. He believed that religion meant firm faith in the existence of God and love for all mankind. Whatever may be the ***creed*** of a person, his faith on mankind should be unshakeable.

Gandhi's approach to politics was in tune with the doctrine of enlightened secularism. He equated all religions of the world and identified them with Truth or God. Thus, he believed

that one may have faith in any religion but one should not use religion as an instrument of hatred, enmity or ill-will. The techniques of ahimsa and satyagraha cannot be utilised in a successful way unless sharpened by the force of religion. A true religious attitude meant performance of selfless service in accordance with the principle of Bhagwad Gita. This was known as "Karmayoga". Such an approach alone would lead to the progressive expansion of humankind.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What are the requisites of ahimsa?

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Q2) Voluntarily cooperation and decentralisation will be the two essential marks of Gandhi's non-violent society. (True/False)

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Q3) Mention any two activities of non-cooperation.

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Q4) Explain Gandhi's views on Swadeshi.

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Q5) 'Gandhi was in favour of cottage and other indigenous industries.' Explain.

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5.4 LET US SUM UP

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869 in Porbandar in Gujarat. Rabindranath Tagore addressed Gandhiji as "Mahatma" for the first time due to his noble and peaceful thoughts and activities.
- One of the distinctive contributions of Mahatma Gandhi is that he provided a comprehensive definition of the principle of ahimsa (non-violence). Instead of regarding it as a principle of personal motivation he considered it as a successful means of direct mass action.
- The requisites of Ahimsa or Non-Violence as per Mahatma Gandhi are (a)Truth, (b) Inner purity (c) Fasting (d) Fearlessness (e) Non possession and (f) Perseverance.
- Mahatma Gandhi devised the technique of Satyagraha in order to successfully implement the philosophy of non-violence. Satyagraha implies moral pressure for the sake of truth.
- Gandhi prefered the term 'Satyagraha' to passive resistance as the proper term for his instrument of political transformation.
- The methods of Satyagraha include (a) non-cooperation (b) civil disobedience (c) fasting (d) peaceful picketing (e) strike, etc.
- Swadesh literally means 'of one's own country' and politically, for Gandhi the term

meant "nationalism".

- In the economic sphere it was a plea for the protection of home industries with the promising potentiality of growth. Gandhi considered Khadi as the most important part of the principle of swadeshi.
- In Gandhi's ideal vision of the stateless society there would be a number of self-contained and self-regulated village communities. Every village would have a panchayat with full powers of administration and capable of meeting all its essential needs to the extent of defending itself.
- Gandhi was in favour of cottage industries and other indigenous industries. He was against centralisation of the production system.
- Gandhi's approach to politics was in tune with the doctrine of enlightened secularism. He considered all religions of the world equal and identified with "Truth" or "God".

5.5 FURTHER READING

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4) Mohanty , D. K. (2007). *Indian political tradition- From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

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5.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Truth, Inner purity, Fasting, Fearlessness, Non possession, Perseverance.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: (i) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in the local bodies. (ii) Refusal to attend official and non-official functions held by government officials or in their honour.

Ans to Q No 4: Swadesh literally means 'of one's own country'. Politically, for Gandhi, the term meant nationalism. It is a principle of enlightened patriotism. In the economic sphere, it means the use of only those things that are produced by one's immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. The swadeshi doctrine, in fact was a plea for the protection of home industries having the potentiality of growth. However, swadeshi never means ill will towards any country.

Ans to Q No 5: Gandhi was in favour of cottage and other indigenous industries. He was against centralisation of the production system and he was in favour of establishing

a trust system whereby the industrialists and zamindars would transfer their surplus land and wealth to trusts. These trusts would be managed collectively by the industrialists, zamindars and labourers for the welfare of the people in general. In order to solve the unemployment problem, Gandhi wanted that khadi, cottage and indigenous industries should be expanded and be highly equipped and modernised to produce maximum goods. Also, Gandhi was of the opinion that goods required for home consumption should not be exported.

5.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Which technique did Gandhi develop to implement the philosophy of non-violence?

Q 2: Who put forward the idea of "Ramrajya"?

Q 3: What type of economy did Gandhi envisage?

Q 4: State the meaning of nonviolence according to Gandhi.

B) Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain Gandhi's views on state.

Q 2: Explain Gandhi's views on economy.

Q 3: Write a short note on Gandhi's views on swadeshi.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss Gandhi's views on non-violence.

Q 2: Describe Gandhi's views on religion and politics.

Q 3: Discuss Gandhi's views on cottage industry.

Q 4: Explain the technics of Satyagraha as propounded by Gandhi.

Q 5: Describe the contributions of Gandhi towards the development of Indian political thought.

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UNIT 6: SAVARKAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives
6.2 Introduction
6.3 Savarkar's Early Life and his Work
6.4 Idea of Hindutva
6.5 As a social reformer
6.6 Let Us Sum Up
6.7 Further Reading
6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to:

- understand the life and contributions of Savarkar
- explain Savarkar's concept of Hindutva
- examine Savarkar's role as a social reformer.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, popularly known as Veer Savarkar, was an important figure in the history of Indian nationalism. He is remembered as a freedom fighter, political thinker, writer, and social reformer whose ideas left a lasting imprint on modern Indian political thought. Savarkar's name is closely associated with the development of a distinct stream of nationalist ideology that emphasised cultural identity, unity, and social consolidation.

Savarkar's contributions extend beyond his participation in the Indian freedom struggle. Through his writings, speeches, and reformist activities, he sought to define the cultural foundations of nationhood and to address internal social divisions within society. His thought reflects a combination of political activism, intellectual engagement, and concern for social reform.

This unit focuses on Savarkar's ideological contributions, particularly his concept of Hindutva, and his efforts as a social reformer, in order to understand his place in the evolution of modern Indian political ideas.

6.3 EARLY LIFE AND HIS WORKS

Savarkar was born in 1883 and was widely known as Veer Savarkar. He is remembered as a committed nationalist, revolutionary, and prominent freedom fighter of India. More specifically, he is often viewed as a key inspiration behind the revival of militant Hindu thought in the country.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Savarkar went to England for his education. During this period, he came into contact with Indian revolutionaries such as

Madame Cama, Lala Har Dayal, and Madan Lal Dhingra, and he himself actively participated in revolutionary activities. In 1910, he was arrested and brought to India as a "dangerous state prisoner." During the voyage, he escaped from the steamer and swam to a French vessel that fell under French jurisdiction. Seeking protection under French law as a political prisoner, he resisted British custody. The matter was later referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, which ruled against him. Ultimately, the British authorities sentenced him to fifty-five years of imprisonment. He spent fourteen years in the Cellular Jail in the Andamans and another fourteen years in Ratnagiri before being released in 1937.

After his release, Savarkar initially joined the Democratic Swaraj Party associated with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and later became a leading figure in the Hindu Mahasabha, where he served as a guiding force. He sought to instil his revolutionary zeal and strong will into the organization.

Savarkar was also an influential writer and speaker. Among his major works are *The Indian War of Independence*, *History of the Sikhs*, *The Life of Mazzini*, *Hindu Pad-Padshahi*, *Hindutva*, *Hindu Rashtra Darshan*, and *An Echo from Andamans*. He is especially noted for formulating and articulating the ideas of 'Hindutva' and 'Hindu Rashtra'.

6.4 IDEA OF HINDUTVA

Savarkar articulated his idea of Hindutva in his seminal work *'Hindutva: Who is a Hindu' ?* (1923). In this text, Savarkar distinguished Hindutva from Hinduism. Savarkar's idea of Hindutva was more extensive than the common understanding of Hinduism. He stated that Hinduism was simply tied to the Hindu religious system, including their theology and dogmas. Hindutva, on the other hand, referred not just to Hindu religious beliefs, but also to the cultural, social, political, and linguistic aspects of their lives.

In his seminal work *Hindutva* (1923), Savarkar asserted:"Let Hinduism concern itself with the salvation of life after death, the concept of God, and the Universe... But so far as the materialistic and secular aspect is concerned, the Hindus are a nation bound by a common culture, a common history, a common language, a common country, and a common religion."

- **Who is a Hindu?**

According to Savarkar, a Hindu means a person who regards this land of Bharatvarsha, from the Indus to the seas, as his Fatherland (Pitribhumi) as well as his Holyland (Punyabhumi), that is the cradle land of his religion.

A key element of Savarkar's Hindutva is the idea of cultural unity. He believed that the people of India who share a common civilization, heritage and historical memory form a single nation. He emphasised symbols, myths, epics, heroes, and traditions that bind Hindus together across regions and languages. For Savarkar, this cultural cohesion was essential for political unity and national strength.

Savarkar also stressed the importance of historical consciousness. He viewed Indian history as a continuous struggle of Hindus to defend their civilization against foreign

invasions. This interpretation of history fostered a sense of collective pride as well as a call for consolidation and mobilization of Hindus for national regeneration.

Another significant aspect of Hindutva is its secular and political character. Savarkar did not frame Hindutva as a theological doctrine but as a socio-political ideology aimed at nation-building. He advocated for the organization and militarization of Hindu society to resist external threats and to establish a strong, unified nation.

Savarkar believed in the cultural and organic solidarity of Hindus as a nation. For Savarkar, Hindutva implied not only the spiritual or the religious experience of Hindus, but the essentials of their whole way of life, hopes and aspirations. It embraced all the manifestations of thought and activity of the entire Hindu race. Savarkar gave clarion call for Hindu resurrection as he believed in the cultural superiority of Hindus.Savrkar also linked his idea of Swarajya with the concept of Hindutva, he argued that a Swarajya which cut itself from the Hindu roots was not worth the paper it was written on. A swarajya that could only be had at the humiliation and cost of Hindutva itself would be suicidal to Hindus.

Savarkar's Hindutva sought to define Indian nationhood in cultural terms, where the Hindu identity became synonymous with national identity. His concept laid the ideological foundation for later Hindu nationalist movements and continues to influence contemporary political discourse in India.

- **Idea of the Hindu Nation**

Savarkar asserted that in Hindusthan the Hindus are a nation; other people are only communities numerically, they are minorities. Broadly speaking, Savarkar identified three characteristics of a Hindu which give rise to the idea of a Hinda nation:

(a) A Territorial Entity (Rashtra): A Hindu is sentimentally attached to the geographical region extending from the Sindhu river to the Brahmputra and from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin.

(b) Racial Entity (Jati): A Hindu inherits the blood of the race whose first and discernible source could be traced to the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic Sapta Sindhu. It means that through centuries of historical existence the Hindus have developed certain racial features that distinguish them from other races like the Germans, the Chinese, or the Ethiopians.

(c) Cultural Entity (Samskriti): A Hindu is proud of the Hindu culture and civilization as manifested in their common artistic, literary and juristic creations, and in common rituals, festivals and other forms of festivities. In this respect, Hindus may be distinguished from Muslim and Christian converts who no longer subscribe to Hindu culture.

In Savarkar's view, idea of the Hindu nation leads to the concept of Hindu nationalism. It involves a programme of action in order to secure Hindu solidarity. All the barriers that separate one sect of Hindus from the other, have to be abolished. Savarkar strongly favoured inter caste marriage and intercaste dining for the consolidation of Hindu power. He wanted to promote a sort of pan-Hinduism. He was sure that Hindu power was fully capable of driving out the British colonial rule.

Commenting on the character of the Hindu nation, Savarkar argued that the ancient and modern history of the Hindus is common. They have friends and enemies in common. They are one in national despair and one in national hope. They are bound together by the most intimate ties, most sacred and most enduring bonds of a common Fatherland' and 'common Holyland'.

Savarkar observed that Hindusthan had a special fascination and significance for Hindus, not because of its unique physical features but because of their sentimental attachment to this land the stones, trees and greens in Hindusthan. But Hindustan is a special place for Hindus as their Fatherland and Holyland; its history is their history; its rise and fall is coterminous with their rise and fall.

Savarkar believed that Hindu nationalism was not against the idea of humanity or universal brotherhood. He felt that love for one's nation is a necessary step toward serving all humankind. While he accepted the ideal that the whole world is one family, he argued that a community must first become united, strong, and self-reliant before it can contribute to universal harmony. Therefore, he emphasised Hindu unity and national strength as essential stages on the path to universalism. He also rejected absolute non-violence, believing that practical self-defense was sometimes necessary for protecting the nation.To the Hindus Hindusthan being the Fatherland and Holyland, the love they bear to Hindusthan is boundless. That is why they predominate in the national struggle that is going on for the overthrow of the British yoke.

6.5 SAVARKAR AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

In addition to being the leading proponent of Hindutva and a revolutionary nationalist, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966) was also a social reformer, which is a lesser-known but an equally significant. During his imprisonment at Ratnagiri (1921–1937), Savarkar devoted himself in addressing deep-rooted social evils within Hindu society, particularly untouchability, caste discrimination, and social disunity. Hindu society, in his opinion, could not develop into a powerful and united nation until it underwent internal reform and unification. Some of his social reform initiatives are:

- **Fight against Untouchability:**Savarkar considered **untouchability** as one of the most damaging practices within Hindu society. In his view, when a section of Hindus was treated as impure and excluded from social and religious life, it created deep divisions and weakened the collective strength of the community. He described untouchability as a **self-inflicted weakness**, because it was not imposed from outside but practiced by Hindus upon fellow Hindus. For Savarkar, a society divided by caste prejudice could never achieve unity or national strength.

  He therefore argued that all Hindus, regardless of caste, shared a **common cultural and national identity** and should be treated as equal members of the same social body.During his stay in Ratnagiri, he actively worked to remove caste barriers through various steps:

  - **Inter-dining (Sahabhojan):** He organised community meals where people from different castes sat together and ate. In a society where sharing food

across caste lines was considered taboo, this was a bold effort to break social distance and normalize equality in everyday interaction.

- **Temple Entry:** Savarkar encouraged the opening of temples to the so-called untouchables. He believed that denying them entry into places of worship was unjust and contradicted the idea of a unified Hindu society.
- **Equal Access to Public Facilities:** He advocated that people of all castes should have equal access to wells, schools, roads, and other public spaces. He believed that social equality must be reflected not only in religious life but also in daily civic life.

- **Establishment of Patit Pavan Mandir**: The **Patit Pavan Mandir**, established by Savarkar in Ratnagiri in 1931, was one of the most practical and symbolic steps in his campaign for social reform. During that period, many temples in India did not allow entry to the so-called untouchables. Religious spaces, which were meant to unite people in worship, had become sites of caste exclusion. Savarkar believed this practice deepened social divisions and weakened Hindu unity.

  To challenge this orthodoxy, he helped to establish the Patit Pavan Mandir as a temple **open to all Hindus regardless of caste**. People who were traditionally denied entry into temples could worship there alongside others without any discrimination. This was not merely a theoretical appeal for equality but a concrete institutional example showing that caste barriers in religious life could be removed.

  The temple acted as a **living example of social equality in practice.** It challenged traditional caste restrictions in places of worship.It demonstrated Savarkar's belief that reform must be visible in everyday social and religious practices.For Savarkar, the Patit Pavan Mandir was more than a place of worship-it was a **symbol of Hindu social unity**. He believed that unless Hindus prayed together without discrimination, they could not claim to be a united community. Hence, the temple represented his conviction that **social equality was a necessary foundation for Hindu consolidation and national strength.**
- **Promotion of Inter-Caste Marriage:**Savarkar believed that caste divisions could not be eliminated only through speeches, appeals, or moral advice. In his view, caste survived because it controlled everyday social relations- especially rules about whom one could eat with and whom one could marry. Therefore, he argued that if these two barriers were broken, caste distinctions would gradually lose their hold over society.He strongly supported inter-caste marriage because he saw it as a permanent and practical way to weaken caste identity. When individuals from different castes married and formed families, the rigid boundaries of caste would naturally dissolve in the next generation. For Savarkar, this was one of the most effective ways to create long-term social integration.
- **Opposition to Superstition**: Savarkar was known for his rational and scientific outlook toward religion and society. He believed that many social practices continued not because they were useful, but because people followed them blindly in the name of

tradition. He criticised**blind faith, superstitions, meaningless rituals, and rigid orthodoxy** that prevented society from progressing.According to Savarkar, religion should guide moral life but should not stand in the way of social reform and modern thinking. He encouraged people to question customs that had no logical or scientific basis and to adopt a **modern, rational attitude** in social life. For him, a progressive Hindu society had to free itself from outdated beliefs that created fear, discrimination, or stagnation.

- **Emphasis on Social Unity for National Strength:** Savarkar's social reform efforts were deeply connected to his idea of nation-building. He believed that a society divided by caste, discrimination, and internal conflicts could never become politically strong. Therefore, social reform was not only about justice and equality but also about creating **collective strength**.He argued that unity among Hindus was essential to face external challenges and to build a powerful nation. In this sense, his campaign against untouchability and caste discrimination had a **nationalistic purpose**. For Savarkar, social unity was the foundation upon which national unity and political power could be built.
- **Women's Upliftment:** Savarkar believed that the progress of society depended on the status and position of women. He supported **women's education** and opposed social practices that restrict their freedom and dignity. He criticised customs that confined women only to domestic roles and denied them opportunities for personal and intellectual growth. He believed that women should actively participate in social and national life. An educated and empowered woman, according to Savarkar, could contribute significantly to nation-building. Thus, improving the condition of women was an important part of his broader social reform agenda.

Savarkar's role as a social reformer reflects his effort to reconstruct Hindu society on the principles of **equality, unity, rationality, and modernity**. His campaigns against untouchability, promotion of inter-caste harmony, establishment of inclusive temples, and advocacy of rational thought demonstrate that his vision of Hindutva encompasses a strong emphasis on internal social reform. For Savarkar, **social reform was a prerequisite for national regeneration,** and he worked tirelessly to remove internal weaknesses within Hindu society to make it a cohesive national community.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What is the difference between Hinduism and Hindutva according to Savarkar?

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Q2) What do *Pitribhumi* and *Punyabhumi* mean?

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Q3) Mention two steps taken by Savarkar to remove untouchability.

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Q4) What was the significance of the Patit Pavan Mandir?

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Q5) How did Savarkar link social reform with national unity?

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2 6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, popularly known as Veer Savarkar, was an important figure in the history of Indian nationalism. He is remembered as a freedom fighter, political thinker, writer, and social reformer whose ideas left a lasting imprint on modern Indian political thought. Through his writings, speeches, and reformist activities, he sought to define the cultural foundations of nationhood and to address internal social divisions within society.
- Savarkar articulated his idea of Hindutva in his work *'Hindutva: Who is a Hindu' ?* (1923). He distinguished Hindutva from Hinduism by explaining that Hinduism relates to religious beliefs and theology, while Hindutva includes cultural, social, political, and national aspects of Hindu identity. According to him, a Hindu is one who regards India as both *Pitribhumi* (Fatherland) and *Punyabhumi* (Holyland). He emphasised cultural unity, historical consciousness, and social consolidation as the basis of national strength.
- Savarkar identified territorial unity (Rashtra), racial identity (Jati), and cultural unity (Samskriti) as the main characteristics of the Hindu nation. He believed that Hindus share common history, traditions, heroes, and cultural symbols that bind them together. For him, Hindu nationalism was not opposed to humanity or universal brotherhood, but rather a step toward achieving universal harmony through national strength and unity.
- Savarkar played an important role as a social reformer during his stay in Ratnagiri. He fought against untouchability, encouraged inter-dining and inter-caste marriage, promoted temple entry for all castes, and established the Patit Pavan Mandir as a symbol of social equality. He opposed superstition, promoted rational thinking,

supported women's education, and emphasised that social reform was necessary for national consolidation.

- Savarkar's thought reflects a combination of political nationalism and social reform. His efforts were directed toward creating a unified, rational, and socially reformed Hindu society as the foundation for a strong nation.

6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Jaffrelot, C. (1996). *The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics*. Columbia University Press.
2) Keer, D. (1950). *Veer Savarkar*. Popular Prakashan.
3) Noorani, A. G. (2002). *Savarkar and Hindutva: The Godse connection*. Left Word Books.
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6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Hinduism refers to the religious beliefs, practices, and theology of the Hindus. Hindutva, according to Savarkar, is a broader concept that includes cultural, social, political, and national aspects of Hindu identity beyond religion.

Ans to Q No 2: *Pitribhumi* means Fatherland, and *Punyabhumi* means Holyland. Savarkar defined a Hindu as one who regards India as both his fatherland and holy land

Ans to Q No 3: (i) Organizing inter-dining (Sahabhojan) among different castes. (ii) Encouraging temple entry and equal access to public facilities for all castes.

Ans to Q No 4: The temple, established in 1931 at Ratnagiri, was open to all Hindus irrespective of caste. It symbolised social equality and challenged caste-based exclusion in religious worship.

Ans to Q No 5: Savarkar believed that a society divided by caste discrimination could not be politically strong. Therefore, social unity through reform was essential for achieving national unity and strength.

6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Define Hindutva according to Savarkar.

Q 2: What is meant by *Pitribhumi* and *Punyabhumi*?

Q 3: What was the purpose of the Patit Pavan Mandir

B) Short Questions (answer each question in around 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about two social reforms initiated by Savarkar.

Q 2: Explain Savarkar's concept of Hindutva and its political significance.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in around 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss Savarkar's idea of the Hindu nation.

Q 2: Examine Savarkar's role as a social reformer.

Q 3: Analyse the relationship between social reform and nationalism in Savarkar's thought.

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UNIT 7: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives
7.2 Introduction
7.3 Jawaharlal Nehru
  7.3.1 Views on Nationalism
  7.3.2 Views on Welfare State and Mixed Economy
  7.3.3 Views on Secularism
  7.3.4 Views on Democracy
  7.3.5 Views on Internationalism
7.4 Let Us Sum Up
7.5 Further Reading
7.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
7.7 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the social and political philosophy of Nehru
- explain his views on nationalism and secularism
- discuss Nehru's views on democracy and internationalism.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

The evolution of any political system is often moulded by the values and ideas cherished and expressed by significant personalities at different stages of its history. In India, leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and B. R. Ambedkar among others have played a pivotal role in awakening the collective consciousness of the Indian nation through their contributions in thought and deed. Nehru was one of the greatest leaders of the freedom struggle of India. He contributed a lot towards the development of the Indian political thought. His views and ideas on different subjects influenced the political system of India to a great extent. With the help of this unit, we will discuss about some of the important views and ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru, encompassing the social, political and economic spheres.

7.3 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru was born in Allahabad on 14th November, 1889. His father's name was Motilal Nehru who was a renowned lawyer. Nehru received education in some of the best schools and universities of the world. He studied under the tutelage of his teachers. At the age of fifteen, he was taken to England by his parents and he started his studies at Harrow. In 1907, he joined the Trinity college of Cambridge.

Nehru's notable contributions to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought were– *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of*

India. He played a key role in building modern India. Nehru, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi spearheaded India's freedom movement. After India's independence, he became the first Prime Minister of India.

7.3.1 Views on Nationalism

Nehru had not propounded any new theory of nationalism. His article "Unity of India" depicts that, he believed in the objectivity of the fundamental unity of India. He was of the view that in spite of various diversities, there is a unity running through the veins of Indian history. He was also influenced and inspired by the concepts of cultural pluralism and synthesis. To him, nationalism was a phase of self-magnification. He was a firm believer in the concept of self-determination.

Nationalism is an issue that has been widely debated and discussed in political philosophy. In India too, the issue of nationalism was discussed at length by the political thinkers and the presence of a religious approach to nationalism could be clearly found. But unlike those who interpreted nationalism in narrow terms, Nehru was instrumental in developing a secular approach to nationalism and politics. His secularism developed from his liberal cultural upbringing. He was a strong advocate of the unity amongst various religious groups and strongly condemned the Hindu Mahasava for promoting a communal interpretation of nationalism. Nehru was of the view that there was utmost necessity of harmony amongst all religions and particularly between the Hindus and Muslims. He felt that in the light of the anti-imperialist movement in India, only a secular and nationalist approach could be able to challenge the authority of imperialism by promoting the concept of secular nationalism. Nehru demonstrated his nationalist and modernist orientation to life.

Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations. The racial arrogance of the British rulers touched him. The second source of Nehru's nationalism was economic. Jawaharlal Nehru blamed the British for the rampant poverty and exploitation of the country. The third root of Nehru's nationalism was political and administrative. The foreign imperialist rulers had the monopoly of decision making which concentrated all initiative and control mechanisms in their hands.

Nehru's secularist approach proceeds from his liberal cultural upbringing. In his *Autobiography*, he condemned the protagonist and leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha as spokesmen and reactionaries of upper class interest. He was a critic of Hindu Mahasabha. Nehru as a social realist was not satisfied with the prevalent religious explanations of Hindu-Muslim tensions and struggles in pre- independence India. During the post-Independence era, Nehru emphasised national integration.

7.3.2 Views on Welfare State and Mixed Economy

According to Nehru, the aim of Indian democracy was to secure the welfare of all the individuals based on secularism, democracy and socialism. Political, social and economic equality was the hallmark of Nehru's welfare state. Liberty was to be its cherished goal.

The concept of welfare state found a place in the Indian Constitution. The aim of the Constitution was to enhance the living standards of the masses, and to eradicate poverty and unemployment. The backward classes were to be brought at par with the mainstream. Rural India which has always been relegated to the background was to be developed by gearing the cottage industries.

Unlike Gandhi, Nehru was not against heavy industries and the process of industrialisation. In fact, he believed that in order to be self-sufficient industrial development was a necessary factor. The problem of poverty, Nehru believed, could not be solved nor could India become politically and economically self-sufficient unless and until she industrialised herself by taking the help of modern science and technology. The First Five Year Plan, launched under his guidance, emphasised the establishment of heavy industries.

From the political standpoint, the welfare state as envisaged by Nehru was based on the belief in a representative government based on parliamentary institutions. Nehru believed in the doctrine of equality. As such, he emphasised the necessity of a socialistic democracy.

Nehru propagated a mixed economic system which implied the co-existence of public enterprise in certain fields and private enterprise in others. He was in favour of the state controlling all such industries dealing with defence equipment and all basic heavy industries. With regard to the rest, private enterprise was to be permitted. Thus, a mixed economy implied co-existence of two sectors -public and private.

7.3.3 Views on Secularism

Nehru did not subscribe to any dogma or religion and instead believed in the innate spirituality of human beings. Secularism, according to him was not only a political doctrine but a social one as well, which embraced all religions and communities of the nation state in India. Nehru believed in four aspects of secularism. These are as follows:

- **Religious freedom:** It means according equal status to all religions in India. No religion should be granted any form of special privilege. Nor should any community be deprived of its legitimate rights on the basis of religion.
- **Neutrality of the state in religious matters:** A secular state implies a state that does not possess any religion of its own. Nehru was of the view that the state should follow the policy of "co-existence of religions". The state should not interfere with the religious freedom of the people.
- **Secularism in social life:** Nehru regarded secularism as an indispensable feature of a modern democratic society. Hence, he tried to devise a uniform civil code for the entire Indian community without any discrimination on the basis of caste and religion. He thus, worked for the establishment of a state which 'protects all religions but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as the state religion'.
- **An attitude of mind:** Secularism according to Nehru meant certain mental attitudes on the part of various communities. In fact, he felt that it largely depended

. ***Detrimental:*** Anything that is harmful or dangerous.

on the attitude of the majority communities towards the minorities. He was of the view that narrow and aggressive attitude on the part of the majority community would create apprehension or fear in the minds of the minority groups in India. He also expected minorities to be equally tolerant. He urged both the communities to cultivate a broad outlook and not to adopt attitudes which are wrong and ***detrimental*** to the integrity of India and unity of the Indian nation.

7.3.4 Views on Democracy

Nehru was greatly influenced by western thinkers like Mill, Rousseau and Montesquieu while developing his concept of democracy. Nehru emphasised the all-round development of every individual in the society. His faith in the dignity of the individual made him develop faith in the people as well. Residing faith in the people is the essence of his concept of democracy. He developed an aversion towards authoritarianism. Nehru regarded democracy as a way of life and as a basis of the social structure. For him, democracy meant establishing a dynamic society, extending full opportunities to the individual for his development. It involves a certain tolerance of others and others' opinion even when they differed from one's own opinions.

Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy. He wanted India to catch up with the advanced industrial nations of the west. Nehru's faith in and commitment to democracy is also an indication of his modern political outlook. Nehru firmly believed in the theory and practice of parliamentary democracy and as the political successor of Mahatma Gandhi, he had full faiths in the Gandhian philosophy of nobility of means. He wanted India to compete with the western world and to resolve the issues in the most democratic spirit. At the same time, while trying to achieve the goal of a socialistic India in the most colonial period, Nehru clearly underlined the importance of nobility of means that is one of the most important of the democratic approaches to achieve such goals. It is a clear indication of his sense of modernism that he completely sidelined the non - democratic approach and wanted to ensure a path of development with effective participation of the people. These have certainly given him the status of a modern political thinker.

7.3.5 Views on Internationalism

An emphasis on internationalism is very much visible in the political thought of Nehru. He synthesised the concepts of nationalism and internationalism. According to him, nationalism was not an end in itself, but a step towards the goal of internationalism. Nehru was in favour of promoting a democratic outlook in his concept of nationalism. Through such a democratic outlook of nationalism, he promoted the concept of internationalism, which believed in equality among all nations. He was of the view that no nation could be judged independently of international events.

Nehru firmly advocated internationalism which ultimately would help in the growth of good mutual relationships among nations. As an advocate of internationalism, Nehru emphasised on a world federation and world government in which every nation would have an equal status and the power to enjoy or exercise equal right in participating towards

resolving conflicts and establishing peace. He was also a firm supporter of the UN principles and believed that the UN represented the world community. With its effective role in establishing peace, the UN would pave the way for internationalism.

Through the policy of "Non-Alignment" and "***Panchasheel***", Nehru expressed his greatest concern for internationalism. He devised these ideas to maintain the independence of the nations and to create an environment of peaceful co-existence among nations at the international level. Nehru devised the policy of non-alignment during the time of Cold War which helped the newly independent nations to keep themselves aloof from the super-power rivalry. Again in order to strengthen world peace, Nehru put forward the concept of *Panchasheel* which mainly included five principles, namely, (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (ii) Mutual non-aggression, (iii) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (iv) Equality and mutual advantage, (v) Peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

Nehru viewed internationalism as the foundation of international peace and well-being of all nations. Throughout his life, he laid great stress on mutual cooperation, goodwill, liberty, equality and fraternity. Through his concept of internationalism, Nehru wanted to promote peace and security across the globe.

. Panc-hasheel: The concept of pan-chasheel was a pact signed between India and China in the year 1954 which included five principles.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) When was Nehru born?

.....

Q2) Name the notable contributions of Nehru to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought.

.....

Q3) Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy. (True /False).

.....

Q4) Non-interference in each other's …… affairs. (fill in the blank).

.....

Q5) "Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations." What are they?

.....

.....

Q6) Nehru's concept of co-existence of two sectors implied what type of economy?

.....

Q7) What are the four aspects of secularism that Nehru believed?

.....

.....

Q8) Briefly explain two aspects of secularism believed by Nehru.

.....

.....

Q9) Write down the five principles of *Panchasheel*.

.....

27.4 LET US SUM UP

- Jawaharlal Nehru was born in Allahabad on 14th November, 1889. His father's name was Motilal Nehru, who was a renowned lawyer.
- Nehru's notable contributions to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought were– *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India*.
- Nehru, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi spearheaded India's freedom movement. After India's independence, he became the first Prime Minister of India.
- Nehru had not propounded any new theory of nationalism. Nehru was instrumental in developing a secular approach to nationalism and politics. Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations.
- Political, social and economic equality was the hallmark of Nehru's welfare state. The welfare state as envisaged by Nehru was based on the belief in a representative government based on parliamentary institutions.
- Nehru propagated a mixed economic system which implied the co-existence of public enterprise in certain fields and private enterprise in others.
- Nehru did not subscribe to any dogma or religion and instead believed in the innate spirituality of human beings.
- Nehru regarded democracy as a way of life and as a basis of the social structure. For him, democracy meant establishing a dynamic society, extending full opportunities to the individual for his development.
- Nehru firmly advocated internationalism which ultimately would help in the growth of good mutual relationships among nations.
- As an advocate of internationalism, Nehru emphasised on a world federation and world government in which every nation would have an equal status and the power to enjoy or exercise equal right in participating towards resolving conflicts and establishing peace.
- In order to strengthen world peace, Nehru put forward the concept of *Panchasheel* which mainly included five principles.
- The five tenets of *Panchasheel* are-

  1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and soverignity;
  2. Non-aggresion;
  3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
  4. Equality and mutual advantage; and
  5. Peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

7.5 FURTHER READING

1) Asirvatham, E. & Mishra, K.K (1990). *Political theory*. New Delhi: S.Chand & Company Ltd.

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3) Jayapalan, N. (2003). *Indian political thinkers: Modern Indian political thought*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

4) Mohanty, D. K. (2007). *Indian political tradition- From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

5) Rathod, P.B. & Rathod, V. (2006). *Indian political thinkers*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.

7.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14th, 1889.

Ans to Q No 2: The notable contributions of Nehru to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought were– *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India*.

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: Non-interference in each other's *internal* affairs.

Ans to Q No 5: Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations. The racial arrogance of the British rulers touched him. The second source of Nehru's nationalism was economic. Jawaharlal Nehru blamed the British for the rampant poverty and exploitation of the country. The third root of Nehru's nationalism was political and administrative. The foreign imperialist rulers had the monopoly of decision making which concentrated all initiative and control mechanisms in their hands.

Ans to Q No 6: A mixed economic system.

Ans to Q No 7: (i) Religious freedom (ii) Neutrality of the state in religious matters (iii) Secularism in social life and (iv) An attitude of mind.

Ans to Q No 8: Two aspects of secularism believed by Nehru are as follows:

- **Religious freedom:** It means according equal status to all religions in India. No religion should be granted any form of special privilege. Nor should any community be deprived of its legitimate rights on the basis of religion.

- **Neutrality of the state in religious matters:** A secular state implies a state that does not possess any religion of its own. Nehru was of the view that the state should follow the policy of "co-existence of religions". The state should not interfere with the religious freedom of the people.

Ans to Q No 9: The five principles of *Panchasheel* are :

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

2. Non-aggression;
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. Equality and mutual advantage; and
5. Peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

M7.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Name two books of Nehru.

Q 2: Who put forward the idea of *Panchasheel*?

Q 3: What type of economy did Nehru envisage?

Q 4: Write two principles of *Panchasheel*.

B) Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain Nehru's views on the state.

Q 2: Explain Nehru's views on Internationalism.

Q 3: Write a short note on Nehru's views on secularism.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the political ideas of Nehru.

Q 2: Explain Nehru's views on mixed economy.

Q 3: Discuss Nehru's views on democracy.

Q 4: Explain the idea of nationalism and welfare state as put forward by Nehru.

Q 5: Critically examine the contributions of Nehru as a political thinker.

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UNIT 8: B. R. AMBEDKAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 B. R. Ambedkar
  8.3.1 Opposition to the Evils of Caste System and Untouchability
  8.3.2 Ambedkar as a Champion of Women's Rights
  8.3.3 Ambedkar's Views on Religion
  8.3.4 Ambedkar as a Champion of Social Justice
  8.3.5 Ambedkar as a Champion of Human Rights
  8.3.6 Ambedkar as a Nationalist
  8.3.7 Views on Democracy
8.4 Let Us Sum Up
8.5 Further Reading
8.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.7 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar
- explain his views on religion and democracy
- analyse his role as a champion of human rights and social justice
- describe his role as a nationalist.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a jurist, social reformer and politician. Also known as the Father of Indian Constitution, his efforts to eradicate social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions were remarkable. Throughout his life, he made an effort to fight for the rights of the ***dalits*** and other socially backward classes.

Ambedkar inspired the Dalit Buddhist Movement and campaigned against social discrimination against Untouchables ***(Dalits)***, while also supporting the rights of women and labour. He was Independent India's first law minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru and the principal architect of the Constitution of India. He was also posthumously awarded the *Bharat Ratna* which is India's highest civilian honour, in the year, 1990.

8.3 B. R. AMBEDKAR

Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal, an army officer who held the rank of Subedar, and Bhimabai Murbadkar Sakpal. His family was of Marathi background from the town of Ambavade in Ratnagiri district of modern day Maharashtra.

. ***Dalit:*** The so-called "untouchable" caste of the Indian Society

Ambedkar was born into a poor low Mahar ***(Dalit)*** caste, who were treated as untouchables and subjected to immense socio-economic discriminations.

Although they attended school, Ambedkar and other untouchable children were segregated from the rest of their class mates and were not allowed to sit inside the class. When they needed to drink water, someone from a higher caste had to pour water from a height as they were not allowed to touch either the water or the vessel that contained it. This task was usually performed for the young Ambedkar by the school peon, and if the peon was not available then he had to drink water from the well. This particular incident left an indelible impact in the mind of young Ambedkar. His parents followed the ideology of Kabir and thus he grew up in an environment that encouraged strong belief in equality and humanism.

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is known as the champion of the rights of the depressed classes. He is also known as "Babasaheb" and greatly contributed to the rights of the Dalit community in particular and to the Indian Constitution as the first chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution.

8.3.1 Opposition to the Evils of Caste System and Untouchability

Ambedkar was against the existing pattern of the Indian society which was based on the caste system. Rigidness of the caste system was responsible for the creation of a section of "Untouchables" in the society. The hierarchical structure of the caste system placed the Brahmins at the top rung of the hierarchical structure of the society, hence giving them a position of superiority. This gave certain sections of the Brahmins the scope to indulge in high-handedness and cruelty towards the so-called "Untouchables". In reality, Ambedkar was not against the Hindu religion as such, but was against the misinterpretation of its teachings that subjugated a section of the people to humiliation and ridicule. In order to do away with the caste system, he encouraged inter-caste marriage. Ambedkar believed that the shedding of inferiority complex, would help the untouchables to consider themselves at par with high caste. Such steps would prove to be effective in eradicating the caste system. Ambedkar realised that "Untouchability" could continue as long as the caste system existed.

He published a fortnightly in Marathi named *'Bahishkrita Bharat'* for the so-called "Untouchables". The purpose of this journal was to keep the untouchables well informed about the happenings in the land and also to make his voice heard among the open minded

Upholding the cause of upliftment of this section, Ambedkar established *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* on 20th July 1924 in Bombay which aimed at the following:

(i) Establishing hostels for the spread of education for the depressed classes,

(ii) Working for the cultural development of the depressed classes and start study circles among them,

(iii) Opening industrial and agricultural schools for economic development,

(iv) Representing the grievances of the depressed classes.

Thus, having suffered and personally experimenting the ill treatment meted out by

others for being born into a lower caste family, Ambedkar was strictly against the practice of this social evil and championed for the causes of the untouchables throughout his life. He believed that the social evil of untouchability will not remove by itself just by shaking hands, providing money or treating them with kindness and courtesy. What was needed was a complete change of attitude and mindsets. He firmly believed in the complete removal of the caste system by a permanent act of legislation, abolishing of priesthood which was confined only to the Brahmin class and the standardization of scriptures, rituals and religious practises that would remove the stigma of untouchability permanently. While both Ambedkar and Gandhi sought to fight against untouchability, their individual approaches to it were radically different.

Time and again, Ambedkar led several movements as a result of which the so-called "Untouchables" found access into temples and to draw water from common wells. Ambedkar also made provisions for safeguarding the rights of the deprived castes and classes in the draft of the Constitution of India.

8.3.2 Ambedkar as a Champion of Women's Rights

Ambedkar was an ardent supporter of women's rights and wanted to protect the nation's women-folk from perpetual domination. He found the existing civil code defective and was in favour of a Hindu Code Bill which aimed at the following:

(i) Abolition of the doctrine of rights by birth

(ii) Absolute right over property to women

(iii) A share of family property to the daughter

(iv) Provision for marital divorce.

There was no anti-religious or anti-social element in these provisions. As the existing Hindu law was not uniform for all Hindus and was inconsistent with the Constitution, Ambedkar suggested codification of Hindu society.

8.3.3 Ambedkar's Views on Religion

Ambedkar was a pragmatic religious leader. He was opposed to the fundamentalist interpretations of the doctrines of Hinduism. He stood for religion but did not advocate hypocrisy in the name of religion. Ambedkar considered religion as the driving force for human activity. He aptly stated that: "Man cannot live by bread alone. He has a mind which needs food for thought. As such, religion is the essential foundation both for life and practices of society." Citing the characteristics of religion, Ambedkar believed in the following: (i) Religion in the sense of morality should be the governing principle in every society, (ii) Religion should be in accordance with science, (iii) Religion is a moral code that recognises the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and (iv) Religion must not sanctify poverty or ignorance. Religion should be based on the capacities of human nature and human intelligence.

Keeping in view the above characteristics of religion, Ambedkar advocated that Hinduism should change from a "religion of rules" to a "religion of principles" in order to

make Hinduism a true religion.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Who was the father of Ambedkar?

.....

Q2) Who published a fortnightly in Marathi named *Bahishkrita Bharat* for the so-called "*Untouchables*"?

.....

Q3) When was the *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* established?

.....

Q4) Mention any two characteristics of religion identified by Ambedkar.

.....

8.3.4 Ambedkar as a Champion of Social Justice

Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, was a champion of social justice in modern India. He was fully aware of the pattern and problems of the Indian society. To him, the term "Social Justice" is based upon equality, liberty and fraternity of all human beings and its aim is to remove all kinds of inequalities based on caste, race, sex, power, and position. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the root cause of social injustice is the Caste system in Hindu society.

He tried to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a true basis for patriotism and nationalism. Ambedkar did not accept the theories of social justice as propounded by the Varna system, the Aristotelian order, Plato's scheme, Gandhian Sarvodaya order and not even the proletarian socialism of Marx.

Ambedkar included various aspects in his concept of social justice namely- unity and equality of all human beings, equal treatment of men and women, respect for the weak, regard for human rights, benevolence, mutual love, sympathy, tolerance and charity towards fellow being. With the help of his concept of social justice, Ambedkar wanted to remove all forms of man-made inequalities through law, morality and public conscience.

8.3.5 Ambedkar as a Champion of Human Rights

Ambedkar was a champion of human rights throughout his life. Having suffered and personally experimenting the ill treatment meted out by others for being born into a so-called lower caste family, Ambedkar was strictly against the practice of Casteism which he regarded as social evil and championed for the causes of the untouchables throughout his life. He also tried to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a true basis for patriotism and nationalism.

Dr Corinne Lennox, in her article 'Dr. Ambedkar: A Visionary for Human Rights' has rightly remarked about Ambedkar's contribution as a champion of human rights.

Dr. Ambedkar is one of the world's greatest defender and philosopher of human

rights. He was a true visionary, contributing to the global evolution of this idea, to the legal enshrinement of rights, and to this day, he continues to inspire human rights defenders. His lifelong efforts to eradicate caste-based discrimination arguably count as his greatest achievement. Dr Ambedkar was visionary in his understanding that democracy alone is not a guarantee for the protection of the rights of minorities. He attempted to build into the constitution several protections for different minority groups in India

8.3.6 Ambedkar as a Nationalist

In view of Ambedkar, nationalism means expression of inner unity of a people and it is a process of social assimilation. Therefore, irrespective of caste, colour and creed, if social brotherhood of men prevails everywhere within a nation, nationalism gets perfect harmony. To Ambedkar, nationalism is negation of caste spirit and caste spirit is nothing but deep rooted communalism. He emphasised to fight against casteism, linguism, communalism and separatism because he was of the opinion that these social evils divide the people into small social units which are against the spirit of nationalism. In view of Ambedkar, communalism being one form of groupism, is a threat to national integration which may hamper the way for equality and fraternity. In short, Ambedkar viewed nationalism as a spiritual phenomenon rooted in humanism.

As a nationalist, Ambedkar wanted to extend the social base of nationalism. He wanted to unite the people without any discrimination which was his ultimate goal. Even, in order to unite the heterogeneous people, he urged for taking a common decision to lead us to unity. Ambedkar was against the Brahmanical imperialism which oppressed the lower caste people for hundreds of years. It was his efforts and challenge that compelled the Congress to heed to the problems of caste and adopt measures to extend the social base of Indian nationalism which was a largely Upper class phenomenon in the beginning.

8.3.7 Views on Democracy

Ambedkar was a supporter of democracy. To him, in a democratic system, there must have universal adult franchise. He gave emphasis upon the reservation of seats for the dalits in the political organisations. Even, he tried to establish a special status for the dalits in the society. According to Ambedkar, real democracy was a social democracy. He said that, in order to realise political democracy, there must have social and economic democracy. In other words, without realising the economic and social democracy in India, political democracy is meaningless.

In his conception of democracy, Ambedkar does not focus any class structure in society which to him, breeds tyranny, vanity, pride, arrogance, greed, selfishness, insecurity, poverty, degradation, loss of liberty, self-reliance, independence, dignity and self-respect. He, therefore regarded democracy in its practical aspect as the social organisation of the people. He attached more importance to the freedom to form associations in various fields of life. To him, such institutions were the very soul of freedom and democracy.

Thus, the main points of Ambedkar's concept of democracy were- liberty, equality, fraternity, natural rights and justice. To him, these are essential for all-round development

of personality and capacities of the individuals. To him, political democracy should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5) According to Dr. Ambedkar, the root cause of social injustice is the ……..…… system in the Hindu society. (Fill in the blank).

.....

Q6) Briefly explain Ambedkar's views on nationalism.

.....

.....

Q7) Write a note on Ambedkar's views on democracy.

.....

.....

8.4 LET US SUM UP

- Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. Ambedkar, popularly known as 'Babasaheb Ambedkar', was a jurist, social reformer and politician.
- Ambedkar is known as the champion of the rights of the depressed classes. He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '*Bahishkrita Bharat*' for the so-called "*Untouchables*". He also established so-called *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* on 20th July, 1924 in Bombay.
- Ambedkar opposed the hierarchical structure of the society based on the caste system. In order to do away with the caste system, he encouraged inter-caste marriage.
- Ambedkar was an ardent supporter of women's rights and wanted to protect the nation's women-folk from perpetual domination. He stood for religion but did not advocate hypocrisy in the name of religion.
- He tried to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a true basis for patriotism and nationalism.
- As a nationalist, Ambedkar wanted to extend the social base of nationalism. He wanted to unite the people without any discrimination which was his ultimate goal.
- Ambedkar was a supporter of democracy. To him, in a democratic system, there must have universal adult franchise.
- In his conception of democracy, Ambedkar does not focus any class structure in society. To him, political democracy should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality.

8.5 FURTHER READING

1) Asirvatham, E. & Mishra, K.K (1990). *Political theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

2) Bhagavan, V. (1999). *Indian political thinkers*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons Publications.

3) Bhatt, R. C. (2018). *A study of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's idea of nationalism in the context of India's freedom movement*. Volume VII, Issue VII, July 2018 | ISSN 2278-2540 www.ijltemas.in Page 18

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6) Dr. Ambedkar's vision: "Social Justice" for the women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. sodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in, pp. 86-87.

9) Ambedkar's thought on democracy and distributive justice: A rational approach to the fulfillment of Ambedkar's vision of India. sodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in, pp. 267-269.

10) Indian National Movement (Ambedkar on Nationalism), pp.4-5 www.academia.edu

8.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Ramji Maloji Sakpal was the father of Ambedkar.

Ans to Q No 2: Ambedkar published a fortnightly in Marathi named *Bahishkrita Bharat* for the so-called "*Untouchables*".

Ans to Q No 3: The *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* was established on 20th July, 1924.

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Religion in the sense of morality should be the governing principle in every society, (ii) Religion must not sanctify poverty or ignorance. Religion should be based on the capacities of human nature and human intelligence.

Ans to Q No 5: According to Dr. Ambedkar, the root cause of social injustice is the *Caste* system in Hindu society.

Ans to Q No 6: As a nationalist, Ambedkar wanted to extend the social base of nationalism. He wanted to unite the people without any discrimination which was his ultimate goal. Even, in order to unite the heterogeneous people, he urged for taking a common decision to lead us to unity.

Ans to Q No 7: Ambedkar was a supporter of democracy. To him, in a democratic system, there must have universal adult franchise. According to Ambedkar, real democracy was a social democracy. To him, political democracy should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality. In his conception of democracy, Ambedkar does not focus any class structure in society.

8.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Why did Ambedkar convert himself to Buddhism?

Q 2: Name two literary works of Ambedkar.

Q 3: What type of democracy did Ambedkar envisage?

Q 4: Why Ambedkar established the *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha*?

B) Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the aims of *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha*.

Q 2: Mention the aspects that Ambedkar included in his concept of social justice.

Q 3: Write a note on Ambedkar's views on religion.

Q 4: Write a note on the influences of Buddhism upon Ambedkar.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss Ambedkar's views on social justice.

Q 2: Critically examine Ambedkar's views as a champion of women's rights.

Q 3: Discuss Ambedkar's views on democracy.

Q 4: Explain Ambedkar's attitude to the evils of the caste system and untouchability.

Q 5: Write about Ambedkar as a champion of the rights of the depressed classes.

Q 6: Analyse the contributions of Ambedkar as a saviour of the Untouchables.

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UNIT 9: J. P NARAYAN AND MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives
9.2 Introduction
9.3 J. P Narayan
  9.3.1 Concept of Socialism
  9.3.2 Concept of Total Revolution
  9.3.3 Critical Appreciation
9.4 Madan Mohan Malaviya
  9.4.1 As an Educationist and Social Reformer
  9.4.2 Political Views and Role in Freedom Struggle
  9.4.3 Malaviya as a Liberal Nationalist
  9.4.4 Critical Appreciation
9.5 Let Us Sum Up
9.6 Further Reading
9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
9.8 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain Jayaprakash Narayan's views of socialism
- comprehend Jayaprakash Narayan's concept of Total Revolution
- understand Malaviya's contribution to education and social reform
- understand Malaviya's views on politics
- examine Malaviya's role in Indian Freedom Struggle
- comprehend Malaviya as a Hindu nationalist
- critically evaluate J. P Narayan and Malaviya's thoughts and ideas.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall critically evaluate some of the important political ideas of Jayprakash Narayan and Madan Mohan Malaviya. Malaviya and J. P. Narayan were two such leaders of India who played important role in the freedom struggle and had considerable influence on shaping Indian politics during and in the post colonial period. In this unit we shall discuss some of the important ideas of these two Indian thinkers.

9.3 J. P NARAYAN

J. P Narayan (1902-1979) was greatly influenced by the Marxist school of thought. According to him problems experienced by Indians during that period, like freedom from colonial rule, socio economic development of India could be solved only by adopting and implementing Marxist ideas. During his initial period Narayan was in support of Marxist revolution to eliminate the domination of a particular class. He believed that control of one

particular class over the means of production resulted in inequality in the society and hence social ownership over the means of production is the only way left to eliminate inequality and injustice from the society. However, in the later period, J. P. Narayan came under the influence of M.K. Gandhi and shifted his belief from Marxism to Sarvodaya. In this section we shall discuss J.P. Narayan's concepts of socialism and total revolution.

9.3.1 Concept of Socialism

As already mentioned J.P. Narayan believed in Marxism in the initial period and later on he shifted his trust from Marxism to socialism and finally to Sarvodaya and Total Revolution.

J.P. Narayan developed his idea of socialism to suit Indian context. In this regard, Narayan was highly influenced by M.K. Gandhi. J.P Narayan considered socialism as a way and philosophy of life which basically indicates a social order based on certain ethical and moral principles like equality, freedom and harmony among people. Through the concept of socialism, J P Narayan advocated to establish a social and political order which would be characterised by the presence of the principle of justice, equality, non-violence and decentralisation of power. In a way J. P. Narayan provided a synthesis of Marxism and Gandhian thought by stressing on equality, justice and non-violence where there will be not any kind of exploitation of the people. To establish such kind of socialism, there is need of true sense of transformation of the individual and the society as a whole. Through the concept of socialism, he emphasised upon economic equality, social justice, democracy and decentralisation of power. Narayan was of the view that equality and justice could be achieved by eliminating concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and class division which would eventually result in the end of exploitation of the weaker section of the society. He was in favour of public ownership of major industries and fair and equitable distribution of wealth among all the sections of people. One point to be remember here that Narayan did not support absolute nationalisation of all industries; he emphasised upon welfare of common people through the economic policies of the country rather that strict and absolute control of the state. Again J. P. Narayan also believed in democratic system which would be characterised by the presence of rule of law, periodic elections and right of the people to have freedom with respect to speech and opinion. He was of the view that a democratic government must upheld the rights and liberties of the people with justifiable limitations and restrictions.Thus providing a synthesis of socialism and democracy, he strongly supported the principle of democratic socialism. Again decentralisation of power was another important aspect of J P Narayan's concept of socialism. According to him, centralisation of power cn not meet the goals of general welfare of people and this centralisation of power and wealth results in corruption and injustice. Therefore, he advocated for decentralisation of power and participation of people in politics and decision-making process from the bottom through local self-government like Panchayati Raj Institutions.

As already stated, J P Narayan was greatly influenced by the Gandhian principle of non-violence, he rejected the use violent mean to eliminate class distinction. Rather he

believed that there is need of raising awareness among the common mass and only with the help of democratic peaceful methods a society can put an end to existing class exploitation and establish a just and egalitarian society. J P Narayan strongly advocated for moral and ethical transformation of individual and the society so that each and every human being can live in peace and harmony.

9.3.2 Concept of Total Revolution

J P Narayan developed the concept of Total Revolution as a solution to prevailing problem of India during that period. This idea was articulated in his book The Prison Diary (1977). During that period the country was experiencing some serious issues like corruption, economic backwardness, law and order issues and J P Narayan appealed for a total revolution as a solution to all these problems.

J P Narayan supported and led the peaceful Students' Movement against the government in Bihar in the year 1974. Inspired by the Students Movement in Bihar, J P Narayan launched Total Revolution in 1974. To suppress the movement the Central Government under the leadership of Indira Gandhi arrested J P Narayan and imposed emergency in the country. This created massive dissatisfaction among the people and as a result Janata Party led by Narayan won election at the centre in the year 1977.

J P Narayan considered total revolution as the solution to all the existing problems of India and he considered total revolution as a mean to establish an egalitarian society in India. J P Narayan was of the view that there was an urgent need of change and transformation in the field of social, economic, political, cultural, ideological and intellectual, educational and spiritual life. However, he opined that change and development in all these aspects are interconnected and transformation of all the field is very important to achieve overall change and development of the entire system. Further he considered total revolution as an ongoing and dynamic process. He said that with the achievement of specific goal or objective, the process should not come to an end. Ruther it is a continuous process. The change or transformation of the system from the bottom is very important and mere change in political power or government would serve the purpose of total revolution. He emphasised on non-violent method for this which would be based on ethical democratic values. Thus though total revolution he stressed upon on non-violence, democracy and decentralisation which clearly manifests his will for general welfare of the people. In this regard Gandhian influence on J P Narayan become very visible. He visualised Gandhian version of state where there will be economic equality, decentralisation of power and high ethical and moral values among the people.

Through total revolution J P Narayan emphasised on removal of poverty, economic inequality and discrimination, corruption and wanted to ensure equitable distribution of resources in the economic aspect. In political field, total revolution aims at establishing a democratic system which will be people centred and everyone will get the scope to participate in the decision-making process through decentralisation of power. Again total revolution, from socio-cultural and educational perspectives, urges for the elimination of all kinds of social inequality and social evils like caste discrimination, untouchability,

superstitious beliefs and subjugation of women. It emphasises on creation of a society which would be based on principles of equality, liberty and justice and a system where people would become empowered enough to regulate their own lives.

J P Narayan was of the view that for successful total revolution there is requirement of good and efficient leader. Leaders play very significant role in guiding and directing the movement which keep the people in the right direction. He emphasised on participation of all section of people like- common people, students, voluntary organisations, formal institutions in the total revolution. He particularly believed in the capacity and willingness of the youth to bring positive transformation the society.

In nutshell, through total revolution J P Narayan emphasised on establishing a state in India, through peaceful mass movement, which would be based on democratic values and respect for each other.

9.3.3 Critical Appreciation

J P Narayan's political ideas are not free from criticism. His views regarding total revolution has criticisedon that it is unrealistic and utopian.J P Narayan considered total revolution as a continuous process. But according to the critics Narayan overestimated the capacity of the common masses to continue the process of revolution over a long period of time. The critics have also criticised J P Narayan as an inconsistent thinker because of his shifting belief on different ideologies. During his initial period he believed in Marxism and then in Gandhism. However, this criticism cannot be considered as absolutely correct, as his ideological shift was influenced as per the reality he experienced and his ideas and thinking were very much people centred throughout his life.

Infact, contribution of J P Narayan towards the society is manifested in his concern towards the common people. He wanted positive transformation of the society involving engagement of each and every section of people and this clearly reflects his concern towards universal democratic principles like equality, justice and fraternity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) According to J P Narayan what was the solution to all prevailing social and political problem of India?

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Q2) Write briefly about J P Narayan's views on socialism.

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9.4 MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946) was one of the Indian thinker, social reformer and educator who contributed significantly towards various aspects of the Indian society during his lifetime. Malaviya played a significant role in the freedom struggle of India. He was actively associated with the Indian National Congress and was President if the same for four times between 1909 to 1933. He was greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and actively participated in the Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience. For his contribution to the Indian society Malaviya was awarded Bharat Ranta by the Government of India in the year 2015. In this section we shall discuss socio-political views of Malaviya and his role in the National Freedom Movement.

9.4.1 As an Educationist and Social Reformer

Malaviya's educational vision has significant contribution towards Indian education system. Malaviya considered education as the most important tool for positive transformation of the society and development of India.Mallavya was of the view that colonial India was marked by the widespread prevalence of social and economic backwardness. And to eradicate these problems education was one of the ways according to him. He opined that educate would promote rational thinking among the people.

Malaviya played an important role in in foundation of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in the year 1916. He believed in promotion of national education that would help the Indians in raising the sense of nationalism. Malaviya with the help of Annie Besant worked for the establishment of the BHU with the objective of producing intellectuals who would have combined knowledge of science and religion along with Indian knowledge and thus this would help towards the economic development of the country. He also emphasised on the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the country after independence. He opposed use of English as medium of instruction, as English being a foreign language, would create a gap between the Indians and their cultural roots.

As a social reformer too, Malaviya's contribution has immense importance. To eradicate social evils, he considered legislation as a way out. One social evil during that period in India was indentured labour and to get rid of this problem he appealed at the Imperial Council on 20th March, 1916. Regarding position of women in the society, Mallavyawas of the view that without recognising worth of women a society cannot be developed. He emphasised on the education of women and for that purpose he took initiatives for the establishment of a women's college within BHU. He also advocated for social equality between different castes and classes of the society.He was of the view that each and every section of the society should have access to public property and institutions.

For economic development of the country, Malaviya believed in industrialisation that would help in eradication of poverty and provide employment to the people of the country. Malaviya advocated for state initiatives in this regard and for that purpose he held several meeting, such as- Industrial conference at Banaras in 1905, Uttar Pradesh Industrial conference in 1907, meeting of U.P. Industrial Association of Allahabad in 1907. Malaviya

was in favour of establishing and reviving industries in India to accelerate the process of growth of the people of India.

9.4.2 Political Views and Role in Freedom Struggle

Madan Mohan Malaviya played a significant role in the freedom struggle of India. He was closely and actively associated with the Indian National Congress since its formation and was President of the Party for four times, i. e – in 1909, 1918, 1932, 1933. Malaviya strongly advocated for the representation of Indians in the Councils and for that he put forward his voice in the second session of the Congress in the Calcutta in 1886. He strongly opposed some Acts of the colonial rulers. In 1910 he expressed his opposition to the Press Bill and Seditious Bill and advocated strongly against these Bills in the Council.

Malaviya was in favour of appointment of Indians into the civil services. He appealed the colonial government to conduct civil service examinations in India so that Indians could also entred in the civil service.

Malaviya believed in the unity of Hindus and Muslims and he opposed the provision of separate electorate to the Muslims. He opposed the Khilafat Movement of 1919 and the Communal Award, 1932. To express his dissatisfaction over the separate electorate, Malaviya left INC in 1934 as these provisions clearly increased communal tension between the two communities. During his association with the Congress party, Malaviya actively participated in the Freedom Struggle of India. He raised his voice against the Simon Commission in 1930 and represented Indian in the first Round Table Conference in the year 1931.

Malaviya's role in the freedom struggle was marked by middle way of liberal nationalism and extremist nationalism. He was in favour of adopting constitutional methods to achieve independence of the country. He firmly believed in multi-dimensional aspects of India's freedom struggle. He was of the view that mere political freedom from the colonial rulers was not sufficient. He advocated that to achieve freedom and development in the true sense, reforms in education sector, economic and social sectors, protection of civil rights of individual are equally important. Efforts should be takes in the directions of achieving self-respect, social equality and unity in the country. He believed in reviving Indian industries so that India become economically self-sufficient.

9.4.3 Malaviya as a Liberal Nationalist

Malaviya is considered as a liberal Hindu nationalist because of his association with the Hindu Mahasabha. However, it does not indicate that he was against other religion or faith. As already mentioned he advocated for respect and equality for all the religions and Hindu-Muslim unity. He appealed for universal brotherhood among all the communities living in India. His advocacy for Hindu-Muslim unity is manifested in his opposition to certain divisive colonial policies like separate electorate for the Muslim community. He was of the view that development of a country is not possible if conflict exists between different communities living within it. Universal brotherhood among the communities reflects strength

of a country to fight against external enemies. He believed in equal treatment of all people irrespective of one's faith and that even minorities should feel proud of India's ancient culture and heritage. Malaviya's advocacy for religious unity in India clearly indicates his inherent attribute of liberal nationalist.

Malaviya was a person who vehemently advocated for and supported equality of all castes. He absolutely opposed the practice of untouchability which was practiced against the Harijans until its abolition. He initiated the 'Shuddhi Movement'(*purification*) through 'Mantra Diksha'(chanting of *mantras*), so that the untouchables could be brought within the fold of Hinduism.

As a liberal nationalist Malaviya had believed in constitutional democratic values, grass root democratic institutions in India, equality and rights for all. Malaviya throughout his lifetime advocated for equality and unity among all religions and castes and believed that the unity among all is instrumental in bringing freedom and progress in India in the real sense.

9.4.4 Critical Appreciation

Critics have labelled Malaviya as a hard core Hindu because of his association with the Hindu Mahasabha. Many criticised his as instrumental in construction of politicised Hindu identity in India. He was associated with organisations like the Prayag Hindu Samaj established in 1880 and 'Bharat Dharm Mahamandal', established in 1887 since their inception. Even his opposition of separate electorate for Muslims is criticised as critics said that he opposed this provision as it was against the interest of the Hindus. His differences with the Congress Party for which he left the party also criticised on the ground of his inclination towards Hindu nationalism. In a nutshell, Mallavya is criticised on the ground of being not secular in his approach.

However, no one can overlook the significant contribution of Malaviya in the freedom struggle of India and in the reformation of the Indian society. He was a nationalist, educationist and social reformer at a same time. He was one of the pioneers of higher education in India. Through his initiatives he always sought to establish equality and respect for civil liberties in India. Therefore, contribution of mallavya towards Indian polity and society is worth mentioning.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3) In which year was the Banaras Hindu University established?

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Q4) Write briefly Malaviya's contribution towards reform of Indian society.

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Q5) Write one criticism against Mallavya.

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29.5 LET US SUM UP

- Madan Mohan Malaviya and J. P. Narayan were two such leaders of India who played important role in the freedom struggle and had considerable influence on shaping Indian politics during and in the post-colonial period.
- J.P. Narayan developed his idea of socialism to suit Indian context. J.P Narayan considered socialism as a way and philosophy of life which basically indicates a social order based on certain ethical and moral principles like equality, freedom and harmony among people. Through the concept of socialism, J P Narayan advocated to establish a social and political order which would be characterised by the presence of the principle of justice, equality, non-violence and decentralisation of power.
- J. P. Narayan also believed in democratic system which would be characterised by the presence of rule of law, periodic elections and right of the people to have freedom with respect to speech and opinion. Thus providing a synthesis of socialism and democracy, he strongly supported the principle of democratic socialism.
- J P Narayan developed the concept of 'Total Revolution' as a solution to prevailing problem of India during that period. J P Narayan considered total revolution as the solution to all the existing problems of India and he considered total revolution as a mean to establish an egalitarian society in India.
- Through total revolution J P Narayan emphasised on removal of poverty, economic inequality and discrimination, corruption and wanted to ensure equitable distribution of resources in the economic aspect. In political field, total revolution aims at establishing a democratic system which will be people centred and everyone will get the scope to participate in the decision-making process through decentralisation of power.
- Madan Mohan Malaviya's educational vision has significant contribution towards Indian education system. Malaviya considered education as the most important tool for positive transformation of the society and development of India. Malaviya played an important role in in foundation of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in the year 1916.
- As a social reformer too, Malaviya's contribution has immense importance. To eradicate social evils, he considered legislation as a way out. Regarding position of women in the society, Malaviya was of the view that without recognising worth of women a society cannot be developed. He emphasised on the education of women and for that purpose he took initiatives for the establishment of a women's college within BHU. He also advocated for social equality between different castes and classes of

the society. For economic development of the country, Malaviya believed in industrialisation that would help in eradication of poverty and provide employment to the people of the country.

- Madan Mohan Malaviya played a significant role in the freedom struggle of India. Malaviya's role in the freedom struggle was marked by middle way of liberal nationalism and extremist nationalism. He was in favour of adopting constitutional methods to achieve independence of the country. He firmly believed in multi-dimensional aspects of India's freedom struggle. He was of the view that mere political freedom from the colonial rulers was not sufficient. He advocated that to achieve freedom and development in the true sense, reforms in education sector, economic and social sectors, protection of civil rights of individual are equally important.
- Malaviya is considered as a liberal Hindu nationalist because of his association with the Hindu Mahasabha. However, it does not indicate that he was against other religion or faith. Malaviya believed in the unity of Hindus and Muslims in India. He believed in equal treatment of all people irrespective of one's faith and that even minorities should feel proud of India's ancient culture and heritage.

9.6 FURTHER READING

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2) Dandavate, Madhu, (2002) *Jayaprakash Narayan: Struggle with values, A Centenary Tribute,* Allied Publishers: New Delhi.
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4) Sharma, U. & Sharma, S.K. (2001). *Indian political thought*. new Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
5) Singh, Sunita. (2022). *Educational philosophy of Madan Mohan Malaviya*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
6) Sinha, Nilima, (1990) "Jayaprakash Narayan" in *Remembering Our Leaders,* Children's Book Trust: New Delhi.

9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Total revolution

Ans to Q No 2: J.P. Narayan developed his idea of socialism to suit Indian context. In this regard, Narayan was highly influenced by M.K. Gandhi. J.P Narayan considered socialism as a way and philosophy of life which basically indicates a social order based on certain ethical and moral principles like equality, freedom and harmony among people. Through the concept of socialism, J P Narayan advocated to establish a social and political order which would be characterised by the presence of the principle of justice, equality, non-violence and decentralisation of power. To establish

such kind of socialism, there is need of true sense of transformation of the individual and the society as a whole. Through the concept of socialism, he emphasised upon economic equality, social justice, democracy and decentralisation of power. He was in favour of public ownership of major industries and fair and equitable distribution of wealth among all the sections of people. Again J. P. Narayan also believed in democratic system which would be characterised by the presence of rule of law, periodic elections and right of the people to have freedom with respect to speech and opinion. Thus providing a synthesis of socialism and democracy, he strongly supported the principle of democratic socialism.

Ans to Q No 3: 1916

Ans to Q No 4: As a social reformer, Malaviya's contribution has immense importance. To eradicate social evils, he considered legislation as a way out. One social evil during that period in India was indentured labour and to get rid of this problem he appealed at the Imperial Council on 20th March, 1916. Regarding position of women in the society, Malaviya was of the view that without recognising worth of women a society cannot be developed. He emphasised on the education of women and for that purpose he took initiatives for the establishment of a women's college within BHU. He also advocated for social equality between different castes and classes of the society. He was of the view that each and every section of the society should have access to public property and institutions.

Ans to Q No 5: Critics have labelled Malaviya as a hard core Hindu because of his association with the Hindu Mahasabha. Many criticised his as instrumental in construction of politicised Hindu identity in India. He was associated with organisations like the Prayag Hindu Samaj established in 1880 and 'Bharat Dharm Mahamandal', established in 1887 since their inception. Even his opposition of separate electorate for Muslims is criticised as critics said that he opposed this provision as it was against the interest of the Hindus. His differences with the Congress Party for which he left the party also criticised on the ground of his inclination towards Hindu nationalism. In a nutshell, Mallavya is criticised on the ground of being not secular in his approach.

M9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1) In which year was the Benaras Hindu University established?

Q 2) Define total revolution.

Q 3) Why did Malaviya oppose the provision of separate electorate in India during colonial period?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1) Explain the socio-economic ideas of Narayan.

Q 2) Write about the contribution of Madan Mohan Malaviya in the field of education.

Q 3) Write about Madan Mohan Malaviya's views on Hindu-Muslim unity in India.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-400 words)

Q 1) Analyse the political views and ideas of Malaviya.

Q 2) Critically examine Jayaprakash Narayan's views on Total Revolution.

Q 3) "Malaviya was a Liberal Hindu Nationalist" – Do you agree with this view? Critically examine.

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UNIT 10: MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Political Ideas of Abul Kalam Azad

10.4 Azad's Views on Hindu-Muslim Unity

10.5 Azad's Views on Nationalism

10.6 Azad's Views on Non-Violence

10.7 Azad's Views on Democracy

10.8 Azad's Views on Partition of India

10.9 Let Us Sum Up

10.10 Further Reading

10.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.12 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to:

- understand the political philosophy and ideas of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
- analyze Azad's views on Hindu-Muslim unity and nationalism.
- examine his advocacy for non-violence and democracy.
- assess his perspective on the Partition of India and its implications for Indian politics.
- critically evaluate Azad's relevance in contemporary socio-political discourse.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (11 November, 1888–22 February, 1958) was a prominent freedom fighter, scholar, and the first Education Minister of independent India from 1947 (15 August) to 1958 (22 February). A polyglot and erudite thinker, Azad's political ideas were shaped by his firm belief in secularism, inter-communal harmony, and the values of democracy. He played a pivotal role in the Indian National Congress, advocating Hindu-Muslim unity at a time when communal tensions were escalating. His writings, speeches, and political activism reveal a deep commitment to national integration, non-violent resistance, and the upliftment of education. Azad's vision combined Islamic ethics with modern political principles, making him a unique figure in India's struggle for independence.It is important to note that 11thNovember is observed as 'National Education Day' every year since 2008 to commemorate his birth anniversary.

10.3 POLITICAL IDEAS OF ABUL KALAM AZAD

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's political philosophy was a synthesis of ethical principles, rational governance, and inclusive nationalism, grounded in his belief that India's true strength lay in its cultural and religious pluralism. He viewed communal harmony as the cornerstone of national unity and considered the idea of partition an assault on India's composite heritage. In *'India Wins Freedom'* (1959), Azad emphasized that political power must serve as a moral responsibility rather than an instrument of domination, advocating for governance rooted in justice, reason, and compassion.

Azad's early political thought was shaped by his pan-Islamic education and revolutionary experiences across the Middle East and India. Influenced by thinkers such as Jamaluddin Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, he developed a reformist vision that sought to reconcile Islamic ethics with modern democratic principles. Through his journals and newspapers '*Al-Hilal'* (1912) and *'Al-Balagh'* (1915), he articulated a nationalist ideology that transcended religious divisions, urging Hindus and Muslims to unite against colonial oppression. These writings reflected his conviction that reasoned debate, education, and moral courage were essential tools for awakening political consciousness.

Azad rejected sectarianism and the two-nation theory, arguing that both Hindus and Muslims were integral to the Indian nation. For him, nationalism was not merely territorial but moral—a shared commitment to justice, equality, and collective progress. He envisioned a confederation of autonomous provinces where diversity would coexist within a common framework of freedom and equality. His leadership in the Indian National Congress—first as its youngest president in 1923 and again from 1940 to 1946—demonstrated his belief in ethical leadership and consensus-driven politics.

In governance, Azad championed rational administration guided by ethical responsibility. As India's first Education Minister (1947–1958), he operationalized his political ideals through educational reform, establishing institutions such as the IITs, UGC, and cultural academies to promote intellectual growth and cultural integration. He believed that education was the foundation of democracy, essential for cultivating informed, morally conscious citizens.

Scholars view Azad's thought as a remarkable attempt to harmonise Islamic intellectual tradition with modern secular nationalism. His vision integrated faith with reason, morality with politics, and education with nation-building. Thus, Azad's political philosophy stands as a testament to inclusive nationalism, rational governance, and the enduring belief that ethical and educated citizenship is the true guardian of a free and united India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) How did Maulana Abul Kalam Azad connect nationalism with ethical responsibility ? (within 50 words)

…….....……..

Q2) How did Maulana Azad integrate Islamic tradition with modern democratic nationalism ? (within 100 words)

…….

10.4 AZAD'S VIEWS ON HINDU–MUSLIM UNITY

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad regarded Hindu–Muslim unity as the foundation of India's national identity and moral strength. For him, the freedom struggle was not merely a political contest against colonial rule but a civilizational movement to affirm India's composite culture. According to Azad, the spiritual essence of India lies in its ability to embrace diversity and coexistence. He declared, *"If an angel were to descend from the heavens and announce that Swaraj would be granted in twenty-four hours provided we abandon Hindu–Muslim unity, I would reject that Swaraj."* This moral courage encapsulated his conviction that unity was not a political bargain but a sacred duty to humanity.

Azad's mission for unity began long before independence. Growing up in Kolkata under his father, Maulana Khairuddin, he broke away from a conservative upbringing to join revolutionary circles like *'Anushilan Samiti'* and *'Yugantar'* at the age of seventeen. His early engagement with Hindu revolutionaries such as Rash Behari Ghosh and Shyam Sundar Chakravarty shaped his inclusive vision of nationalism. In 1912, at merely twenty-four, Azad launched *'Al-Hilal'*, an Urdu weekly that became the voice of political awakening. Through its pages, he urged Muslims to "join hands with Hindus to throw off the yoke of British rule," reminding them that the Qur'an itself enjoined cooperation with others for justice and liberation.

Azad's writings in *'Al-Hilal'* and *'Al-Balagh'* went beyond politics; they articulated a theology of unity. He interpreted Islam as a faith that commanded universal brotherhood, justice, and harmony. He rejected sectarianism and the two-nation theory, asserting that India's cultural evolution over centuries had fused Hindus and Muslims into a single nation. As he declared in 1946, *"Just as a Hindu can say with pride that he is an Indian and follows Hinduism, so also we can say with equal pride that we are Indians and follow Islam"*. For Azad, this was the "common nationality" that nature had "fashioned through hidden anvils."

In Azad's view, unity was both a moral and strategic necessity for national reconstruction. As India's first Education Minister, he institutionalized this belief by founding the Sangeet Natak, Lalit Kala, and Sahitya Akademis, as well as the ICCR and the UGC symbols of a plural India where culture, learning, and dialogue sustain democracy.Thus, Azad's idea of Hindu–Muslim unity was a synthesis of faith and reason, ethics and politics. He envisioned a nation where freedom would have no meaning without fraternity, and where the dream of Swaraj would remain incomplete without communal harmony.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3) What was the foundational belief behind Azad's advocacy for Hindu–Muslim unity ? (within 50 words)

……

Q4) How did Azad's early revolutionary engagement influence his commitment to communal unity ? (within 50 words)

……

10.5 AZAD'S VIEWS ON NATIONALISM

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's idea of nationalism was deeply moral, spiritual, and inclusive — a synthesis of faith, culture, and civic responsibility. To him, nationalism was not mere allegiance to a political state but a commitment to the ethical and cultural values that hold people together. He rejected all forms of sectarianism and asserted that *'Islam neither negates nationalism nor nationalism, in its true sense, limits the perception of Islam'*. His nationalism sought to harmonize religious faith with the civic ideals of fraternity, liberty, and equality.

Azad viewed India's composite culture as the natural outcome of centuries of coexistence between Hindus and Muslims. In his words, *"If the inhabitants of this country profess Hinduism for thousands of years, Islam too is the religion of the people here for a thousand years. Like a Hindu, I can say with pride that I am an Indian and follow Islam."* For Azad, Indian nationalism transcended religious boundaries — it was a *collective consciousness* born of shared history, culture, and moral evolution.

Tracing the origin of nationalism, Azad explained that patriotism arises first from affection for one's birthplace and expands with the growth of civilisation into wider affiliations, culminating in *universal humanism.* He believed that Islam, by rejecting tribal and racial superiority, had already proclaimed this higher form of unity. Thus, for Azad, the ideal of Indian nationalism naturally led to the ideal of universal brotherhood — humanity as one moral community.

As a leader and thinker, Azad's nationalism was constructive, not aggressive. He warned against the "chauvinism" of modern European nationalism, which he saw as breeding domination and imperialism. Instead, he advocated what Swami Vivekananda called "spiritual nationalism" — a fusion of moral integrity and civic duty. True nationalism, he argued, required citizens to cultivate self-discipline, ethical judgment, and compassion in public life.

Azad's role as India's first Education Minister reflected his conviction that *education is the foundation of national strength.* Influenced by Ibn Khaldun, Rousseau, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, he emphasized that freedom without enlightenment would remain hollow. Maulana Azad was of the opinion that "*educationists should build the capacities of the spirit of inquiry, creativity, entrepreneurial and moral leadership among students and become their role model*". So, he argued, "*We must not for a moment forget, it is a birthright of every individual to receive at least the basic education without which he cannot fully discharge his duties as a citizen*".

Azad's nationalism was ethical, inclusive, and civic-oriented — a union of spiritual vision and democratic responsibility. He sought to build a nation where political independence was inseparable from moral and intellectual awakening, ensuring that India's unity would rest not on power but on shared ideals and human fraternity.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5) How did Azad define nationalism beyond political allegiance ? (within 50 words)

.....

Q6) Explain how Azad linked Indian nationalism with universal humanism. (within 50 words)

.....

10.6 AZAD'S VIEWS ON NON-VIOLENCE

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a resolute advocate of non-violence, drawing inspiration from both Islamic ethical teachings and Gandhian principles of *satyagraha*. For Azad, non-violence (*ahimsa*) was not merely a tactical tool but a moral imperative, essential for maintaining the legitimacy and ethical foundation of political struggle. He contended that the use of violence, even against colonial rulers, often eroded the moral authority of the nationalist movement, exacerbated communal tensions, and threatened long-term social stability.

Azad's approach to non-violence was both principled and pragmatic. While firmly committed to ethical ideals, he acknowledged the practical constraints imposed by colonial oppression and the complexities of mobilizing mass movements. He believed that non-violent methods could strategically engage the populace, raise political awareness, and exert pressure on colonial authorities without resorting to armed conflict. In his writings and speeches, he consistently emphasized disciplined civil disobedience, organized public protest, and negotiation as complementary means to achieve political objectives.

A distinctive feature of Azad's philosophy was his synthesis of Islamic ethical concepts with Gandhian methods. Principles such as justice, compassion, and restraint were foundational to his vision of non-violent action. He also stressed that non-violence must be accompanied by intellectual engagement and moral education to cultivate informed and conscientious citizens. As scholars remark, Azad's conception of non-violence balanced moral idealism with political realism: a philosophy grounded in ethical conviction yet flexible enough to address the practical demands of anti-colonial politics.

Moreover, Azad saw non-violence as vital for the long-term legitimacy and cohesion of India's nationalist movement. By eschewing coercion and violent confrontation, the movement could cultivate broad-based support across communities, foster interfaith cooperation, and lay the foundation for an inclusive, democratic post-independence nation. This stance distinguished him from contemporaries who occasionally prioritized tactical militancy over ethical considerations. Scholars agree that Azad's commitment to non-violence was thus both morally principled and politically strategic, emphasizing the inseparability of ethical conduct and effective political action.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q7) Why did Azad consider non-violence essential to the freedom struggle ? (within 50 words)

……

Q8) How did Azad reconcile moral idealism with political realism in his non-violent philosophy ? (within 50 words)

……

10.7 AZAD'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad conceived democracy as far more than a mere political system; he regarded it as a moral, social, and spiritual framework grounded in civic responsibility, ethical governance, and active citizen participation. For Azad, the legitimacy of democratic institutions rested not only on procedural mechanisms such as elections or constitutions but also on cultivating virtues like tolerance, justice, and conscientious engagement among citizens. As he famously asserted in his *Presidential Address to the Congress in 1923* (Indian National Congress in Delhi in 1923), "*If an angel descends from the heavens today and proclaims from the Qutb Minar that India can attain Swaraj within 24 hours provided I relinquish my demand for Hindu-Muslim unity, I shall retort to it: 'No my friend, I shall give up Swaraj, but not Hindu-Muslim unity, for if Swaraj is delayed, it will be a loss for India, but if Hindu-Muslim unity is lost, it will be a loss for the whole of mankind"*. Here, Azad emphasises that democracy without inclusivity and unity is hollow; political freedom must be inseparable from social cohesion and moral responsibility.

Azad's tenure as independent India's first Education Minister exemplified his belief in the link between education and democratic vitality. He argued that an enlightened and informed citizenry was indispensable for sustaining democratic institutions, curbing authoritarian tendencies, and promoting social equity. Through literacy campaigns, universal education, and the promotion of critical thinking, scientific inquiry, and cultural awareness, Azad sought to empower individuals to participate meaningfully in governance.

Ethical leadership was another cornerstone of Azad's vision. Leaders, he maintained, must act with integrity, impartiality, and a sense of moral duty, ensuring that governance reflects justice and collective welfare. Azad consistently linked Islamic principles with democratic ethics, arguing that Islam safeguards equality, fraternity, liberty, and tolerance for all, regardless of religion, class, or gender.

Azad also emphasized secularism and pluralism as intrinsic to democracy. He believed that diverse communities could coexist harmoniously under shared constitutional and ethical principles, making diversity a source of strength rather than division. In essence, Azad's vision of democracy integrated ethical leadership, civic education, and social justice. He envisioned a participatory, secular, and morally grounded India, where citizens are both empowered and accountable, ensuring that democracy is not only a political arrangement but a living, inclusive, and ethical way of life.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q9) How did Azad define democracy beyond electoral politics ?

.....

Q10) Why did Azad link democracy with education ?

.....

10.8 AZAD'S VIEWS ON THE PARTITION OF INDIA

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was among the most articulate and steadfast opponents of the partition of India. For him, the division of the subcontinent on religious grounds represented a profound betrayal of India's composite nationalism—a vision he had defended for decades as essential to both moral order and political stability. In *India Wins Freedom* (1959), Azad called Partition *"the greatest tragedy of our history"*, lamenting that *"India won her freedom but lost her unity".*

Azad viewed partition as both ethically indefensible and politically disastrous. Ethically, he believed that dividing people on religious lines contradicted the universal spirit of Islam and the humanist ideals of the freedom struggle. For Azad, Islam's universality was consistent with Indian pluralism; the unity of faith and nationality, he believed, was not only possible but imperative.

Politically, Azad recognized that partition would produce lasting communal antagonism and geopolitical instability. During the Cabinet Mission of 1946, Azad—then President of the Indian National Congress—played a decisive role in formulating an alternative to partition. His proposal for a federal India granted maximum autonomy to provinces, ensuring Muslim-majority regions could manage their own affairs without fear of domination by the center. This plan, accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League, represented what Azad called a *"miracle of consensus"*—a moment when India's unity seemed within reach.

However, the fragile consensus collapsed after Jawaharlal Nehru's controversial statement at a Bombay press conference in July 1946, where he declared that Congress was "free to modify" the Cabinet Mission Plan. This single remark, Azad later wrote, *"gave Jinnah the excuse he had been seeking".* The Muslim League withdrew, revived its demand for Pakistan, and announced its "Direct Action Day" (16 August 1946), plunging Bengal and other regions into violence. Reflecting on this turning point, Azad confessed with anguish that his decision to nominate Nehru as Congress President in 1946 was *"the greatest political blunder of my life".* He believed that if either Sardar Patel or he himself had remained president, "India might have awakened to a different dawn".

As India's first Education Minister, Azad turned his moral anguish into a program of reconstruction. Through institutions like the UGC, IITs, and national academies of art and culture, he sought to heal the civilizational wound left by Partition through education, culture, and scientific progress. Scholars note that Azad's resistance to partition reflected a synthesis of Islamic modernism, ethical humanism, and secular nationalism—an alternative vision that India continues to rediscover in times of division.

In essence, Azad's critique of Partition was not merely political—it was civilizational. He foresaw that the moral and spiritual cost of division would far exceed its political convenience. His life, words, and statesmanship remain a testament to the enduring ideal of unity in diversity, reminding future generations that freedom without fraternity is a hollow triumph.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q11) Why did Azad consider the Partition of India a moral betrayal ?

.....

Q12) What political consequences did Azad foresee arising from Partition ? (within 50 words)

.....

2 10.9 LET US SUM UP

- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a towering figure in India's political and intellectual history, whose ideas combined moral philosophy, ethical governance, and practical political engagement. His political thoughtrevolved around principles of inclusivity, secularism, rationality, and ethical responsibility. Azad's political philosophy emphasized that India's strength lay in its pluralism and that national unity could only be achieved by integrating ethical leadership with political empowerment.
- Azad consistently advocated Hindu-Muslim unity as the foundation of Indian nationalism, opposing divisive ideologies such as the two-nation theory. He viewed inter-communal cooperation not only as a moral imperative but also as a political necessity for the success of the freedom movement and the stability of post-independence India. His vision of nationalism transcended narrow, communal loyalty, emphasizing civic responsibility, self-discipline, and the cultivation of moral and ethical consciousness, which is described as "spiritual nationalism."
- Education played a central role in Azad's vision. As India's first Education Minister, he linked education with democracy, believing that an enlightened and informed citizenry was essential for sustaining democratic institutions and fostering social cohesion. He promoted universal education, scientific inquiry, and cultural awareness to cultivate informed, responsible, and ethically conscious citizens, who would serve as the pillars of democratic governance.
- Azad was also a strong advocate of non-violence, integrating Islamic ethical principles with Gandhian civil disobedience. He maintained that moral legitimacy and political efficacy were inseparable, and non-violent methods were both ethically superior and pragmatically effective for achieving political objectives.
- Azad opposed the partition of India, perceiving it as a betrayal of the inclusive vision of the freedom movement. He foresaw the communal violence and social instability that partition would create and worked to mitigate its effects, protecting minority communities and maintaining social order. His resistance to partition exemplified the

integration of ethical reasoning with political strategy.

- Azad's political thought was multidimensional, combining ethical principles, civic responsibility, education, inter-communal harmony, non-violence, and principled opposition to divisive policies. His ideas continue to offer enduring lessons for contemporary Indian politics, highlighting the importance of secularism, pluralism, moral leadership, and inclusive nation-building.

10.10 FURTHER READING

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10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Azad saw nationalism as a moral commitment rather than mere political loyalty. For him, serving the nation meant upholding justice, compassion, and equality. He believed political power was a sacred trust to uplift all communities, making ethical responsibility the foundation of true national service.

Ans to Q No 2: Azad drew upon Islamic ethical principles such as justice, reason, and universal brotherhood to argue that Islam fundamentally supports democracy and human equality. Influenced by reformist thinkers like Afghani and Abduh, he rejected sectarian politics and saw no conflict between religious faith and secular governance. Azad envisioned an inclusive Indian nationalism rooted not in religious identity but in shared moral values and collective progress. His vision harmonised tradition with modernity—faith with rationality—making education, debate, and ethical citizenship the tools of national regeneration. Thus, he offered a uniquely plural, spiritually

grounded model of democratic nation-building.

Ans to Q No 3: Azad believed Hindu–Muslim unity was not a political strategy but the moral essence of India's civilization. He held that India's strength and identity emerged from its composite heritage where diverse faiths coexisted. For him, freedom without communal harmony would be incomplete and ethically hollow.

Ans to Q No 4: Azad's association with Hindu revolutionaries like Aurobindo Ghosh, Rash Behari Ghosh, and Shyam Sundar Chakravarty during his youth shaped his conviction that India's liberation required joint Hindu–Muslim struggle. This revolutionary experience dissolved communal barriers and strengthened his belief in a shared national destiny.

Ans to Q No 5: Azad viewed nationalism as a moral and spiritual commitment to shared cultural and ethical values, not merely loyalty to a political state. He saw it as a unifying consciousness rooted in fraternity, justice, and duty, transcending religious or sectarian identities in pursuit of national harmony.

Ans to Q No 6: Azad believed nationalism begins with love for one's birthplace but must evolve towards universal humanism. He argued that true nationalism does not end in territorial pride but expands into moral responsibility towards all humanity. Drawing from Islam's rejection of tribal superiority and emphasis on brotherhood, he saw Indian nationalism as a natural pathway to global unity. For Azad, India's composite culture — shaped by centuries of Hindu–Muslim coexistence — was proof of this higher moral vision. Thus, Indian nationalism, in its truest form, was not exclusionary but a step toward universal brotherhood rooted in justice, dignity, and shared destiny.

Ans to Q No 7: Azad believed non-violence was essential because it preserved the moral legitimacy of the freedom struggle. He argued that violence would weaken ethical authority, deepen communal divisions, and endanger India's long-term unity. For him, freedom gained through moral means was the only freedom that could endure.

Ans to Q No 8: Azad upheld non-violence as a moral duty yet recognized practical realities of colonial oppression. He supported disciplined civil disobedience, negotiation, and mass mobilization as strategic tools. His approach blended ethical conviction with pragmatic action, proving that moral strength could coexist with effective political strategy.

Ans to Q No 9: Azad viewed democracy as a moral and social order rooted in justice, unity, and civic responsibility. It was not limited to elections or formal institutions but depended on ethical leadership, citizen awareness, and inclusivity — a living culture of tolerance, participation, and shared moral duty.

Ans to Q No 10: Azad believed democracy could not survive without an educated, informed, and critically aware citizenry. Education, for him, fostered rational thinking, moral responsibility, and resistance to authoritarianism, enabling citizens to engage meaningfully in governance and uphold democratic values.

Ans to Q No 11: Azad saw Partition as a violation of India's composite nationalism and a betrayal of the ethical foundations of the freedom struggle. He believed dividing people

on religious lines contradicted both Islamic universalism and India's plural civilizational spirit, making it morally indefensible.

Ans to Q No 12: Azad warned that Partition would ignite enduring communal hostility, destabilize the subcontinent, and trap India and Pakistan in cycles of mistrust and violence. He foresaw that religious division, once politically legitimized, would become impossible to reverse and threaten long-term peace and national unity.

10.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: What were the core ethical principles underlying Azad's political philosophy?

Q 2: In India which day is observed as National Education Day?

Q 3: Who wrote the book *India Wins Freedom* (1959)?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain how Azad reconciled traditional Islamic thought with modern political ideas.

Q 2: How did Azad oppose the two-nation theory, and what were his main arguments?

Q 3: Explain the concept of "spiritual nationalism" as articulated by Azad.

Q 4: Discuss how Azad's vision of democracy.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the connection Azad made between education and the sustainability of democratic institutions.

Q 2: Discuss Azad's views on non-violence and partition of India.

Q 3: Explain Azad's views on nationalism and Hindu-Muslim Unity in India.

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UNIT 11: RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives
11.2 Introduction
11.3 Ideas on Socialism and Gandhism
  11.3.1 Idea of New Socialism
  11.3.2 Gandhian Influence on Lohia
  11.3.3 Synthesis of Gandhism and Socialism
  11.3.4 Lohia's idea of Sapta Kranti
  11.3.5 Difference from Sarvodaya, Communism, and Nehruvian Socialism
11.4 Lohia's Concept of International Society
11.5 Let Us Sum Up
11.6 Further Reading
11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
11.8 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the learners we will be able to:

- describe the political ideas of Lohia
- explain how Lohia identified the problems of socialism and how he modified it to fit the Indian experience
- analyse the relevance of Lohia as a modern and significant political thinker.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Ram Manohar Lohia is regarded as one of the most original and insightful modern Indian thinkers. He holds a unique position among Indian intellectuals, particularly for his significant contribution to socialist thought. Lohia can be described as a scholar, an activist, and a leading political figure of his time.

Ram Manohar Lohia was born on 23 March 1910 at Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh and passed away on 12 October 1967. He completed his higher education at Banaras Hindu University and Calcutta University, and later earned his Doctorate from the University of Berlin.

He was deeply influenced by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx. Lohia was not merely a thinker but also a dynamic political activist. He mobilised Indians on several occasions, both within the country and abroad. He founded the Association of European Indians, joined the Indian National Congress, and helped establish the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. In 1936, he was appointed Secretary of the All India Congress Committee. He actively participated in the national freedom movement and was imprisoned nearly twenty times for his activities and initiatives. Through his writings on Satyagraha and freedom, he sought to inspire awareness and awakening among the Indian people.

After independence, he continued to serve the nation with dedication and commitment. He took the initiative to construct a dam on the Paniyari River, later known as the 'Lohia Sagar Dam.' He also founded the 'Hind Kisan Panchayat' to address the issues faced by Indian peasants.

His notable works include *India, China and Northern Frontiers*, *The Caste System: Hyderabad*, *Guilty Men of India's Partition*, *Foreign Policy*, *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, and *Fragments of a World Mind*.

11.3 LOHIA'S IDEAS ON SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

Ram Manohar Lohia was one of the foremost advocates of decentralised or "New Socialism" in India. He believed that socialism must be reshaped in accordance with Indian social realities rather than borrowed from European or Soviet experiences. In his well-known work *'Marx, Gandhi and Socialism'*, Lohia argued that true socialism rests on the principle that all human beings are equal; not only within a nation but also among nations. This equality, he believed, should guarantee a minimum standard of living for all people across the world.

For Lohia, socialism in India was inseparably connected with Gandhian philosophy, yet he felt that Gandhism required a clearer economic programme to achieve equality. His political thought therefore represents a creative synthesis of Gandhian ethics and socialist restructuring, aimed at removing caste hierarchy, gender inequality, rural poverty, and economic exploitation.

11.3.1 Idea of New Socialism

Lohia strongly criticised the blind imitation of Western socialism and Soviet communism, calling them Euro-centric and unsuitable for India's labour-intensive and village-based society. He believed that India required a model of development that could provide employment to millions living in rural areas. Under his concept of New Socialism, he advocated the development of small-scale and cottage industries, the use of small machines instead of heavy industrialisation, the decentralisation of economic power, and the equitable distribution of wealth.

Lohia argued that large industries often create wealth but concentrate it in the hands of a few and in urban centres. In contrast, small-scale and cottage industries generate employment at the local level. They help villages to become economically self-sufficient and reduce the migration of rural people to cities. According to Lohia, when production takes place within villages, poverty and unemployment can be effectively reduced.

Lohia did not oppose technology or machines. However, he opposed the use of "big machines" that replace human labour and create unemployment. He promoted the concept of "small machines" that enhance productivity without displacing workers. Technology, in his view, should serve human needs and protect employment rather than create joblessness.

Lohia felt that economic power should not remain concentrated in big cities or in the hands of a few industrialists. He advocated spreading economic activities across villages and small towns so that resources and decision-making power remain with the people. This decentralisation would reduce inequality and empower local communities.

For Lohia, socialism meant not only producing wealth but also distributing it fairly. He emphasised land reforms, fair wages, and state intervention to ensure social justice. Reducing the gap between rich and poor was essential for creating a just society.

11.3.2 Gandhian Influence on Lohia

Ram Manohar Lohia openly acknowledged that the roots of socialism in India could be traced to the ideas and actions of Mahatma Gandhi. Although Lohia developed an independent and original socialist framework, he consistently emphasized that Gandhi's ethical vision, methods of struggle, and concern for the oppressed provided the moral foundation upon which Indian socialism could be built. Lohia deeply admired Gandhi not merely as a political leader but as a moral force who transformed the nature of politics in India.

For Lohia, Gandhism was not a rigid doctrine but a living and flexible philosophy that could be adapted to the needs of social transformation. He believed that Gandhi's methods and principles could enrich socialism by giving it a humane, ethical, and non-violent character.

One of the most significant Gandhian influences on Lohia was the principle of non-violence. Like Gandhi, Lohia believed that violence ultimately produces hatred, revenge, and destruction, which cannot lead to progressive and permanent social change. He argued that violent revolutions may overthrow regimes but often replace one form of oppression with another.Lohia supported non-violent methods such as Satyagraha, civil disobedience, peaceful protests, and non-cooperation as effective tools for bringing about political and social transformation. He even described civil disobedience as a "revolution against violent revolutions," meaning that it had the power to challenge injustice without destroying human values. For him, non-violence was not a sign of weakness but a powerful moral weapon that mobilized the conscience of the people.

Lohia was deeply influenced by Gandhi's idea of Gram Swaraj or village self-rule. He believed that true democracy could not function effectively if power remained concentrated in the hands of a few at the top. Democracy, in his view, must begin at the grassroots level, where people directly participate in decision-making process.He supported the idea that villages should be self-governing units with control over their economic and political affairs. Such decentralisation would prevent the concentration of power, reduce bureaucratic domination and empower the citizens. Lohia saw this as an essential step toward creating a participatory and people-centred democracy.

Another important aspect of Gandhian influence on Lohia was the emphasis on morality in politics. Lohia believed that politics should not be guided solely by the pursuit of power, manipulation, or personal gain. Instead, it should be rooted in honesty, integrity,

and a commitment to social welfare.He argued that when politics loses its ethical foundation, it leads to corruption, exploitation, and injustice. Therefore, Lohia insisted that political leaders must be guided by moral principles and a sense of responsibility toward society. This ethical dimension distinguished his socialism from purely materialist ideologies.

Inspired by Gandhi's advocacy of simple living and local production, Lohia emphasized the importance of simplicity and self-reliance in national development. He believed that dependence on foreign goods and excessive consumerism weakened the nation's economy and moral strength.By promoting local industries, indigenous production, and self-sufficient communities, Lohia sought to reduce economic dependency and encourage sustainable development. This idea also aligned with his broader vision of decentralized socialism, where villages and small communities played a central role in economic life.

11.3.3 Synthesis of Gandhism and Socialism

Lohia's originality is reflected in his effort to harmonise Gandhian methods with socialist objectives. He believed that the ethical and peaceful techniques adopted by Gandhi were not merely tools of political protest but could also serve as effective instruments for achieving the socialist ideals of equality and justice. For Lohia, the path to socialism did not require hatred or violence; rather, it required moral conviction, people's participation and democratic action.

In contrast to communist approaches that endorsed violent revolution as a means of restructuring society, Lohia firmly maintained that economic justice and social transformation could be achieved through non-violent and democratic processes. He viewed non-violence as a powerful method capable of bringing deep and long lasting change without destroying human values or social harmony.

Lohia further argued that freedom and equality could not flourish in a system where political and economic power remained highly centralised. Concentration of authority in a few hands, whether in the state or in industrial institutions, threatened individual liberty and widened inequality. Therefore, he strongly supported decentralised democracy, where power would be distributed among people at the grassroots level, enabling wider participation and ensuring social balance.

Another distinctive feature of Lohia's thought was his belief that socialism must address both material and moral dimensions of life. He described socialism as a synthesis of spiritualism and materialism. While it sought to remove poverty and inequality, it also aimed at improving individual character and promoting ethical values in society. In his view, true social reform required not only economic restructuring but also moral upliftment.

Lohia rejected the idea that there was any conflict between the individual and society. He believed that the individual was both the means and the end of socialism. Social change should empower individuals, and at the same time, responsible individuals should contribute to build a just and equitable society.

11.3.4 Lohia's idea of Sapta Kranti

Lohia's concept of Sapta Kranti (Seven Revolutions) provides a comprehensive understanding of his idea of New Socialism. Through these seven revolutions, Lohia expanded the meaning of socialism beyond economic restructuring to include social, cultural, political, and moral transformation. He believed that true equality could be achieved only when all forms of injustice and discrimination were challenged simultaneously. Important aspects of his concept of Sapta Kranti are:

- **Equality between men and women**: Lohia strongly advocated equal rights, status, and opportunities for women in every sphere of life- social, political, and economic. He believed that gender inequality was deeply rooted in Indian society and acted as a major barrier to progress. According to him, no society could claim to be civilized or democratic if women continue to be treated as subordinate. Women's emancipation is therefore an essential condition for social transformation.
- **Abolition of caste discrimination**: Lohia regarded caste as one of the greatest obstacles to Indian democracy and social equality. He argued that caste hierarchy not only denied dignity to individuals but also prevented the growth of a unified society. For Lohia, the removal of caste discrimination was more urgent in India than even class struggle. He called for the complete eradication of caste-based divisions to ensure equality and human dignity.
- **End of racial or colour discrimination**: Lohia opposed all forms of discrimination based on race or skin colour. He believed that such prejudices divided humanity and promoted injustice at a global level. This revolution reflected his humanist outlook and his belief in equality among all people, irrespective of their physical or racial differences.
- **National independence from colonialism and imperialism**: Lohia emphasized that political freedom from foreign domination was necessary for genuine social and economic development. Colonialism, in his view, exploited nations and hindered their progress. Therefore, freedom from imperialist control was a prerequisite for building a just and self-reliant society.
- **Economic equality**: A central aim of Lohia's socialism was to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. He supported policies that would ensure fair distribution of resources, opportunities, and wealth. Economic equality, for him, was not merely about increasing production but about ensuring that the benefits of development reached all sections of society.
- **Civil disobedience against violent revolutions**: Lohia believed in peaceful methods of protest and reform rather than violent uprisings. Inspired by Gandhian methods, he saw civil disobedience as a powerful tool to resist injustice without destroying social harmony. He described it as a revolution against violent revolutions, capable of bringing change through moral force.

- **Freedom of individual thought**: Lohia emphasized that individuals must be free from coercion by unjust political systems, social pressures, or rigid collective ideologies. Freedom of thought and expression was essential for democracy and personal dignity. He believed that true socialism must protect individual liberty along with social equality.

11.3.5 Difference from Sarvodaya, Communism, and Nehruvian Socialism

Lohia clearly distinguished his ideas from other prevailing ideologies. He rejected Sarvodaya because it did not emphasize structural social and economic change. He opposed communism for its centralisation, violence, and restriction of individual freedom, though he appreciated certain aspects of Marxism. He disagreed with Nehru's socialism, which relied heavily on large industries and central planning, ignoring village-based development.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Mention two major works of Ram Manohar Lohia.

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Q2) Write briefly about two important aspects of Lohia'sSapta Kranti concept.

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Q3) Write a note on Lohia's views on socialism.

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11.4 LOHIA'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

Ram Manohar Lohia's idea of International Society reflects his deep commitment to humanism, socialism, equality, and peace. His approach to world affairs did not arise merely from political theory but from a moral and philosophical vision that combined Gandhian ethics with socialist reconstruction. For Lohia, international politics could not be separated from social justice, economic equality, and moral responsibility. He believed

that unless the global order addressed inequality and domination, peace would remain fragile and incomplete.

Lohia agreed with Mahatma Gandhi that the international order was primarily composed of nation-states, which function as the principal actors sustaining international society. However, he did not consider this structure sufficient or just. He observed that the system of sovereign nation-states had become highly stratified and hegemonic, where powerful nations dominated weaker ones. This inequality, in his view, was the root cause of conflict, exploitation, and instability in the world.

Lohia conceptualised international society as consisting of two interrelated segments: a) Nation-States b) Mankind as a whole

While accepting the reality of nation-states, Lohia envisioned a future where these states would gradually come together to form a federal world order, eventually leading to the political unity of mankind. In this vision, national sovereignty would not disappear but would be integrated into a larger global framework of cooperation and shared governance.This idea bears resemblance to Immanuel Kant's notion of a federation of free states for ensuring perpetual peace. However, Lohia's conception was more socially rooted. He did not simply want peace between states; he wanted justice, equality and shared prosperity for all people across the world.

A major element of Lohia's thought was his critique of hegemonial dominance in international relations. He argued that throughout history, the world had been divided between:

a. Hegemonic powers (dominant states)

b. Peripheral or weaker states

He observed that global power keeps shifting in a cyclical manner from one dominant nation to another. However, this change in hegemon does not benefit all countries equally. Prosperity and wealth remain concentrated in a few hands, while the majority of nations continue to struggle with poverty, underdevelopment, and exploitation.Lohia believed that this cycle of hegemony had to be broken, otherwise the advantages of progress and prosperity would always be controlled by a few powerful states through their material, military, and economic strength.

Lohia was a strong critic of the Cold War, as he believed that the intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union diverted global attention from the real issues affecting the majority of the world's population. In his view, the two superpowers were deeply preoccupied with ideological conflicts and military competition, leaving little concern for the pressing problems of poverty, inequality, and social injustice faced by smaller and developing nations. He also observed that many of these nations were compelled to align themselves with one bloc or the other, often at the cost of their own independent priorities and development needs.He argued that peaceful coexistence would never be possible unless the two power blocs were dismantled. For Lohia, the Cold War symbolised how hegemonic politics suppressed the interests of the majority of nations.

Lohia did not accept the view that international relations operate only through diplomacy, treaties, and strategic alliances. He argued that a genuine political process must exist at the global level to deal with common problems faced by humanity. In his view, international society should not be governed merely by power politics or the dominance of strong nations. Instead, there must be institutional and political mechanisms capable of addressing global issues in a systematic and just manner. He emphasized that both developed and developing countries should participate in initiating such processes so that weaker nations could also have a meaningful voice in world affairs. For Lohia, global governance had to be participatory, inclusive and oriented toward justice rather than power.

Lohia also closely connected international politics with the structure of the global economy. He believed that the prevailing economic order itself encouraged inequality and injustice, as wealth and resources were concentrated in a few developed nations while the rest of the world remained dependent and underdeveloped. To correct this imbalance, he argued for a reorientation and restructuring of the world economic system. He called for a fair distribution of resources and opportunities and stressed that development should benefit all nations rather than generate profit for a select few. Thus, his concept of international society extended beyond political cooperation to include economic justice at the global level.

Looking toward the future, Lohia envisioned the gradual emergence of a federal world order. He imagined a system in which nation-states would cooperate under a common framework while retaining their cultural identities. Such a federal structure, he believed, would reduce the possibility of wars and conflicts, promote shared prosperity, and ensure political representation for all peoples. This arrangement would replace hegemonic domination with cooperative governance and encourage nations to think beyond narrow nationalism. In this way, a true international society based on equality and justice could be realized.

At the heart of Lohia's international thought encompasses a deep sense of humanism. He viewed international relations not merely as interactions between governments but as relationships among people across borders. His vision emphasized respect for human dignity, solidarity among different nations and the moral responsibility of stronger countries toward weaker ones. This moral dimension of politics clearly reflects Gandhian influence, as Lohia believed that ethical principles should guide world affairs.

Lohia's ideas on international society remain highly relevant in the contemporary world. The continued dominance of powerful nations, persistent economic inequality between developed and developing countries and the need for reforms in global institutions such as the 'United Nations' and the 'World Trade Organization' reflect concerns similar to those he raised. Many present-day conflicts arise from power politics rather than a commitment to social justice. His call for global equality, political cooperation and moral internationalism continues to offer valuable insights for addressing modern global challenges.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4) What are the two parts of International Society as stated by Lohia?

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Q5) Why did Lohia criticise Cold War?

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11.5 LET US SUM UP

- Ram Manohar Lohia was one of the most original and creative modern Indian thinkers. He can be described as an intellectual, an activist, and a prominent political figure of his time. He played an instrumental role in Indian politics both before and after independence. Lohia was born at Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh on 23 March 1910 and passed away on 11 October 1967.
- He was deeply influenced by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx. Lohia was not only a scholar but also a highly active political participant. During his stay in Europe, he formed the Association of European Indians. Later, he joined the Indian National Congress and played a key role in establishing the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. In 1936, he was elected as the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee. He was actively involved in the Indian freedom struggle and was imprisoned nearly twenty times for his participation in various movements and protests.
- According to Lohia, socialism in India was closely linked with Gandhian ideas. He was deeply influenced by Gandhi's ethics, principles, and methods. He considered Satyagraha and non-cooperation as unique contributions of Gandhi and argued that socialism should be combined with Gandhism to make it more humane and effective. Lohia maintained that socialism was a newer doctrine than capitalism or communism and developed the concept of *Sapta Kranti* or Seven Revolutions, which he regarded as essential for achieving his vision of New Socialism.
- He clearly distinguished his idea of socialism from the concept of Sarvodaya, which he felt did not adequately address the need for structural social change. Lohia was also critical of communism, which he viewed as overly centralized, violent, and restrictive of human freedom.
- Lohia was both an idealist and a humanist. His understanding of socialism combined material concerns with moral and spiritual values. He extended his thinking beyond national politics to the international sphere. Lohia believed that international society

consisted of two elements: nation-states and mankind. He envisioned a future in which nation-states would come together to form a federal world order, eventually uniting humanity as one political community.

- Ram Manohar Lohia was not only a political leader and intellectual but also a visionary thinker. His emphasis on equality, development, socialism, and the idea of a world society continues to hold relevance for building a more just and humane society.

11.6 FURTHER READING

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2) Johari, J. C. (n.d.). *The great radical humanist*.

3) Mehta, V. R. (1986). *Foundations of Indian political thought*. Manohar Publications.

4) Varma, V. P. (2013). *Modern Indian political thought*. Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal Educational Publishers.

11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: India,China, and Northern Frontiers; Marx, Gandhi and Socialism.

Ans to Q No 2: (i) **Equality between men and women**: Lohia strongly advocated equal rights, status, and opportunities for women in every sphere of life- social, political, and economic. He believed that gender inequality was deeply rooted in Indian society and acted as a major barrier to progress. According to him, no society could claim to be civilized or democratic if women continue to be treated as subordinate. Women's emancipation is therefore an essential condition for social transformation. **(ii) Abolition of caste discrimination**: Lohia regarded caste as one of the greatest obstacles to Indian democracy and social equality. He argued that caste hierarchy not only denied dignity to individuals but also prevented the growth of a unified society. For Lohia, the removal of caste discrimination was more urgent in India than even class struggle. He called for the complete eradication of caste-based divisions to ensure equality and human dignity.

Ans to Q No 3: Lohia was a staunch advocate of decentralized socialism also known as 'New Socialism'. He stated in his work, Marx, Gandhi and Socialism that the socialist doctrine needs to be reoriented in the backdrop of the simple truth that all men are equal not only within the nation but also among nations. He opined that, if this could be achieved, people would be able to maintain a basic minimum standard of living not only within their national territories, but as whole, all across countries and continents, in the whole world. According to Lohia, socialism in India was inherently associated with Gandhi's ideas. He had stated that, socialism in India was initiated by Gandhi's ideas and actions. He was greatly impacted by Gandhi's principles, ethics and methods. He believed that the ideas of "Satyagraha" and "Non-co-operation"were unique innovations of Gandhi and he wanted socialism to be combined with Gandhism in order to enrich it. Inspired by Gandhian thought, Lohia went on to

propagate that, socialism did not only have physical aims and goals, but it also meant, the alleviation of poverty and inequality from society and the strengthening of individual character. But again, he clarified that spiritualism is only an aspect of socialism and socialism as a doctrine or philosophy was a combination of spiritualism and materialism. In other words, it is about both individual and social reform.

Ans to Q No 4: Lohia stated that the international society is essentially composed of two parts or segments, i.e. (a) the nation states and (b) mankind.

Ans to Q No 5: Lohia was a strong critic of the Cold War, as he believed that the intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union diverted global attention from the real issues affecting the majority of the world's population. In his view, the two superpowers were deeply preoccupied with ideological conflicts and military competition, leaving little concern for the pressing problems of poverty, inequality, and social injustice faced by smaller and developing nations. He also observed that many of these nations were compelled to align themselves with one bloc or the other, often at the cost of their own independent priorities and development needs.He argued that peaceful coexistence would never be possible unless the two power blocs were dismantled. For Lohia, the Cold War symbolised how hegemonic politics suppressed the interests of the majority of nations.

11.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Question

Q 1: Mention the names of two important books authored by Ram Manohar Lohia.

Q 2: Did Lohia absolutely oppose the use of technology and machines?

B) Short Questions (answer within 150 words)

Q 1: Write about the influence of Gandhian thought on Lohia.

Q 2: Explain Lohia's concept of Sapta Kranti.

C) Short Questions (answer within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically examine Lohia's views on socialism and Gandhism.

Q 2: Describe Lohia's idea of International Society.

Q 3: Discuss the contributions of Lohia towards the development of Indian political thought.

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UNIT 12: DEENDAYAL UPADHYAY

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives
12.2 Introduction
12.3 Life and Political Career
12.4 Philosophy of Integral Humanism
  12.4.1 Origin and Concept
  12.4.2 Key Features
12.5 Upadhyay's Views on State, Society and Economy
12.6 Relevance of Upadhyay's Political Thought
12.7 Criticism of Upadhyay's Political Thought
12.8 Let us Sum up
12.9 Further Reading
12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress
12.11 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to-

- understand the life and political contributions of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya.
- explain the core principles of Integral Humanism.
- analyse his views on state, society, economy, culture, and democracy.
- critically assess the relevance of Upadhyaya's ideas in contemporary Indian politics.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay (1916–1968) was a prominent Indian political thinker, philosopher, and leader of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. He is best known for propounding the doctrine of Integral Humanism, an indigenous socio-political philosophy rooted in Indian cultural traditions. His thought provides an alternative framework to Western political ideologies and emphasizes harmony between individual, society, nature, and the cosmos.

12.3 LIFE AND POLITICAL CAREER

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was born in 1916 in the village of Chandrabhan, now known as Deendayal Dham, near Farah in Mathura, India. He faced significant challenges in his early life, having lost both of his parents by the age of ten. This adversity instilled in him a deep sense of empathy, humility, and a commitment to serving others. He was raised by his maternal grandfather, which played a crucial role in shaping his character and values.

Upadhyay excelled academically despite his hardships. He completed his intermediate education at Birla College in Pilani, where he topped the board exam in 1937, receiving distinction in all subjects and earning a gold medal, along with a scholarship

from Ghan Shyam Das Birla. He went on to pursue a Bachelor of Arts degree at Sanatan Dharma College in Kanpur, graduating in first division in 1939. Following this, he joined St. John's College in Agra for a Master's degree in English literature but was unable to complete his studies due to personal reasons, including a cousin's illness. Pandit Deendayal was very depressed at this incident and could not take the M.A exams. Subsequently, his scholarships received from the Maharaja of Sikar and Shri Birla were discontinued.

Afterward, he obtained a Bachelor of Teaching (B.T.) degree in Prayag and subsequently entered public service. Upadhyay's educational journey was characterized by a love for learning that intensified as he began his career in public service, particularly in the fields of sociology and philosophy. His involvement with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) during his college years significantly influenced his ideological development, leading him to advocate for an India rooted in its own cultural ethos, which later evolved into his philosophy of Integral Humanism.

Upadhyay was persuaded by his friend Shri Balwant Mahashabde to join the RSS. Subsequently, he did join the organisation in 1937. While pursuing his M.A in Agra, Pandit Upadhyay joined forces with Shri Nanaji Deshmukh and Shri Bhau Jugade for RSS activities. His involvement with the RSS deepened his commitment to national service, and he became a full-time pracharak (campaigner) in 1942. He worked extensively in Uttar Pradesh, where he honed his organizational skills and political acumen, ultimately rising to the role of joint prant pracharak. When Shyama Prasad Mukherjee founded the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) in 1951, the RSS seconded Upadhyay to strengthen the new political party. His organisational acumen led to his appointment as the General Secretary of the party's Uttar Pradesh branch and later as the All-India General Secretary. After Mukherjee's untimely demise in 1953, Upadhyay shouldered the responsibility of nurturing the fledgling BJS, transforming it into a significant political force. For 15 years, he served as its General Secretary, tirelessly working to expand its influence nationwide. He assumed the position of the President of the party in 1968. However, his life was cut short at the age of 52 years, when he was found dead under mysterious circumstances on February 11, 1968.

12.4 PHILOSOPHY OF INTEGRAL HUMANISM

12.4.1. Concept and Origin

Integral Humanism is a holistic socio-political philosophy that blends material and spiritual dimensions of human life to ensure individual and collective progress. It was propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay in 1965, which was adopted as the guiding philosophy of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the forerunner of the Bharatiya Janata Party. The concept emerged as a third alternative to western capitalism and communism. Upadhyaya adeptly critiqued the social and political philosophies of both capitalism and communism by highlighting their disregard for humanitarian aspects and their disproportionate focus on financial dimensions. The ideological contours of integral humanism stem from ancient Indian traditions and cultural ethos. The philosophical foundations of integral humanism

were shaped primarily by the ideals of 'Dharma'. Upadhyay highlights the necessity of an indigenous economic paradigm that prioritizes human development. He contends that an awareness of India's cultural and spiritual legacy is necessary to find answers to the world's problems rather than relying just on foreign philosophies. According to Upadhyay, "Neither possible nor wise to adopt foreign -Isms in our country in the original form in toto nor can we ignore altogether the developments in other societies".

12.4.2 Key Features

Upadhyay proposed the concept of **'Ekatma Manavvad'** (Integral Humanism), which viewed humankind through four hierarchical attributes, which again contribute to four universal objectives:

- Body (Kama): Desire or satisfaction
- Mind (Artha): Wealth
- Intellect (Dharma): Moral duties
- Soul (Moksha): Liberation or salvation

While all these objectives are significant, 'Dharma' is considered the fundamental objective, and Moksha the ultimate goal of humankind and society. Upadhyay dismissed other ideologies because both capitalist and socialist systems focus primarily on materialistic objectives related to desire and wealth, addressing only the needs of the body and mind.

The idea that people and society are interrelated is a core component of Integral Humanism. According to Upadhyay, society is an organic entity with a distinct identity, much like a living thing, rather than just a group of people. This viewpoint promotes the idea that society is a "Kutumba" (family), where collaboration and common ideals are crucial. He contends that upholding individual dignity must be done in concert with the wellbeing of society rather than in a vacuum. Integral Humanism promotes a balance between material wealth and spiritual advancement. According to Upadhyay, genuine pleasure necessitates a synthesis of materialism and contentment. This ideology calls for a paradigm that regards moral purity, emotional maturity, and economic strength as interconnected foundations of human existence, challenging the frequently binary conceptions of growth. Upadhyay's philosophy is firmly anchored in Indian spirituality and culture, based on ideas of Dharma—life rules that dictate moral behavior. "If Culture does not form the basis of Independence, then the political movement for independence would be reduced simply to a scramble by selfish and power-seeking persons," he says, criticizing the disregard for cultural values in political movements. Integral humanism highlights the usefulness of social values and indigenous knowledge in tackling today's global issues. Upadhyay believed that man is not just a physical or economic being, but an integration of body, mind, intellect and soul (Ekatma Manavvaad or Integral Unity). He also, through the ideas of integral humanism, advocated for development that is based on Indian culture, traditions, and ethos, not borrowed Western models. He promoted the idea of decentralization through Gram Swaraj and local-self-governance. He believed that a harmonious co-existence between personal liberty and collective good must be ensured,

while also encouraging a symbiotic relationship with nature. Finally, within Integral Humanism, Upadhyay mentioned about self-reliance or Swavalamban, stressing on economic autonomy rooted in local resources and skills.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What is Integral Humanism, and in which year was it propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay ?

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Q2) Explain the concept of *Ekatma Manavvad* and the four objectives associated with it.

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12.5 UPADHYAY'S VIEWS ON STATE, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Pandit Upadhyay held that the state is not supreme. Rather it must according to dharma. According to him, dharma is not limited to places of worship nor is it equivalent to religion. He argued that dharma is a broad concept, serving as the foundation for sustaining society and the universe, varying with time and place according to circumstances and needs.

Deendayal Upadhyaya thought that the western conception of democracy somehow favours unchecked rulers and the capitalist-fed totalitarian state, even if he agreed in principle with the fundamental idea of democracy. His goal was to make this idea more Indian. He applauded the Indianization of democratic process. The method of choosing a democracy was created in the West. It established the executive, legislative, judicial, and constitutional branches. However, that is only democracy's official face. The essence of democracy is found in its capacity to accurately reflect the will of the people, not in its structure. Democracy is independent of an outside framework.

Upadhyay also believed in cultural nationalism and preservation of Indian heritage. Upadhyay argued that a nation is not merely a geographical territory or political state. It is a living cultural organism shaped by shared history, traditions, values and collective consciousness. Thus, according to him, nationalism must be rooted in cultural unity, not just constitutional or administrative arrangements. As such, he opposed Western influence in Indian values and lifestyle. His opposition was based on the fact that the western models of nationalism are based on territory, race, language, or state power; that it is often exclusionary and aggressive; and that it is rooted in materialism and political domination. Upadhyay fervently supported Bharatiya culture in the context of contemporary India, believing it to be the driving force that would shape the nation's destiny on the international

scene. He thought that cultural consciousness was an active force that shapes the course of the country rather than merely a residue from the past.He saw Bharatiya culture as a dynamic, ever-evolving identity that influences the nation's collective destiny rather than just a collection of traditions and practices.

As for his economic stance, Upadhyay opposed foreign economic models and promoted Swadeshi and decentralization. The central pillar of his economic thought is the concept of Swadeshi. Upadhyay advocated self-reliance based on indigenous resources and skills. He favoured local production for local consumption. He advocated for self-reliant villages and small-scale industries, advocating for a missed economy. He also rejected materialism and excessive consumerism. According to Upadhyay, economy must serve human and ethical goals. Upadhyay believed in the idea of human-centred economy. He rejected the idea that economic growth alone ensures human welfare. For him, the human being, not wealth or the state, is the centre of economic life. Economic activity must serve physical, mental, intellectual, and spiritual needs of the individual as well as the society. He advocated that material prosperity should not undermine moral and social values. As mentioned above, Upadhyay was critical of socialism, capitalism and communism. His critique of capitalism includes a criticism of excessive individualism and profit maximisation. He also criticised capitalism as it leads to economic inequality and concentration of wealth. Capitalism also reduces humans to mere consumers and labour units. However, Upadhyay did not oppose private property entirely; instead, he argued that property must be guided by social responsibility and Dharma. Upadhyay also rejected socialism and communism on the grounds that it imposes state control over economic life, suppress individual freedom and treats society as a mechanical construct, ignoring cultural and spiritual dimensions.

According to Upadhyay, development should be balanced, not one-dimensional. He rejected excessive consumerism and materialism. He also emphasised needs over wants. He advocated harmony between individual and nature, anticipating ideas of sustainability.

12.6 RELEVANCE OF UPADHYAY'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Significance of Upadhyay's political thought lies in its attempt to offer an indigenous, ethical, and holistic framework for politics, governance and development of India. His philosophy of Integral Humanism continues to influence contemporary political discourse and public policy.Upadhyay's political thought is an indigenous alternative to western ideologies. He rejected both capitalism and socialism as unsuitable imports for Indian society. His political thought is relevant because it stresses context-specific political theory, encourages policy-making rooted in Indian culture and social realities and counters intellectual dependency on western models.

Good governance debates increasingly echo Upadhyay's emphasis on morality in public life. This is pertinent from his emphasis on Dharma as the moral foundation of the state, value-based leadership, accountability and public morality; and his address on contemporary concerns over corruption and ethical decline in politics.

Upadhyay's ideas on human-centred development, with emphasis on human dignity and sustainable and inclusive development, aligns with current global discussion on human development and well-being. Pandit Upadhyay strongly advocated for decentralised governance and local self-rule, supporting participatory democracy and local accountability. These ideas are relevant in the concept of community-led development. Through his ideas on cultural nationalism, Upadhyay addresses challenges of national integration in a plural society. His ideas are also relevant to current environmental and ecological concerns, as he had stressed harmony between human beings and nature, while also opposing reckless industrialisation.

Integral Humanism is a philosophy that transcends national boundaries and provides a universal framework for solving global issues including social alienation, consumerism and climate change. It offers a counter-narrative to the fragmentation seen in contemporary society by highlighting human dignity and spiritual brotherhood, promoting a vision that is both timeless and critically important in the present world.

12.7 CRITICISM OF UPADHYAY'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Despite its importance in Indian political discourse, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's political philosophy, especially his Integral Humanism ideology (Ekatma Manav Darshan), has drawn substantial scholarly criticism.

Critics highlight that the key concepts like Dharma, Integral Humanity and Cultural Nationalism are normative and abstract. Lack of precise definitions of these concepts leads to multiple interpretations. This makes systematic analysis and empirical application difficult. Critics also point out that Upadhyay did not provide clear guidance on constitutional design, administrative structures and policy implementation mechanisms. It is held that his thought has remained to be more philosophical than operational. Upadhyay's thought is criticised on the ground that it underestimates social conflict and inequality, by rejecting class struggle and conflict-based theories. Critics believe that the overemphasis on social harmony and cooperation overlooks caste oppression, class exploitation and gender inequalities. Upadhyay's ideas on cultural nationalism is criticised on account of being interpreted as cultural homogeneity and majoritarian dominance. His ideas on prioritisation of duties, critics believe, may weaken protection of individual freedoms and undermine constitutional rights.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3) Write briefly about Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's views on state.

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Q4) Write about any two criticisms against political ideas of Deendayal Upadhyaya.

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12.8 LET US SUM UP

- Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay (1916–1968) was a prominent Indian political thinker, philosopher, and leader of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. He is best known for propounding the doctrine of **Integral Humanism**, an indigenous socio-political philosophy rooted in Indian cultural traditions.
- His involvement with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) during his college years significantly influenced his ideological development, leading him to advocate for an India rooted in its own cultural ethos, which later evolved into his philosophy of Integral Humanism.
- Integral Humanism is a holistic socio-political philosophy that blends material and spiritual dimensions of human life to ensure individual and collective progress.
- It was propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay in 1965, which was adopted as the guiding philosophy of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the forerunner of the Bharatiya Janata Party.
- The ideological contours of Integral Humanism stem from ancient Indian traditions and cultural ethos. The philosophical foundations of Integral Humanism were shaped primarily by the ideals of Dharma.
- Upadhyay proposed the concept of 'Ekatma Manavvad' (Integral Humanism), which viewed humankind through four hierarchical attributes, which again contribute to four universal objectives: Body (Kama): Desire or satisfaction, Mind (Artha): Wealth, Intellect (Dharma): Moral duties, and Soul (Moksha): Liberation or salvation.
- According to Upadhyay, society is an organic entity with a distinct identity, much like a living thing, rather than just a group of people. This viewpoint promotes the idea that society is a "Kutumba" (family), where collaboration and common ideals are crucial.
- He also, through the ideas of Integral Humanism, advocated for development that is based on Indian culture, traditions, and ethos, not borrowed Western models. He promoted the idea of decentralization through Gram Swaraj and local-self-governance. He believed that a harmonious co-existence between personal liberty and collective good must be struck, while also encouraging a symbiotic relationship with nature.
- Pandit Upadhyay held that the state is not supreme. Rather it must according to Dharma.

- Upadhyaya thought that the Western conception of democracy was in opposition to unchecked rulers and the capitalist-fed totalitarian state, even if he agreed in principle with the fundamental idea of democracy. His goal was to make this idea more Indian. He applauded the Indianization of democracy process.
- Upadhyay also believed in cultural nationalism and preservation of Indian heritage. Upadhyay argued that a nation is not merely a geographical territory or political state. It is a living cultural organism shaped by shared history, traditions, values and collective consciousness. Thus, according to him, nationalism must be rooted in cultural unity, not just constitutional or administrative arrangements.
- As for his economic stance, Upadhyay opposed foreign economic models and promoted Swadeshi and decentralization. The central pillar of his economic thought is the concept of Swadeshi.
- According to Upadhyay, development should be balanced, not one-dimensional. He rejected excessive consumerism and materialism. He also emphasised needs over wants. He advocated harmony between man and nature, anticipating ideas of sustainability.
- Integral Humanism is a philosophy that transcends national boundaries and provides a universal framework for solving global issues including social alienation, consumerism, and climate change. It offers a counter-narrative to the fragmentation seen in contemporary society by highlighting human dignity and spiritual brotherhood, promoting a vision that is both timeless and critically important in the present world.

12.9 FURTHER READING

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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Integral Humanism is a holistic socio-political philosophy that seeks to balance the material and spiritual dimensions of human life for the overall development of individuals and society. It was propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay in 1965 and later adopted as the guiding philosophy of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

Ans to Q No 2: *Ekatma Manavvad* (Integral Humanism) views the human being as an integrated whole consisting of body, mind, intellect, and soul. These correspond to four objectives of life: Kama (desire or physical needs), Artha (wealth), Dharma (moral duty), and Moksha (liberation). Among these, Dharma is considered fundamental, and Moksha is regarded as the ultimate goal of human and social life.

Ans to Q No 3: Pandit Upadhyay held that the state is not supreme. Rather it must according to 'Dharma'. According to him, dharma is not limited to places of worship nor is it equivalent to religion. He argued that dharma is a broad concept, serving as the foundation for sustaining society and the universe, varying with time and place according to circumstances and needs.

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Critics highlight that the key concepts like Dharma, Integral Humanity and Cultural Nationalism are normative and abstract. Lack of precise definitions of these concepts leads to multiple interpretations. This makes systematic analysis and empirical application difficult. (ii) Upadhyay's thought is criticised on the ground that it underestimates social conflict and inequality, by rejecting class struggle and conflict-based theories. Critics believe that the overemphasis on social harmony and cooperation overlooks caste oppression, class exploitation and gender inequalities.

12.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Answer

Q 1: Who propounded the concept of Integral Humanism?

Q 2: What is meant by 'Ekatma Manav Darshan'?

Q 3: Mention any one principle of Integral Humanism.

B. Short Answer (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the concept of Dharma in Upadhyaya's thought.

Q 2: Discuss Upadhyaya's views on democracy.

Q 3: Write a note on Swadeshi in Integral Humanism.

C. Long Answer (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically examine Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's philosophy of Integral Humanism.

Q 2: Analyse the relevance of Integral Humanism in contemporary Indian politics.

Q 3: Compare Integral Humanism with socialism and capitalism.

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UNIT 13: AMARTYA SEN

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives
13.2 Introduction
13.3 Amartya Sen's Concept of Development as Freedom
  13.3.1 Sen's Definition of Development as Freedom
  13.3.2 Five Instrumental Freedoms – Political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security
  13.3.3 Poverty as 'Unfreedom' – Sen's views on development to remove unfreedoms
  13.3.4 Role of Democracy and Public Reasoning – Sen's views on democratic freedoms and public participation for development
  13.3.5 Human-Centric Development – Sen's views on capabilities, choices, and agency
13.4 Sen's Capability Approach
13.5 Amartya Sen on 'Missing Women'
13.6 Let Us Sum Up
13.7 Further Reading
13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
13.9 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to:

- understand Amartya Sen's concept of Development as Freedom and its human-centric approach.
- explain the five instrumental freedoms as essential components of development.
- analyse Sen's view of poverty as a form of unfreedom and the role of democracy and public reasoning.
- understand the fundamentals of Sen's Capability Approach and its relevance to human development.
- explain Sen's concept of "Missing Women" and its significance in addressing gender-based inequality.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Amartya Sen, an economist, moral philosopher, and Nobel laureate, is widely regarded as one of the most influential thinkers in welfare economics, development studies and social justice. Born on 3rd November 1933 in Santiniketan, West Bengal, he received his early education at Presidency College, Calcutta, and later pursued higher studies at Trinity College, University of Cambridge. Over the course of his academic career, Sen has taught at leading global institutions, including the London School of Economics, Oxford University, Cambridge University (as Master of Trinity College), and Harvard University.

In 1998, Sen was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for his groundbreaking contributions to welfare economics, social choice theory, and the measurement of poverty and inequality. His intellectual legacy is marked by his emphasis on human well-being over mere economic indicators. In his seminal work *'Development as Freedom',* (1999), Sen argues that development should be seen as the expansion of real human freedom, encompassing access to education, healthcare, democratic participation and human dignity — rather than simply the growth of GDP.

Sen also introduced the powerful concept of "Missing Women" (first highlighted in 1990), exposing the alarming number of women statistically absent due to gender-based discrimination, neglect, and unequal access to healthcare and nutrition. His other major works include *'Poverty and Famines'* (1981), where he analyzed the causes of famine beyond food shortage; *'Inequality Reexamined'* (1992); *'Identity and Violence'* (2006); and *'The Idea of Justice'* (2009). Through his scholarship, Sen has reshaped global debates on development, freedom, and gender justice.

13.3 AMARTYA SEN'S CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

Amartya Sen's concept of *Development as Freedom* redefines development not simply as economic growth, but as the expansion of people's real freedoms and opportunities to live a life they value. He argues that true development means removing "unfreedoms" such as poverty, illiteracy, lack of healthcare, social exclusion, and political oppression. Sen emphasizes that economic progress is only meaningful when it enhances human capabilities i.e. the ability to make choices and exercise agency. Development, therefore, must focus on empowering individuals through education, health, political participation, and social justice, making freedom both the means and the ultimate goal.

13.3.1 Sen's Definition of Development as Freedom

Amartya Sen's definition of development marks a radical departure from the traditional, economic-centric understanding that equates development with the rise of income levels, industrial growth, or technological advancement. In book, Development as Freedom (1999), Sen asserts that development must be viewed as a process of expanding the real freedoms that individuals enjoy, not merely the increase in material wealth. For Sen, freedom is both the primary end and the principal means of development.

Sen's argument begins with a critique of conventional models of development that rely heavily on indicators like Gross National Product (GNP) or per capita income. He contends that such narrow measures fail to capture the qualitative conditions of human life. A country may exhibit high economic growth, yet large sections of its population may remain deprived of basic capabilities such as the ability to live a healthy life, access education, express dissent, or participate in decisions that affect their lives. Thus, economic growth is only one among many tools, not the definition of development.

Sen defines freedom in a broad and substantive sense, which includes political liberty, economic opportunities, social support, transparency, and security against exploitation. He argues that people must be empowered with the capability to make

meaningful choices and lead lives they themselves value. For instance, being literate, having access to healthcare, participating in democratic processes, or being protected from hunger and violence are forms of substantive freedom. These are not peripheral outcomes of development, they are development itself.

He also emphasizes that freedom has both instrumental and intrinsic value. Instrumentally, freedoms like education and health enhance productivity and contribute to economic progress. Intrinsically, the very ability to think freely, speak freely, and live with dignity is the essence of human development. Hence, development should focus on expanding capabilities rather than merely increasing incomes.

Sen further explains that unfreedom, in the form of poverty, social discrimination, authoritarian governance or exclusion from markets, is the true obstacle to development. Removing these barriers must be at the core of any development strategy.

Thus, Sen defines development as the expansion of human capabilities and the removal of constraints that prevent individuals from realizing their potential. It is not about how much wealth a nation accumulates, but about how freely its people can live with dignity, opportunity, and choice.

13.3.2 Five Instrumental Freedoms– Political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security

Amartya Sen's theory of Development as Freedom identifies five interrelated "Instrumental Freedoms" that together form the foundation of genuine development. These freedoms are not merely goals, but also the means through which development is achieved. They expand people's capabilities to lead lives they value and strengthen one another through a dynamic interplay.

- **Political Freedom**

  Political freedom refers to the right of individuals to participate actively in decision-making processes that shape their lives. This includes the right to vote, contest elections, express opinions freely, form associations, raise public issues, and hold authorities accountable. Sen emphasizes that political liberties are not just desirable in a democratic sense, but they are developmental necessities. The presence of political freedom ensures that governments are responsive to the needs of citizens. For instance, Sen famously observed that famines do not occur in functioning democracies because a free press and public dissent force governments to act swiftly. Thus, political rights act as both an end in themselves and as a safeguard against policy failures.

- **Economic Facilities**

  Economic facilities refer to the opportunities people have to utilize economic resources to support their well-being, such as access to employment, markets, credit, and fair economic policies. These facilities enhance individuals' ability to earn income, secure livelihoods, and improve living standards. Sen argues that

development cannot occur where people are blocked from entering markets or denied access to productive resources. Economic freedom is not just about growth, but about removing constraints like unemployment, bonded labor, and financial exclusion, allowing individuals to participate meaningfully in economic life.

- **Social Opportunities**

  Social opportunities include access to education, healthcare, sanitation, and other public services that empower individuals to build their capabilities. Sen stresses that literacy, public health, and social mobility are central enablers of human freedom. A person who is educated and healthy possesses far greater ability to work, participate in society, and make informed choices. Social opportunities generate long-term empowerment and are particularly crucial for marginalized communities, thereby enhancing both individual agency and national development.

- **Transparency Guarantees**

  Transparency guarantees refer to the assurance that public dealings are conducted with openness, trust, and accountability. This includes freedom of information, honest governance, access to unbiased media, and protection from corruption. When people have access to reliable information, they can make informed choices and challenge abuses of power. Lack of transparency leads to exploitation, misgovernance, and public distrust. Sen argues that transparent institutions, such as free media and accountable governments, are essential to sustaining development and preventing injustice.

- **Protective Security**

  Protective security ensures a social safety net for those who are most vulnerable, such as the elderly, unemployed, disaster victims, or the extremely poor. This includes welfare schemes, emergency relief, unemployment support, and law enforcement for protection against violence. Sen views protective security as crucial to preventing extreme deprivation, which he describes as “unfreedom at its worst.” Without basic protection from starvation, violence, and exploitation, other freedoms become meaningless.

13.3.3 Poverty as ‘Unfreedom’ – Sen’s views on development to remove unfreedoms

Amartya Sen’s conceptualization of poverty represents a fundamental break from traditional economic definitions that equate poverty merely with low income. In his book Development as Freedom, he argues that poverty should be seen not just as material deprivation, but as a form of “unfreedom”, a condition that restricts people’s capabilities and their ability to lead the kind of life they have reason to value. Poverty, in Sen’s view, is the absence of substantive freedoms, such as access to food, healthcare, education,

social dignity, and political participation. It is both a cause and consequence of broader societal constraints.

Sen emphasizes that income is only one means to an end, not the end itself. Two individuals with the same income may have vastly different levels of freedom depending on their access to public services, social conditions, or personal circumstances. For example, a disabled person or someone belonging to a marginalized caste may require more resources to achieve the same standard of living as others. Hence, measuring poverty purely through monetary indicators like income or GNP overlooks the real freedom deficit experienced by individuals.

Sen's approach, often termed the "Capability Approach," shifts the focus from resources to the actual freedoms people enjoy. Capability refers to the real opportunities available to individuals to be healthy, educated, politically active, and socially respected. A person who is deprived of such capabilities, regardless of the nation's GDP growth, is still living in unfreedom. Sen argues that poverty, therefore, is not just about what people have, but about what they are able to do and be.

In this sense, development becomes a process of removing unfreedoms, such as hunger, illiteracy, disease, and social exclusion. For example, a country might experience rapid economic growth, yet if its citizens continue to die from preventable diseases or lack access to clean water, then development has failed. Sen often cites the case of India and China. India despite being a democratic nation with impressive economic growth, millions still lack access to health and education as compared to China, which prioritized social investments early on.

Sen also stresses that unfreedom is not limited to economic poverty alone. It encompasses political and social forms of deprivation, including denial of free speech, restrictions on media freedom, ethnic discrimination, and gender inequality. Poverty is inextricably linked to these larger structures of power and exclusion. That is why Sen considers development to be both a moral and political project, requiring reforms that expand voice, agency, and accountability.

Furthermore, Sen highlights that individuals are not passive beneficiaries of welfare; they must be seen as active agents capable of shaping their future. True development, therefore, must empower people by building their capabilities, through investments in education, healthcare, employment, and democratic institutions.This transformative view places freedom at the heart of development, making it both the goal and the means of human progress.

13.3.4 Role of Democracy and Public Reasoning – Sen's views on democratic freedoms and public participation for development

Amartya Sen places democracy and public reasoning at the heart of his understanding of development. In Development as Freedom, he argues that democracy should not be viewed merely as an institutional arrangement or periodic electoral exercise,

but as a process of collective decision-making grounded in public participation, dialogue, and accountability. For Sen, democratic freedom is both intrinsically valuable and instrumentally indispensable for ensuring development that reflects the real needs of the people.

Sen challenges the notion that democracy is a luxury affordable only to rich countries. Instead, he asserts that democracy is a basic developmental necessity, especially for protecting citizens from large-scale suffering. His most cited example is that no substantial famine has ever occurred in a functioning democracy with a free press. The reason is simple: democratic governments are compelled to respond to public pressure, electoral accountability, and media scrutiny. Even if governments are incompetent or corrupt, they are forced to act when citizens can freely express discontent. This establishes democracy as a protective mechanism against mass deprivation.

Public reasoning, according to Sen, plays a crucial role in shaping development policies. Development decisions are not simply technical exercises but are deeply ethical and political. They require informed public debate where individuals and communities can voice their concerns, question authorities, and influence priorities. This process makes development people-centred rather than state-driven. When people participate actively in discussions about education, health, inequality, gender justice, or environmental sustainability, policies become more inclusive and effective.

Sen further argues that formal democracy alone is insufficient; it must be accompanied by a robust culture of openness, tolerance, and reasoning. The freedom to criticize and to question authority is central to development because it enables correction of errors, prevention of injustice, and innovation in policy. In societies where dissent is suppressed, even with high economic growth, development remains fragile and unequal.

Additionally, democracy enables recognition of diverse voices, especially of marginalized communities, women, and minorities. Public reasoning allows these groups to challenge entrenched hierarchies and push for redistribution of opportunities and resources. Sen emphasizes that development is not just about what the state provides, but about the active agency of citizens in shaping their own future.

Sen's framework clearly opposes the argument that authoritarian systems are more "efficient" in delivering progress. While such regimes may achieve short-term gains, they lack the moral legitimacy and corrective capacity that democracy naturally possesses. Economic growth without freedom, Sen insists, is incomplete and vulnerable.Genuine progress, therefore, must expand both freedom to live well and freedom to speak, question, and participate, for it is through public reasoning that development becomes just, sustainable, and truly human.

13.3.5 Human-Centric Development – Sen's views on capabilities, choices, and agency

Amartya Sen's approach to development in Development as Freedom places the individual at the center of the development process, emphasizing human capabilities,

choices, and agency. Unlike traditional development paradigms, which often focus on income growth, industrialization, or welfare distribution, Sen's framework prioritizes the real freedoms and opportunities available to individuals, arguing that these constitute both the means and the ultimate goal of development.

Central to Sen's human-centric approach is the concept of capabilities. Capabilities refer to the substantive opportunities a person has to lead a life they value — such as being healthy, educated, socially integrated, and able to participate in public life. These capabilities reflect what people can actually do and be, rather than what they simply possess in terms of resources. For example, two individuals with identical incomes may enjoy vastly different capabilities if one lacks access to healthcare, education, or social protection. Capabilities thus offer a more comprehensive and realistic measure of development than income or material wealth alone.

Closely linked to capabilities is the notion of 'Choice'. Sen emphasizes that development is meaningful only when individuals have the freedom to make choices about their own lives. Choice is not merely about selecting among commodities; it is about the ability to shape one's life according to one's values and aspirations. This approach recognizes that people's circumstances, including age, gender, caste, class, or disability, influence their ability to convert resources into meaningful outcomes. Human-centric development, therefore, seeks to expand the real options available to individuals, enabling them to pursue well-being in a manner consistent with their own priorities.

Agency is another critical dimension in Sen's framework. An agent is an individual capable of acting on their own behalf, making informed decisions, and pursuing goals they consider important. Agency is about active participation rather than passive reception; individuals are not merely beneficiaries of development programs but are responsible actors who shape their own lives and, collectively, the society they live in. Importantly, Sen emphasizes that agency is influenced by social, political, and economic structures, and effective development requires creating conditions that empower individuals to exercise reasoned and informed agency.

Sen contrasts his capability approach with the traditional welfare perspective, which often treats people as passive recipients of goods and services. Whereas the welfare model emphasizes provisioning i.e. supplying food, shelter, or health services, the human-centric approach recognizes the dynamic interplay between individual capabilities, freedom, and agency. Development is not about delivering pre-packaged solutions; it is about enabling individuals to lead autonomous, dignified lives through education, healthcare, political participation, and social inclusion.This perspective ensures that development is not only about economic growth but about creating the conditions for individuals to live meaningful, self-directed lives with dignity and opportunity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Define Amartya Sen's concept of "Development as Freedom." How does it differ from traditional economic-centric development approaches ?

……

Q2) List the five instrumental freedoms identified by Sen and briefly explain their significance in development.

……

Q3) Name one important book authored by Amartya Sen.

……

13.4 SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach offers a transformative framework for understanding development, moving beyond conventional economic metrics such as income, GDP, or industrial growth. In Development as Freedom, Sen argues that the essence of development lies in expanding the substantive freedoms and capabilities of individuals, enabling them to lead lives they value. This approach shifts the focus from material accumulation to what people are actually able to do and be i.e. their real opportunities for functioning in society.

At the heart of the capability approach is the distinction between functionings and capabilities. Functionings refer to the achieved states of being and doing, such as being well-nourished, educated, or politically active. Capabilities, on the other hand, represent the freedom or opportunity to achieve these functionings. In other words, capabilities reflect the potential for individuals to live fulfilling lives, while functionings are the realized outcomes. For instance, a person may be physically able to attend school (capability), but whether they actually do so (functioning) depends on social, economic, and political factors. Sen emphasizes that focusing solely on functionings or resources is inadequate; development must expand the genuine opportunities available to individuals, allowing them to exercise agency and make informed choices.

The capability approach contrasts sharply with the welfare approach, which treats individuals as passive recipients of goods and services. The welfare model prioritizes provisioning, delivering basic needs such as food, shelter, or healthcare, often ignoring whether individuals have the autonomy, choice, or opportunity to utilize these resources meaningfully. Sen criticizes this top-down approach for overlooking social, cultural, and institutional factors that shape the exercise of freedom. The capability perspective, by contrast, is human-centred and agent-oriented. It recognizes individuals as active participants in their development, capable of making reasoned choices and pursuing objectives aligned with their values and aspirations.

Sen distinguishes between substantive freedoms (ends) and instrumental freedoms (means). Substantive freedoms encompass the real opportunities that individuals enjoy to lead valuable lives, such as access to education, healthcare, political participation, and social integration. These freedoms are intrinsically valuable because they enhance human well-being and dignity. Instrumental freedoms, on the other hand, include political liberties, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. These are necessary preconditions that facilitate the expansion of capabilities and enable individuals to exercise agency effectively. For example, access to healthcare (a social

opportunity) enhances the capability to live a long and healthy life, while political freedom ensures that citizens can influence policies affecting their well-being.

A crucial element of the capability approach is its focus on entitlements. Sen identifies entitlements as the socially and legally recognized rights that allow individuals to command resources and achieve functionings. Entitlement failures, rather than mere resource scarcity, often cause deprivation. This insight is particularly evident in Sen's analysis of famine: famines are not necessarily caused by lack of food production but by entitlement failures, such as lack of purchasing power, social exclusion, or discriminatory practices, that prevent certain groups from accessing available food. Thus, development policies must aim to strengthen entitlement systems, ensuring that individuals have both the opportunity and the capability to secure essential goods and services.

The capability approach is also inherently gender-sensitive. Sen highlights that women's deprivation often stems not only from poverty but also from structural inequalities in entitlements, capabilities, and agency. Limited access to education, healthcare, property, and labor markets constrains women's choices and reduces their ability to participate fully in social, economic, and political life. The phenomenon of "Missing Women" exemplifies how gender-based denial of entitlements and capabilities results in severe unfreedom. Enhancing women's capabilities, therefore, is central to equitable development, as it directly impacts their well-being, bargaining power within households, and broader social outcomes such as child mortality, fertility rates, and education.

Sen's capability framework has had profound implications for development theory, policy, and measurement. It inspired the creation of the Human Development Index (HDI) by Mahbub ul Haq and Sen himself, emphasizing life expectancy, education, and per capita income as broader indicators of development. Subsequent adaptations, including the Gender Development Index (GDI), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Gender Inequality Index (GII), and Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), reflect the capability approach's focus on inclusivity, equity, and multidimensional human well-being.This approach offers a powerful and enduring paradigm for development policy, measurement, and evaluation, prioritizing freedom, equity, and human dignity at its core.

13.5 AMARTYA SEN ON 'MISSING WOMEN'

Amartya Sen's analysis of gender inequality in Development as Freedom draws attention to the stark phenomenon of "Missing Women", the deficit of women in populations relative to men due to systematic social, economic, and cultural deprivations. Sen argues that understanding poverty and inequality requires going beyond conventional economic indicators like income or GNP, emphasizing instead capability deprivation and the broader freedoms necessary for individuals to lead lives they value. Gender inequality, he suggests, manifests most tragically in the form of excess female mortality and artificially lower survival rates, particularly in parts of South Asia, West Asia, North Africa, and China.

Sen demonstrates that while women naturally have a higher biological resilience than men, certain societies display significantly lower female-to-male ratios than would

be expected, even after accounting for births, maternal mortality, and other natural factors. In Europe and North America, women typically outnumber men due to higher female survival rates, with ratios often exceeding 1.05. In contrast, in countries such as India, China, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, the female-to-male ratio can be as low as 0.90–0.94, signalling severe social and structural discrimination against women. Sen refers to this deficit as "Missing Women," estimating that over 100 million women may be missing in these countries due to preventable causes.

The underlying causes of this phenomenon are capability and entitlement deprivations rather than biological or purely economic limitations. Female disadvantage arises from entrenched social norms, neglect of female health and nutrition, limited access to education, and systemic exclusion from economic opportunities. For instance, in India, higher mortality rates for female children during infancy and childhood cannot be explained solely by maternal mortality or infanticide. The primary culprit is the persistent neglect in healthcare, nutrition, and general well-being. In China, technological advances have facilitated sex-selective abortions, especially under the one-child policy, further exacerbating female deficits. Such practices underscore the interaction between social values, policies, and gendered discrimination.

Sen emphasizes that viewing poverty or inequality merely through income distribution is inadequate. Income alone does not capture the multidimensional deprivation women face, including restricted capabilities, lack of agency, and exclusion from public and private decision-making. For example, family incomes are often shared unequally, with women receiving fewer resources for nutrition, healthcare, or education. Thus, economic inequality measured solely through income statistics often obscures profound disparities in actual capabilities and freedoms. Mortality rates, literacy levels, health outcomes, and access to social services provide a more accurate picture of gender inequality.

The concept of "Missing Women" also reveals the structural dimensions of deprivation. Sen highlights that women's entitlements, such as access to healthcare, property rights, labor participation, and education are essential for expanding their capabilities and exercising agency. When women are deprived of these entitlements, they are not only physically disadvantaged but also socially marginalized, with diminished bargaining power within households and communities. The consequences are visible in higher female mortality, lower educational attainment, and constrained economic participation, all of which perpetuate cycles of poverty and gender inequality.

Sen's analysis has profound implications for development policy. He advocates for a capabilities-focused and gender-sensitive approach, where the aim is not only to increase household income but also to enhance substantive freedoms for women. Policies must ensure access to healthcare, nutrition, education, and protection from violence and discrimination. Additionally, empowering women economically and socially strengthens their agency, enabling them to influence household and societal decisions, reduce fertility rates, improve child health, and ensure equitable distribution of resources.

The phenomenon of missing women also underscores the importance of public reasoning and social participation. Democratic deliberation and policy-making must actively

recognize gender disparities and address the underlying social norms and institutional biases that limit women's capabilities. Sen stresses that development must be about creating conditions where women can live long, healthy, and productive lives, exercising their agency freely rather than merely surviving in oppressive conditions. The missing women phenomenon reflects the broader failure to protect entitlements and expand freedoms, emphasizing the need for development strategies for women across the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4) What is the central idea of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, and how does it differ from traditional welfare-based development models ?

……

Q5) What does Amartya Sen mean by "Missing Women," and which regions show the most significant female deficits ?

……

Q6) What are the structural dimensions of deprivation that the concept of missing women indicates ?

……

……

……

13.6 LET US SUM UP

- Amartya Sen redefines development not merely as economic growth but as the expansion of real human freedoms, capabilities, and opportunities to live a life one values. Development is both the means and the ultimate goal of enhancing human well-being.
- Sen places freedom at the center of development, considering it both intrinsically valuable and instrumentally necessary. Expanding freedom allows individuals to make meaningful choices, participate in society, and live with dignity.
- Development is the removal of "unfreedoms" such as poverty, illiteracy, social exclusion, and oppression, which restrict people's capabilities. Material wealth is a means, not the essence, of true development.
- Sen identifies five interrelated freedoms essential for development: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. These freedoms reinforce each other and enable human flourishing.
- According to Sen education, healthcare, and public services enhance human capabilities. Access to social services is especially crucial for marginalized groups and forms the foundation of long-term development.
- Sen emphasizes capabilities, choices, and agency, highlighting that development should enable individuals to lead lives they value. People are not passive beneficiaries but active agents shaping their own well-being.

- The distinction between capabilities (freedom to achieve) and functionings (achieved outcomes) allows for a multidimensional evaluation of development. Entitlement failures, rather than resource scarcity, often explain deprivation.
- Sen's work exposes structural inequalities affecting women, such as restricted access to healthcare, education, and economic opportunities. Addressing gender-based deprivations is essential for equitable, human-centered development.

13.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, B., Humphries, J., & Robeyns, I. (Eds.). (2013). *Amartya Sen's work and ideas: a gender perspective*. Routledge.
2) Deneulin, S., & Shahani, L. (Eds.). (2009). *An introduction to the human development and capability approach: Freedom and agency*. Earthscan.
3) Dunayevskaya, R. (2024). *Marxism and freedom: From 1776 until today*. Rowman & Littlefield.
4) Evans, P. (2002). Collective capabilities, culture, and Amartya Sen's development as freedom. *Studies in comparative international development*, *37*(2), 54-60.
5) Miletzki, J., & Broten, N. (2017). *An analysis of Amartya Sen's Development as freedom*. Macat Library.
6) Miletzki, J., Broten, N. (2017). Development as Freedom. United Kingdom: Macat Library.
7) Sen, A. (1999). Development as freedom. India: OUP Oxford.

13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Amartya Sen's work "Development as Freedom" views development as expanding real human freedoms rather than merely increasing income or GDP. Unlike traditional approaches, it emphasizes removing "unfreedoms" like poverty, illiteracy, social exclusion, and political oppression, focusing on enhancing people's capabilities, choices, and opportunities to lead meaningful lives.

Ans to Q No 2: Sen identifies political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. These freedoms empower individuals to make meaningful choices, participate in society, access resources, ensure accountability, and receive protection from deprivation. Together, they form both the means and goals of genuine human development.

Ans to Q No 3: Development as Freedom

Ans to Q No 4: Sen's Capability Approach emphasizes expanding individuals' real freedoms and opportunities to lead lives they value, rather than merely providing goods or income. Unlike welfare-based models that treat people as passive recipients of resources, it focuses on human agency, choice, and the ability to convert resources into meaningful functionings.

Ans to Q No 5: "Missing women" refers to the deficit of women relative to men due to social, economic, and cultural deprivations, resulting in excess female mortality. Sen identifies South Asia, West Asia, North Africa, and China as regions with the most significant female deficits, reflecting systemic gender discrimination and capability deprivation.

Ans to Q No 6: The concept of "Missing Women" reveals the structural dimensions of deprivation. Sen highlights that women's entitlements, such as access to healthcare, property rights, labor participation, and education, are essential for expanding their capabilities and exercising agency.

13.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Question

Q 1: Name two important books authored by Amartya Sen.

Q 2: In which year was Amartya Sen awarded the Nobel Prize?

B) Short Questions (answer within 150 words)

Q 1: Explain Sen's view of poverty as "unfreedom" and its implications for development.

Q 2: Explain the distinction between functionings and capabilities in Sen's framework.

Q 3: Explain the implications of the missing women phenomenon for development policy and gender equality.

C) Long Questions (answer within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain Amartya Sen's concept of "Development as Freedom." How does it differ from traditional economic-centric views of development?

Q 2: What are the five instrumental freedoms identified by Sen? Discuss how they contribute to human development.

Q 3: Critically evaluate the relationship between economic growth and human development in Sen's theory. Can a country with high GDP still be under developed? Explain using Sen's ideas.

Q 4: Analyse Sen's concept of "Missing Women." What are the social, economic, and cultural factors leading to this phenomenon?

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UNIT 14: AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives
14.2 Introduction
14.3 A Brief History of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's Early Life
14.4 Literary Contribution of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury
14.5 Ambikagiri and India's Freedom Struggle
14.6 Ambikagiri and Humanism
14.7 Ambikagiri on Freedom and State
14.8 Ambikagiri on Assamese Nationalism
14.9 Let Us Sum Up
14.10 Further Reading
14.11 Answer to Check Progress
14.12 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, learners will be able to:

- understand the historical and cultural context in which Ambikagiri Raichoudhury emerged as a major nationalist voice in Assam and India.
- analyse his contribution to the socio-cultural and political life of Assam.
- explain the role of Ambikagiri in India's Freedom Struggle.
- discuss his views on humanism and nationalism.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury (1885-1967) is one of the most vibrant personalities in the socio-cultural and political history of modern Assam. His life and works, among others, represented the conflict for India's independence and the claim of Assamese identity within the larger context of Indian nationalism. He was a poet, dramatist, journalist, and freedom fighter.

A self-taught polymath who left formal education at the age of fourteen, Raichoudhury channelled his intellectual energies into literature and social reform. His early play Vandini Bharat ("Imprisoned India"), was a bold political allegory portraying the bondage of colonial India; it was banned shortly after its first performance, marking the beginning of his life-long confrontation with colonial authority. His early detention from 1908 to 1913 in Barpeta became a turning point, during which he produced some of his most lyrical and spiritual works such as 'Tumi' (1915), 'Vina' (1916), and 'Venu', which reflect a transformation from romantic love to mystical realization, a journey from the personal to the universal.

The Assamese poet Raichoudhury's poetry became more militant and nationalist during the period of the Indian National Congress movement in Assam, which began in 1920. He was under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of non-violence and self-reliance. Therefore, he joined the Non-Cooperation Movement, and as a result, he

was imprisoned for his active participation. Raichoudhury's works, such as Anubhuti, Bedonar Ulka ("Shooting Star of Pain"), and Desei Bhagavan ("My Country is My God"), indicate the coexistence of spirituality and patriotism at a higher level. Raichoudhury's writings can be regarded as both a report on Assamese people's awakening and a proof of the moral strength of art in the freedom and self-definition struggle.

14.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY'S EARLY LIFE

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was popularly hailed as 'Assam Kesari' (The Lion of Assam). During his higher studies, he came into contact with progressive teachers and intellectuals such as Kamalakanta Bhattacharjee and Haribilash Agarwal who had profound influence on his thought and writings.

Raichoudhury's early exposure to music shaped his creative sensibilities. He later received formal training in Hindustani classical music and began composing patriotic songs and directing dramas. While studying at Cotton Collegiate High School, he wrote and staged the drama Bandini Bharat Mata (Imprisoned Mother India), which expressed his growing nationalist fervour. The British authorities, alarmed by its anti-colonial message, seized the manuscript and kept it under police custody for eight years, an event that marked the beginning of his life-long confrontation with colonial rule. Some of his important literary works are Tumi, Bina, and Anubhuti. Deka-Dekerir Ved and Swadhin Panchayat Rastrogothonor Prathomik Asoni and also prose collections like Jogotor Hex Adorkhoaru Biswasanti and Sthapanar Upai. In 1908, he initiated the Sanatan Sangeet Samaj to make Assamese culture alive again and fight against the cultural transfer of Bengali in the local theatre, among other things he was the director of Jayadrath Bodh, Bhakta Gaurav, and Kalyanmoyee.

In 1914, Raichoudhury was appointed Assistant Editor of the magazine 'Asom Bandhav' in Dibrugarh. Even while under surveillance, he continued writing, and his poems composed during house arrest were published in 1915. He soon became involved in the establishment of the Assam Sahitya Sabha (1916), a landmark institution for Assamese language and literature.

Returning to Guwahati in 1917, he started the nationalist monthly Cetanâ (1918), which he published by his Aruna Press, thus opening a new chapter in politics and literature. He was greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's concepts of non-violence and satyagraha, and hence, joined Assam Association, which by 1920 was already working under the Congress' wing. He was very active in the movement and went to jail for that. While in jail, he wrote a number of poems that he later published as 'Jail Sangeet' ("Songs of the Cell"). In 1924 he was imprisoned for his revolutionary prose *'Satadhar'* and contributed to the Congress conferences and *Sangeet Sakha*. He played a vital role in organizing the 41st Session of the Indian National Congress held at Pandu (Guwahati) and penned down the patriotic song " Aji Bando Kichandare" (opening chorus of the session). In 1930 he founded *Swadeshi Kinok Sangha* and *Mayabini Chemicals* to promote indigenous enterprise. Raichoudhury was also pioneer in establishing *Asom Siksha Samiti* in 1939 to popularize

Assamese language among non-Assamese speakers. Raichoudhury also played important role in mobilising people of Assam against the Cabinet Mission's Grouping Plan in 1946-47 and founded *Atmorokhya Bahini* for Assam's protection.

Raichoudhury's influence grew in the post-independence period as well. In 1950, he presided over the Assam Sahitya Sabha at Margherita and played a key role in founding Asom Sanskriti Sangam, linked to Bharatiya Sanskriti Sangam in Delhi, urging the government to institute a State Language Day to honour Assamese culture. He continued to write and publish actively through Cetanâ, Deka Asom, and Ahuti, serving as Joint Director of Sahitya Manjari in 1951 and as President of the Chatra Parishad in Goalpara (1954).

Raichoudhury's one of the most prominent books Bedonar Ulka was awarded Sahitya Akademi Award in 1966. He soon published Dekhei Bhagoban in 1965, a very personal and contemplative work that interweaves spirituality and humanism. Raichoudhury's literary output, fearless journalism, and ceaseless activism, influenced the moral conscience of his era. His whole life was nothing but service to literature, to Assam, and to mankind.

14.4 LITERARY CONTRIBUTION OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's idea of 'Tri-Chetana' (Threefold Consciousness) is a comprehensive picture of his national and human liberation through the acquisition of spiritual, cultural, and political freedom. This very idea was the result of the blending of his deep patriotism and moral philosophy. Raichoudhury's spiritual consciousness was centered on inner purity and divine realization, which, he expressed in his devotional writings, such as Tumi and Bina, where he intended to liberate the soul from ignorance and hypocrisy. His cultural consciousness aimed at the preservation and promotion of Assamese language, literature, and identity as the cornerstone of a self-sufficient society and he was the spokes person of this through the organizations such as the Asom Jatiya Mahasabha, the Asom Sangrakshini Sabha, and the publications like Setonaa and Deka Asom. The political aspect of his thought, perceivable in writings like Bedonar Ulka, revealed his passionate patriotism and active participation in the Indian struggle for independence, extolling Swadeshi and self-determination.

One of Raichoudhury's most significant and revolutionary contributions was the instigation of Assamese theatre's revival in the early twentieth century. Ambikagiri Raichoudhury appeared as a cultural reformer and dramatist who aspired to bring back Assamese drama to its former glory. His debut drama Bandini Bharat (1906), a decidedly patriotic piece depicting India's subjugation under British rule, was confiscated by the colonial government while it was being performed, which was a clear indication of its revolutionary power. (Some other remarkable plays of Raichoudhury are Jayadrath Badh (1911), Bhakta Gaurav (also known as Shikhidhwajar Daan Pariksha, 1911), Kalyanmoyee (c.1913-1914).) The shorter one-act plays like Dhun Pech, Ekokti, Biplabar Sesh, and Sri Ramchandraaru Tara also expressed his creativity and ability to change. Through these plays, Raichoudhury reformed Assamese theatre as a space for both art and activism, proving that Assamese was capable of using powerful dialogues and building sophisticated

dramatic structures and this clearly manifest his contribution towards Assamese language and culture and raising consciousness about Assamese nationalism.

In parallel to his plays, Raichoudhury also created a huge amount of poetry that reflected his thought developmentthe change from romantic mysticism to militant nationalism. The collection during this period includes Tumi (1915), Vina (1916), and Venu, which are showing off in full his lyrical grace as well as his introspective depth, whereas Bedonar Ulka, Anubhuti, Aji Bandhu Ki Chandere and Desei Bhagavan are revealing his patriotic enthusiasm and moral idealism. His prison pieces, compiled in Songs of the Cell, that were created during the Non-Cooperation Movement period of his arrest, are showing out his unbeatable faith in human resistance and freedom. Raichoudhury dramatically expressed his call for a spiritual and social revolution in Agni-Vina and Mai Tandavi, Mai Viplavi poems, where he advocated the necessity of the individual's purification before the transformation of society.

Raichoudhury was undoubtedly one of the most persuasive essayists and journalists. He spread the notions of Assamese identity, social reform, and political self-determination through the magazines he edited, like Chetana (1919) and Deka Asom. His essays in anthologies such as Ahuti and Deka-Dekarir Veda called for moral decay, self-reliance and cultural obliteration. His writing was clear but full of feeling and aimed at stirring the conscience of a community that was struggling with both colonial oppression and internal strife.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) Why was Ambikagiri Raichoudhury popularly called Assam Kesari ?

……

Q2) In which year was Ambikagiri Raichoudhury awared Sahitya Akademi Award ?

……

14.5 AMBIKAGIRI AND INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Raichoudhury's radical political awareness was levelled up early when Bengal was in the process of being partitioned (1905). Even while at school, he was able to catch the sense of injustice created by the British empire and in turn, wrote and staged a patriotic play called Bandini Bharat (Imprisoned India) that openly condemned colonialism. He became a member of revolutionary groups like Seva Sangha soon, doing acts of symbolic rebellion like burning British clubs and trying to cut off the supply of colonial property. This early resistance made him one of the first artists in Assam to combine art and activism.

The formation of the Assam Association in 1903 was the start of political consciousness in an organized way in Assam, and Raichoudhury quickly became one of its most energetic advocates. He was working with great leaders like Nabin Chandra Bordoloi and was all over Assam organizing political meetings and uniting people. His songs like 'El je agnibinar tan' ("The Stroke on the Harp of Fire"), 'Din j xamulinai' ("There Is No Time Left"), and 'He Janambhumi' ("O Motherland"), sung during Association sessions,

turned into the anthems of Assamese nationalism and the regional awakening was connected with India's larger freedom struggle.

Raichoudhury has acknowledged that the press was an instrument of enormous stature and power for the whole process of awakening. He seized the opportunity offered by the State and the press and founded two important journals, Cetana (1919) and Deka Asom (1935), which in different ways became the sources of national and reformist thoughts in the country. The philosophical and moral basis of freedom was critically examined in his editorials where he related patriotism to a form of religion. In one of the editorials, he pointed out the moral decay of the middle class. He classified society into three categories namely the best, the medium, and the lowest and then warned that India's freedom would, to a large extent, depend upon the integrity and the judgment of the educated class in the middle tier.

Raichoudhury's political engagement took new dimensions with his association with the Indian National Congress (INC). Inspired by Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence and self-rule, he played an instrumental role in popularizing Congress programmes in Assam. As Assistant Secretary of the Guwahati Town Congress Committee (1921), he organized meetings urging peasants to withhold land revenue payments and supported the anti-liquor campaign, for which he was imprisoned by the British. His dedication increased after the visit of Gandhi to Assam in 1921, which gave momentum to local mobilization of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Gandhi himself was impressed by Raichoudhury's patriotic poetry and by his attempts to propagate the Swaraj message in Assam.

In 1926, at the landmark Pandu session of the Indian National Congress, Raichoudhury wrote and sang two immortal songs like 'Aji Bando Ki Chandere' ("In What Verse Shall I Sing Your Welcome ?") and 'Aji Kar Ki Abahan' ("Whose Bidding Is It ?"), both of which had been translated into English by Dr. Banikanta Kakati and circulated among Congress leaders. These two compositions reflected the ethos of sacrifice, solidarity, and selfless service that characterized India's freedom movement.

Raichoudhury was a man of Assamese character to the core; however, his nationalism was not limited to the state. He felt the time had come for India to be united and his philosophy was that the people of India should of the great Indian race and he called it Maha Jatiyatabad (Greater Nationalism). He argued for the coexistence of regional pride with pan-Indian unity as the solution to the problem of different cultural perceptions of nationalism that was fully humanistic and yet rooted in local cultures. Raichoudhury was a firm believer in the Gandhian principles and, thereby, he supported non-violence, self-reliance and the empowerment of the weaker section of the society. Besides, he was a great advocate of the non-marxist approach to the problem of power, seeing it not so much as political freedom but rather the moral and spiritual liberation of the human spirit. The message he communicated through his writings and public lectures was that the real Swaraj entailed the elimination of greed, selfishness, and exploitation, a dream that was in line with Gandhi's idea of Sarvodaya (welfare of all).

Raichoudhury was an active participant in the national struggle for independence. He during the Civil Disobedience period proposed the application of the forest laws in

Assam only to disrupt colonial revenue collection. His organization, Asom Sangrakshini Sabha, which was later renamed Asom Jatiya Mahasabha, united the young people of Assam with the aim of safe guarding their cultural identity and thus supporting the national struggle. Raichoudhury strongly believed that India's freedom should be both a moral and a political one- a freedom of minds, hearts, and cultures and a liberation of conscience.

14.6 AMBIKAGIRI AND HUMANISM

The philosophy of humanism, or mohamanobota ("Grand Humanism"), of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury, was the end point of his vision in spiritual, cultural, and political matters. He considered humanism not only as an ideal but also as an activist philosophy, a moral expedition from the individual to the common, from the attachment to one's country to the attachment to all humankind. It was, to put it differently, the utmost level in the development of human consciousness that resulted from the merging of grand nationalism and moral universalism.

Raichoudhury considered humanism to be the last phase of human evolution, which would only be possible through moral and social development in gradual stages. He proposed that a person's journey begins with the awareness of his or her identity in and with his or her community (jati), moving then to the consciousness of the nation (mahajati), and finally to the universal human community where the person is beyond all distinctions. At the point of intersection of these stages, mohamanobota (grand humanism) springs forth as the spiritual apex of nationalism. For him, love for one's country that is based on rooting in one's own soil was not the opposite of world humanism but rather its indispensable foundation. He would, on the one hand, say that "one should first know oneself then others," thus implying that a universal love minus the responsibility and care for one's own land is a casual and a false love. Raichoudhury's humanism was built on the foundation of his faith in person's inherent goodness and the ability to make himself better. He recognized every person as a unique entity as well as a part of the larger human community. His works reveal this ethical belief when he pictured human existences as ceaselessly striving towards the "Higher Self." He insisted that genuine freedom should start with the unchainment of the individual from egoism, lack of knowledge, and spiritual dormancy. This way of realization or self-discovery made easy through the feeling of being a part of one's own country eventually brings about the beautiful experience of universal brotherhood. His philosophy was based on the belief that human development and harmony were always going to be the outcomes of reform in one's charactera belief that connected his spiritual quest with his political action.

Raichoudhury's humanism also had a deep political and international aspect. In his work *'Jagatar Ses Adarsa Aru Visyavyapi Mahasanti-Sthapanar Upay'* (The Last Ideal of the World and the Means for Establishing Universal Great Peace) was published in 1916, he advocated for the creation of world peace on the basis of the "Last Ideal" of mankind wherein the human spirit yearns for infinity and not for conquest. His work *'Jagatbyapi Shântir Pratham Khoj'* (First step towards universal peace), Raichoudhury declared a philosophy of universalism. He saw nationalism as one element essential to cultivate the

human character and advocated ideals of humanism for a peaceful world community. His political humanism was thus ethical and pacifist in nature, based on compassion and the dignity of man. He was impressed by the capacity of Mahatma Gandhi to inspire a "Universal consciousness in the mass mind" and viewed India's struggle for freedom as a humanist cause a moral crusade to restore the humanity of the oppressors and the oppressed alike. He often quoted the simple yet deep dictum: "Bâsi Thaka Aru Anako Basi Thakiboloi Dia" ("Live and let live"), which served as the moral signature of his philosophy.

Raichoudhury's literary body of work is a true reflection of his uncompromising humanism in theme and tone. In his autobiography 'Mor Jivan Dhumuhar Echati', he gives a deeply sympathetic vision of life in all its hues perceiving beauty in hardship too. His poem 'Moi Biplabi Moi Tandavi' ("I am a Revolutionary, I am the Dancer of Destruction") is a passionate rebellion against the erosion of moral and human values and reflects a mixture of humanitarian fury and spiritual mission.

He distinguished between aggressive nationalism (Akramanatmak Jatiyotabad), which he rejected as violent and dehumanizing, and defensive nationalism (Atmorokhyatmak Jatiyotabad), which he considered necessary for self-preservation. His idea of nationalism was "Dialogue Nationalism" (Aloishyo Jatiyotabad), characterized by empathy, cooperation, and moral restraint. He warned that nationalism, being an ephemeral sentiment, had to transition ultimately into humanismonly then could freedom be gained peacefully. Independence for India, in his opinion, had to be a humanist triumph, the harbinger for a new moral civilization founded upon the principles of unity and fraternity.

14.7 AMBIKAGIRI ON FREEDOM AND STATE

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury' emphasised upon federal democracy and grassroots self-governance. His Manabtantra ("Humanocracy") and his elaborate proposition for an Independent Panchayati Raj indicate a deep commitment to the ethical as well as the structural bases of freedom.

In his works *'Jogotor Hex Adorkho', 'Bhabishyat Rastraba Manabtantra', and 'Swadhin Panchayat aru Rastra Gathanir Asoni'*, Raichoudhury elaborated his comprehensive idea of Manabtantra, a governance system that is decentralized and human-centric. The concept of Manabtantra revolved around the belief of Raichoudhury that political independence would not be enough to bring about true liberation unless it was accompanied by the moral and spiritual freedom of the whole of humankind. His 'Humanocratic State' idea was not just an administrative work but rather a philosophical one for moral rebuilding. In his future political scenario, the state would be the main force behind human progress and the guardian of moral standards. This was a place that was "free from all bindings," and man could therefore develop his spirituality. For Raichoudhury, the objective of liberty was not to rule over but rather to be oneself the fostering of human qualities through cordiality, respect, and non-violence. This idea was similar to Gandhi's Swaraj but it went further by incorporating the humanistic ideal of universal brotherhood (Mohamanobota) as the logical end of the national freedom. Raichoudhury's idea of federalism was extremely advanced for that time. He made his presidential speech at the Assam Sahitya Sabha meeting in

Margherita in 1950 and went on to support the concept of a federal India openly, stressing unity with a kind of autonomy. His series of essays, 'Ahuti', revolves around the notion that federalism could be a political ideal and a pragmatic necessity for a pluralistic society like India. Raichoudhury envisaged a situation where different linguistic and cultural groups in India could co-exist under a federal arrangement that ensured their independence while also maintaining national unity. He argues for decentralised federal structure with people's participation from the bottom.

On September 7, 1942, Ambikagiri under the name of 'Asom Jatiya Maha Sabha' launched his original scheme of 'Village-Centred Panchayat State'. He thought that villages were the foundation of the human race and the progress of mankind. Therefore, he wanted a powerful village base for the Panchayat State. Raichoudhury suggested a seven-tier Panchayat system that saw governance as a bottom-up process beginning at the village level and finishing at a large national council. These were:

Tier Number	Name of Tier
1	Independent primary
2	Village
3	Jan (people)
4	Collective
5	General
6	National
7	Greater National

Every tier was to control its own language, culture, and economic matters thus guaranteeing that the rule was strictly from the people. This concept was aligned with his views on federalism, self-rule, and cultural diversity, admitting that the peace of India's different identity was its strength. His model was not solely administrative it was moral and humane, picturing a government where justice and kindness took over from coercion and abuse.

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's political philosophy discloses an amazing combination of nationalism, federalism and humanism. His Panchayati Raj model, which is based on Assamese socio-cultural consciousness and at the same time is open to the concept of a united Indian federation, represents a democratic vision that is really far ahead of the time.

14.8 AMBIKAGIRI ON ASSAMESE NATIONALISM

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's political thought is a striking combination of Assamese sub-nationalism and Indian nationalism. His philosophy was based on a deep comprehension of the federal and cultural diversity of India, where the regional identities were considered to be not only non-divisive but also the most important threads in the fabric of Indian unity. Raichoudhury's expression of Assamese identity was, therefore, the first in history to introduce the concept of "Complementary Nationalism" which allowed for the celebration of regional distinctiveness while making the Indian nation more unified in

terms of its spirit. Protection of the regional interests of Assam was Raichoudhury's highest priority, without which, in his view, protection of Bharat's national interests would never be feasible. These are interdependent and complementary to each other. This is well expressed in most of his well-known essays like *'Ahise Jodi Mur Logot Eketa Hoi Mili Jua', 'Bharatiya Swaraj Aru Asomiya Swaraj', 'Jatiyota Aru Mahajatiyota',* etc.

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's perception of Jatiyatabad (Nationalism) was intricate, including a passionate allegiance to both Assamese and greater Indian identity. He considered the two to be complimentary; however, he insisted the protection of the distinctive Assamese identity. Ambikagiri Raichoudhury introduced two major ideas for the clarification of the Indian case Mahajatiyatabad (Grand Nationalism) and Hanmilito Jâtiyotabad (Confederative Nationalism). He recognised India's ancient diversity and considered that India was "Not a nation but a continent" a Mahadekh of numerous states and people, each with its own language, customs and traditions. The Indian subcontinent was thus not a mere scattering of different nationalities; rather, it was a whole with a name the Bhâratiya Mahâjâti, the grand Indian nation. Thus, his nationalism was not of the unitary kind but federal and pluralist, seeing India as a union of culturally autonomous regions linked by moral and spiritual unity. This was the philosophical basis of his conviction that Assamese sub-nationalism was a facet of Indian nationalism both co-dependent and mutually enriching. Raichoudhury regarded India as a "Continent" made up of many different nationalities (jati), each of which together creates a great Indian Mahajati.

Raichoudhury's political vision was mainly his idea of the Assamese people as a Jâti (sub-nation) in the larger Mahâjâti (Indian nation) context. He pointed out that the affection for one's land, language, and culture did not imply disloyalty to the nation; on the contrary, it fortified the nation. The philosophical basis for his politics comprised three main ideas:

- **Complementary Identity**: Raichoudhury regarded the Assamese identity as an integral and enriching factor of the whole Indian nationality. His love for Assam was not divisive, but rather it reinforcedhis regional patriotism made him love India more.
- **Sub-Nationalism as a Stage in Universal Humanism**: He saw the formation of local identity as the first and most significant step in attaining the goal of a global human community. Man goes through several phases of development, one of which is consciousness of the individual, then awareness of the sub-nation, the nation and finally, universal human identity. Therefore, the Assamese sub-nationalism was an unavoidable step in the direction of universal humanism.
- **Cultural Diversity as India's Strength**: Raichoudhury regarded Bhâratbarsha as a Mahâjâti, a "Great Nation", that was made even richer by the various cultural and linguistic communities. Each regional nationality, including the Assamese, played its part in forming the composite civilizational identity of India.

The political framework of Raichoudhury was based on the notion that national unity and regional self-affirmation allow each other to exist. Raichoudhury promoted the idea of a federal India where the province of Assam would be the very embodiment of a cultural unit. He supported the idea of provincial autonomy and considered it as a "Normal political

development," a prerequisite for the attainment of national aspirations. One of the main points of his sub-national discourse was economic self-sufficiency. He demanded Assamese sovereignty over its land, resources, agriculture, trade, industry, language, and literature.

Raichoudhury employed literature as an effective tool for political awakening and identity formation. His "Literary Patriotism" was a combination of poetic fantasy and civil intent. He did not just write essays but also did prose writing that very bravely put forth the idea of self-sufficient Assamese society living in peace and enjoying the rights of a federal India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3) What was the purpose of the Asom Sangrakshini Sabha founded by Raichoudhury ?

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.....

Q4) Briefly explain the concept of Manabtantra (Humanocracy).

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14.9 LET US SUM UP

- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury (1885–1967), popularly Assam Kesari ("Lion of Assam"), played an important role in the freedom struggle of India and at the same time he also advocated for Assamese nationalism.
- Ambikagiri, through his literary work, influenced people of Assam to raise their voices against the British colonial rule. He was in close touch with the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and Asom Jatiya Mahasabha, thereby engaging the Assamese middle class and the youth against the British colonialists and the cultural domination. His role in Asom Sangrakshini Sabha and Atmorokhya Bahini was a clear indication of his determination to safeguard the rights, land and language of the Assamese.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's political thought is a striking combination of Assamese sub-nationalism and Indian nationalism. His philosophy was based on a deep comprehension of the federal and cultural diversity of India, where the regional identities were considered to be not only non-divisive but also the most important threads in the fabric of Indian unity.
- Ambikagiri's considered grand humanism or Mohamanobotaas the final development of nationalism to the point of being universal love and moral unity.
- For Ambikagiri freedom was getting rid of all sorts of political and economic exploitation. He wanted a new society based on human values, the Manabtantra, or Humanocracy.

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K 14.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's was popularly hailed as Assam Kesari (The Lion of Assam) because of his firebrand nationalist character.

Ans to Q No 2: 1966

Ans to Q No 3: To safeguard Assamese cultural identity and protect the rights, land, and language of the Assamese people.

Ans to Q No 4: Manabtantra is Raichoudhury's vision for a governance system that is decentralized and human-centric, where political independence is accompanied by the moral and spiritual freedom of mankind. It is a moral commonwealth where liberty and equality grow from the people.

M 14.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Name two magazines edited by Ambikagiri Raichoudhury.

Q 2: When did Ambikagiri Raichoudhury receive the Sahitya Akademi Award and for which work?

Q 3: What is the meaning of *Mohamanobota* (Grand Humanism) according to Ambikagiri?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Explain Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's views on State.

Q 2: How did Ambikagiri use literature as a tool for political awakening?

C) Long Questions (answer each questions within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's role in India's Freedom Movement.

Q 2: Discuss how Ambikagiri Raichoudhury defined the relationship between Assamese sub-nationalism and Indian nationalism.

Q 3: Evaluate the concept of *Mohamanobota* (Grand Humanism) as the ultimate goal of Ambikagiri's philosophy.

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Name of the Paper: .....
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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

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1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
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VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
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IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

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2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.