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(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - I

INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course titled “Indian Political Thought” of the MA Programme in Political Science (First Semester) under KKHSOU is designed to help the learners to have a deep understanding of the political ideas of different political thinkers of ancient as well as modern India whose ideas and contributions have significantly helped in the development of Indian political thought. It is supposed that the learners of the Master Degree Programme in Political Science should have thorough knowledge about various aspects of the political thought of the prominent thinkers of the country where he/she resides. Keeping this in view, the course begins with the political ideas of different political thinkers of ancient as well as modern India. Their ideas and contributions have significantly helped in the development of Indian Political Thought. The first unit of the course deals with the political ideas of Manu who is regarded as the father of ancient Indian polity and the author of the famous book “Manu Smriti”. In this unit, we have discussed Manu’s contributions towards the development of political ideas in ancient India. The second unit of the course discusses the political ideas of Kautilya who was an ancient Indian political philosopher, also known by the name Chanakya (350 – 275 BCE). In this unit, Kautilya’s views on State, King and his theory of Saptang are discussed. In the third unit, the political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy are explained. Through this unit, the learners will be familiar with the various theories of Roy specially his views on Brahmo Samaj. The fourth unit discusses the the ideas of Jyotiba Phule. Phule was a social reformers who contributed a lot towards the development of the Indian political thought who tried to eradicate the social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions, problems of women and labour etc. from our society. The fifth and sixth units are related with the political ideas of M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi’s views on Satya and Ahimsa, State, Satyagraha and perspective on Peace are discussed in the fifth unit. Similarly, Nehru’s views on Nationalism, Democracy, Modernism and Internationalism are analysed in the sixth unit. The seventh unit discusses the political ideas of M. N. Roy. Here, Roy’s views on humanist ideology, materialism, party-less democracy and his involvement in India’s freedom struggle are elaborately explained.

The unit eighth deals with the ideas of B. R. Ambedkar, the father of the Indian Constitution. Throughout his life, he tried to eradicate all social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions, problems of women and labour etc. which are explained in this unit. The ninth unit discusses the political ideas of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was one of the foremost leaders of India’s freedom struggle. Azad was also critical of the British raj and communal issues. Azad’s views on Hindu-Muslim unity, Nationalism, non-violence, Democracy and partition of India are discussed in this unit. In unit tenth, the contributions of Jay Prakash Narayan are explained. Narayan was influenced by Marxism as well as Gandhian

thoughts. In this unit, discussions are made on Narayan as a socialist and the impact of Gandhian thoughts upon him and Narayan's views on Sarvodaya and Total Revolution. The eleventh unit highlights the contributions of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. He is known as the father of Bhoodan Movement. Bhave's religious and social work, his relationship with Gandhi and his views on Bhoodan Movement, Brahma Vidya Mandir are analysed in this unit. The twelve unit focusses the contributions of Ram Manohar Lohia. He has been one of the most original and ingenious modern Indian thinkers who advocated for decentralised socialism. In this unit, Lohia's ideas on socialism and Gandhism and his concept of International Society are discussed.The thirteenth unit deals with the concepts of Development as Freedom and Missing Women put forward by Amartya Sen. The unit fourtinth is related with Ambikagiri Raicoudhury's ideas of humanism, freedom and state, Assamese nationalism, etc. along with his contributions to the freedom struggle of India.

UNIT 1 : MANU

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives.

1.2 Introduction.

1.3 Philosophical Foundation of Manu's Thought.

1.4 Four Varna's of Manu.

1.5 Political Ideas of Manu.

- 1.5.1 Manu's Conception of Kingship
- 1.5.2 Manu's Views on Danda and Justice
- 1.5.3 Manu's Views on Dharma

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress.

1.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the political ideas of Manu.
- describe the realism in his outlook with some strands of conservatism.
- analyse the element of rationality in his outlook to build a better way of life for the people.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Manu, the father of ancient Indian polity and the author of the book "Manu Smriti" had analysed the different aspects of administration. He was the great thinker of ancient Indian political ideas and thought. In this unit, we will discuss Manu's contributions towards the development of political ideas in ancient India. After reading this unit, you will be able to analyse the major contributions of Manu to Indian political thought.

1.3 PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATION OF MANU'S THOUGHT

The very essence of Manu's Philosophy was rooted in his belief that in the universe there exists only one ultimate reality which he termed it as the 'supreme spirit.' This supreme spirit of Manu was transcendental and infinite. In itself as the 'Upanishads' describe; it is Nirguna, i.e. it has no shape. The social and political order which Manu envisaged is designed with a view to help the human souls to attain their ultimate goal i.e. merging one's identity in the supreme Infinite spirit. To Manu, the purpose of any social organization is to create conditions so that the individual living in the society can reach its destination 'the ultimate goal'. If any social organization however fails to deliver this service, then Manu considers such an organization meaningless. It needs to be mentioned here that Manu was very much aware of the fact that attainment of this goal i.e. the state supreme reality is not possible within a span of a single life. Therefore Manu postulated the notion of rebirths and held the view that the process of rebirth shall continue till the purpose of life is achieved. Manu herein highlights the significance of 'Karma' or deeds. To him what body the soul would take in subsequent births would be determined by one's deeds in his previous life span.

Thus it can rightly be stated from the above discussion that Manu believed in spiritual Monoism and also in the doctrine of 'Karma' and reincarnation.

1.4 FOUR VARNA'S OF MANU

Manu's concept of Four Varna's is a clear reflection of his class orientations and impressions. Manu has divided the society into four Varnas (class), each class representing one distinctive social groups. Manu has categorized these four classes on the basis of the bodily composition. To Manu the human body is qualities of 'Sattva', 'Raja' and 'Tama'. The three aspects of consciousness interacting with these three qualities of the material body determine the various types of men and their characteristics.

On this basis Manu has divided the society into four classes. According to Manu, the man in whom the element of 'Sattva' predominates over the other two is a Brahmin; he who has the 'Rajas' Kshatriya; and the man in whom the 'Tamas' element is more marked than other elements is a vaishya. To Manu, the fourth class do not posses any significant proportion of these elements. This class is the Shudra class, who in the view of Manu lacks personality of his own. In fact to Manu the mind and thinking pattern of this class is like that of a child who constantly needs guidance and assistance in every step of life. As much Manu debars them from participation in the higher life of society.

Thus the social order as envisaged by Manu is a hierarchical one with the Brahmins at the top, followed by Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudra's respectively. Brahmins are the men who occupy the most important positions in the society. This group constitute mostly of the teachers and preachers and their duty is to read and teach the Vedas. They in fact represent the intellectual cream of the society and as such they are entrusted with the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the state. Kshatriyas are the men of action. By temperament they are energetic and are the rulers of the society. As for the Vaishya's are concerned this class is represented by the traders and agriculturalist.They are motivated by what Plato calls appetite. To Manu the fourth class i.e. the Shudra's one meant to render service to the people occupying higher positions in the society.

Manu's classification of society into four Varna's however was not based on the doctrine of ascription. In fact Manu assigned role to the people in the social system on the basis of their own intrinsic qualities. He infact allowed mobility of Varna's from one group to another. To him, by possession and acquisition of distinctive qualities, a person could move himself upwards in that social order. For example, Vishvamitra, although a Kshatriya by birth could acquire Brahminhood because he believed that people could move up to the social order based on their intrinsic qualities rather than be confined to their own castes by virtue of their birth. Accordingly like in the human organism, the feet are not despised and treated in a discriminative manner because they occupy the lowest position and have to carry the entire burden of the body. Likewise the Shudra's should also not be looked down upon.

In the context of discussion of Manu's view of four Varna's, reference could also be drawn to Manu's division of human life into four stages or 'Ashrams'. Manu has offered a four fold division of human life. The first stage is of Brahmacharya. This stage is devoted purely to the acquisition of knowledge as well as spiritual values. Besides these, one is expected to grow and nurture qualities like humanity, discipline, sincerity, purity of thought, cleanliness, and soft-heartedness. The second stage is the Grihasthashrama(household life). One enters this state after marriage. Herein both the husband and wife are expected to be committed to one another and sincerely fulfill and discharge their duties towards the family and children. Vanaprastha(Retired life) constitutes the third stage where the individual is expected to leave behind all his social and professional obligations and starts a new life devoting time on the study of scriptures and meditation. The last stage of life is the Sanyasa(Renounced life). This stage means total renouncement from worldly pleasures including the bare necessities of life. Attainment of moksha becomes the sole purpose of life in this stage.

The social system envisaged by Manu was to a great extent a stratified one, yes of course with ample scope for mobility. Manu also sought to effect a divorce between economic and political power, as it seems he was aware of the evil consequences which accrue from the concentration of these two kinds of power in one person or in a body of persons. Manu also believed that the social system which existed in ancient India and which he had rationalized was divinely ordained. To him, it is God who has assigned the duties which each Varna has to deliver. However, Manu regarded that this system of Varnashrama Dharma may not be strictly based on hereditary line. On the other hand, to him it depends upon quality and character of the person and not on his birth.

1.5 POLITICAL IDEAS OF MANU

The epic work 'Manu Smriti' by Manu is a reflection of Manu's wide array of thoughts and concerns about the people and the social order in

that age. This book speaks in volume the mind set and throws lights upon the vision of Manu. The political ideas of Manu are much contained in his epic Manusmriti some of which may be discussed as follows:

1.5.1 Manu's Conception of Kingship

Manu treats the king as a divine creation. In words of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar "For the first time therefore we find a trace of the real divine origin of the kingship similar to that propounded by the western thinkers." (D. R. Bhandakar, some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity. P. 147.). Manu believed in the divine origin of kingship. According to him, this institution was created by God for the protection of the people against insecurity. In fact 'Lord Brahma', the creator, decided to give the King with the duty to maintain law and order and punish those who encroached upon the rights of others. This implies that in his opinion there existed some sort of state of nature prior to the emergence of the state, where life was miserable and there was no authority which could maintain peace and order. According to Manu, the king is no ordinary human mortal, he is in reality, a great deity in human form, a person possessing the elements of Indra, Vayu (god of wind), Yara, the sun, Agni, Varuna, moon and kubera. As such the king symbolized 8 elements and that he (the king) was created out of the particles of the eight guardians of the world. The king to Manu is therefore no ordinary human mortal; he is in reality a deity in human formand therefore he should not be despised in any circumstances. From this it follows that the subjects should always obey and follow the king and for those who disobeys or disrespects the king Manu has prescribed capital punishment.

However, the divine logic of kingship of Manu, does not necessarily denote that Manu was a staunch supporter of absolute authority of kings. It is true that the king deserves obedience, loyalty and respect from the people, but it is also undeniable that the king of Manu, was entrusted by prime duties, which in the opinion of Manu, the king was bound to deliver. These duties included protection of

subjects, in term of providing security to the people, ensuring that there is no thief, no adulterer no man guilty of violence, dispensation of justice to Name a few. Manu held's the view that the king who fails to deliver his duties takes all the sins of the people upon himself. Besides these functions Manu also wants the king to perform certain social welfare functions like looking after the helpless and needy such as the poor, the sick, the old aged, widows, childless women so on and so forth. To Manu, the King is duty bound and obligated to discharge these aforesaid functions as because the people looks upto him and owe him loyalty only on the condition that he should discharge his duties effectively. Manu further says the king who oppresses the people, forfeits his kingdom and even life.

Manu did not only emphasized upon the duties and obligation of the king towards his subjects or vice-versa, but also prescribed certain do's and don'ts for the king. Manu specified certain things which the king should avoid, such as drinking , dice, woman, hunting, gambling, inordinate love for singing wroth, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, seizure of property, assault to name a few. He declasses greed to be the root cause of all vices and therefore a wise rules should sheen and avoid. Among the do's prescribed by Manu to the king, Manu emphasized upon the role of the king in appointment of his ministers. As in his opinion, it is the most critical aspect of administration. The king should appoint seven or eight ministers talking into account the principles of hereditary and virtues of courage and wisdom. Besides appointment of ministers, the king must also appoint ambassadors to other states so that the king remains informed about the activities of the other states. Manu also has given guidelines which the king needs to follow while collecting revenues, organizing local government, maintaining army, appointing civil servant and other important matters thus in the opinion of Manu, the king should regulate both the social and political life of the subjects and protect them from all possible aggression and keep them fully safe.

1.5.2 Manu's Views on Danda and Justice

With a view to regulate the political affairs, Manu attached utmost importance to Danda or punishment. According to Manu, harmony and order in a state is possible only if the element of punishment or Danda is made an integral part in running the administration otherwise there will be disharmony and disorder in the society everywhere. To quote his own words- "for the wing's sake, the lord formerly created his own son, punishment, the protector of all creators, (an incarnation of) law, form or Brahmas glory". He again states, "the whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through rear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments." According to Manu,Danda is a means that paves the way for orderliness in a state.

Though, Manu advocated the use of Danda, he never supported the indiscriminate use of Danda or punishment by the ruler, for he believed that if Danda is used indiscriminately than it would lead to displeasure and promote unrighteousness among the people, so Manu was in favour of impartial use of danda by the ruler, so as to please his subjects. Manu wanted that the king should use punishment and force at an appropriate time for the good of the community and not use it for the promotion of his personal interest. According to Manu if a king uses force to promote his personal ends than it was bound to collapse very soon.

Along with Danda, Manu also laid importance on the principle of justice. In fact Manu considered it as one of the most important duties of the king. Manu also insisted that the king should personally supervise the administration of justice and should strive consistently to make it more effective and efficient. In fact if any wrong doer went unpunished, it is the king who is responsible. Dharma is related with the concept of justice as per Manu's view. He suggested that justice should be based on dharma or righteousness with the principles in dharma, as adherence to Dharma principles would enable the ruler to disburse justice in a right manner.

1.5.3 Manu's Views on Dharma

As discussed above, Manu emphasized on the principle of Dharma to implement the principle of justice. He was an ardent believer of **Justice and Dharma.** He, however did not believe in equal treatment for members of all the classes. In fact, he suggested special treatment for the Brahmins. Manu did not believe in equality of all human beings. To Manu, the Brahmins are superior category of human beings who deserves special treatment. To quote Manu- "The Brahmin is declared to be the creator of the world, the punisher, the teacher, a benefactor; to him let no man say anything unpropitious; nor use any harsh worlds." Manu even does not permit the king to show disrespect to the Brahmin and says- " Let him (the king) not though faller into the deepest distress provoke Brahmins to anger: for they when angered, could instantly destroy him together with his army and his vehicles." Again Manu was also seen combining the principle of righteousness with political expediency. Manu did not disapprove wars which is necessary for expansion and protection of territory. To Manu the king should use force only as a last resort. The king should use it to protect his kingdom and also to destroy its opponents. However he suggested that the ruler should use force only as a last resort.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Write a note on the concept of four varnas given by Manu.

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Q 2 : What are the things that a king should avoid according to Manu?

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Q 3 : Explain Manu's views on Danda.

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.....

Q 4 : Discuss the concept of Dharma as per Manu's view.

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

- Manu in his epic work Manusmriti expressed various views on the state, the role and qualities of kinship, Dandaniti and other aspects which he considered as equally relevant and practical in running the administration. Manu has undoubtedly made significant and valuable contribution to the development of Indian political thought, in fact it would not be wrong to say that the ancient Indian political thought achieved a significant milestone with the writings of Manu.
- The very essence of Manu's Philosophy was rooted in his belief that in the universe there exists only one ultimate reality which he termed it as the 'supreme spirit.' This supreme spirit of Manu was transcendental and infinite.
- Manu postulated the notion of rebirths and held the view that the process of rebirth shall continue till the purpose of life is achieved. Manu herein highlights the significance of 'Karma' or deals. To him what body the soul would take in subsequent births would be determined by one's deeds in his previous life span.
- Manu's concept of Four Varna's is a clear reflection of his class orientations and impressions. Manu has divided the society into four Varna's (class), each class representing one distinctive social groups. The social order as envisaged by Manu is a hierarchical one with the Brahmins at the top, followed by Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudra's respectively.

- The social system envisaged by Manu was to a great extent a stratified one, yes of course with ample scope for mobility.However, Manu regarded that this system of Varnashrama Dharma may not be strictly based on hereditary line. On the other hand, to him it depends upon quality and character of the person and not on his birth.
- Manu attached utmost importance to Danda or punishment. According to Manu, harmony and order in a state is possible only if the element of punishment or Danda is made an integral part in running the administration. Along with Danda, Manu also laid importance on the principle of justice.
- Manu did not disapprove wars which is necessary for expansion and protection of territory. The king should use it to protect his kingdom and also to destroy its opponents. However he suggested that the ruler should use force only as a last resort.
- Thus we can rightly conclude with the words of Prof. V. Chroshal who stated that in the historical development of our ancient civilization, the law of the smriti of Manu occupies a position of exceptional significance.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) *The Laws of Manu* : Brian, K. Smith, Penguin Classics (1991)

2) *The Laws of Manu* : Georg Buehler, Library of Alexandria, 1970

3) *Manusmriti* : Ghosal, U.N. 2004, New Delhi, Sage Publication



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Manu's concept of Four Varna's is a clear reflection of his class orientations and impressions. Manu has divided the society into four Varna's (class), each class representing one distinctive social groups. Manu has categorized these four classes on the

basis of the bodily composition. To Manu the human body is qualities of 'Sattva', 'Raja' and 'Tama'. The three aspects of consciousness interacting with these three qualities of the material body determine the various types of men and their characteristics. On this basis Manu has divided the society into four classes. According to Manu, the man in whom the element of 'Sattva' predominates over the other two is a Brahmin; he who has the 'Rajas' Kshatriya; and the man in whom the 'Tamas' element is more marked than other elements is a vaishya. To Manu, the fourth class do not posses any significant proportion of these elements. This class is the Shudra class, who in the view of Manu lacks personality of his own. In fact to Manu the mind and thinking pattern of this class is like that of a child who constantly needs guidance and assistance in every step of life. As much Manu debars them from participation in the higher life of society.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : According to Manu the king should avoid certain things as drinking , dice, woman, hunting, gambling, inordinate love for singing wroth, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, seizure of property, assault to name a few. He declasses greed to be the root cause of all vices and therefore a wise rules should sheen and avoid.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : With a view to regulate the political affairs, Manu attached utmost importance to Danda or punishment. According to Manu, harmony and order in a state is possible only if the element of punishment or Danda is made an integral part in running the administration otherwise there will be disharmony and disorder in the society everywhere. Thus to Manu, Danda is a means that paves the way for orderliness in a state.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Dharma is related with the concept of justice as per Manu's view. He suggested that justice should be based on dharma or righteousness with the principles in dharma, as

adherence to Dharma principles would enable the ruler to disburse justice in a right manner.

Manu emphasized on the principle of Dharma to implement the principle of justice. He was an ardent believer of justice and Dharma. He, however did not believe in equal treatment for members of all the classes. In fact, he suggested special treatment for the Brahmins. Manu did not believe in equality of all human beings. To Manu, the Brahmins are superior category of human beings who deserves special treatment.



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Critically examine the political ideas of Manu.

Q 2 : Explain Manu's views on the principle of Danda and Justice.

Q 3 : "Manu is the father of ancient Indian political thought." Do you agree with this view? Give reasons for your answer.

Q 4 : Discuss the four Varnas given by Manu.

Q 5 : Analyse the principle of Dharma as depicted by Manu.

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UNIT 2 : KAUTILYA

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives
2.2 Introduction
2.3 Saptang Theory of Kautilya
2.4 Kautilya's Views on the King
2.5 Kautilya's Views on States
2.6 Comparison between Kautilya and Machiavelli
2.7 Let Us Sum Up
2.8 Further Reading
2.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
2.10 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the political ideas of Kautilya
- analyse the contributions of Kautilya towards the development of ancient Indian political thought
- make a comparative study between Machiavelli and Kautilya.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Kautilya was an ancient Indian political philosopher, also known by the name Chanakya (350 – 275 BCE) since he was born in the Chanaka village. He derived the name Kautilya since he was born in the 'Kutala' gotra. Kautilya was the chief adviser and prime minister to the Indian Emperor Chandragupta, the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire. Born to a Brahmin family of Northern Indian,Kautilya was a professor of political science and economics at the University of Taxila. He was also well versed with the Vedas and the Vedic literature.

The political thoughts of Kautilya are summarized in a book he wrote known as 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. In fact it would not be wrong to say that Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' is probably the most important source about the ancient Indian political thought and institutions as professor Altekar has put it "The Arthashastra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles ofadministration or of the political science. It is mainly concerned with practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions, both in peace and war, with an exhaustiveness not seen in any later work, with the possible exception of sukranitis."

2.3 SAPTANGA THEORY OF KAUTILYA

One of the most significant contributions of Kautilya in the realm of political thought is his Saptanga theory of the state. Kautilya held the view that a state is a combination of seven elements i.e.

a) Swamin (the Lord or the Sovereign)
b) Amatya-The ministers
c) Janapada-The population and land
d) Kosha-the treasury
e) Durga-the fort
f) Bala / Danda-the Army, and
g) Mitra-the ally.

This entire set of seven elements in the rajya (the state/kingdom) is described as the Saptanga theory in ancient India.

A detailed discussion of the seven elements are referred as follows:

a) The Swamin (the king) : According to Kautilya the King is an indispensable, integral and inspirable part of the state. The king belonged to the noble and royal family who possessed both the

qualities of head and heart. The king must be able to gain confidence in others. He must be easily accessible, truthful and pioneer. He should have a sharp intellect, be brave, prompt and must possess a strong mind.To Kautilya, the swamin could be one person or a number of persons. However to Kautilya the swamin is a veritable sovereign owing allegiance to none.

b) **The Amatya (the Ministers) :** According to Kautilya the Amatya refers to a minister or any kind of high officials, who are involved in all functioning of the government. It is their responsibility to ensure that the government runs smoothly. Kautilya says that the Amtya must be a native of the country and must possess devotion towards the Swamin.

c) **Janapada (the territory and the population) :** Janapada to Kautilya implies the land and the population. According to him fertility is an essential component of janapada. In this element, Kautilya discussed about the functioning of the village and towns including their organization.

d) **Kosa (the treasury) :** Another element of the state is the Kosa or treasury. Kautilya opined that a good state is one which is rich in gold and silver, as well as big and variegated that it may be capable of withstanding calamities for long and uninterruptedly. Kautilya attached great importance to the growth of treasury as he believed that treasury played an important part in the maintenance of internal and external independence of a state.

e) **Durga (the fort) :** Durga or the fort is considered as an extremely important element in a state, as it is related to the defence of the empire. Usually forts were constructed on the borders of the territory. Kautilya divided the forts into four categories water, hills, desert and forest forts.

f) **Bala/ Danda- (the Army) :** Bala refers to the armed forces to protect the state from aggressions and maintain law and order within the state. Kautilya divides the armies into six categories i.e.

1) Hereditary forces

2) Hired troops

3) Soldiers of fighting corporations,

4) Troops belonging to an ally

5) Troops belonging to an enemy

6) The soldiers of wild tribes.

The military force consist of cavalry, infantry and chariot riders. He considered Kshatriyas as the excellent material for the army as they are good warriors. He does not prefer the Vaishyas and Shudras for joining army when the state is confronted with emergency. The army is to be made effective by its proper equipment at the time of invasion and keeping sons and wives of soldiers protected through the provision of maintenance by the state. The soldiers are to be skilled patiently and always at the back and call of the king.

g) Mitra (Ally) : According to Kautilya there are two types of allies-

i) Sahaja mitra : It consists of those persons whose friendship was derived from the time of father and grandfather and were situated close to the territory of the immediately neighbouring enemy.

ii) Kritrim mitra : Kritrim mitra refers to an acquired ally whose friendship was resorted for the protection of the wealth and life. Kautilya held that the ally of the first category was superior to the ally of the second category.

Thus, Kautilya laid emphasis on the seven traditional elements of the state and described them as the Prakritis or limb like elements of the state.

2.4 KAUTILYA'S VIEWS ON KING

Kautilya entrusted immense responsibilities upon the king. To Kautilya, the King do not posses absolute powers, though he occupies a pre-eminent position in the empire. In fact Kautilya describes the Swamin

as the servant of the people who receives payment in the shape of taxes in lieu of the service rendered to the people. Kautilya identified certain qualities which the Swamin should possess. These are-

1) The King should have the best qualities of both head and heart. The entire Arthashastra is addressed to the King, who to Kautilya is the role ruler of the state.
2) According to Kautilya, a King who is in the making must observe celibacy till the age of 16. He should be well trained in the art of ruling by the aged teachers or gurus.
3) The king of Kautilya should be well trained in all forms of martial arts.
4) The king should get rid of the following six passions i.e. lust, anger, greed, attachment, jealousy and pride. In other words the King must shun these six vices which affect every human beings.
5) Again the king should render selfless service to his subjects. It is the first and foremost duty of the King to protect the life and property of his subjects and to save the people from anti-social elements or as well as natural calamities, such as fire, floods, earthquakes etc. To Kautilya only when the subjects are happy, the King can be happy.
6) Kautilya also wanted that the prince should undergo a thorough training related to intellectual and moral discipline. The intellectual training involves the study of the traditional sciences under the guidance of specialized teachers, while the moral discipline was to be in collated by controlling the six senses which Kautilya termed as six enemies (as has been discussed above).
7) The king should also avoid injuring the women and the property of others and should shun falsehood, haughtiness and evil activities.
8) Again Kautilya also suggested that the king should see through the eyes of his aged ministers and follow the course of conduct that is approved by them. Kautilya never wanted the King to depend on the advice of any single minister because such an advice may be based on selfish motives. He wanted that the king should consult a number of ministers and then come to a conclusion.

Herein Kautilya also identified certain qualities which a minister should possess. To him a minister should by nature be born in a high family. He should be influential as well as well trained in arts. He should have foresightedness. He should be wise, bold, eloquent, skilled, intelligent, possess right spirit, dignity, sound character, free from hesitation and fickle mindedness, firm in royal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct to mention a few. The ministers are meant for assisting the monarchs in the day to day affairs of the state. It is the ministers responsibility to suggest the king in matters of revenue, development of villages and cities, matters related to defense, besides other tasks as desired by the king.

Kautilya gives immense power to the king. He also attaches an element of divinity. To Kautilya the powers of the king are derived from three sources i.e.prabhushakti (Power of the Army and The Treasury) Manta Shakti (advice of wise men specially the council of minister) and Utsha Shakti (Charisma). In Arthashasrtra Kautillya never advocated the “Theory of Divine Origin” of monarch. Kautilya was of the view that as the state is a human institution, so it should be governed by human being. As such, the king should be the protector of the whole society.

2.5 KAUTILYA’S VIEWS ON STATE

The state is the central point in the discourse of Kautilya’s approach towards administration. According to Kautilya the primary objective of the state is to ensure the welfare of the people, to protect them from natural calamities, to destroy enemies, the work for promoting education among its masses, besides providing law and order in the country. The state of Kautilya should be based on sound economic foundations, so that the subject residing are in a position to realize the aims of their life. The state should also try to lessen the dependence of the community on the outside world, and also be in a position to help other sections of humanity in distress,

paving the way to a brighter beyond. To Kautilya, the state is a mixture of both material and spiritual elements. The objective of a state is not only to manage religious means and work for people, but to create a situation where all people can live in harmony without any discrimination based on colour, creed, caste, etc. Kautilya has also identified certain areas wherein the state plays or should play an active role.Some of these areas are mentioned below :

1) **Agriculture :** Kautilya considers agriculture as the backbone of state's economy. A state must have cultivated land, so as to meet the food requirements of the people living in it.
2) **Administrative Appointments :** According to Kautilya, it is the responsibility of the king to make essential appointments, so as to ensure good Administration.
3) **Military function :** The state's safety is a major concern, and for this there is a need for integrated and powerful military which is in a position to respond boldly to an outsider's attack.
4) **Control over Trade and Commerce :** Kautilya favoured state control over trade and commerce. The state was also to regulate and control foreign trade. The state has to ensure that the traders does not smuggle goods. Kautilya also favoured state control in areas like gold mines, gold, forest produce, manufacture and sale of liquor. All these features seem to be common with state socialism. He wanted the state to participate in trade and commerce, and devise various laws to control prices and profits. He favoured the appointment of Directors of shops for checking weights and measures and favoured fixation of prices and commodities of day to day use so that the people do not suffer from any hardship. However it may be noted that Kautilya attributed all these elements to the state not out of socialistic motives of seeking to destroy the existing economic environment on account of their restrictive and oppressive nature but was motivated by the considerations of intensifying and multiplying the resources of the state receipts.

5) **Element of Punishment :** In the state so as to ensure orderliness Kautilya also favoured the use of punishment. According to Kautilya severe punishment is not desirable, but milder forms can be used in a state. He says- “He who inflicts severe punishments becomes oppressive to all creatures; he who inflicts mild punishment is over powered; he who inflict just punishment is respected.” He further says “ Punishment when directed with consideration unites the people with virtue, wealth and desire, but when it is misapplied under the influence of greed and anger through ignorance, it irritates even the hermits and ascetics, not to speak of house holders.

6) **Foreign policy and state :** How a state should maintain relations with other states, Kautilya very well elaborated the process. According to him if a king is losing strength in comparison with another, should go for making peace. If a king is growing strong he should not abstain from war, if a king feels that neither can he nor the enemy can hurt him then the king should observe neutrality, if a king has an excess of advantage he shall march, if a king is wanting in strength he shall give protection. Finally, if a king who undertakes work requires assistance should adopt the dual policy. To Kautilya, in every state there are four categories of people greedy, timid, angry and haughty. Therefore Kautilya suggests that the King should try to win over them by appealing to the leading characteristics of each class with the help of spys appointed for the purpose. The king should design policies in such a way so as to get rid of impoverishment, greed and dissatisfaction among the people. Kautilya again raises the question as to which enemy should be marched against. To him an enemy which is of wicked character but stranger should be attacked by an enemy of righteous character but may be weak. To Kautilya, when people are impoverished, they became greedy, when they are greedy they became dissatisfied and when they are dissatisfied they voluntarily go to the side of the enemy or destroy their own master.

Kautilya also advises the king to keep his subjects happy, because if the subjects are not happy, they 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 aggrandizement. 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.

2.6 COMPARISON BETWEEN KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI

A Comparison is often made between Kautilya and Machiavelli, (the great modern European thinker) as both these two thinkers evolved ways and means to ensure practical administration in the state. Both Kautilya and Machiavelli favoured a stranger ruler who is not only able to overcome the anarchical conditions prevailing in the society but also to effectively handle possible threats coming from neighboring states. Both Kautilya and Machiavelli laid stress upon gathering first hand information about the activities, designs and strengths of the neighboring enemy states. Besides another common element between Kautilya and

Machiavelli was that they both relied upon earlier records of historical evidences about the actions of enemy states. Again both believed in the principle of political expediency.

However despite these commoness both Kautilya and Machiavelli also disagreed upon certain principles of administration, rule of king, their views of price to name a few. Herein it deserves to be mentioned that as 'Arthashastra' is recognized as the masterpiece of Kautilya; 'The prince' earned laurels for Machiavelli. However a comparison between these two works shows that Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' is much more elaborate than Machiavelli's prince.' It is because Kautilya covered a wide range of issues ranging from civil law, public administration, military science and so on. While Machiavelli in his work concentrated primarily upon the 'art of government. Again while Kautilya was not in favour of territorial aggrandizement, and cautioned the king against coveting the territory, wealth, sons and wives of one who was slain, Machiavelli on the other hand was in favour of territorial aggrandizement. The sovereign of Kautilya was not an absolute ruler unlike Machiavelli, who favoured strong monarchy with unrestrained powers. Kautilya no doubt wanted a powerful king but at the same time held the view that the king should work within the limitations of law (or Dharma). As regards the principles of morality, both Kautilya and Machiavelli differed from one another. While Kautilya gave due importance to moral principles in running the administration and only in exceptional case permitted immoral statecraft, Machiavelli with a view to promote public welfare sacrificed moral principles. Kautilya in fact pleaded for kind treatment of subject by the king. Again as to the principles of individual liberty both Machiavelli and Kautilya also differed from one another. Although Kautilya projected a powerful king but at the same time he was in favour of allotting maximum individual autonomy and freedom. He never wanted to sacrifice the individual at the altar of the king. But this was not in case of Machiavelli. For, Machiavelli believed that the individual liberty consisted in what the state permitted him to enjoy. The individual could not claim any liberty from the state as a matter of rights.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : How Kautilya defined Swamin?

.....

Q 2 : Write a note on Bala as given by Kautilya.

.....

Q 3 : Name the book written by Kautilya.

.....

Q 4 : Write the qualities of a minister depicted by Kautilya.

.....



2.7 LET US SUM UP

- Much of our knowledge about state policy under the Mauryas comes from the Arthashastra written by Kautilya. Though it was written at the end of the fourth century B.C.E, it appears to have been rediscovered only in 1905. Kautilya is described by historians as both the emperor's prime Minister and economist of the Mauryan state. Most agree that his work can be read as an adequate description of his time yet also serving as a practical manual of how to govern. Kautilya stresses on the importance of religion as an important force to depoliticize the masses when confronted with state power, thus reducing the risk of rebellion.
- Again Kautilya's insistence on clear and just laws that must be backed by force are reminiscent of Hobbes, who warned of the perils of internal anarchy and strife. However Kautilya's policy making remains his 'mandala' theory. Kautilya's major concern was to always have enough money available to finance. In sum, what is perhaps the most fascinating is how many ideas Kautilya articulated that would appear in the western centuries later- while Kautilya wrote Arthashastra briefly after Thucydides, he long preceded Machiavelli and Hobbes which thought along similar lines.



2.8 FURTHER READING

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2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The Swamin (the king) : According to Kautilya the King is an indispensable, integral and inspirable part of the state. The king belonged to the noble and royal family who possessed both the qualities of head and heart. The king must be able to gain confidence in others. He must be easily accessible, truthful and pioneer. He should have a sharp intellect, be brave, prompt and must possess a strong mind. To Kautilya, the swamin could be one person or a number of persons. However to Kautilya the swamin is a veritable sovereign owing allegiance to none.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Bala (the Army) : Bala refers to the armed forces to protect the state from aggressions and maintain law and order within the state. Kautilya divides the armies into six categories i.e.

7) Hereditary forces

8) Hired troops

9) Soldiers of fighting corporations,

10) Troops belonging to an ally

11) Troops belonging to an enemy

12) The soldiers of wild tribes.

The military force consist of cavalry, infantry and chariot riders. He considered Kshatriyas as the excellent material for the army as they are good warriors. He does not prefer the Vaishyas and Shudras for joining army when the state is confronted with emergency. The

army is to be made effective by its proper equipment at the time of invasion and keeping sons and wives of soldiers protected through the provision of maintenance by the state. The soldiers are to be skilled patiently and always at the back and call of the king.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Arthasastra.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Kautilya identified certain qualities which a minister should possess. To him a minister should by nature be born in a high family. He should be influential as well as well trained in arts. He should have foresightedness. He should be wise, bold, eloquent, skilled, intelligent, possess right spirit, dignity, sound character, free from hesitation and fickle mindedness, firm in royal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct to mention a few. The ministers are meant for assisting the monarchs in the day to day affairs of the state. It is the ministers' responsibility to suggest the king in matters of revenue, development of villages and cities, matters related to defence, besides other tasks as desired by the king.



2.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss the political ideas of Kautilya.

Q 2 : Critically examine the contributions of Kautilya towards the development of Indian political thought.

Q 3 : Explain the qualities and duties of a king according to Kautilya.

Q 4 : Make a comparative study between Kautilya and Machiavelli.

Q 5 : Describe the Saptanga theory of Kautilya.

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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

3.3.2 Roy's Ideas on Educational, Economic and Political issues

3.3.3 As a Progressive and Liberal Thinker

3.3.4 Subjects of Law and Morality

3.3.5 Brahmo Samaj

3.4 Conclusion

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Further Reading

3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8 Possible Questions

3.1: LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss about the Political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy
- describe about his Educational ideas
- analyse the Economic ideas forwarded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

3.2 : INTRODUCTION

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in the year 1772. He was a contemporary of Hegel. He is regarded as the promulgator of the modern age in the Indian history. Roy had studied Persian and Arabic at Patna. His study of Islamic metaphysics and sociology made him critical of some of the Hindu religious practices. He studied the ancient scriptures in Sanskrit,

at Banaras. He had a critical mind and a massive intellect and was a religious encyclopaedist. The renaissance in Bengal was indeed a very creative as well as complex movement and it included persons like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Gupta, Devendra Nath Thakur, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and several others. But Ram Mohan Roy was the earliest spokesman of the Bengal renaissance, and as a social and religious leader, he was an extraordinary personality of that time. In 1815, he started the Atmiya Sabha-spiritual society. In 1818, he started crusade for the abolition of sati which resulted in the passing of a regulation by William Bentinck in 1829, the then British Governor-General of India. In 1827, the British India Unitarian Association was formed. On August 20, 1828, he founded the Brahma Samaj or the Congregation of the Absolute which was of great importance. Through this Brahmo Samaj, he was trying to change the society into a better one.

Roy denounced the social abuses and declared himself in open opposition to orthodoxy. He repudiated the theory of ethical sensualism and accepted ethical institutionism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When was Raja Ram Mohan Roy born?

……

……

Q 2 : His ……’ in Bengali is the best of his prose works. (Fill in the blanks)

Q 3 : In 1818, he started crusade for the abolition of sati. (True/ False)

……

3.3 POLITICAL IDEAS OF RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

3.3.1 Theory of Personal and Political Freedom

Ram Mohan Roy accepted the immutable sanctity of natural rights. The most important event which brought fame to Raja Ram

Mohan Roy was the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. After the failure of the Unitarian Association, the followers of Ram Mohan felt the urgent necessity of establishing an institution solely devoted to Unitarian and monotheistic worship. As a result, the Brahma Samaj, later known as the Brahmo Samaj, came into being on august 20, 1828. He wanted the monotheists of all religions to use the premises of the Sabha as their own. He wished this institution to be the meeting ground of the people of all religious denominations who believed in one God. He called himself as a follower of the universal religion. However, the philosophy of Brahmo Samaj left its decisive on the Indian thought.

3.3.2 Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Ideas on Educational, Economic and Political Issues

Ram Mohan Roy was not only the pioneer of religious reform but he was also the first advocate of social reconstruction in India. He is known as the father of all progressive moments in modern India. He rendered a great service to the cause of education in India. He realized that without a radical reform of educational system prevailing in India at that time it would not be possible to awaken the nation from the slumber of centuries. Ram Mohan Roy was very keen about introducing scientific education in India which would throw off superstition and ignorance and open the path of enlightenment. He felt unhappy to see the economic plight of the Indian people under the rule of East India Company. He pointed out that the zamindars had greatly benefitted by the permanent settlement of 1793, the poor peasants was no better off at all. Rent was exorbitantly high and it left hardly any surplus for the cultivators. Ram Mohan Roy therefore demanded not only the prohibition of any further rise of rent and also reduction of rent. He suggested the decrease in revenue due to a permanent fixation in the rent might be remedied by tax on luxury goods, and by the employment of Indians as collectors in place of the high salaried Europeans. He also fought against the monopoly

of the salt trade by the servants of East India Company. The east India Company was draining money from India and Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first to try to estimate how much money was actually being driven out of India.

The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru raised its voice and fought against the economic exploitation of the Indian people by the British rulers. Ram Mohan Roy was the first to *enunciate* the rights and privileges of the people and in the name of the nation to speak to the government of their duties and responsibilities as the Sovereign power. The first stand made by the people of India in defense of the civil rights was when Raja Ram Mohan Roy in his own name and in the name of five of his friends submitted a memorandum in the Supreme Court in Calcutta on 31st March, 1823 against the Ordinance of the then acting Governor-General, Mr. John Adam, prescribing that hence forth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without first having obtained a license from the Governor General-in-Council. The petition, was however rejected by the Supreme Court, and as a protest Ram Mohan Roy stopped the publication of his Persian Weekly 'Mirat-ul-Akhbar'.

In 1827, Ram Mohan Roy again made a spirited protest against the illiberal policy of the Government. The occasion was provided by the passing of the Indian Jury Bill by the British Parliament on May 5, 1826.

Roy was a champion of freedom and democratic rights who believed in Parliamentary democracy. He believed that the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers was nothing but a "struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But …….we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been since long gradually but steadily gaining ground notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots.'' Roy championed the struggle for freedom and democratic rights not for

India alone but for every country of the world. He was opposed to the British occupation of Ireland, and in his Mirat-ul-Akhbar, he wrote against this. He regarded freedom as indivisible and his love for freedom embraced the entire mankind.

3.3.3 As a Progressive and Liberal Thinker

Ram Mohan Roy was a progressive and liberal thinker. He had a deep passion for liberty and equality, yet he showed his respect for property and believed in freedom of contract. He pleaded for state intervention in suppressing various evil practices in society and held that it was a duty of the state to protect tenants against the oppression of the landlords, nevertheless he was not a believer in the theory of Laissez faire. He was also not a socialist as he maintained that the state should protect existing titles to property. He was also in favour of a powerful middle class.

3.3.4 Subjects of Law and Morality

Ram Mohan Roy's subjects of writing were varied in nature.His views were even extended to cover subjects like custom, laws and morality. He presented papers on Modern Encroachment on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance and the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral property according to the Law of Bengal.

In his paper on the Rights of Hindus over ancestral property, Ram Mohan Roy made a broad distinction between the spheres of law and those of morality. He asked, "How shall we draw a line of distinction between those immoral rights that should not be considered invalid and those that should be regarded as null in the eyes of the law",(Rights of Hindus over ancestral property according to the law of Bengal, p. 145) and replied, "He must refer to the common law and the established usages of every country, as furnishing the distinction admitted between the one class and the other."

3.3.5 Brahmo Samaj

Raja ram Mohan Roy established the Brahmo samaj in the year 1828. This was one of the important event that brought fame to Ram Mohan Roy. Earlier at the time of establishment on August 20, 1828, it was known as Brahmo Sabha. Roy wished this institution to be the meeting ground of people of all religions who believed in one God. Ram Mohan Roy believed in one supreme power which is formless, eternal, immutable and unreachable. He called himself as the follower of Universal religion.

One of the important long-term agenda of the Brahmo Samaj was to purify Hinduism and to preach monotheism which was based on the twin pillars of reason and the Vedas and Upanishads. Brahmo Samaj also tried to incorporate teachings of other religions and kept its emphasis on human dignity, opposition to idol worship and criticism of social evils such as sati.

Roy's progressive ideas met with strong opposition from Raja Radhakant Deb who organised the Dharma Sabha to counter Brahmo Samaj propaganda. Ram Mohan Roy's death in the year 1833 was a major setback for the Brahmo Samaj's mission.

According to H.C. Sarkar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was "neither entirely a Hindu nor exclusively a Christian, but something beyond larger and nobler than both. He led the way from the Hinduism of the past, not to, but through Christianity into the universal Church of Spiritual Theism, which embraced all that was precious and inspiring in Hinduism as well as Christianity." According to H.C.E. Zacharias, "Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj form the starting point for all the various reform movements whether in Hindu religion, society or politics which have agitated modern India."

3.4 CONCLUSION

Ram Mohan Roy was remarkable personality with a vision and foresightedness who was also a dedicated spirit with concern for man and

faith on God. He was a person who preached his convictions with courage and sincerity. He was a feminist in modern India who opposed to the subjection of woman and voiced against the encroachments of the rights of Hindu females in inheritance. Ram Mohan viewed education as a medium to implement social reforms for which he came to Calcutta in 1815 and the very next year started an English College. He wanted the students to learn the English language and scientific subjects and criticized the government's policy of opening only Sanskrit schools. According to Roy, Indians would lag behind if they do not get to study modern subjects like Mathematics, Geography and Latin. Government accepted this idea of Ram Mohan and also implemented it but not before his death. Ram Mohan was also the first person to give importance to the development of the mother tongue. His 'Gaudiya Byakaran' in Bengali is the best of his prose works. Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra also followed the footsteps of Ram Mohan Roy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Ram Mohan Roy was a feminist in modern India who opposed to the subjection of woman (True/ False)

.....

Q 5 : Raja Ram Mohan Roy established BrahmoSamaj in the year…..…… (Fill in the Blank)

Q 6 : He fought against the monopoly of the salt trade by the servants of East India Company.(True / False)

.....

Q 7 : Write a few lines on Ram Mohan Roy's view on law and morality. (within 50 words).

.....

Q 8 : Write a note on Ram Mohan Roy as a progress and liberal thinker.

.....

Q 9 : Explain Roy's theory of personal and political freedom.

.....



3.5 LET US SUM UP

- Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in the year 1772 .
- He was contemporary of Hegel.
- In 1815, he started the Atmiya Sabha-spiritual society. In 1818, he started crusade for the abolition of sati which resulted in the passing of a regulation by William Bentinck, the then British Governor-General of India.
- Ram Mohan Roy accepted the immutable sanctity of natural rights.
- The most important event which brought fame to Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the establishment of Brahmo Samaj in 1828.He is known as the father of all progressive moments in modern India.
- He fought against the monopoly of the salt trade by the servants of East India Company.The east India Company was draining money from India and Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first to try to estimate how much money was actually being driven out of India.
- Roy was a champion of freedom and democratic rights who believed in Parliamentary democracy.
- Ram Mohan Roy was a progressive and liberal thinker.
- He had a passion for liberty and equality.
- He was in favour of a powerful middle class.
- Ram Mohan Roy rendered a great service to the cause of education in India.
- In his paper on the Rights of Hindus over ancestral property, Ram Mohan Roy made a broad distinction between the spheres of law and those of morality.
- Ram Mohun Roy was remarkable personality with a vision and foresightedness who was also a dedicated spirit with concern for man and faith on God.
- He was a person who preached his convictions with courage and sincerity.

- He was a feminist in modern India who opposed to the subjection of woman and voiced against the encroachments of the rights of Hindu females in inheritance.
- Ram Mohan viewed education as a medium to implement social reforms for which he came to Calcutta in 1815 and the very next year started an English College.
- According to Roy, Indians would lag behind if they do not get to study modern subjects like Mathematics, Geography and Latin.
- Ram Mohan Roy was remarkable personality with a vision and foresightedness who was also a dedicated spirit with concern for man and faith on God.
- Ram Mohan was also the first person to give importance to the development of the mother tongue.
- Ram Mohan Roy's death in the year 1833 was a major setback for the Brahmo Samaj's mission.



3.6 FURTHER READING

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2) Varma,V.P. *Modern Indian Political Thought*. Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra, 2013

3) Gupta, R.C., Great Political Thinkers, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra, 2009-10.



3.7: ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in the year 1772.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Gaudiya Byakaran

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans to Q. No. 4 : true

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Raja Ram Mohan Roy established Brahmo Samaj in the year 1828.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : True

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Ram Mohan Roy's subjects of writing were varied in nature. His views were even extended to cover subjects like custom, laws and morality. He presented papers on Modern Encroachment on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance and the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral property according to the Law of Bengal.

In his paper on the Rights of Hindus over ancestral property, Ram Mohan Roy made a broad distinction between the spheres of law and those of morality. He asked, "How shall we draw a line of distinction between those immoral rights that should not be considered invalid and those that should be regarded as null in the eyes of the law'',(Rights of Hindus over ancestral property according to the law of Bengal, p. 145) and replied, "He must refer to the common law and the established usages of every country, as furnishing the distinction admitted between the one class and the other."

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Ram Mohan Roy was a progressive and liberal thinker. He had a deep passion for liberty and equality, yet he showed his respect for property and believed in freedom of contract. He pleaded for state intervention in suppressing various evil practices in society and held that it was a duty of the state to protect tenants against the oppression of the landlords, nevertheless he was not a believer in the theory of Laissez faire. He was also not a socialist as he maintained that the state should protect existing titles to property. He was also in favour of a powerful middle class.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : Ram Mohan Roy accepted the immutable sanctity of natural rights. The most important event which brought fame to Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. After the failure of the Unitarian Association, the followers of

Ram Mohan felt the urgent necessity of establishing an institution solely devoted to Unitarian and monotheistic worship. As a result, the Brahma Samaj, later known as the Brahmo Samaj, came into being on august 20, 1828. He wanted the monotheists of all religions to use the premises of the Sabha as their own. He wished this institution to be the meeting ground of the people of all religious denominations who believed in one God. He called himself as a follower of the universal religion. However, the philosophy of Brahmo Samaj left its decisive on the Indian thought.



3.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : When did Roy establish the Brahmo Samaj?

Q 2 : When did Raja Ram Mohan Roy establish an English college?

Q 3 : Discuss the Educational ideas forwarded by Roy.

Q 4 : Examine the Economic ideas of Ram Mohan Roy.

Q 5 : Discuss about the Political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Q 6 : "Ram Mohan Roy was a progressive and liberal thinker. He had a deep passion for liberty and equality." – Discuss.

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UNIT : 4 JYOTIBA PHULE (1827-1890)

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Attitude Towards Colonial Government

4.4 Indian Social Order- a Critique

4.4.1: Varna and Caste System

4.4.2: Equality between Men and Women

4.5 Views on Religion

4.6 Indian Economy

4.6.1: Solution to the Agrarian Problem

4.7 Let Us Sum Up

4.8 Further Reading

4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.10 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the contribution of Jyotiba Phule to the development of political thought in modern India.
- discuss the nature and evolution of Jyotiba Phule's thought and
- explain Phule's response to Colonialism
- analyse Phule's views on Religion and Indian Economy.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was born in a Mali family of Poona in 11 April, 1827. He attained his education in Marathi school at Poona. In 1848, Phule began his work as a social reformer interested in education of low caste boys and girls, when he started a school for girls of low and untouchable castes. Since no female teacher was available, Phule asked

his wife Savitribai to teach in the school. He opened two more schools for girls in 1851. He also established a night school for the untouchables in 1852. By 1858, as a social reformer, he supported the movement for widow remarriage in 1860 and in 1863 he established a Home for the prevention of infanticide. Even today, his Satya Shodhak Samaj is associated with social issues. It was established in 1873 to organise the lower castes against the Hindu social order based on varna and caste system. Some of his major works are - Brahmanache Kasab(1869),Gulamgiri (1873), Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak (1889) etc. He wrote mainly in Marathi and that too in a Marathi meant for the masses. He died on 28 November,1890. He was a 19thCentury philosopher. His main interest were: Ethics, Religion and Humanism.

4.3 ATTITUDE TOWARDS COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

During the time when Phule started his work, the British regime in India was at the peak of its power. British rule brought to an end to the autocracy and anarchy of the regime of the last Peshwa in Maharashtra. Earlier the Brahmin Peshwas imposed strict limitations on education, occupation and living standards of the lower castes and women. Later, the new rulers opened the opportunities in education and mobility in occupation for the members of all castes. Missionary schools and government colleges started imparting education to all the students irrespective of their caste origins. The colonial rulers had not only established law and order but also the principle of equality before law. Phule was probably the best product of this process. High caste reformers and leaders had also welcomed the colonial rule. He hoped that the Colonial government which believes in equality between man and man would emancipate lower castes, from the domination of the Brahmins. New employment opportunities in the administration, political power at local level was also being given to the Indians by the British Government. He believed in the benevolent attitude of the British rulers towards the lower castes and therefore asked for a number of things from them. Therefore, he wanted lower castes to exploit the

opportunity and get rid of the tyranny of Brahmins. The new regime was showing the signs of doing good things for the deprived people. He asked the government to make laws prohibiting customs and practices which gave subordinate status to women and untouchables. Phule wanted Brahmin bureaucracy to be replaced by non-Brahmin bureaucracy. But if the non-Brahmins were not available, the government should appoint, he thought, the British men to these posts. He believed that the British officers would take impartial view and were likely to side with lower castes.Phule advised his followers from the lower castes not to participate the-movement for political rights. He argued that the Indian National Congress or other political associations were not national in the true sense of the term because they represented only high castes. In his Satya Shodhak Samaj, he had made it a rule not to discuss politics. In fact, he had expressed more than once a complete and total loyalty towards the new British government. He firmly believed that the Almighty God had sent the British rule for the welfare of the masses. It does not mean that Phule did not understand the significance of politics. His efforts were to organize the lower castes under the banner of Satya Shodhak Samaj that should be seen as a political activity. It is true that he gave preference to social reform rather than political reform in the19th century. But that does not suggest that he would have continued to hold the educated, they would become conscious of their political rights.

Though Phule preferred British rule to the regime of the Brahmins, yet his mission was to bring about an egalitarian society where all men and women would enjoy equality and liberty. However, in the later stages Phule criticised the British rulers when he felt that their policies favoured the Brahmin indirectly. It was the educational policy of the British government which came under severe attack from Phule. He complained that the government was providing more funds and greater facilities to rich and neglecting that of the poor masses. He brought it to the notice of the government that the greater portion of the revenue of the Government was derived from the labour of masses. The government, therefore, should spend a large portion of its income on the education of the masses and not of the higher classes. Due to the educational policy favouring the upper classes,

the higher offices were virtually getting the monopoly, if the government wished the welfare of the lower castes, they need to reduce the proportion of high castes in the administration and increase that of the lower castes. Further, he criticised the primary schools run by the government by saying that the education imparted in these schools was not satisfactory. It was not useful in the future career of the students. He also criticized on similar lines the higher secondary schools, colleges and system of scholarships. The scholarship system, he observed was unduly favourable to literary castes while there was a need to encourage the lower castes children. Along with the education system later in his writings we can also see a criticism of government's policies which went against the peasants. Therefore, Phule in his initial period supported the British but later his attitude changed when he saw that their policies were not favouring the masses in India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: When was Jyotiba Phule born?

……

Q 2 : Name one of the major work of Phule……

Q 3 : What is Satya Shodhak Samaj?

……

Q 4 : Why did Phule initially greeted the British rule but later criticize them ? (within 50 words).

……

……

4.4 CRITICISM ON INDIAN SOCIAL ORDER

Phule's criticism of the British government showed his concern for the welfare of the lower castes in India. According to him, the Indian society was based on inequality and exploitation among people existed because of the Brahmins. He stated that, God who is the creator of the Universe has created all men and women free and capable of enjoying their rights.

Therefore, every individual has a right to property. His thought has given all human beings the liberty of thought and expression. But the thought or opinion one is expressing should not be harmful to anybody. The creator has made all men and women capable of claiming a position in administration according to their ability. All men and women are equal before law. So, even the court of law should be impartial in their judgements.

Therefore, Phule developed a critique of Indian society in the light of these fundamental principles i.e. Varna and Caste System and inequality that exist between man and women.

4.4.1 : Varna and Caste System

Indian society was founded on the Varna system in order to deceive the lower Varnas. Since this claim was made by the religious texts of the Hindus, he decided, to expose the falsehood of these texts. For Phule, the Varna and caste system were the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The caste system was a creation of cunning Brahmins. The highest rights and privileges were given to the Brahmins whereas Shudras and Atishudras (untouchables) were regarded with hatred and contempt. Even the commonest rights of humanity were denied to them. Their touch or even their shadow was considered as pollution. Phule compared the system of slavery by the Brahmins with slavery in America and pointed out that Shudras had to suffer greater hardships and oppression than the blacks. He thought that this system of selfish superstition was responsible for the stagnation and all the evils from which India was suffering for centuries.It is to be noted here that, Phule who belonged to the Shudragardner caste but he was concerned about not only Shudras but also Atishudras (untouchables) also. He advocated that these lower castes and untouchables should organize against the dominance of the Brahmins and struggle for an egalitarian society. B.R.Ambedkarwas the follower of Phule.

4.4.2 : Equality between Men and Women

Phule made a special reference to women when he discussed about human rights. For him, just as Shudras were deprived of rights by the Brahmins by keeping them ignorant, even men had prohibited women from taking to education in order to continue male domination or patriarchy in the society. The Hindu religious texts had imposed severe restrictions on women. Phule was mainly concerned about the marriage system of those days. He criticized the customs and practices such as child marriage, polygamy, objection to remarriage of women, prostitution, harassment of widows, etc. He advised Shudra peasants not to have more than one wife and not to marry their young children. He had given serious thought to the institution of marriage and had devised a simple and modern contract type ritual for the marriage ceremony of the members of Satya Shodhak Samaj. It is interesting to note that Phule didnot stop at visualizing equal status to women in marriage, family education and religion but claimed that woman was superior to man in many respects.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Phule claimed that women were superior to man in many aspects. (True/False)

……

Q 6 : Why later Phule's attitude changed towards the British?

……

Q 7: Phule supported ……..…. between man and women.(Fill in the Blank)

Q 8 : Mention Phule's critique on Varna and Caste system.

……

……

4.5 VIEWS ON RELIGION

Phule was influenced by radical religious ideas of Thomas Paine. He believed in one God. He regarded God as a creator of this world and all human beings. He discarded idolatry, ritualism and the idea of incarnation. Phule never believed that any book was God ordained. Phule visualized Sarvajanik Satya Dharma (Public True Religion) as to take place of Hinduism. His true religion broke from Hindu tradition altogether. Moreover, he severely criticized the mythology and sacred books and tried to prove that the history of Hinduisms as the history of Brahmin domination and slavery of Shudras. He showed that Brahmins had deceived lower castes throughout history. He interpreted Hinduism as a relation based on Varna and caste system created by the Brahmins to betray the lower castes. In fact, he even accused the Prarthana Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj for their activities and motives. These Samajas according to him, were established by the Brahmins who were educated and the activities of these associations were intended to conceal the superstructure built by their politically motivated ancestors in the name of religion. But though he dismissed Hinduism altogether, he did not reject the very idea of religion or dharma. He tried to put in its place universal religion based on principles of liberty and equality. His Sarvajanik Satya Dharma put emphasis on truth seeking without the aid of any Guru or text. His religious ideas were definitely influenced by Christianity but he never advocated it. His universal religion was liberal and in many respects very different from traditional religions. He thought that the government should not close its eyes to inhuman religious customs or unjust traditions and practices of Hinduism. At one place, he criticized the colonial government for its policy of continuing the practice of giving grants to temples, collected from lower castes in the form of tax. Thus, for Phule there was no place for any communalism in matters of religion.

4.6 ON INDIAN ECONOMY

In economic terms he was interested in peasantry and its problems. He was of the view of improving agriculture since he perceived Indian economy

primarily as the agricultural economy. He observed that Indian agriculture was going through a crisis situation and identified the increase in the size of the population dependent on agriculture had increased. Earlier atleast one person from a farmer's family was employed in the army or administration of the Indian states. Farmers who owned a small piece of land used to make their living from the nearby forest. The new government started the department of forests which covered all hills, valleys, waste lands and grazing grounds thereby making the life of the farmers difficult who used to depend upon them. Farmers were being exploited by the money-lenders and Brahmin officers. Due to severe poverty and declining conditions of the lands, farmers could not come out of the problem of indebtedness. In these cases the lands were transferred to the money-lenders. Another problem faced by the rural economy was that of the unfair competition by the British goods. Because of the inflow of these cheap and superior goods in large quantity, the indigenous craftsmen of the villages and towns suffered great losses and in many cases they had to close down their hereditary business. Those who worked in cottage workshops lost their jobs, thereby increasing the proportion of unemployment in the rural areas.

4.6.1 : Solution of the Agrarian Problem

Phule suggested certain solutions of agrarian problems which were as followers -**firstly**, he suggested for the construction of bunds, tanks and dams so that sufficient water was made available to the farm. **Secondly**, he wanted the government to take up different schemes on agriculture annually and **Thirdly**, he also asked the government to reduce the burden of taxes on farmers in order to make agriculture profitable. Therefore, he while supporting the farmers and lower castes could see another type of drain of wealth i.e.from rural sector to urban sector, from peasant economy to the Brahmin domain. He totally negated it and wanted to establish equality and justice in the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 9 : B.R. Ambedkar was the follower of Phule. (True/False)

.....

Q 10 : Mention the two lower castes Phule focused on.

.....

.....

Q 11: For Phule there was no place for any.....
in matters of religion. (Fill in the blank)

Q 12 : Explain the Agrarian solutions provided by Phule (within 50 words).

.....

.....

.....



4.7 LET US SUM UP

- Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was born in a Mali family of Poona in 11 April 1827.
- His main interest were: Ethics, Religion and Humanism.
- His thought has given all human beings the liberty of thought and expression.
- Jyotiba Phule, a lower caste social reformer of the 19th century Maharashtra developed a critique of Indian social order and Hinduism.
- Initially, he supported the British rule and said that it provided an opportunity for the masses to get liberated from the domination of the Brahmins. But later, he criticised the British system for its policy of supporting higher education and its tendency to rely upon Brahmin subordinates.

- For Phule, the Varna and caste system were the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The caste system was a creation of cunning Brahmins.
- Phule was influenced by radical religious ideas of Thomas Paine. He believed in one God. He regarded God as a creator of this world and all human beings. He discarded idolatry, ritualism and the idea of incarnation. For Phule, there was no place for any communalism in matters of religion.
- He also criticised the economic policy of the British rule in many respects. It was unfavourable to the poor peasants. Further he suggested a number of solutions to improve the conditions of the agriculture sector as it was facing numerous problems.
- In place of exploitative Indian social order, he wanted to establish a societybased on liberty, equality and universal religion.



4.8 FURTHER READING

1) Gavaskar, Mahesh (1999), Phule's Critique of Brahmin Power, in Michael, S.M. Untouchable, Dalits in Modern India, Boulder Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

2) Guha, Ramachandra, (eds) (2011), Makers of Modern India, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

3) Keer, Dhananjay (1974), Mahatma Jotirao Phooley: Father of the Indian Social Revolution. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan Ltd.

4) O'Hanlon, Rosalind (1985), Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jyoti Rao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : 11 April, 1824.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : BrahmanacheKasab (1869).

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Satya Shodhak Samaj was established in 1873 in order to organise the lower castes against the Hindu social order based on varna and caste system.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Initially, he supported the British rule and said that it provided an opportunity for the masses to get liberated from the domination and exploitation of the Brahmins. But later, he criticised the British system for its policy of supporting higher education and its tendency to rely upon Brahmin sub-ordinates. He also criticised the economic policy of the British rule because later in many respects it was unfavourable to the poor peasants.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Later on Phule's attitude changed towards the British Government because he realized that their activities were against the poor Indian masses and were selfish in nature. Phule's criticism of the British government showed his concern for the welfare of the lower castes in India.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : equality.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : (i) For Phule, the Varna and caste system were the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The highest rights and privileges were given to the Brahmins whereas Shudras and Atishudras (untouchables) were regarded with hatred and contempt.

(ii) Even the commonest rights of humanity were denied to them. Their touch or even their shadow was considered as pollution. Phule compared the system of slavery by the

Brahmins with slavery in America and pointed out that Shudras had to suffer greater hardships and oppression than the blacks. He thought that this system of selfish superstition and was responsible for the stagnation and all the evils from which India was suffering for centuries.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True

Ans to Q. No. 10 : (i) Shudras

(ii) Atishudras

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Communalism

Ans to Q. No. 12 : (i) He suggested for the construction of bunds, tanks and dams so that sufficient water was made available to the farm.

(ii) He wanted the government to take up different schemes on agriculture annually etc.

(iii) He also asked the government to reduce the burden of taxes on farmers in order to make agriculture profitable. Therefore, he while supporting the farmers and lower castes could see another type of drain of wealth i.e. from rural sector to urban sector, from peasant economy to the Brahmin domain. He totally negated it and wanted to establish equality and justice in the society.



4.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Where Phule attained his education ?

Q 2 : When did Phule died ?

Q 3 : Mention the main interests of Phule.

Q 4 : What was the name of Phule's wife ?

Q 5 : Write a brief note on the caste system in India.

Q 6 : Write short notes on (a) Phule's Universal Religion (b) Satya Shodhak Samaj.

Q 7 : Examine the Indian Social Order of Phule's period.

Q 8 : Explain the agrarian problems in India during Phule's period.

Q 9 : Discuss the attitude of the Jyotiba Phule towards British Rule in India.

Q 10 : Discuss the solution provided by Phule on economic problems.

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UNIT 5 : M. K. GANDHI

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Satya and Ahimsa

5.4 Satyagraha- Scope and Significance.

5.5 Gandhian Perspective on Peace

5.6 Gandhian Perspective of the Nature of the State

5.7 Let Us Sum Up

5.8 Further Reading

5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.10 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- understand the meaning of Satya and Ahimsa and the relationship between the two.
- discuss about Satyagraha, its scope and significance.
- describe about Swaraj and Swadeshi
- explain the Gandhian idea on peace
- discuss the Gandhi's perception of the nature of state

5.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi popularly known as 'Mahatma' (meaning great soul). M.K. Gandhi, the pioneer of non-violence was born on 2nd October 1869, at a place named Porbandar in Gujarat. His father Karamchand Gandhi (1822-1885) was the Diwan of Porbander state, a small princely state in Kathiawar Agency of British India. Putulibai, his mother was a religious minded lady who influenced Gandhi a lot. He was married to Kasturba Gandhi at the age of 19.

He was sent to England to be trained as a Barrister and soon after his return from England in 1891 Gandhi first practiced law in Bombay (between1893-1893) and then later joined as the legal adviser in the Colony of Natal, in South Africa, then part of the British Empire (between1893-1914). His experience of Racism in South Africa proved to be a turning point in his life, awakening him to social injustice and influencing his succeeding social activism. It was then in South Africa that he first advocated Satyagraha i.e. the tactics of non-violent resistance. In 1915, Gandhi returned to India got increasingly closer with the Indian National Congress and played a major role in India's freedom struggle. He employed non-cooperation, non-violence and peaceful resistance as his weapons in the struggle against the British.

Unfortunately, Gandhi died on January 30,1948 from an injury caused by bullet fired from a close range by Nathu Ram Godse. "Hey Ram" was the last word of Mahatma Gandhi. He is known as the architect of Indian independence movement. Rabindranath Tagore called Gandhi as 'Mahatma'. His birthday, 2nd October (Gandhi Jayanti) is celebrated as a National Holiday in India every year. Gandhi considered Leo Tolstoy as his spiritual teacher. The period 1915-1948 is considered as the Gandhian Era.

5.3 SATYA AND AHIMSA

The word 'Satya' is a Sanskrit word for Truth. The word 'Satya' implies being truthful in one's thought speech and action. Gandhi always described his religion as the religion of truth. According to Gandhi,

"God is Truth and Truth is God", it implies that in reality nothing exists except truth. Thereby, Satya or Truth is possibly the most important name of God. It is an essential and defining element of Gandhism.

Infact, Gandhi realized that Satya or Truth is the sign or name of God. Further, the word is related to Chit (Knowledge) as it is said that Truth is eternal so where there is true knowledge, there is always Ananda (bliss). There is no place for sorrow. Hence, Satya (Truth) in Gandhi's philosophy is God i.e. God as Sat- Chit- Ananda a combination of Truth, Knowledge and bliss in himself. The observation of the law of Truth or Satya can be understood as we must speak the Truth. There should be Truth in thought, speech and action.

With Gandhi, the concept of Ahimsa attained a special statue. Gandhi adopted non-violence as a philosophy and an ideal way of life. Non-violence was not Gandhi's invention. He is however called the father of non-violence because according to Mark Shepard 'He raised non-violent action to a level never before achieved.' He was the first person to apply it for a political purpose. Gandhi's greatest contribution, therefore, is the use of Ahimsa (non-violence) into a successful technique for direct mass action. The concept of nonviolence was not a new one. It has its roots in all space and time. Before the teachings of Gandhi, the notion of ahimsa finds an important place in Holy Scriptures, teachings of Gautama Buddha to Prophet Mohammad and works of various philosophers. At the societal as well as in the individual level, principles of non-violence not only has the potent force for resolving conflict but can be also directed towards bringing change in the society. However it was Gandhi who converted it into a social and political technique and super humanitarian method of resolution to all type of crisis and problems. For Gandhi, truth and non-violence (ahimsa) are inseparable and he regards non-violence as the means and truth as the end. According to Gandhi, ahimsa is the greatest force available to humankind. Gandhi was committed to follow this principle and therefore, he made every possible effort to achieve this goal with the help of non-violent action. He practiced and prescribed it as a remedy against all social evils and helps to create a peaceful society as well. According to him, both are two sides of a same coin and are complementary to each other having same value. The difference consists in approach only. Hence, Gandhi's roots on non-violence stayed on truth and it becomes a principle because for him, non-violence was the belief in the sacredness of life and the refusal to do harm to living things, it is a means to honour the inherent worth of every human being. In non-violence one naturally seeks to understand each other, build friendship and community believing that our lives are linked together, what one does it impacts the lives of everyone. In other words, one should be responsible to and for one another. One should trust the other and work towards the common good. Non-violence means dedicating ourselves to the fundamental rights of every human being namely justice, equity and equality.

It is courageously choosing to practice compassion with one's adversaries and opposes injustice, not people. Recognizing love as the power of the human spirit to triumph over injustice, inequity, suffering and a journey of personal-social change.Gandhi regarded it as the law of the human race and an infinitely greater than and superior to brute force. It affords the fullest protection to one's self-respect and sense of honour.The Gandhian principles of non-violence included respecting others and the interconnectedness of all life. Individuals or the nations who would practice non-violence must be prepared to sacrifice their all except honour because if individually practiced, than it can be a more significant as a tool and a counter-force in ending conflict in society. The power of Ahimsa is greater than the power of intellect and he who practices Ahimsa develops a strong will power and can rule over the whole world. It leads to the attainment of all virtues.

Thus, Ahimsa (Non- violence) is said to be the spiritual food that one should take in continually and every moment one needs to be conscious about it while pursuing the goal. It has to be followed in face of violence raging around us. He also stressed on non-violence offering a practical means to struggle efficiently against injustice and indifferences and as a universal human value that ought to be cultivated not merely at a personal level, but also at the social, national and international levels only if one wishes to avoid personal, social, national and international conflicts.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : What is the full name of Mahatma Gandhi?

……

Q 2 : Gandhi is known as the……..…..

of India.

……

Q 3 : When did Gandhi die?

……

Q 4 : Write a short note on Ahimsa. (Within 50 words).

……

5.4 SATYAGRAHA - SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Gandhi sought to operationalize his ideology of non- violence through the instrument of Satyagraha as an instrument of social change. He proposed as well as adopted it as a moral weapon against all kinds of conflicts in the society. It is an Indian word coined by Gandhi during his movement of resistance in South Africa against the Asiatic law amendment ordinance introduced in Transvaal Legislative council in 1906. "The word Satyagraha literally means 'agraha' for 'satya'. The word 'agraha' comes from the root 'grah' which means 'to get hold of', 'to hold fast to', and 'to seize up on'. 'agraha' for 'satya' therefore, means holding on to or holding fast to or seizing upon truth. He even regarded it as a method of non-violent direct action, and the most cultured way of bringing desirable social change. He cites the example of satyagraha which he first practised in Champaran, Bihar in 1917.

Satyagraha is the technique of resisting all that is evil, unjust, impure, untruth and resolving all difficulties in human relations by love, self-suffering and self-purification. Even though Satyagraha originated as a method to counter social discrimination and injustice, it was effectively implemented by Gandhi in political, economic and religious fronts. Gandhi's Satyagraha aims at the search towards truth. The two virtues Truth and Ahimsa are the core of Gandhian Satyagraha. Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth. To Gandhi it is not a negative term; it does not merely means the abstaining from causing physical injury to living beings by action or thought rather it also implies a positive state of love and doing good even to the evil doer. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer or co-operating with him in his action of doing evil by tolerating it by passive acquiescence. It is not a negative or passive concept of mere peaceful demonstration or prayers and petitions. Non-violent Satyagraha is active and effective. Gandhi's approach to human conflict is based on his belief in converting the heart of an opponent by moral persuasion. The opponent may use physical force to the satyagrahi but through self-suffering one should overcomes all the suppression. By inviting self-suffering one can appeal to the reason and conscious of the

opponent. This is possible through soul force putting against the might of the oppressor. Satyagraha is no doubt a powerful weapon of dealing with conflict situation. The technique of Satyagraha is an action based on truth love and non-violence which can be implemented in resolving any kind of conflict. By inflicting self-suffering, the satyagrahi purifies self and open a chance to the evil doer to purify him too. Gandhi devised Satyagraha because he believed that, striving for conversion is a morally correct way to conduct conflict. The Gandhian philosophy of *Satyagraha* articulates a spiritualised con-ceptualisation of peace. *Satyagraha*, interpreted as a positive peace building strategy, is aimed at the pursuit of welfare for all; truth and wisdom; self-discipline and civil disobedience directed at unjust laws and policies because only through a dialectical process truth can be arrived at and such quest for truth is according to him should be the aim of human life. He developed the technique of Satyagraha on the basis of double dynamics of non-violent direct agitational programmes on one hand and constructive programme on the other. In conflict situations, Satyagraha is just a means that Satyagrahi's follows, adherence to non-violence and has no other goal than to reach the truth. While adopting Satyagraha for conflict resolution, there is no threat, coercion or punishment. The technique of direct agitational programme is Non-cooperation that is to be directed towards the various systems of evil, rather than towards individuals. The method of Non-cooperation includes hartal, boycott, strike, hijrat and fast- unto- death because Satyagraha attempts to resolve disputes by the process of appealing the opponent, a way of love for all that eschews violence absolutely in all forms. The idea behind is not to destroy the opponent but to convert one by sympathy, patience and self- suffering. The Satyagrahi instead undergoes self-suffering with the optimistic belief that the opponent can be converted to see the truth of his or her claim by touching the opponent's conscience. But it must be clear that just any kind of suffering is not likely to set in motion the processes which may lead to changes in the opponent's feelings, attitudes and beliefs. For suffering should lead to one's conversion. As a constructive programme, it is a process to establish co-operation, self- reliance unity, remove social abuses etc. and in general a concerted work promoting the common good.

Therefore, Satyagraha, as discussed and used by Gandhi, can be understood on at least two levels. **First,** it refers to the process of developing an understanding of any situation from all viewpoints with individuals involved with it. **Secondly,** Satyagraha, can be translated as 'soul force' serving in this regard as a process to vindicate the truth that can be interpreted as the 'devotion of truth' or as 'truth force' implying a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach the truth in a non- violent manner. For Gandhi, a satyagrahi achieves a correct insight for seeking the truth through non-violence with the spirit of love and peace and thereby encounters truth in an absolute manner. In a more philosophic terminology, it is the triumph of the soul-force over the brute- force where the goal is to pursue gains for all through harmony and to maintain peace in the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Gandhi lovingly is called as 'Bapu' by his countrymen. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : When and where was first Satyagrah in India carried out?

.....

Q 7 : ..... called Gandhi as 'Mahatma' (Fill in the Blank)

.....

Q 8 : Mention any two features of Satyagraha.

.....

5.5 GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE ON PEACE

The term peace has been defined in several ways and as such peace has a variety of meanings that are different in accordance with the context of usage. Historically, the word peace was essentially defined as the absence of war i.e. 'negative peace.' Over a period of time it is seen that, the definition of negative peace was becoming insufficient for proper understanding of peace. Hence, the scholars put forward another definition of peace which they termed as 'positive peace'. It is seen that, mainly from 1950's onwards the divide between negative and positive peace in peace

studies emerged. Positive peace has been defined as selflessness, a pattern of co-operation and integration between major human groups, as well as a willingness to see fellow humans as brothers and sisters. It aims at establishing a peaceful world where wars are made impossible and the people of the world stays together as one family.

In Gandhi's theory of peace, human values take great prominence. Non-violence (ahimsa) is a way of life rather than a tactic, and the search for truth (satyagraha), become the core principles of Gandhian peace. Satyagraha excludes both physical violence and casting the opponent in the role of enemy and hence pre-supposes compassion and self-criticism. The notion of welfare to all (sarvodaya) is a key element of Gandhian peace. Peace is not seen as an end state, but as a continuous process, where ends cannot be separated from means. Gandhi believed that a pro-human culture and moral solution of the problems can lead to a peaceful society. From Gandhi's views on peace we can thus understand that he was concerned primarily with what has been defined as positive peace. In the modern world the relevance of Gandhian approach to peace has been supported by several scholars and political leaders. Gandhian ideas of peace was used by Martin Luther King in his movement against racial discrimination in U.S.A., Aung San SuuKyi in Myanmar against militarism, Dalai Lama against the illegal occupation of Tibet by China and several other ecological movements in India like- Chipko movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) etc. These are the examples of movements based on Gandhian peace.

For Gandhi, peace is a state of positive and constructive world order where individuals, groups and nations do not exploit or dominate one another rather live in co-operation and mutual aid. Peace is always a positive state of affairs where people can resolve their differences by interacting with each other in a peaceful manner instead of using violent means against each other. Thus, he believed that conflicts are product of mental illusions, mis-perceptions and are just temporary irregularities in the normal flow of life that can be avoided by individual in order to maintain peace in the society.

However, Gandhian ideas of peace have been criticized by many scholars who describe Gandhi's philosophy as native, utopian, escapist, negative, and completely irrelevant. Even some of Gandhi's admirers stated

that his ideas are limited and may not have much relevance for twenty-first century. Despite these criticisms, support for Gandhian ideas continues Douglas Allen for example argues that in this era of religious, economic, environmental, social, and moral challenges, Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, satyagraha, inter-religious dialogue, religious ethics and communal unity, adopting Gandhian ideas is the need of the time.

5.6 GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE OF THE NATURE OF THE STATE

In the political philosophy of Gandhi, a completely different outline of the nature of the state could be found. It is true that Gandhi was an anarchist who did not believe in the institution of state. He was of the view that the state is an institution of force and a necessary evil.

- **Basic framework of Gandhian perspective:** Gandhi, as such did not offer a theory relating to the institution of the state but he sincerely felt from his actual experience that the state was very much against the basic spiritual, religious and human values. That is why; he developed a political philosophy based on actual experience where



LET US KNOW

- The word 'Satya' is a Sanskrit word for Truth.
- The word 'Peace' is derived from the original Latin word 'pax', which means a pact, a control or an agreement to end war or any dispute and conflict between people nations etc.
- The word 'Rama Rajya' implies the kingdom of God. Here Gandhi acknowledged no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness.
- The Story of My Experiments with Truth is the autobiography of M.K. Gandhi. It was written in Gujarati, weekly installments and published in his journal Navjivan from 1925-1929. Its English translation appeared in his other journal Young India.

- Harijan is a term that was coined by Gujarati poet-saint Narasimha Mehta but it was popularized by Mahatma Gandhi referring to Dalits, traditionally considered to be untouchable.

he declared that the institution of the state was based on force. It means that the institution of the state was not a voluntary association but an organization based on force and dominance.

- **Vision of an ethical state :** Gandhi believed that the state should have an ethical dimension but in actual practice, it is based on violence and force. Gandhi was of the view that wherever there is violence, there would be severe exploitation and oppression of the common man. The individual in the state is the embodiment of the exploitation inflicted on him by the state. It is mainly because of this that the state has been rejected by him. By rejecting the existing institution of the violent state, Gandhi wanted to build up the basis of an ethical state.
- **State as a necessary evil :** In the Gandhian perspective of the state, the state is to be considered as a necessary evil. While regarding the state as an evil, Gandhi did not advocate the elimination of the state through violent activities.

  He was of the view that the state would perform the minimum protective functions. Moreover, it should not be entrusted with so much of functions that the individuality of the man and his values could be kept intact. It may be mentioned here that Gandhi was in favour of making the state as Rama Rajya or Welfare State. In the Rama Rajya, there would be the total domination of the principle of Ahimsa and freedom of the people.
- **Voluntary Co-operation :** The Gandhian vision of the state wanted to incorporate voluntary co-operation as a major component of his perspective of the state. In Gandhi's vision of the non-violent society there would be groups settled in villages. These groups would offer voluntary co-operation to each other. It was to be a self-regulating society. It would be marked by equality, justice, non-violence etc. and a democratic government i.e. free from all kinds of exploitation

and there would be total emphasis on the internal freedom and autonomy of man.

- **De-Centralization of power :** Gandhi always emphasized on the state, favouring decentralization of power. In general, the state always favours centralized power whereby the state can exercise its power without any resistance from any quarter. Moreover, in this set up, the freedom and liberty of the people is also effectively exercised. In the Gandhian set-up of a de-centralized society, the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI's) would perform grass-root activities leading to that of a perfect de-centralized system.
- **State not an end in itself :** In Gandhian perspective, the state is not an end in itself. It means that to achieve certain objectives that would ensure the welfare of the people. In such a situation the state is expected to implement the policy decisions aimed to ensure the welfare of the people. But it was mainly because of the inherent limitations of the state that it fails to achieve the desired objectives. Thus, in the Gandhian perspective of the state, the state is being sought to be used to promote the overall interest of the individuals.
- **Operation of the principle of non-violence :** The advocates of non-violence believe that Ahimsa ensures the dignity and the autonomy of the human beings. So it is considered as a principle that operates in the Gandhian state.
- **Trusteeship :** Gandhian perspective of the state believes that the institution of the property should be regulated by a trust. No individual should possess property on its own. In fact, property is to be considered in the form of a collective entity in trusteeship. It may be noted that property trusteeship would be used to ensure the welfare of the people.
- **Emphasis on village and cottage industries :** Gandhi emphasized on village and cottage industries to ensure the welfare of the people. If the economy is dominated by big industries, then the people would be alienated from the economic system. Gandhi was confident that only through the village economy, self-reliance would build up. That

is why, in Gandhian perspective of the state the common people are to be involved actively in economic activities.

- **Opposition to the absolute nature of state sovereignty :** Gandhi opposed the theory of absolute sovereignty of the state. He believed that the ultimate sovereignty is vested in the people. In other words, Gandhi was in favour of popular sovereignty during the course of his Experiments with Truth, Gandhi had the opportunity to involve the people of India in various phases of anti-imperialist movement. Moreover, the concept of Rama Rajya of Gandhi's vision is also indicative of people's power in a polity.
- **Politics and Ethics :** as a moral philosopher Gandhi had always treated ethics as the guiding principle of all human behaviour including politics. Gandhi's ethics was based on moral teachings of all religion, he expressed his firm faith in the spiritualization of politics. It indicates that politics should be based on the highest ethical and spiritual principle. In other words, politics should be guided by high moral standards and not experienced considerations.
- **Special status for the untouchables :** in the Gandhian perspective of the state there will be a special status for the so called untouchables (Harijans). Gandhi had observed that in the Hindu scheme of social hirerchy, the harijans were considered as untouchables and were accorded a very inferior social status. But contrary to this arrangement that Gandhi made special provisions for the upliftment of the depressed classes. Thus, the features as cited above broadly constitute the Gandhian perspective of the State.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 9 : Gandhi called the untouchables Harijans. (True/False)

.....

Q 10 : Mention any two sources of the Gandhian Peace.

.....

.....

Q 11 : Sarvodaya stands for ……..(Fill in the Blank)

Q 12 : What does the word “Rama Rajya” implies?

.....

.....

.....



5.7 LET US SUM UP

- Mahatma Gandhi was born on 2-10-1869 in Porbandar. His full name was Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi.
- From 1893-1914 Gandhi spent his years in South Africa. In 1906 he first protests against the Asiatic ordinance in South Africa. In 1908, he went to jail for the first time at1908 Johannesburg in South Africa.
- Gandhi returned India on January 9, 1915 and the protest of 1917 Champaran, Bihar was his first Satyagraha. He established a weekly newspaper named Young India and Navjeevan. Harijan (1933) was his weekly magazine.
- Gandhi always wanted to create an ideal state of ‘Rama Rajya’ in India. He opposed a state as an institution based on coercion and force.
- He always stood for truth, peace and non-violent for securing every objective in the society.
- His thoughts and deeds were based on two main pillars named as Ahimsa and Satyagraha.
- Gandhi never offered any theory on peace. He was a spiritual man who was against violence and wanted to establish non-violence, peace in the society.
- He wanted a society free from force, exploitation based on self-contained, self-reliant and self- regulated village communities.

- However, Gandhian ideas have been criticized by many scholars who describe Gandhi's philosophy as native, utopian, escapist, negative and completely irrelevant. Even some of Gandhi's admirers stated that his ideas are limited and may not have much relevance for the 21st Century.
- Despite the criticism, it can be stated that this philosophy has its own importance and it involves a spiritual and moral view of social life.



4.8 FURTHER READING

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9) Parel, Antony J.(ed.), (2011): *Gandhi, Freedom and Self- Rule.* New Delhi: Vistaar Publication.

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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Father

Ans to Q. No. 3 : January 30, 1948

Ans to Q. No. 4 : The concept of 'Ahimsa' was not originated by Gandhi, but he was the first person to apply it for a political purpose i.e. use of Ahimsa (non-violence) into a technique for direct mass action. It was he who converted it into a social and political technique and super humanitarian method of resolution to all type of crisis and problems. For Gandhi, truth and non-violence (ahimsa) are inseparable and he regards non-violence as the means and truth as the end. According to Gandhi, ahimsa is the greatest force available to humankind. Gandhi was committed to follow this principle and therefore, he made every possible effort to achieve this goal with the help of non-violent action. Therefore he believes that Ahimsa ensures the dignity and the autonomy of the human beings and people should practice and prescribe it as a remedy against all social evils that helps to create a peaceful society.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : 1917, at Champaran.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Rabindranath Tagore

Ans to Q. No. 8 : (i) Gandhi's Satyagraha aims at the search towards truth. The two virtues Truth and Ahimsa are the core of Gandhian Satyagraha. Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth. To Gandhi it is not a negative term; it is not merely means the abstaining from causing physical injury to living beings by action or thought rather it also implies a positive state of love and doing good even to the evil doer.

(ii) Satyagraha by Gandhi, can be understood on at least two levels namely, as it refers to the process of developing an understanding of any situation from all viewpoints with individuals involved with it. It can be also translated as 'soul force' serving in this regard as a process to vindicate the truth that can be interpreted as the 'devotion of truth' or as 'truth force' implying a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach the truth in a non- violent manner.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 10 : (i) The Gandhian vision of peace is borrowed from different sources and traditions that include writings of Henry Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy and also from (ii) Philosophical traditions of Hinduism, Jainism and Christianity

Ans to Q. No. 11: Upliftment of all.

Ans to Q. No. 12 : The word 'Rama Rajya' implies the kingdom of God. Here Gandhi acknowledged no other God but the one God of truth and righteousness with the presence of equality for all in the society.



4.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : At which place Gandhi born?

Q 2 : When did Gandhi return to India?

Q 3 : Which period was considered as 'Gandhian Era'?

Q 4 : What were Gandhi's last words?

Q 5 : What did Gandhi mean by Swaraj.

Q 6 : Write short notes on (a) Satya (b) Ahimsa.

Q 7 : Gandhi considered Khadi as a symbol of economic independence- Explain.

Q 8 : Write a note on the concept of 'Harijan'?

Q 9 : Write a note on the Gandhian visions of a State?

Q 10: Discuss the features of Satyagraha.

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UNIT 6 : JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Nehru : A Brief Profile

6.4 The Ideas of Nehru

- 6.4.1 Nehru's Views on Nationalism
- 6.4.2 Nehru on Democracy
- 6.4.3 Nehru's Views on Modernism
- 6.4.4 Nehru's Views on Internationalism

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Reading

6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.8 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

- discuss Nehru's philosophical foundation of political thought
- explain political thoughts and ideas of Nehru
- analyse Nehru as a modern thinker

6.2 INTRODUCTION

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, you will be able to learn about various ideologies of Nehru including his role in the freedom struggle of India.

6.3 NEHRU : A BRIEF PROFILE

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14th, 1889 in Allahabad (Now it is known as Prayagraj) into an aristocratic and westernized Kashmiri Brahmin lawyer Motilal Nehru. 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.

In his nearly seven years stay in England, the traditions of British Humanist Liberalism imbibed him. He subscribed to the philosophical ethos of Mill, Morley and also Gladstone. The writings of Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell had a great influence on Nehru. Nehru was a man of ideas. He was not a political philosopher in the academic sense. He was one of the chief figures who brought the Indian independence struggle to a successful termination. He was one of the indomitable fighters of Indian freedom who pioneered the concepts of socialism, complete independence and Indian Constituent Assembly. Jawaharlal's Autobiography and his A Bunch of Old Letters showed his deep and firm attachment for his father. For him, Motilal Nehru remained the symbol of magnificence and an aloofness from the pettiness of life.

Jawaharlal Nehru's political activities began through his association with the Home Rule League which was established by Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak. The main contribution of Nehru in the late twenties was his stand for complete independence in India. Nehru became the President of the Indian National Congress at Lahore where the historic independence resolution was passed on the midnight of December 31, 1929. He was the President of the Congress again in 1936, 1937 and 1946.

Nehru's notable contribution to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought were Glimpses of World History, An Autobiography and The Discovery of India. He played a key role in building modern India. He became the first Prime Minister of India.

6.4 IDEAS OF NEHRU

6.4.1 Nehru's 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 inspite 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.

He wrote: "Nationalism is essentially a group memory of past achievements, traditions and experiences, and nationalism is stronger today, than it has ever been…..Whenever a crisis has arisen, nationalism has emerged again and dominated the scene and people have sought comfort and strength in their old traditions. One of the remarkable developments of the present age has been the rediscovery of the past and the nation."(The Discovery of India, p. 455)

Jawaharlal Nehru has been responsible for popularizing the idea of a constitutional assembly as a sole legitimate organ for the formation of an Indian constitution. In his presidential speech at the Lucknow Congress, Nehru said on April 12, 1936, "I am convinced that the only solution of our political and communal problem will come through such an assembly, provided it is elected on an adult franchise and a mass basis. That Assembly will not come into existence till at least a semi-revolutionary situation has been created in this country, and the actual relationship of power, apart from paper constitution are such that the people of India can make their will felt."

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-imperalist movement in India is only a secular and nationalist approach could be able to challenge the authority of imperialism those 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-Moslem tensions and struggles in pre- independence India. During the post- Independence era, Nehru emphasized National integration.

6.4.2 Nehru on Democracy

Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy. He as a political successor of Mahatma Gandhi was a deep votary of the creed of nobility of means. 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 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 approach 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 developments with effective participation of the people. These has certainly given him the status of a modern political thinker.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When was Nehru born?

……

Q 2 : Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy. (True/False)

……

Q 3 : Non-interference in each other's ……affairs. (fill in the blanks)

Q 4 : "Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations." What are they? (within 50 words).

……

……

……

6.4.3 Nehru's Views on Modernism

Jawaharlal Nehru was a modern political thinker and the trace of modernism could be found in a series of ideas that the emphasized as an integral part of his political philosophy. Here we will like to make an assessment of the modernist orientation of the political philosophy of Nehru as well as his liberal upbringing was largely responsible for the present of modernist ideas in the political philosophy of Nehru. Nehru received at his hometown Allahabad as well as in the Cambridge University in Great Britain at the higher lanesdge , he was highly influenced by the traditions of the British Humanist Liberalism. It provided the infrastructure of modern spirit and ideas in the political philosophy of Nehru. This modernism was free from the narrow and parochial perspective of life.

6.4.4 Nehru's Views on Internationalism

Nehru's views of internationalism is also an indication of his modernism as an integral component of his philosophy. It was Nehru who took leading role for developing the concept of 'Panchsheel' as the framework of maintaining relationship with China both in the bi-lateral as well as multilateral context. Reference could also be made to the philosophy and practices of non-alignments of which Nehru was one of the principal architects along with the president Tito and Nasser. It was a kind of unique strategy with maintaining relationship with the super powers on the bases of the principle equidistance. The philosophy of non-alignment from the very beginning has been a major emphasis of India's foreign policies. The view of Jawaharlal Nehru as discussed above clearly indicate that Nehru had a scientific, modern, realist and a rational frame of mind that made him the status of the most modern political thinker and leader of the Indian sub-continent.

Nehru was one of the leading spokesmen of Asian and African aspiration for absolute economic and political freedom. He

was an internationalist who was aware of the dangers of racial chauvinism. His aversion to narrow, expansionist and egoistic nationalism had been great. During the later period, of the Indian national struggle he associated the Indian National Congress with a generous international outlook. Nehru was of the view that to lessen the world tensions and to create international equilibrium there "must be kind of fusion" between the concepts of nationalism and the ideals of proletarianism and internationalism. ("National and Internationalism", The Discovery of India, p. 33).

Nehru was a firm believer in the ideals of United Nations and was opposed to the bipolarization of world politics and refused to join any of the blocs. There are **three** basic characteristics of Nehru's policy of non alignment in the foreign politics. **First**, India was a newly emergent nation-state which has to concentrate on economic and social reconstruction. This made her unaffordable to join in the problematic alliances of rival power systems. Non alignment thus was the natural policy for a new nation-state like India. Non alignment is regarded as the political expression of India's traditional policy of peace and goodwill for all. **Secondly**, the non alignment is supported on historical grounds as throughout history India has never sanctioned expansionist power politics. **Thirdly**, non alignment is supported by the exigencies of international power politics. The strengthening of the peace areas would act as necessary deterrent to the clash of two groups. When freedom would be threatened and the security of the state would be jeopardized, he would not hesitate to modify the concept of non alignment.

The fundamental concepts of Nehru's internationalism were curved as the five tenets of Panchsheel or the international amity and concord. Panchsheel was signed on April 29, 1954 between India and China, which stated, in its Preamble that the two Governments "have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles: (Source: mea.gov.in)

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

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."

These principles of Panchsheel were strongly pleaded by Nehru for solving many Indian problems and reducing international tension. Nehru insisted on a policy of constructive cooperation and peaceful co existence both for India and the world.

According to Dr. Radha Krishnan, "Nehru was an enfranchised human being and a great emancipator, a man deep humanity, who had led a consecrated life and built modern India as a monument for himself" In the opinion of S. Gopal (Nehru's political biographer and the son of Dr. Radha Krishnan), "Nehru made certain objectives so much a part of the general consciousness of India that they can today be taken for granted, even if they have not been as yet fully obtained – unity, democracy, secularism, a scientific and international outlook, planning to realize the vision of socialism." In the views of Dr. Rasheeduddin Khan, " Nehru was not a mere individual. He had a rare intellectual ability to subsume in his style of articulation, political formulation and projection of national goals- Gokhale's parliamentarianism, Tilak's vision of Swaraj. Gandhi's mass appeal and Swadeshi, the patriotic fervor of revolutionary and militants, and the call of Merxist revolutionaries for land reforms and radicalism."

Dr. Rasheeduddin Khan, was also of the view that, "In his life and work Nehru reflected the great synthesis between the three dominant trends and what may be called the heritage of enlightened man. These may be identified as the vedantic vision imbued with a sense of toleration and respect for many paths to truth, the composite culture of India incorporating the elegance and the ethos of the Indian

Muslim, the passion of the tribal, the cosmopolitanism of the urban-cultural streams and the vibrant propositions of liberty, nationalism, secular polity and the democratic socialism that had governed the modernisation process of contemporary civilization. His sense of history, his mystic communion with the Indian people, his ever present concern for the relevant, the rational and the progressive, and the incessant longing for the transformation of the traditional society into a modern polity committed him to a life long mission for the completion of the socio-economic revolution in India. Nehru as a Prime Minister contributed significantly to the strengthening of the foundations of national unity, secularism and democracy. He laid the base for a modern industrial society in our amidst, scientific in temper, socialist in content, democratic in spirit and secular in its ethos. He also launched India on the path of planned development. He made economic planning an integral part of our political system. The development of modern science in India is another field in which he played a pivotal role. In the opinion of Prof. Bipan Chandra, "Nehru was neither a party builder and organisor nor a political strategiest but an ideologue, an inspirer and an agitator. He did not know how to transform the party (congress) into a viable modern political party with a strong institutional structure."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Nehru was the President of the Congress in 1936. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : In June 1, 1954, the fundamental concepts of ..... were laid down in the course of join declaration by Nehru and Chou-En-Lai. (Fill in the Blank)

Q 7 : Write down the five principles of Panchasila.

.....

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

- Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14th, 1889.
- Nehru received education in some of the best schools and universities of the world.
- He received his education at his home in Allahabad and at Harrow and Cambridge.
- The writings of Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell had a great influence on Nehru.
- Jawaharlal's Autobiography and his A Bunch of Old Letters showed his deep and firm attachment for his father.
- Jawaharlal Nehru's political activities began through his association with the Home Rule League which was established by Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak.
- With Mahatma Gandhi's blessings Nehru became the President of the Indian National Congress at Lahore where the historic independence resolution was passed on the midnight of December 31, 1929.
- He was the President of the Congress again in 1936, 1937 and 1946.
- Nehru's notable contribution 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.
- He became the first Prime Minister of India.
- Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy.
- Nehru was a firm believer in the ideals of United Nations and was opposed to the bipolarization of world politics and refused to join any of the blocs.

- Nehru views of internationalism is also an indication of his modernism as an integral component of his philosophy.
- The five tenets of Pancha sila 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.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1) Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India , Penguin Books, 2004

2) Chandra,Prakash, Modern Indian Political Thought, vikas Publications pvt. Ltd. NewDelhi, 1998.

3) Varma,V.P., Modern Political Thought, Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra, 2013

4) Gupta, R.C., Great Political Thinkers, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra, 2009-10.



6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Non-interference in each other's *internal* affairs.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : 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. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Panchsheel

Ans to Q. No. 7 :

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



6.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name two principles of Panchashila.

Q 2 : Name two books of Nehru.

Q 3 : Discuss the principles of Panchashila.

Q 4 : Critically explain Nehru's view on democratic socialism.

Q 5 : Discuss the political ideas of Nehru.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 7 : M. N. ROY

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Childhood and Early Life

7.4 Communist Movement

7.5 Humanist Ideology

7.6 Roy's Materialism

7.7 Radical View

7.8 Roy's Involvement in the National Struggle

7.9 Party-Less Democracy

7.10 Criticism

7.11 Let Us Sum Up

7.12 Further Reading

7.13 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.14 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, we will learn about:

- M.N Roy and his life
- The transition of Roy from a Marxist to a radical humanist.
- The contribution of Roy towards development of communism.
- Roy's involvement in national struggle
- His views on party-less Democracy.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

M. N. Roy was a prominent Indian philosopher of the twentieth century. He was famous as the Father of Indian communism and is viewed as the first revolutionary leader of India. He was an Indian philosopher, notably the founder of Mexican Communist Party and also one of the members who founded the Communist Party of India. In the year 1940, Roy was

instrumental in the formation ofthe Radical Democratic Party, an organisation in which he played a leading role for much of the decade of the 1940s. Roy later moved away from Marxism to become an exponent of the philosophy of radical humanism.

7.3 CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Manabendra Nath Roy was born as Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, and was a revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well asa noted philosopher in the 20th century India. He was born in the year 1887 in Arebelia, which is a village near Calcutta in the district of 24 parganas. His father, Dinabandu Bhattacharya was the head-priest of the temple of goddess Ksheputeshwari in the village.

He was an ardent follower of Swami Vivekananda. He was inspired by Vivekananda's philosophy of life and devotion towards the nation. Naren Bhattacharya's early schooling took place at Arbelia and after his parents moved to another village named Kodalia, he started studying in Harinabhi Anglo-Sanskrit school. Like any Bengali Brahman, he was attracted to politics in his teens, and before he was twenty, he was deeply involved in the struggle for independence. Young Naren was fully involved in the protest movements opposing the partition of Bengal. He was eventually expelled from School for doing so. Soon after,Naren developed contact with the local revolutionary groups and got fully involved in politics. For his higher studies, Naren joined the Bengal National College and after passing the entrance test he studied in the Bengal Technical Institute for two years, where he studied Engineering and Chemistry.

7.4 COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Roy was also a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. He made sincere and meticulous efforts to establish contact with the communist world and belonged to Congresses of the Communist International delegate and Russia's aide to China. However, Roy left the mainline communist movement to pursue an independent radical politics following the rise of Stalin. He was also instrumental in the formation

of the Radical Democratic Party, an organisation in which he played a leading role, and attracted the attention of the scorching Indian revolutionaries and converted them into communists. M.N.Roy introduced the process of displacing communism in India by sending his trained representatives to different parts of the country. He made it clear that they could accomplish their mission and liberate India by embracing the path of communist revolution.

Roy was a creator of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India.

The groundwork of the Communist Party of India was significant in the country's political life and played an immense role in encouraging the struggle of the Indian people for national freedom and social advancement by organising the workers and the peasantry to work for the cause of National Movement. M.N.Roy wanted to make the communist party of India a legal and national political party like the Congress and Swaraj parties. Thus, the foundation of the Communist Party of India was an important event in the country's political life.

7.5 HUMANIST IDEOLOGY

The concept of Humanism is not new. The crowning piece of Roy's original work which is designed to be man's ultimate fulfilment is New Humanism. The theory of new Humanism of Roy aims at inculcating a sense of primacy of values and the urge for attaining eternal freedom. The basic tenets of humanism were rationality, morality and freedom. The new Humanist Ideology enunciates the importance of freedom, knowledge and truth in one's life. The re-assertion of the value foundations of politics and society is a contribution welcome to the modern political thought and behavioural political analysis. In his well known work, **Reason, Romanticism and Revolution**, Roy wrote that "New Humanism is cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan common wealth of spiritually free men would not be limited by the boundaries of nation states, capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist or any other kind which will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century renaissance of Man". However, Roy's philosophy of humanism was heavily criticised on various grounds. As Roy stated that all living beings originated out of the

matter and the mind is the product of matter. But, critics argued that he had failed to give logical and adequate reasons as to how the living bodies are created out of the matter. He was also criticized for using religion as a hindrance in the development of freedom to which the antagonists argued that religion played an important role in our cultural and intellectual development.

7.6 ROY'S MATERIALISM

As a materialist in nature, he viewed life to be an end in itself. According to him, the main purpose of life is to live and to live is to have the power and resources to satisfy the desires that naturally spring in man's mind. Thus, Roy was an ardent follower of the philosopher Bentham, and addressed Indians to believe in concepts like self-denial and simplicity, and thejoy of satisfying one's desires.

Actually, Roy's concept of "materialism" is a revised concept of traditional materialism in the light of contemporary scientific knowledge.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When and where was M.N. Roy born and brought up?

.....

Q 2 : What are the basic tenets on which Roy's humanism is based? Explain about M.N. Roy's concept of humanism.

.....

Q 3 : Write in brief how young Naren was involved in India's freedom struggle?

.....

7.7 RADICAL VIEW

M.N. Roy and his wife, Evelyn established the Communist Party of Mexico, the first such party to be formed outside of Russia. Roy played an important role in the Mexican political scenario and was popular among higher power circles. He also contributed several theoretical articles in Spanish and wrote for El Heraldo de Mexico which had English sections too.

In the last years of his life, he became severely inclined towards Radical Humanism and was of the view that the progress of science and technology had liberated man's creative energies. He believed that politics was much more than elections and more about upholding democracy. According to him, democracy would be successful only when spiritually free individuals assume the conduct of public affairs. He strongly believed that greatest good of the greatest number that can be attained only when members of the government are accountable in the first place to their respective consciences.

He was also a critique of Marxism and valued the society to be more important than just the individual in whole. According to him the existence of a social organisation precedes the existence of an individual. He also considered the Marxist model of revolution to be unnecessary.

7.8 ROY'S INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL STRUGGLE

Towards the end of the 19th Century, revolutionary nationalism began to spread among the educated middleclasses of Bengal, inspired by the writings of Bankim and Vivekananda.Naren Bhattacharya was also influenced by this movement, and diligently followed both of these leading luminaries extensively. M.N. Roy gained an appreciation from Bankim that true religion required to work actively for the public good while Vivekananda reinforced this notion of social service and further advanced the idea that Hinduism and Indian culture was superior to any religion of the west. With his cousin and few childhood friends, he formed a band of freethinkers. Following his expulsion from high school for organising a meeting and a march against the partition of Bengal, Bhattacharya then moved to Kolkata and joined in the active work of the national freedom struggle.

The Indo German Conspiracy

Many Indian nationalists, including Roy, became convinced that only an armed struggle against the British Raj would be sufficient to separate India from the British Empire. They did not believe in peaceful methods and followed extremist methods. To support their cause, they looked up to a

rival imperial power, that of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany, as a potential source of funds and armaments.In August 1914, a massive European war erupted between Britain and Germany where few Indian nationalists organised as the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin. They made an informal approach to the German government in support of aid to the cause of anti-British armed struggle. The task of obtaining funds and armaments for the coming struggle was entrusted to Naren Bhattacharya. As a result, Bhattacharya was dispatched first to Java, where over the next two months he was able to obtain some limited funds. From there, he moved from country to country, using fake passports and different names in his attempt to secure German arms. Finally, after wandering through Malay, Indonesia, Indo China, Philippines, Japan, Korea, and China, he landed in San Francisco in the United States of America. However, his attempt to secure arms failed. His arrival in San Francisco was published in a local paper and for that, he had to go to Palo Alto, California near Stanford University. It was there, he changed his name from Narendra Nath Bhattacharya to Manabendra Nath Roy. While back in India, the police force shattered the underground organisation that Roy had left behind. During his stay in Palo Alto for about two months, Roy met his future wife, a young Stanford University graduate named Evelyn Trent. Roy began to develop his interest in Marxism in the New York City public library.

After his return to India for the first time in December 1930, Roy began his work as a critical Marxist. However, his political activity in India proved to be quite short as he was arrested in Bombay on an arrest warrant issued in 1924. Roy was taken to Kanpur to face charges under Section 121 A of the Indian Penal Code, "conspiring to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty in India."No trial was held in open court, rather the proceedings were conducted inside the jail in which Roy was held. He was not allowed any trial neither by jury nor defence witnesses, nor was he allowed to make a defence statement. However, despite his imprisonment, Roy still managed to contribute to the Indian independence movement where he wrote a 3000 pages draft manuscript provisionally titled The Philosophical Consequence of Modern Science.

7.9 PARTY-LESS DEMOCRACY

Roy believed in the idea of party-less democracy. He attacked the goal of power to be the main priority of politics. He also believed that the party system is an inadequate medium to represent the people. He said that political participation is not simply limited within casting of votes; political parties eventually lead to corruption and dishonesty. He formulated the notion of organised democracy and participant citizenship to overcome the defects of parliamentary democracy. For this purpose, he visioned a new social order. The economic activity of this new social order will be comprised of the following:

I. Co operative planning

II. Centralized planning

III. Science and technology.

7.10 CRITICISM

Though, M.N. Roy is remembered as one of the most modern Indian political thinker to challenge the traditional viewpoints,he was criticised in certain areas. His Marxist view of the Indian society was criticised on the grounds that it was not applicable in that time. Moreover, he was strictly against liberal political institutions like political parties, elections, and parliament and supported a new harmonious approach with a scientific outlook. Even, the picture he drew of the Indian society was inconsistent and superficial.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Write a short note on Naren's idea on politics and partyless democracy.

.....

Q 5 : What was Naren's view of Radical Politics? Explain

.....

Q 6 : On what grounds M.N. Roy's views are criticised?



7.11 LET US SUM UP

- Manabendra Nath Roy was born as Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, and was a revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century India. He was born in the year 1887 in Arebelia, which is a village near Calcutta in the district of 24 parganas.
- M. N. Roy was a prominent Indian philosopher of the twentieth century. He was famous as the Father of Indian communism and is viewed as the first revolutionary leader of India.
- Roy was also a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India.He was an ardent follower of the philosopher Bentham, and addressed Indians to believe in concepts like self-denial and simplicity, and the joy of satisfying one's desires.
- He strongly believed that greatest good of the greatest number that can be attained only when members of the government are accountable in the first place to their respective consciences.
- Roy believed in the idea of party less democracy. He attacked the goal of power to be the main priority of politics. He also believed that the party system is an inadequate medium to represent the people.
- Though, M.N. Roy is remembered as one of the most modern Indian political thinker to challenge the traditional viewpoints,he was criticised in certain areas.



7.13 FURTHER READING

1) Johari, J.C. *M.N. Roy- The Great Radical Humanist*.

2) Pantham,Thomas and Deutsch, Kenneth L. (ed). *Political Thought in Modern India.*

7.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. To Q. No. 1 : M.N. Roy was born in the year 1887 in Arebelia, which is a village near Calcutta in the district of 24 parganas. His father, Dinabandu Bhattacharya was the head-priest of the temple of goddess Ksheputeshwari in the village. He was an ardent follower of the Swami Vivekananda's philosophy of life and national devotion. Naren Bhattacharya's early schooling took place at Arbelia and after his parents moved to another village named Kodalia, he started studying in Harinabhi Anglo-Sanskrit school.

Ans. To Q. No. 2 : The basic tenets of humanism were rationality, morality and freedom.

The theory of new Humanism of Roy aims at inculcating a sense of primacy of values and the urge for attaining eternal freedom. The new Humanist Ideology enunciates the importance of freedom, knowledge and truth in one's life. The re-assertion of the value foundations of politics and society is a contribution welcome to the modern political thought and behavioural political analysis.

Ans. To Q. No. 3 : Like any Bengali Brahman born in Calcutta, Roy was attracted to politics in his teens, and before he was twenty he was deeply involved in the struggle for independence. Young Naren was fully involved in the protest movements opposing the partition of Bengal. He was eventually expelled from School for doing so. Soon after, Naren developed contact with the local revolutionary groups and got involved full time in politics. Towards the end of the 19th Century revolutionary nationalism began to spread among the educated middle

classes of Bengal, inspired by the writings of Bankim and Vivekananda. Naren Bhattacharya was also influenced by this movement, and diligently followed both of these leading luminaries extensively. Roy gained an appreciation from Bankim that true religion required to work actively for the public good while Vivekananda reinforced this notion of social service and further advanced the idea that Hinduism and Indian culture was superior to any religion of the west. With his cousin and few childhood friends, he formed a band of free thinkers. Following his expulsion from high school for organising a meeting and a march against the partition of Bengal, Bhattacharya had moved to Kolkata and joined in the active work of the nationalist freedom struggle.

Ans. To Q. No. 4 : Roy believed in the idea of party less democracy. He attacked the goal of power to be the main priority of politics. He also believed that the party system is an inadequate medium to represent the people. He said that political participation is not simply limited within casting of votes; political parties eventually lead to corruption and dishonesty. He formulated the notion of organised democracy and participant citizenship to overcome the defects of parliamentary democracy. For this purpose, he visioned a new social order. The economic activity of this new social order will be comprised of the following:

A. Co operative planning
B. Centralized planning
C. Science and technology.

Ans. To Q. No. 5 : In the last years of his life, Roy became severely inclined towards Radical Humanism and was of the view that the progress of science and technology had liberated man's creative energies. He believed that politics was much more than elections and more about upholding democracy. According to him, democracy would be successful only when spiritually free individuals assume the

conduct of public affairs. He strongly believed that greatest good of the greatest number that can be attained only when members of the government are accountable in the first place to their respective conscience.

He was also a critique of Marxism and valued the society to be more important than just the individual in whole. According to him the existence of a social organisation precedes the existence of an individual. He also considered the Marxist model of revolution to be unnecessary.

Ans. To Q. No.6 : Though, M. N. Roy will be remembered as one of the most modern Indian political thinker to challenge the traditional viewpoints,he was criticised in certain areas. His Marxist view of the Indian society was criticised on the grounds that it was not applicable in that time. Moreover, he was strictly against liberal political institutions like political parties, elections, parliament and supported a new harmonious approach with a scientific outlook. The picture he drew of the Indian society was inconsistent and superficial.



7.14 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name one literary work of M.N. Roy.

Q 2 : Who is the western philosopher whom Roy followed ardently and imbibed his thinking in his works?

Q 3 : What are the three features of Roy's idea for economic activity?

Q 4 : Explain in brief about Roy's idea of materialism.

Q 5 : Why did M. N. Roy oppose Marxism? Explain.

Q 6 : What was the Indo-German conspiracy undertaken by Roy?

Q 7 : Write a short note on why Roy is named as the father of communism in India?

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UNIT 8 : B. R. AMBEDKAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Childhood and Early Life

8.4 Education

8.5 Political Career

8.6 Movement against Class Discrimination

8.7 Framer of the Constitution of India

8.8 Other Contributions of Ambedkar

8.9 Let Us Sum Up

8.10 Further Reading

8.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.12 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, we will learn about:

- B.R Ambedkar and his life
- the various works he did for the betterment of the Indian society
- the diffenent literary works of Ambedkar
- his contributions towards the development of Indian political thought.

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 untouchablity 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 was appointed as India's first Law Minister in

the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru and was also posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna which is India's highest civilian honour, in the year,1990.

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Baba Saheb, was an Indian jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who 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 and the principal architect of the Constitution of India.

8.3 CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

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. 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 not allowed to sit inside the class. When they needed to drink water, someone from a higher caste had to pour that 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.

8.4 EDUCATION

He pursued his higher studies from Elphinstone College and Bombay University and obtained degrees in Economics and Political Science. Being a bright student, Ambedkar got the opportunity to study abroad in US in 1913. He got his MA and PhD Degrees from Colombia University in 1915 and 1916 respectively. In the year 1916, he enrolled in the London School of

Economics and started working on his doctoral thesis titled "**The problem of the rupee: Its origin and its solution**". Ambedkar was also a professor of political economy at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Arts. There he received the D.Sc. degree by the London University. After coming back from the US, Ambedkar was appointed as the Defence secretary to the King of Baroda but there also he had to face the humiliation for being an 'Untouchable'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When and where was B.R Ambedkar born and brought up?

.....

Q 2 : Which social evil was strictly opposed by B.R Ambedkar?

.....

Q 3 : What was the name of the Ph. D. thesis of Ambedkar?

.....

8.5 POLITICAL CAREER

In the year 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labor Party and in the ensuing 1937 elections to the Central Legislative Assembly, his party won 15 seats. Eventually his party transformed itself into the All India Scheduled Castes Federation.

Ambedkar published his book **Annihilation of Caste** on 15 May, 1936 where he strongly criticised Hindu orthodox religious leaders and the caste system in general. In his work-**Who Were the Shudras?**, Ambedkar tried to explain the genesis of the untouchables. Ambedkar objected to the decision of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi to call the untouchable community as Harijans. He would say that even the members of untouchable community are same as the other members of the society.

Ambedkar was appointed to the Defence Advisory Committee and the Viceroy's Executive Council as Minister for Labor. His reputation as a scholar led to his appointment as free India's first Law Minister, and he was

also the chairman of the drafting committee, responsible for drafting the constitution for independent India. Ambedkar was also a critique of Islamic practice in South Asia. While justifying the Partition of India, he condemned child marriage and the mistreatment of women in Muslim society.

8.6 MOVEMENT AGAINST CASTE DISCRIMINATION

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.

He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the 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 upper classes. He also championed the cause of the working classes.

In his testimony before the South Borough Committee in preparation of the Government of India Act in 1919, he opined that there should be a separate electoral system for the Untouchables and other marginalised communities. He supported the idea of reservations for the Dalits and other religious outcastes and tried his best to reach out to them. Ambedkar began to find ways to reach to the people who were cast as untouchables and make them understand the drawbacks of the prevailing social evils. In this regard he even launched a newspaper called **"Mooknayaka" (leader of**

the silent) in 1920. Ambedkar started his legal career after passing the Bar course and applied his litigious skills in advocating cases of caste discrimination. By 1927, Ambedkar launched a full-fledged movements for Dalit rights. He demanded that public drinking water sources be open for all and the right for all castes to enter temples,he openly condemned Hindu Scriptures advocating discrimination and arranged symbolic demonstrations to enter the Kalaram Temple in Nashik. In the year 1932, the Poona Pact was signed between Dr. Ambedkar and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, who was the representative of the Hindu Brahmins relinquishing reservation of seats for the untouchable classes in theProvisional legislatures, within the general electorate. These classes were later designated as Scheduled Classes and Scheduled Tribes.

8.7 FRAMER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as the chairman of the constitution drafting committee on August 29, 1947. He emphasized on the construction of a virtual bridge between all classes of the society and according tohim, it would be difficult to maintain the unity of the country if the differences among the classes were not met. He emphasized on religious, gender and caste equality and was successful in receiving support from the Assembly to introduce reservation for members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in education, government jobs and civil services.

Granville Austin described the Indian Constitution drafted by Ambedkar as the ‘first and foremost social document’. The provisions prepared by him provided constitutional guarantees and protections for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, including freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability, and the out lawing of all forms of discrimination. Ambedkar also argued for extensive economic and social rights for women, and won the Assembly’s support for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and Other Backward Class. The Constitution was finally adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly.

8.8 OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMBEDKAR

- **Ambedkar and Buddhism**

In the year 1950, Ambedkar travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks. He was very much influenced by the Buddhist culture and soon after his return,he decided to write a book on Buddhism. He also converted himself to Buddhism. He was the founder of the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha. His book, "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously.On October 14, 1956, Ambedkar organized a public ceremony to convert around five lakh of his supporters to Buddhism.

- **Support to Uniform Civil Code**

During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar demonstrated his will to reform Indian society by recommending the adoption of a Uniform Civil Code. However he resigned from the cabinet when the parliament stalled his draft of the Hindu Code Bill, which sought to enshrine gender equality in the laws of inheritance and marriage.

- **Economic Planning**

Ambedkar was the first Indian to pursue a doctorate in economics abroad. His views were that industrialisation and agricultural growth could enhance the Indian economy. He stressed investment in agriculture as the primary industry of India. He also advocated national economic and social development, stressing education, public hygiene, community health, residential facilities as the basic amenities. In fact his Doctoral thesis **"The Problem of the Rupee: Its origin and its solution"** (1923)examines the causes for the Rupee's fall in value. In his thesis, he proved the importance of price stability over exchange stability and analysed the silver and gold exchange rates and their effect on the economy.

In the year 1951, the Finance Commission of India was established under Article 280 of the Indian Constitution. Ambedkar opposed the imposition of income tax for low income groups. He contributed in Land Revenue Tax and excise duty policies to stabilise the economy and played an important role in land reform and the state economic development. According to him, the caste system divided workers and impeded economic progress. He

emphasised a free economy with a stable Rupee and also advocated birth control to develop the Indian economy, and this has been adopted by Indian government as national policy for family planning. He emphasised equal rights for women for economic development.

- **As a Literateur**

The Education Department, Government of Maharashtra (Mumbai) published the collection of Ambedkar's writings and speeches in different volumes. Among them some are as follows :

i. Castes in India : Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development and 11 Other Essays.
ii. Ambedkar in the Bombay Legislature, with the Simon Commission and at the Round Table Conferences,1927–1939.
iii. Philosophy of Hinduism, India and the Pre-requisites of Communism, Revolution and Counter-revolution.
iv. Buddha or Karl Marx.
v. Riddles in Hinduism.
vi. Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability.
vii. The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, 1925.
viii. The Untouchables Who Were They And Why They Became Untouchables ?
ix. The Annihilation of Caste (1938).
x. Pakistan or the Partition of India, 1948.
xi. What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, 1945.
xii. Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables, 1943
xiii. The Buddha and his Dhamma, 1957.

Some of the other writings of Dr. Ambedkar include :

Ancient Indian Commerce, Notes on laws, Waiting for a Visa; Ambedkar as the principal architect of the Constitution of India(2 parts), Dr. Ambedkar and The Hindu Code Bill, Ambedkar as Free India's First Law Minister and Member of Opposition in Indian Parliament (1947–1956), The Pali Grammar etc.

Ambedkar and his Egalitarian Revolution – Struggle for Human Rights. Events starting from March 1927to 17 November 1956 in the chronological order, Ambedkar and his Egalitarian Revolution – Sociopolitical and religious activities. Events starting from November 1929 to 8 May 1956 in the chronological order.

Ambedkar and his Egalitarian Revolution – Speeches. (Events starting from 1January to 20 November 1956 in the chronological order.)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : In what context did Ambedkar had differences with Mahatma Gandhi?

.....

Q 5 : Write a brief note on Ambedkar's struggle to abolish the social evil of untouchability.

.....

Q 6 : Write a note on the influences of Buddhism upon Ambedkar.

.....



8.9 LET US SUM UP

- Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a jurist, social reformer and politician. He was also known as the **Father of Indian Constitution**. Ambedkar was appointed as India's first Law Minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru and was also posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna which is India's highest civilian honour, in the year, 1990.
- 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. Ambedkar was born into a poor low Mahar (dalit) caste, who were treated as untouchables and subjected to immense socio-economic discriminations.

- He pursued his higher studies from Elphinstone College and Bombay University and obtained degrees in Economics and Political Science. In the year 1916, he enrolled in the London School of Economics and started working on his doctoral thesis titled "**The problem of the rupee: Its origin and its solution**".
- In the year 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labor Party and in the ensuing 1937 elections to the Central Legislative Assembly, his party won 15 seats.
- Ambedkar was appointed to the Defence Advisory Committee and the Viceroy's ExecutiveCouncil as Minister for Labor.
- 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.
- He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the untouchables.By 1927, Ambedkar launched a full-fledged movements for Dalit rights. He demanded that public drinking water sources be open for all and the right for all castes to enter temples,he openly condemned Hindu Scriptures advocating discrimination and arranged symbolic demonstrations to enter the Kalaram Temple in Nashik.
- Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as the chairman of the constitution drafting committee on August 29, 1947. He emphasized on the construction of a virtual bridge between all classes of the society and according to him, it would be difficult to maintain the unity of the country if the differences among the classes were not met.The Constitution was finally adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly.
- In the year 1950, Ambedkar travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks where he was very much

influenced by the Buddhist culture and converted himself to Buddhism. He was the founder of the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha. His book, "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously.

- Ambedkar was the first Indian to pursue a doctorate in economics abroad. He stressed investment in agriculture as the primary industry of India. He also advocated national economic and social development, stressing education, public hygiene, community health, residential facilities as the basic amenities.
- In the year 1951, Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India. He opposed the imposition of income tax for low income groups. According to him, the caste system divided workers and impeded economic progress. He emphasised a free economy with a stable Rupee and also advocated birth control to develop the Indian economy, and this has been adopted by Indian government as national policy for family planning. He emphasised equal rights for women for economic development.
- The Education Department, Government of Maharashtra (Mumbai) published the collection of Ambedkar's writings and speeches in different volumes.



8.10 FURTHER READING

1) DR. BR Ambedkar, His life and work by M.L Shahare(NCERT)
2) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches Vol. 1 (First Edition by Education Department, Govt. of Maharashtra : 14 April, 1979)
3) Omvedt, G. (2008). Ambedkar: towards an enlightened India. New Delhi; New York: Penguin.

8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. To Q. No. 1 : 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.

Ans. To Q. No. 2 : Ambedkar was strictly against the social evil of untouchability.

Ans. To Q. No. 3 : Ambedkar's doctoral thesis was titled as "The problem of the rupee: Its origin and its solution".

Ans. To Q. No. 4 : While both Ambedkar and Gandhi sought to fight against untouchability, their individual approaches to it were radically different. He opposed on the untouchables to be referred to as 'dalits'.

Being suffered and experienced the ill treatment made by others for being a lower caste, Ambedkar was strictly against the practice of this social evil and championed for the causes of the untouchables all through his life. 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 remove the stigma of untouchability permanently. He also published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the 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 upper classes. He also championed the cause of the working classes.

Ans. To Q. No. 5 : Ambedkar vouched for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and Other Backward Class

Ans. To Q. No. 6 : In the year 1950, Ambedkar travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks. He was very much influenced by the Buddhist culture and soon after his return, he decided to write a book on Buddhism. He also converted himself to Buddhism. He was the founder of the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha. His book, "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously. On October 14, 1956, Ambedkar organized a public ceremony to convert around five lakh of his supporters to Buddhism.



8.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Why did Ambedkar convert himself to Buddhism?

Q 2 : Name two literary works of Ambedkar.

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

Q 4 : What are the main reasons behind Ambedkar's struggle to fight for the untouchables?

Q 5 : What are the provisions that Ambedkar incorporated in the constitution of India for the benefit of the untouchables?

Q 6 : Write a note on Ambedkar's Economic and Political Ideas.

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UNIT 9 : MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 The Koranic Foundation of Political Ideas

9.4 Political Ideas of Abul Kalam Azad

- 9.4.1 Azad's Views on Hindu Muslim Unity
- 9.4.2 Views on Nationalism
- 9.4.3 Views on Non-Violence
- 9.4.4 Views on Democracy
- 9.4.5 Azad's Views on Partition of India

9.5 Let Us Sum Up

9.6 Further Reading

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.8 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to:

- learn about the life of Azad
- discuss the Koranic foundation of Abul Kalam Azad
- discuss the political ideas of Azad.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born on November 11, 1888 in Mecca. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's real name was Abul Kalam Ghulam Muhiyuddin. He was popularly known as Maulana Azad. His mother was an Arabian and his father, Maulana Khairuddin, was a Bengali Muslim of Afghan origins.

Since an early age, he became multi-linguist, and was well versed in numerous languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Persian, English and Arabic. He received education in philosophy, world history, Hanbali fiqh, shariat, mathematics and science.He was a meritorious student and was blessed with a strong aptitude for knowledge that helped him stay a step ahead of his contemporaries. Azad at a young age, brought out several journals, served as an editor of the weekly Al-Misbah. He even reinterpreted the holy Quran, the Hadith and the principles of Fiqh and Kalam.

Azad was a keen intellectual, orator, writer and a remarkable politician. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was one of the foremost leaders of Indian freedom struggle and was also a renowned scholar, and poet. He developed radical political views that were in contingent with the Indian nationalist movement. He was critical of the British Raj and the Muslim's communal issues. His visit to Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Turkey reformed his belief and conviction and turned him into a nationalist revolutionary. Upon returning to India, he was influenced by prominent Hindu revolutionaries like Sri Aurobindo and Shyam Sundar Chakravarty. He actively participated in the national struggle of India for freedom. Unlike many other Muslim activists, he was opposed to the partition of Bengal and rejected All India Muslim League's plea for communal separatism. He was strongly against the racial discrimination meted out to the people of India.

He was one of the important political leaders of Gandhian era. Azad's early political ideas are contained in his urdu journal Al-hilal and Lisanus sidah and writings like Tazkira and Ghobar khatir. He was an intensely religious man.

9.3 THE KORANIC FOUNDATION OF POLITICAL IDEAS

Abul Kalam favoured a reformist and rational approach to the Koran. According to Azad the Koran lays down that all the prophets had envisioned about the universal truth. They all enunciate worship of one God and emphasized moral conduct based on faith. The Koran is opposed to a

sensual life of passions. All men are equal according to the Koran, although their names may differ and they may speak different languages. The Koran enjoins the concept of surrender to God and that is the only way for solutions of earthly problems.

According to Abul Kalam, the Koran(22-67) declares that men should not quarrel about the external forms of worship. It emphasizes not the external forms of worship but the righteousness. According to the Koran, it is a denial of religion to say that the believers in other religions will not obtain salvation. It is thus clear that Azad is putting a liberal interpretation on the Koran which is generally associated in the popular mind with proclaiming the creed of extreme rigidity and fanaticism.

The spiritual and moral aspects of religion was emphasized by Azad. The essence of religion is one but the ways and forms of worship may differ. According to Koran, Islam constitutes single brotherhood and God is the predictor of all. According to Abul Kalam, the Koran declares that religion is one and all people constitute a single humanistic fraternity under the protection and true guidance, (Hidayat) of God. It is people themselves who have created religious factions and thus have parted from each other and created differences and mutual conflict. But inspite of all these divisions, the human brotherhood remains one.

According to Azad, the Koran emphasizes that any person who has faith in God and acts righteously will have his reward. No moral did can go unrewarded. It is thus, clear that Azad's interpretation of the Koran is far more liberal than that of the fundamentalist and the sectarian theologians. According to Koran, salvation depends not upon one's desire but faith in God and right conduct. In the spiritual world, everyone must reap as he sows. It is clear, thus, that Azad's interpretation of the Koran is similar in some aspects to the moral and religious philosophy of Vivekananda and Gandhi.

Islam, according to Azad, demands acceptance of truth and action. Sovereignty in Islam, therefore, means sovereignty of those who in their thought, word and action have completely surrendered themselves to the God. Islam, thus, according to Azad, is a new religious creed but it is a call to the path of following God.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1 : When was Abul Kalam Azad born?

.....

.....

Q 2 : What is Abul Kalam Azad's full name?

.....

Q 3 : According to Azad, moral deeds may go unrewarded. (True/ False)

.....

Q 4 : What was Azad's view on Islam?(within 50 words).

.....

.....

9.4 POLITICAL IDEAS OF AZAD

Abul Kalam Azad, through his Al-Hilal (the crescent), challenged the political philosophy of Syed Ahmed khan and the Aligarh School. First, he wanted to infuse in the Musalmans the ardent desire for rebellion against British Rule. Secondly, he wanted them to play their own part in the political movement. A political regime always tries to justify its subjugation of subjects. But liberty is the primary right of a man and it is nobody's personal privilege to limit or destroy it. There can be no justification for any political domination over another nation. It is an individual's duty to fight against such inequity. Islam prescribes that only the sovereignty of God is justifiable. Islam constitutes a system of freedom and democracy. Only God can deny the freedom of a man. All man are equal and have equal rights. Islam and Mohammad have been champions of a conception of democratic quality and this can be correctly practiced when the whole nation asserts its free will and unity and practices the techniques of suffrage and election. Khilafat means representation, and the authority of the Khalifa was a kind of representative authority. If even an Islamic government does not recognize the freedom and the will of the nation, then it forfeits its moral justification. Thus Abul kalam Azad used the Islamic conception of sovereignty of God

and equality of man to substantiate the struggle for the grant of political rights which was being carried on through the non-cooperation movement. Abul Kalam confessed that it was his duty to proclaim the inequity of the British tyranny. He declared that his political mission was that rights and liberty of the community must be firmly demanded. He stated that his paper *Al-Hilal* was committed to this kind of political philosophy. Although the British imperial system was fully armed with all the engines and techniques of repression, still Azad pronounced his faith on God and the power of sacrifice.

To the defense of the political movement of democracy, Abul Kalam brought support and theoretical foundations of Islamic religion. He firmly declared that liberty is the natural right of man given by God and no power on earth could deny his right. Political liberation,hence, was not only a political duty but also a religious act. Abul Kalam's statement, thus, is a contribution to the political theory of Islam thoroughly to the forefront.

Although Abul Kalam proclaimed his full faith in the non-cooperation movement which was being waged for the vindication of wounded rights and denied freedom, he proclaimed that he differed from Mahatma Gandhi on the question of violence.

9.4.1 Azad's Views on Hindu-Muslim Unity

While addressing the Congress in1923 Azad spoke: "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." Again in 1940, he proclaimed: "I am a Muslim and proud of the fact; Islam's splendid tradition of 1300 years are my inheritance, I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. Everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavor. Our language was different but we grew to use a common language (Hindustani); our manners and customs were different, dissimilar but they produced a new synthesis. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity."

Abul kalam was a champion of unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans. He wanted the Muslims to imbibe a reformist attitude.

He was opposed to the separatism and sectarian nationalism which was preached by the Muslim League. He pointed out that the ancestors of most of theHindus and Musalmans were common. Mankind is one race. Hence Hindus and Musalmans who have been living together for nearly a thousand years should renounce the conception of a superior and inferior race and should live in Peace.

9.4.2 Azad's Views on Nationalism

Azad agreed with Gandhi on the question of relating politics with religion and he did not favour separation between the two. He said: "There will be nothing left with us, if one separates politics from religion." "Religious to the core though he was, he would not countenance nationalism based on religion, especially in the Indian context of multiplicity, as it would be a force for division rather than unity in the wider sense." On another occasion he said: "it is a fraud on the people to suggest that religion can unite areas which are economically, culturally and linguistically different." He was, therefore, opposed to sectarian nationalism preached by the Muslim league.

9.4.3 Azad's Views on Non-Violence

Azad was committed to nonviolence as a policy rather than a creed. He advocated a nonviolent and non-exploitative economic and social order where the underlying principles would be based on humanism, religious tolerance and interreligious unity, social progress,educational reforms and spread of scientific knowledge.

9.4.4 Azad's Views on Democracy

As regards his views on the political system, he did not take inspiration from Islam alone but also from the West. He said: "Ours is essentially a democratic age and the spirit of equality, fraternity and liberty is sweeping over all the people of the world." In his broad spirit of synthesis Azad could even reconcile the seemingly opposed

concepts of aristocracy and democracy. According to Azad, "Aristocracy develops a width of vision and a far reaching imagination and thus enriches democracy."

9.4.5 Azad's Views on Partition of India

Azad was a strong opponent of the idea of partition. According to him, "the scheme of partition is harmful not only for India as a whole, but also for Muslims in particular, and in fact it creates more problems than it solves." As President of the Congress, Azad had warned against partition.

However, even after the partition, Azad thought that the two countries would be united once again. He said: "the division is only on the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people, and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition."

According to V. N. Dutta, "Azad's was a complex personality. Taciturn and reserved, he was a staunchly private person who would not easily reveal his thoughts. He was aloof, cold and detached like arch rival, Jinnah. He was rather "a curious silent bird, to quote Wavell."

Maulana Azad was an apostle of national unity and communal harmony. He was a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity and "composite culture". He was opposed to the partition of India until the end. He stood like a rock for a united India. The best epitaph for Azad was written by himself: "I am proud of being an Indian; I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian Nationality and without me this splendid structure of India is incomplete."Azad was an outstanding Muslim intellectual of modern India. The range of his mind was encyclopaedic. He was a great literary artists. Azad had a many-sided personality. He was a literally giant and possessed excellent taste and rare aesthetic sensibility. He was an embodiment of synthesis of the East and the West. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "He was a strange mixture of medieval scholasticism, eighteen century rationalism and modern outlook.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Khalifa was a kind of representative authority. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : According toV.N. Dutta,"Azad's was a complex…..…….
(Fill in the Blanks)

……

Q 7 : Khilafat means……(Fill in the Blanks)

Q 8 : Write on Azad's views on Hindu-Muslim unity.

.....

.....

.....

Q 9 : Explain Azad's views on partition of India.

.....

.....

.....



9.5 LET US SUM UP

- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born on November 11, 1888 in Mecca.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's real name was Abul Kalam Ghulam Muhiyuddin.
- He was popularly known as Maulana Azad.
- His mother was an Arabian and his father, Maulana Khairuddin, was a Bengali Muslim of Afghan origins.
- He was a multi-linguist, and was well versed in numerous languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Persian, English and Arabic.
- He received education in philosophy, world history, Hanbali fiqh, shariat, mathematics and science. As a meritorious student, he was blessed with a strong aptitude for knowledge that helped him stay ahead of his contemporaries.

- Azad at a young age, brought out several journals, served as an editor of the weekly Al-Misbah. He even reinterpreted the holy Quran, the Hadith and the principles of Fiqh and Kalam.
- Azad was a keen intellectual, orator, writer and a remarkable politician.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was one of the foremost leaders of Indian freedom struggle and was also a renowned scholar, and poet.
- He was one of the important political leaders of Gandhian era. Azad's early political ideas are contained in his urdu journal Al-hilal and Lisanus sidah and writings like Tazkira and Ghobar khatir.
- He was an intensely religious man.
- Abul Kalam favoured a reformist and rational approach to the Koran.
- According to Abul Kalam, the Koran declares that religion is one and all people constitute a single humanistic fraternity under the protection and true guidance, (Hidayat) of God.
- Abul Kalam Azad, through his Al-Hilal (the crescent), challenged the political philosophy of Syed Ahmed khan and the Aligarh School.
- Khilafat means representation, and the authority of the Khalifa was a kind of representative authority
- Abul Kalam confessed that it was his duty to proclaim the inequity of the British tyranny.
- Abul kalam was a champion of unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans. He wanted the Muslims to imbibe a reformist attitude.
- He was opposed to the separatism and sectarian nationalism which was preached by the Muslim League.
- According to Azad, "Aristocracy develops a width of vision and a far reaching imagination and thus enriches democracy."



9.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chandra Prakash, Modern Indian Political Thought, Vikas Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1998.

2) Varma,V.P., Modern Political Thought, Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra, 2013.



9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born on November 11, 1888 in Mecca.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's real name was Abul Kalam Ghulam Muhiyuddin.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : False

Ans to Q. No. 4:Islam, according to Azad, demands acceptance of truth and action. Sovereignty in Islam, therefore, means sovereignty of those who in their thought, word and action have completely surrendered themselves to the God. Islam, thus, according to Azad, is a new religious creed but it is a call to the path of following God.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : According toV.N. Dutta,"Azad's was a complex personality.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Khilafat means representation.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : While addressing the Congress in1923 Azad spoke: "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." Again in 1940, he proclaimed: "I am a Muslim and proud of the fact; Islam's splendid tradition of 1300 years are my inheritance, I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. Everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavor. Our language was different but we grew to use a common language (Hindustani); our manners and customs were different, dissimilar but they produced a new synthesis. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity."

Abul kalam was a champion of unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans. He wanted the Muslims to imbibe a reformist

attitude. He was opposed to the separatism and sectarian nationalism which was preached by the Muslim League. He pointed out that the ancestors of most of the Hindus and Musalmans were common. Mankind is one race. Hence Hindus and Musalmans who have been living together for nearly a thousand years should renounce the conception of a superior and inferior race and should live in Peace.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : Azad was a strong opponent of the idea of partition. According to him, "the scheme of partition is harmful not only for India as a whole, but also for Muslims in particular, and in fact it creates more problems than it solves." As President of the Congress, Azad had warned against partition

However, even after the partition, Azad thought that the two countries would be united once again. He said: "the division is only on the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people, and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition."



9.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Where was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad born?

Q 2 : What was Azad's full name?

Q 3 : What does Khilafat mean?

Q 4 : What is AlHilal?

Q 5 : Discuss Azad's political ideas.

Q 6 : "Abul kalam was a champion of unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans", explain.

******

UNIT : 10 JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction: Early Life

10.3 Influence of Marxism on J. P. Narayan

10.4 Impact of Gandhian Thoughts : A shift from Socialism to Sarvodaya

10.5 Total Revolution

10.6 Critical Appreciation

10.7 Let Us Sum Up

10.8 Further Reading

10.9 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to :

- explain the views of Jayaprakash Narayan as a Socialist
- analyse the influence of Gandhi on him and why he embraced Sarvodaya later on
- comprehend his concept of 'Total Revolution'
- critically evaluate his thoughts and ideas.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, or 'JP' as popularly known, was an Indian political leader who had actively participated in Gandhi's civil disobedience movement and later on initiated the 'Total Revolution'. Influenced by Mahatma Gandhi in his initial days, he gradually turned a socialist,playing an important role in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, and then moved closer to Gandhian values once again.

Born on 11 October 1902, in a middle class family of Sitabdaria village (now part of Balia, Uttar Pradesh), Jayaprakash Narayan was the fourth child of Harsudayal and Phoolrani. His father was a government

servant and had admitted Jayaprakash Narayan in a government school in the village till he completed his initial schooling. Jayaprakash Narayan left his village after completing sixth standard to pursue further studies in Patna. While in Patna, Jayaprakash Narayan got acquainted with the nationalist activities through Saraswati Bhawan, which was a hub of national leaders. He was highly influenced by the ideas of M K Gandhi and was especially attracted towards the strategy of non-violence and non-cooperation as propounded by Gandhi. Inspired by Gandhi's non-cooperation, Jayaprakash Narayan left studies at Patna College, since it was an institution run by the government and joined the movement. Later on, he joined Bihar Vidyapeeth, which was founded by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

In 1922, after completion of studies in Patna, he went to USA and stayed there for 7 years to study Science at University of California (Wisconsin) and Ohio. His tryst with socialist ideas began during his stay in USA, where he met East European intellectuals and got influenced by their Marxist orientation. Back in India, he was influenced by M N Roy, who was also a Marxist, and had given shape to Jayaprakash Narayan's socialist tilt. Jayaprakash Narayan, during this phase was convinced that the desolation of the poor could be cured only through Marxism. However, he did not support Russian Communism and was immensely critical of the methods adopted by the Bolshevik Party to establish socialism in Russia. He also criticized the Chinese imperialist policy in Tibet. Thus, he could not support the idea of a world wide united workers' front to overthrow the capitalist class and establish dictatorship of the proletariat. Identifying the glitches of Marxism as practiced in Soviet Union, Jayaprakash Narayan turned to Sarvodaya to solve India's problems. Let us study this transition of Jayaprakash Narayan which led him ultimately to initiate Total Revolution.

10.3 INFLUENCE OF MARXISM ON J.P. NARAYAN

As already mentioned Jayaprakash Narayan was introduced to Marxism during his 7 years stay in USA. In the company of students from different nationalities- Russian, France, German, Dutch, Polish and

Americans- Jayaprakash Narayan read various books on Marxism and grasped its philosophy. Profound amongst all this, was the influence of one of his closest friends, Abraham Landy, a Polish Jew, who was a member of the communist party and active in the underground cell at the University. In USA, Jayaprakash Narayan also got exposed to the writings of the Indian Marxist M N Roy, thus completing his initiation in Marxism.

During this phase of life, Jayaprakash Narayan considered Marxism to be the only solution to the problems that India faced- starting from seeking independence from British rule to socio-economic development of the country. He was initially influenced by the Marxist notion of revolution to overthrow the dominating class as against the principles of non-violence and non-cooperation propounded by Gandhi. For him, Lenin's success in Russia proved beyond doubt the efficacy of Marxist technique over Gandhian methods. Also, the condition of the labourers after the great depression in the 1930s, viz., unemployment, low wage, lack of other incentives and innumerable suffering due to them, was exactly in line with Marx's prediction about the exploitative class relations between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. This convinced Jayaprakash Narayan about the necessity of revolution to overthrow the capitalist and establish socialism. He understood that control over the means of production by few led to socio-economic inequality in society. Thus, social ownership of the means of production is necessary to curb inequality and injustice.

Marx's scientific socialism appealed to Jayaprakash Narayan and he saw it as a theory which would help uncover truth. However, he also believed that no single theory has the capability to discover truth in its totality, as truth is relative and one can only mover closer to it with the passage of time. In his book, *From Socialism to Sarvodaya,* he remarked that, 'Man is ever progressing towards the truth, for he is by nature an enquiring being. He will never be able to reach the ultimate truth, but, by gradually eliminating untruth, he will be able slowly to approach the truth' (Das,2005, p.3). This philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan led him to have views which were sometimes contradictory to Marxism. For instance, as against the Marxist belief that the state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist to exploit

the working class, Jayaprakash Narayan held that the state performed welfare functions which are beneficial to the poor and these activities of the state are funded out of the taxes paid mostly by the rich. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan could not completely support Marxist doctrine of the state as an evil institution.

Further, the events in India towards the end of 1929 also made JP to reconsider his belief in Marxism. This was the time when the Gandhi-Irwin talks failed, as Gandhi asked for complete 'Dominion Status' for India which was denied by Lord Irwin.Upset with this, the country sought to acquire complete independence and with this goal in mind Gandhi launched his famous Salt Satyagraha. This was supported by the entire nation, except for the Indian communists.This had upset Jayaprakash Narayan and he realised that 'the Indian Communists were only following, of course, the policy laid down by the Third or Communist International which by then had come completely under the leadership of Stalin'(Dandavate, 2002, p.137). What upset JP more was that they condemned the freedom struggle as bourgeoisie and 'Mahatma Gandhi as a lackey of the Indian Bourgeoisie' (Dandavate,2002, p.137). Jayaprakash Narayan held that the policy followed by the Comintern, post 1928, had isolated the anti-colonial national movements and also had led to a divided the labour movement throughout the world. This was completely against the strategy propounded by Marx and Lenin. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan felt 'alienated' from the Russian as well as the Indian Communists. He could not bear that the Indian communists were dominated and dictated by the Russian and the former acted as puppets of the latter. This made him side with the 'soldiers of freedom' and he joined the freedom struggle.

It is noteworthy that Jayaprakash Narayan's 'alienation' with the Communists did not lead him to abandon socialism or to join the Congress party which was the pioneer of the freedom struggle. For Joyprakash Narayan, freedom implied a 'socialist India' and swaraj meant 'rule of the poor and the downtrodden'. Since for him, the policy of the Congress seemed 'vague and inadequate', he formed the Congress Socialist Party, with others whose belief matched in his philosophy. He sought to link the

fight for independence along with the struggle for socio-economic emancipation of the masses (Dandavate, 2002, p 138). It was at this juncture that JP considered revisiting Marxism, given that he had a natural repulsion to violent methods to attain a goal even if the goal is noble. He thus detested the idea of attaining socialism through violent revolution and thereby establishing dictatorship of proletariat. He felt that any kind of violence and dictatorship is bound to be antagonistic to human freedom as well as safety.Dictatorship of proletariat basically meant rule of the bureaucratic oligarchs and would ultimately lead to 'distortion of socialism'. Violence had to be denounced to curb any counter-revolutionary tendencies. He remarked, 'in a society where it was possible for the people by democratic means to bring about social change, it would be counter-revolutionary to resort to violence' (Das, 2005, p. 9). Also, bereft of democratic freedoms, socialism could not be established. Thus, although Jayaprakash Narayan approved of socialism and believed in the Marxist theory about exploitation of the poor by the rich economic class, he was highly critical of the methods of achieving it. He concurred with Karl Marx regarding the dominance of economic power over political power, but he could not agree with using violence to achieve the panacea of socialism.

In Jayaprakash Narayan's opinion, 'the people's instinct is always in favour of freedom and democracy and it is never natural for them deliberately to subject themselves to a dictatorship.' (Das, 2005, p.10). Thus, the communist rule in Russia is not a rule of the working class, but a dictatorship of the minority imposed by Lenin, using 'devious methods'. Even in China, it is a dictatorship, albeit of a different kind, where the majority is ruling the minority. While Jayaprakash Narayan was moving away from Marxism, he did not abandon his faith in socialism. He argued that most of the problems which Russia faced was because of the 'impatient' Marxists who could not wait for the revolution to occur naturally. Marx held that when society reached a stage of high industrial development and ripe capitalism, the working class would logically revolt against the capitalists. Lenin and his successor Stalin could not wait till Russia reached this stage, and therefore tried to forcefully initiate revolution in industrially

backward Russia, with the help of an almost military and highly centralized party. Joyprakash Narayan, it seems, considered Marx and Engels to have more faith in a peaceful and democratic transition than his followers. Thus, it is not the socialist ideology which is problematic, rather it is, as argued by Prof. Paul A Baran and cited by JP, the ambition of leaders like Lenin, for immediate development of a backward country, Russia, threatened by foreign aggression and internal rebellion, which is to be blamed (Dandavate, 2002, p. 144)

The 'lesson for India' is thus not to force industrialization at a breakneck speed, but to devise indigenous methods to tread the path of socialism and industrialisation. Jayaprakash Narayan, at this stage was considering decentralization and gradual reduction of the power of the state. He was concerned about the means to achieve the ends, as against the Marxists for whom any means is justified till it serves the purpose of achieving the goal, i.e. socialism. This concern of Jayaprakash Narayan drew him closer to Gandhism but did not completely made him a Gandhian. He rather was now 'at the half-way house of democratic socialism', which again as he claimed was different from European socialism or British Fabian socialism. These two brands of socialism were considered to be a 'quagmire of reformism and revisionism' and cannot be trusted to offer real solution to the problems of the masses(Das, 2005, p 12) On the contrary, Jayaprakash Narayan envisioned his own brand of socialism, which would be 'revolutionary', yet would value human freedom, equality and brotherhood. Asian socialism, in Jayaprakash Narayan's words, should not imitate European socialism, given that the conditions in both the continents is categorically very different. European socialism envisions an industrialized society, be it capitalist or socialist; while Asia is completely rural and agrarian with very initial stage of industrialization. Although one might cite the examples of Russia and China, which despite being backward and agrarian, have established communist governments, they can be barely considered to value equality and freedom, the very essence of socialism. Thus, he appeals to the Asian socialists to start 'thinking, experimenting, innovating' in order to find a way to achieve socialism.

10.4 IMPACT OF GANDHIAN THOUGHT : A SHIFT FROM SOCIALISM TO SARVODAYA

Jayaprakash Narayan's increasing distance with Marxism, pushed him closer to Gandhian ideas. It is to be reiterated here that his tryst with Gandhian values began much before his exposure to Marxism. Between 1914-1922, he was particularly influenced by Gandhi's simplicity, and his method of non-violence and non-cooperation. Gandhi's impact on Jayaprakash Narayan was so profound that he left studies in order to participate in the Non-cooperation movement launched by the former in 1919. The sojourn in USA resulted in his shift to socialist ideas, but deep down he still valued Gandhi's philosophy of means and end. After his return from USA in 1929, he realized the hollowness of Indian communists which led himto gradually move towards democratic socialism.

The ideals which inspired Joyprakash Narayan throughout his life, viz., freedom, equality and brotherhood, continued to guide him in this shift to Sarvodaya. While he rejected dictatorship of the proletariat and violence, he continued to support Marxism, but without the methods suggested to bring about social transformation. Jayaprakash Narayan's democratic socialism was thus a fusion of Marxism with Gandhian values and Western democracy.Socialism without democracy is a sham, and therefore, there arises the need to integrate ideals of Western democracy with socialism.

The Marxian element in Jayaprakash Narayan continuously went on decreasing, as he moved closer and closer to Gandhian philosophy. He himself admitted that his final break with Marxism had come during the three weeks' fast in Pune, when he realized that materialism lacked ethics, as in a materialistic world one does not find any reason to be good. One would not have the incentive to be sympathetic and understanding towards his/her fellow being. All that would matter in this kind of world is to be powerful, rich, and famous. These would be the motivations which would drive people into action.

Disappointed with Marxism and upset with the defeat of his party, The Congress Socialist Party in the general elections of 1952, Jayaprakash

Narayan decided to give up politics and devote his life towards Sarvodaya and Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Movement (distribution of land to the landless). Joyprakash Narayan referred this move of his as '*Jeevandan'.* He had realized that politics would not be able to deliver the goals which he initially associated with socialism, viz., freedom, equality, peace and fraternity. And the only alternative to politics available was Gandhi's Sarvodaya, which he had ignored earlier. He justified his decision to quit politics thus: 'I decided to withdraw from party-and-power politics not because of disgust or sense of any personal frustration, but because it became clear to me that politics could not deliver the goods, the goods being the same old goals of equality, freedom, brotherhood, peace'(Das, 2005, p.19)

Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan had more faith on Gandhi's *Sarvodaya*, than Karl Marx's Dialectical Materialism. Three features of Gandhism particularly appealed Jayaprakash Narayan. One, emphasis laid on morality and ethics, which he felt, lacked in Marxism. Two, the path-breaking techniques of revolution in the form of civil disobedience and Satyagraha. And third, its stress on decentralization. For Jayaprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya's intrinsic significance lies in it giving value to happiness and development of every being. This automatically implies that there is no scope for class struggle in it, as everyone is equally important, be it the minority or the majority. Attending to the interests of the entire community is the goal of Sarvodaya. There is no place for egoism and desire for power and wealth; rather Savodaya is about disinterested service towards the community. Common good and social harmony in a society is emphasized upon, wherein the goods are voluntarily shared amongst fellow beings. There is thus no scope for overthrow of one class by another, or forcible seizure of wealth in order to establish equality. Voluntary service bears a crucial place in Sarvodaya. This is not to say that Sarvodaya allows the present inequality and exploitation by the feudal lords to continue. What it seeks to achieve is establishment of peace, harmony and equality with the power of love and a change of heart of the exploiters and perpetrators of inequality.

Since equality of all is one of the cardinal principles of Sarvodaya, it doesn't value majority opinion as more important than that of a minority. In

other words, majoritarianism is rejected by Sarvodaya. Here Jayaprakash Narayan comes very close to JS Mill who also talks about the importance of minority opinion. Also, rather than conflictual relationship between different categories or classes of people Jayaprakash Narayan was of the opinion that consensus should be the mode of solving problems. If truth is the ultimate goal and if every member of society is equally important, then the society has to negotiate on the basis of consensus of all, rather than deciding on the basis of views of only the majority. Therefore, one should rely on the logic of dialectics of argument and counter-argument, which would finally lead to a good acceptable to all.

Initially Jayaprakash Narayan could not believe how Gandhi's non-violent technique could lead to social revolution. Although he had seen that the freedom struggle was won through non-violence, he could not connect as to how this technique would help oust feudalism and capitalism. Jayaprakash Narayan was also not very sure of Gandhi's idea of Trusteeship and its feasibility. As he was pondering about the Gandhian technique, Vinobha Bhave started his Bhoodan movement in Telengana. Initially, Jayaprakash thought that it would take a hundred year to redistribute land using this technique. But much to his surprise, this movement started to gain ground. He thus immediately made up his mind to join the movement.

Similarly, Jayaprakash Narayan supported other manifestations of Sarvodaya, such as Gramadan (equitable sharing of land by villagers), Sampattidan (conversion of all property into trusteeship), Sadhandan (to give away as a gift such means of production which would enable Bhoodan recipients to till their lands, viz bullocks), and Buddhidan.These are the ways in which Jayaprakash Narayan thought an equitable social order could be created in a peaceful and morally correct order. It is noteworthy that like Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan thought that only a morally correct means could lead to a moral end. He was particularly influenced by the ends-means binary, articulated by Gandhi. For Gandhi, the means to achieve an end is as important as the end itself. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan argued that, 'the means must be morally consistent with the ends' (Das, 2005, p.14). This is one of the major reasons why Marxist theory failed to achieve socialism:

because it sought to achieve a morally correct socialist society with the help of an amoral means, viz., violence. He had no doubts about socialism being a morally and ethically correct vision about an equal, peaceful and free society, what he detested was the means to achieve such a social order. Thus, he argued that till socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya such inconsistency in ends and means cannot be breached, and hence an ideal society cannot be established. Sarvodaya was for him a superior form of socialism.

10.5 JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S TOTAL REVOLUTION

Jayaprakash Narayan's concept of Total Revolution was born as a solution to various societal problems. Although conceived much earlier,this idea was clearly articulated in his book, *The Prison Diary*, published in 1977.In 1942, when the country was at the peak of its freedom struggle, Jayaprakash Narayan, in a letter addressed to the freedom fighters, appealed for 'Total Revolt' of the masses to achieve independence. It may, however, be argued that the purport of his call for Total Revolution, much later in the 1970s, might be different, given the difference in the prevailing conditions between unfree British India and a free democratic India. The immediate reason behind his initiation of Total Revolution was the problems that the country under Indira Gandhi's rule faced: corruption, sluggish economic growth, inflation, poor educational system and a low moral order in society. Revolution was the way in which these problem could be mitigated.

Inspired by the Gujarat movement in 1974 where the students' agitation led to the resignation of the Gujarat government, he supported the students' movement in Bihar. Infact, relenting to the students' requests on the condition that the movement would be peaceful, Jayaprakash Narayan took on the leadership of the Bihar movement. Upset with such developments in Bihar, the Indira Gandhi government sought to suppress the movement by imprisoning Jayaprakash Narayan and imposing emergency in the country. All this was in vain, because in the general elections that followed, the Janata Party led by Jayaprakash Narayan won

massive votes of the people and formed the government at the centre. It is interesting to note here, that having denounced politics, Jayaprakash Narayan did not lead the government and stayed away from power politics.

Talking about the concept of Total Revolution, it may be mentioned that Jayaprakash Narayan did not clearly define it. Rather, he had put the onus on the intellectuals of the country to clearly build the concept and fulfill his dream. As explained by A. Appadorai,Total Revolution is an all pervasive social revolution which attempts to abolish all kinds of social ills such as corruption, exclusion and discrimination of the lower caste and women, and unemployment. He further states, that to establish an equitable social order free from all these ills, Total Revolution calls for radical change and not mere reforms in the prevailing structure.(Sinha, 1990)

It would comprise of seven revolutions in the arena of social, economic, political, cultural, ideological and intellectual, educational and spiritual life. These seven categories are, however, not rigid, as they could be clubbed as per the needs of the society. For instance, the educational and ideological revolutions could be included with cultural revolution, or the economic revolution may be subdivided into industrial, agricultural or technological revolution.

Jayaprakash Narayan's idea of Total Revolution are characterized by certain features: **First,** Total Revolution is supposed to be an ongoing process and would not end with the achievement of a specific goal. Also, this struggle has a very strong moral basis, and in no way would it be allowed to follow a moral and unethical methods such as violence. **Secondly,** the principal aim of this struggle is complete transformation of the society and its structures, and not a simple change of power or governments. This radical transformation of society would seek to abolish all social evils, through people's participation. Thus, democracy based on decentralization is another characteristic feature of Total Revolution.

Through this, Jayaprakash Narayan wanted to execute the Gandhian vision of an ideal society, characterised by economic equality, true democracy, and a moral social order. For this ideal society to materialize, Jayaprakash Narayan calls for spiritual purification as well as structural

changes at the economic, social, cultural and educational arena. Spiritual purification entails in inculcation of a value system based on moral and ethical principles. Jayaprakash Narayan, like Gandhi gives a lot of importance to this aspect of an individual life. For both of them, without changes in the inner values, the external changes would be useless and unreal.

Revolution at the economic system implies that removal of poverty and inequality, exploitation of the poor, unemployment, corrupt practices, price control, boosting economic growth, and regulation of essential commodities. Overall, welfare of the individual should be the principal goal of economic system. The political revolution would aim at creation of a political system which would value human beings. Individuals would have to be treated as an end in themselves and not as a means to some end. Decentralisation would be the mode of governance.

At the socio-cultural front, the revolution would aim at creation of a society which would be free from superstitions and various social inequalities. Improved status of women, removal of untouchability and the discriminatory practice of caste system are few goals which the Total Revolution would strive to achieve. Further, at the educational sector, the primary aim of the revolution should be empowerment of the people so that they can hold command over their own life. Also they should be in a position to guard against any impropriety in the democratic system and its various institutions.

All the above listed goals would become a reality, only when there are agents to carry forward the movement of Total Revolution. And one of the most important roles in this movement, is that of a leader. And the role the leader has to play is that of guiding the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan held the opinion that leaders do not create revolutions; because revolutions are the result of historical conditions. The leader merely controls and directs the revolution in a certain path. Bereft of a leader, any movement would loose direction and become chaotic, resulting in even a dictatorial regime.

The other important agencies of the revolution would be the common people or the masses, the students and youth of the nation, voluntary and class organisations, and formal institutions. Amongst all these agencies,

Joyprakash Narayan had utmost faith and hope in the students and youth. This faith is due to the belief that the youth are the only category which is free from all constraints in life. Unlike other groups which are either busy in the race for power and fame, or preoccupied with earning bread for their families, the students and youth are unconstrained by such burdens. They would be more forthright in taking risks and be a part of the revolution as compared to other social groups who would be too wary to loose whatever they possess. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan put the onus on the youth to bring out radical social transformation.

Further, Jayaprakash Narayan provides the methods in which the revolution had to be carried forward. These are:

- **Awakening :** With the help of education, the masses would be awakened in order to ensure their enlightened and total participation in the revolutionary movement.
- **Organisation :** Jayaprakash Narayan suggests formation of permanent organisations in the form of Peoples Committees at the grassroots level in order to address the problems faced by the masses as well as to initiate plans for development. By this, he wanted to suggest a party-less democracy, which according to him doesn't ensure real democracy.
- **Struggle :** Struggle has to take place on a continuous basis through methods such as civil disobedience and non-cooperation. Jayaprakash Narayan insists on a peaceful struggle and in no way should it turn violent. Gheraos, bandhs, and hartals could be adopted as a method of peaceful struggle.
- **Constructive work :** The revolutionaries also have to carry out constructive work simultaneously with the movement. Since, it is a 'Total' revolution, constructive work becomes essential to give birth to a new social order.

  Jayaprakash Narayan sums up his Total Revolution thus: 'To sum up, the three main aspects of the movement thus are: (1) the creation and organisation of people's power, (2) total revolution as the aim of the movement, (3) building up *Gram Swarajya* or people's government from below (Das, 2005, p. 55)

10.6 CRITICAL APPRECIATION

After going through Jayaprakash Narayan's ideas and philosophies, it would be appropriate now to evaluate his thoughts critically. **First** of all, we have seen that Jayaprakash Narayan had become critical of Marxist socialism and had suggested that it should be modified in order to make it suitable for countries like India which was under colonial rule. The problem here is that Jayaprakash Narayan had merely laid down his ideas of reorienting Marxism but failed to specifically provide the method in which it should be done. In order words, Jayaprakash Narayan's suggestion remained at the level of ideas and not at the level of practicability.

Secondly, Jayaprakash Narayan's Total Revolution has been criticized as unrealistic and utopian. He talked about *continuous* revolution on *several* fronts, such as economic, socio-cultural, educational, and political, but failed to calculate the capacity of the masses to revolt for so long on so many different aspects. Moreover, his movement lacked training of the agents or the activists. Without a very organized and trained team Total Revolution remained a distant dream.

Thirdly, Jayaprakash Narayan's thoughts underwent several changes during his life time: influenced by Gandhi early in his life, he became a Marxist during his stay in USA, to again move closer to Gandhism after he realized the inapplicability of Marxism in India. These shifts in his philosophy make him open to be charged as an inconsistent thinker. However, on a closer look this charge seems to harsh on him, as his thoughts changed depending on the different realities he encountered in life. And thus his philosophy is very much consistent.

Jayaprakash Narayan's contribution lies in his realization of involvement of the masses in the revolution. He did not restrict his Total Revolution to any particular class, but included every section of the society. His philosophy can be called reactionary, as it emerges as a reaction to the various evils in society, viz., corruption, excessive concentration of power by the leadership, exploitation of the poor and the weak, inequality and so forth. He was a visionary with a lot of hope that the youth of the country would be able to establish an ideal society, free from all kinds of vices.



10.7 LET US SUM UP

- Overall we have seen that Jayaprakash Narayan was inspired both by socialism as well as Gandhism at different points of time. His turning away from Marxist socialism was more because of its support for use of violence to achieve its goal as well as its inapplicability in the Indian scenario, than inconsistency in Jayaprakash Narayan's thought as argued by his critics.
- So far as his proximity to Gandhian values and adoption of Sarvodaya are concerned, he was always inspired by the moral values which Gandhi espoused.
- Jayaprakash Narayan was particularly influenced by Gandhi's technique of non-cooperation and satyagraha which were non-violent methods of protests.
- Applying Gandhian technique to create an ideal society, Jayaprakash Narayan suggested Total Revolution which would bring about complete transformation in the structure of Indian society. It was the way in which Sarvodaya could be realised.
- This movement would start at the village level and move upwards to the urban areas, ensuring complete participation of the masses. Jayaprakash Narayan intended to create a party-less ideal democratic society which would value each individual. His main goal was to create a society characterised by morality, freedom and equality.



10.8 FURTHER READING

1) Das,Sandip (ed) (2005)*Jayaprakash Narayan: Centenary Volume*, Mittal Publications: New Delhi.

2) Dandavate, Madhu,(2002)*Jayaprakash Narayan: Struggle with values, A Centenary Tribute,*Allied Publishers: New Delhi

3) Sinha, Nilima, (1990) "Jayaprakash Narayan" in *Remembering Our Leaders,* Children's Book Trust: New Delhi.



10.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss the influences of Marxism upon Jayaprakash Narayan.

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

Q 3 : Describe the socio-economic ideas of Narayan.

Q 4 : Analyse the impact of Gandhi on Narayan.

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Unit 11 : ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives
11.2 Introduction
11.3 Childhood and Early Life
11.4 Religious and Social Work
11.5 Bhoodan Movement
11.6 Brahma Vidya Mandir
11.7 Bhave and Gandhi
11.8 Literary Career
11.9 Criticism
11.10 Let Us Sum Up
11.11 Further Reading
11.12 Answers to Check Your Progress
11.13 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, we will learn about:

- Vinoba Bhave and his life
- Bhoodan Movement
- Bhave and his relationship with Gandhi
- Bhave's social work and contribution towards the development of India.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is one of the greatest thinkers of Indian political thought. He is known as the father of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement, a freedom fighter and spiritual leader. He was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11,1895. Named Vinayak Narahari Bhave at birth, he was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya.'

11.3 CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Vinoba was the eldest son of Narahari Shambhu Rao and Rukmini Devi. The couple had five children – four sons and one daughter, named Vinayaka (affectionately called Vinya), Balakrishna, Shivaji and Dattatreya. His two brothers, Balkoba Bhave and Shivaji Bhave, remained bachelors and devoted their life to social work. His father, Narahari Shambhu Rao was atrained weaver with a rationalist modern outlook and worked in Baroda. Vinayaka was brought up by his grandfather, Shamburao Bhave and was greatly influenced by his mother Rukmini Devi. Her devotion and spirituality moulded his personality. In his memoir, Bhave states that, "There is nothing to equal the part my mother played in shaping my mind". Vinoba was highly inspired after reading the Bhagavad Gita, Mahabharat, and Ramayan at a very early age.

At a very young age Vinoba was deeply interested in Mathematics. In 1916, on his way to Mumbai to appear for the intermediate examination, Vinoba Bhave put his school and college certificates into the fire. It is believed that Vinoba took the decision after reading a newspaper article by Mahatma Gandhi. A series of letters exchanged between Gandhi and Bhave and on 7 June,1916 Vinoba went to meet Gandhi. Gandhi advised Vinoba to come for a personal meeting at Kochrab Ashram in Ahmedabad. Vinoba met Gandhi on 7 June 1916 and subsequently abandoned his studies. Vinoba participated with keen interest in the activities at Gandhi's ashram, like teaching, studying, spinning and improving the life of the community. During his stay at Wardha, Bhave also brought out a monthly in Marathi, named, **'Maharashtra Dharma'**. The monthly consisted of his essays on the Upanishads. Over the years, the bond between Vinoba and Gandhi grew stronger and his involvement in constructive programs related to Khadi, village industries, new education, sanitation and hygiene kept on increasing. In 1925, he was sent by Gandhi to Vaikom, Kerala to supervise the entry of the Harijans to the temple.

11.4 RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORK

Vinoba Bhave's religious outlook was very broad and it synthesized the truths of many religions. This is very much evident in one of his hymns "Om Tat" which contains symbols of many religions. Vinoba observed and tried to understand the life of the average Indian living in a village and tried to find solutions for the problems he faced with a firm spiritual foundation. This formed the core of his Sarvodaya Movement. His slogan -Jay Jagati.e. "victory to the world" finds reflection in his views about the world as a whole. Bhave was of the view to think one for a whole. He sought to solve the problems of the world with solutions with an essence of spirituality.

11.5 BHOODAN MOVEMENT

He started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He was inspired to start this after talking to 40 poor harijan families. The mission of this movement was to persuade wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a percentage of their land to lower castes. Bhave walked across India on foot, to persuade landowners to give up a piece of their land. He also campaigned against the slaughtering of cows.

As an experiment in voluntary social justice, Bhoodan attracted admiration throughout the world. This movement created a social atmosphere in India that put emphasis on land reform legislation activity throughout the country. In his journeys, he walked more than 20,000 miles and received contributions of nearly 5 million acres of land. More than a million acres of usable land was redistributed to India's landless poor and about half a million families were benefited as a result of this movement.

By this process, Vinoba Bhave aimed at changing mindsets to make possible a peaceful transference of ownership of land to the landless and thus, prevent a bloody revolution. He had once declared that his aim was to bring about a three-fold revolution of a change in people's hearts; a change in their lives; and thirdly, change in the social structure. He thus believed

that the Bhoodan movement to be primarily a moral movement for the regeneration of people and the reorientation of the social and economic values of life. As such Bhave walked from village to village and encouraged people to follow Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. He believed that the future peace and prosperity of India depended upon the peaceful solution of the land problem and development of the agricultural sector. Although the BhoodanYajna by itself could not be a conclusive answer to India's immense agricultural problem, it nonetheless awakened a new consciousness and roused new hope in the hearts of millions.

Among his numerous social works along with bhoodan (land gift) were later included sampattidan (cash gift, or the pledge of one's income to buy tools, animals and seed for those receiving Bhoodan lands), sadhandan (gifts in kind, such as equipment, tools, etc.), gramdan (village gift), shramadan (labor gift), buddhidan (intelligence gift, as for propaganda or administrative work), jeewandan (life gift) and gramdan (village gift). More recently added were, shanti sena (peace army) and sarvodayapatra (depositing every handful of grain in a pot, by the youngest member in the family as a contribution for the social cause. It was to inculcate culture of sharing deep in the minds of young ones.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When and where was Vinoba Bhave born and brought up?

.....

Q 2 : What is the basic concept behind Bhoodan? Explain.

.....

Q 3 : Write a short note on Bhave's social and religious work.

.....

11.6 BRAHMA VIDYA MANDIR

The Brahma Vidya Mandir is one of the ashrams that Bhave created for women in order to make them self-sufficient and independent. This community uses Gandhi's beliefs about food production, which includes

sustainability and social justice. This community was greatly influenced by the Bhagavad Gita and performed prayers every day, reciting from the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita.

As of today, there are around 25 women who are members of the community and several men have also been allowed to join in the community. Since its founding in 1959, members of this community have dealt with the struggle of translating Gandhian values such as self-sufficiency, nonviolence and public service into specific practices of food production and consumption. One narrative described by the community and the farmers that work with them is that large-scale agriculture is inevitable and hence the sole possibility of feeding the world is important. They reject the narrative that success in agriculture comes from expensive technology and puts efforts in use of counter narrative technology on enacting alternate agriculture practices and social practices that were believed by woman back in the 1960s.

11.7 BHAVE AND GANDHI

Bhave was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings. He followed his philosophies of nonviolence, sarvodaya and self service. It is believed that Vinoba took the decision of leaving his higher studies after reading a newspaper article by Mahatma Gandhi. Eventually, a series of letters exchanged between them and Gandhi advised Vinoba to come for a personal meeting at Kochrab Ashram in Ahmedabad . Vinoba met Gandhi on 7 June 1916 and subsequently abandoned his studies. He participated with keen interest in the activities at Gandhi's ashram, like teaching, studying, spinning and improving the life of the community. Over the years, the bond between Vinoba and Gandhi grew stronger and his involvement in constructive programs related to Khadi, village industries, new education, sanitation and hygiene kept on increasing. In 1925, he was sent by Gandhi to Vaikom, Kerala to supervise regarding the entry of the Harijans to the temple. However, Bhave was severely criticised because of his blind loyalty towards Gandhi.

11.8 LITERARY CAREER

Vinoba Bhave was an eminent scholar, thinker, and writer who produced numerous books. He was also an orator and linguist who had an excellent command of several languages. Vinoba wrote brief introductions and criticisms of several religious and philosophical works like the Bhagavad Gita, works of Adi Shankaracharya, the Bible and Quran. His criticism of Dnyaneshwar's poetry and works by other Marathi saints is quite brilliant and a testimony to the breadth of his intellect. Bhave translated the Bhagavad Gita into Marathi.

Some of his works are:

The Essence of Quran; Talks on the Gita; Democratic Values; Women's Power; The Essence of Christian Teaching; Thoughts on Education; Swarajya Sastra, etc.

11.9 CRITICISM

V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi. Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following of the Congress party was also severely critised. Bhave hugely supported the emergency imposed by the then prime minister, Indira Gandhi calling it Anushasana Parva (Time for Discipline). By this he meant everyone to follow the rule including the rulers of that time. During Anushasana Parva – the king has to take the permission of the great men of his time – by that he meant to put the government under the guidance of the learned. Congress party opponents at that time had coined the derogatory term "Sarkari Sant (Government Saint)" to describe him. Noted Marathi writer Purushottam Laxman Deshpande publicly criticised him and mocked him by writing an article titled as "Vanaroba" which is disambiguation of name "Vinoba" and literally means monkey.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Write a short note on the relationship between Bhave and Gandhi.

.....

.....

Q 5 : What are the grounds on which Bhave has been criticised ?

.....

.....

.....

Q 6 : Explain the concept of Brahma Vidya Mandir forwarded by Vinoba Bhave.

.....

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.....



11.10 LET US SUM UP

- Vinoba Bhave was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11, 1895. He is known as the father of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement.
- Bhave was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya.'
- Vinoba Bhave's religious outlook was very broad and it synthesized the truths of many religions. This is very much evident in one of his hymns "Om Tat" which contains symbols of many religions. Bhave was of the view to think one for a whole.
- He started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He believed that the Bhoodan movement to be primarily a moral movement for the regeneration of people and the reorientation of the social and economic values of life.

- The Brahma VidyaMandir is one of the ashrams that Bhave created for women in order to make them self-sufficient and independent. This community used Gandhi's beliefs.
- Bhave was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings. He followed his philosophies of nonviolence, sarvodaya and self service. However, Bhave was severely criticised because of his blind loyalty towards Gandhi.
- Vinoba Bhave was an eminent scholar, thinker, and writer who produced numerous books. He translated the Bhagavad Gita into Marathi.
- V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi.Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following of the Congress party was also severely critised.



11.11 FURTHER READING

1) Indian Political Thought, Urmila Sharma, S.K Sharma; 2001.
2) Indian Political Thought - Prof. Mahendra P. Singh; Pearson ;2001



11.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans To Q. No. 1 : Vinoba Bhave was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11,1895. Named Vinayak Narahari Bhave at birth, he was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya'. Vinayaka was the eldest son of Narahari Shambhu Rao and Rukmini Devi. The couple had five children – four sons and one daughter, named Vinayaka (affectionately called Vinya),

Balakrishna, Shivaji and Dattatreya. His two brothers, Balkoba Bhave and Shivaji Bhave, remained bachelors devoted to social work. His father, Narahari Shambhu Rao was a trained weaver with a rationalist modern outlook, and worked in Baroda. Vinayaka was brought up by his grandfather, Shamburao Bhave and was greatly influenced by his mother Rukmini Devi.

Ans To Q. No. 2 : Bhave started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He was inspired to start this after talking to 40 poor harijan families. The mission of this movement was to persuade wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a percentage of their land to lower castes. Bhave walked across India on foot, to persuade landowners to give up a piece of their land By this process, Vinoba Bhave aimed at changing mindsets to make possible a peaceful transference of ownership of land to the landless and thus, prevent a bloody revolution. He had once declared that his aim was to bring about a three-fold revolution of a change in people's hearts; a change in their lives; and thirdly, change in the social structure. He, thus believed that the Bhoodan movement to be primarily a moral movement for the regeneration of people and the reorientation of the social and economic values of life.

Ans To Q. No. 3 : Vinoba Bhave's religious outlook was very broad and it synthesized the truths of many religions. This is very much evident in one of his hymns "Om Tat" which contains symbols of many religions. Vinoba observed and tried to understand the life of the average Indian living in a village and tried to find solutions for the problems he faced with a firm spiritual foundation. This formed the core of his Sarvodaya Movement. His slogan -Jay Jagat i.e. "victory to the world" finds reflection in his views about the world as a whole. Bhave was of the view to think one for a whole. He sought to solve the problems of the world with solutions with an essence of spirituality.

Ans To Q. No. 4 : Bhave was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings. He followed his philosophies of nonviolence, sarvodaya and self service. It is believed that Vinoba took the decision of leaving his higher studies after reading a newspaper article by Mahatma Gandhi. Eventually, a series of letters exchanged between them and Gandhi advised Vinoba to come for a personal meeting at Kochrab Ashram in Ahmedabad . Vinoba met Gandhi on 7 June 1916 and subsequently abandoned his studies. He participated with keen interest in the activities at Gandhi's ashram, like teaching, studying, spinning and improving the life of the community. Over the years, the bond between Vinoba and Gandhi grew stronger and his involvement in constructive programs related to Khadi, village industries, new education, sanitation and hygiene kept on increasing.

Ans To Q. No. 5 : V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi. Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following to the Congress party was also severely unpopular among others. Bhave hugely supported the emergency imposed by the then prime minister, Indira Gandhi calling it Anushasana Parva(Time for Discipline). By this he meant everyone to follow the rule including the rulers of that time. Congress party opponents at that time had coined the derogatory term "Sarkari Sant (Government Saint)" to describe him. Noted Marathi writer Purushottam Laxman Deshpande publicly criticised him and mocked him by writing an article titled as "Vanaroba" which is disambiguation of name "Vinoba" and literally means monkey.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : The Brahma Vidya Mandir is one of the ashrams that Bhave created for women in order to make them self-sufficient and independent. This community uses Gandhi's beliefs about food production, which includes sustainability and social justice. This community was greatly influenced by the Bhagavad Gita

and performed prayers every day, reciting from the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita.

As of today, there are around 25 women who are members of the community and several men have also been allowed to join in the community. Since its founding in 1959, members of this community have dealt with the struggle of translating Gandhian values such as self-sufficiency, nonviolence and public service into specific practices of food production and consumption. One narrative described by the community and the farmers that work with them is that large-scale agriculture is inevitable and hence the sole possibility of feeding the world is important. They reject the narrative that success in agriculture comes from expensive technology and puts efforts in use of counter narrative technology on enacting alternate agriculture practices and social practices that were believed by woman back in the 1960s.



11.13 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name one literary work of Bhave.

Q 2 : What is the basic slogan of Bhave's religious philosophy?

Q 3 : When was the Bhoodan movement being started?

Q 4 : Explain in brief about Bhave's religious philosophy.

Q 5 : How did Vinoba's mother influence his ideals?

Q 6 : What is the Brahma Vidya Mandir? How did it get developed?

Q 7 : Write a note on the Bhoodan movement.

Q 8 : Critically examine the contributions of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to the development of Indian political thought.

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UNIT 12 : RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Lohia's Ideas on Socialism and Gandhism

12.4 Lohia's Concept of International Society

12.5 Let Us Sum Up

12.6 Further Reading

12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.8 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit 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
- examine his role in post independent India.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Ram Manohar Lohia has been one of the most original and ingenious modern Indian thinkers. He occupies a distinctive place not only among the Indian thinkers, specifically for his contribution to socialist thought. He can be described as an intellectual, an activist as well as a prominent figure in the politics of his times. He played instrumental roles in the politics of the country both before and after independence.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was born at Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh on the 23rd of March, 1910 and he passed away on the 12th of October, 1967. He

completed his higher education from Banaras Hindu University and Calcutta University and then went on to obtain his Doctorate from the University of Berlin.

He was strongly influenced by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx. Lohia was not only an intellectual but he was a very proactive political activist as well. He had mobilized Indians on various occasions both within the country and also when outside it. He had formed the Association of European Indians. He had joined the Indian National Congress and had established the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. He was also elected as the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in 1936. He was highly involved in the Indian national freedom struggle and had been imprisoned about twenty times, for his various efforts and initiatives. Not only this, he even tried to create awareness and awakening among the Indians through his writings on Satyagraha and freedom.

In the post independence period also he continued with zeal and rigour to serve his motherland. He took the lead for building a dam on river Paniyari, which would be called the 'Lohia Sagar Dam'. He also founded the 'Hind Kisan Panchayat' to provide solutions to the problems of the Indian peasants.

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

12.3 LOHIA'S IDEAS ON SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

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.[1]

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 Gandhismin 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.

Thus, following in this line of thought, Lohia did not envision any contradiction between the individual and society. He also believed that the individual was both the ends and the means.

Lohia perceived of socialism in a unique way. His presidential address entitled, "The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism", to the Panchamarhi Convention of the Socialist Party in1952 is considered to be among the most refined political speeches in post-independent India.

Lohia believed that, socialism was a newer doctrine than capitalism or communism.

Dr. Lohia is also credited with the evolution of the concept of Sapta Kranti or seven revolutions which included:

(i) Civil disobedience against violent revolutions

(ii) Economic equality

(iii) Abolition of castes

(iv) Emancipation of women

(v) National independence

(vi) An end to colour discrimination

(vii) The individual's freedom of thought which is free from coercion from collectives of any kind

Lohia had repeatedly asserted the importance of these seven revolutions in order to achieve what he had termed as 'New Socialism'. The development of the idea of SaptaKranti , tells us how Lohia had perceived of socialism. For him, individual and social ends were not part or distinct. Therefore, he had combined in his theory of SaptaKranti, not only the idea of emancipation of the country but also the idea of the emancipation of the individual. The incorporation of the revolutions against violent revolutions, abolition of castes, emancipation of women, racial discrimination and the freedom from coercion, reveals the dynamism in Lohia's thought.

Though Lohia drew a lot of inspiration from Gandhi and his thought, he was however aware of the fact that, Gandhism as a philosophy was not without fallacies. But at the same time, he considered Gandhism to be an open and flexible philosophy which could be improvised to fit the Indian experience of socialism.

He has also differentiated socialism from the concept of Sarvodaya. He had rejected the idea of Sarvodaya because it did not accommodate the idea of social change. It has to be noted that, Lohia had considered even socialism to be an open ended doctrine, as he outrightly rejected the of ideological straight jacketing.

Lohia was also well aware of the fact the ideology of socialism is largely Euro-centric as it had been developed in Europe and was based on European experiences. So he looked for alternative models of socialism and also did not become a part of any group within the Congress Socialist party. Lohia's entrenched misgivings about the derived models of socialism and his urge to discover alternative models of socialist action ultimately led him to indulge in a twofold intellectual venture i.e. first, of providing a methodical and elaborate critique of the largely western interpretations of socialism and secondly to explore other aspects like cultural and intellectual which could form the foundations of an indigenous model of socialism.[2]

Lohia was however against communism and regarded it as a perverse ideology based on centralization, violence and restriction of human freedom. Though he favoured Marxism, but he felt that communism would not be conducive to the Indian situation. Lohia was very particularistic and

specific about the model of socialism which he favoured for India. He did not approve of the idea of socialism as propagated by Nehru.

Lohia's experiment and experience of socialism in India is largely inspired by his fondness of Gandhi. He took Gandhi's ideas of decentralization and village government as founding principles of socialism in India. Thus, consequently the plethora of the programmes undertaken by the Socialist Party under the leadership of Lohia had focussed on arriving at economic equality in the different sectors of the economy. He wanted to resolve the issue of man-woman inequality and also eradicate the discrimination based on skin colour. He was also staunchly against economic inequality which was largely the result of capitalism.[3]

12.4 LOHIA'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

Lohia was an idealist and a humanist. His ideas on socialism were like already stated, a combination of spiritualism and materialism. He sought to place social concerns parallel with political concerns and it is from such an orientation that his idea of International society emerges.

He begins by agreeing with Gandhi that an international society is composed of nation states and that they are the dominant actors and they sustain the international society. However,Lohia was not content with that particular order of society. He perceived it to be highly stratified and hegemonic, where the hegemons dominate the peripheral nation-states. Thus, he had suggested a way of doing away with such a hegemonic order, he had a strategy which would help in ushering in a systematic global order and peace in the world. [4]

Lohia stated that, the international society is essentially composed of two parts or segments, these are- (a) the nation states and (b) mankind. Thus, he envisions that in the future, all the nation-states would come together and form one federal state and entire mankind would eventually become one political group. In this idea of Lohia, we find strong inclinations to Kant's idea of the same.[5]

Lohia goes on to state that the international society is historically divided between the hegemons and peripheral states. But he adds that such an order is not static and hegemonial powers keep changing according to the cycle of history. Thus, the foci of power and opulence derived from such a stance, shifts from one nation to another, over a period of time. But the prosperity is erratically dispersed as majority of states did not get, what a few strong states could achieved by means of their material and military power.[6]

He opined that though the cyclic motion would bring in prosperity to the nations, the movement of this cycle would be in the hands of the hegemon and thus, he felt the need to break away from this cycle in order to make the benefits of prosperity and opulence available to all mankind, irrespective of all factors. In this context, he had made explicit his aversion to the Cold War as well as he held it responsible for compromising the positions and claims of other states. This was mainly because, the two super-powers were so engrossed in their own conflicts that they did not heed to the grave problems of the international society, in which other states faced serious social, economic and political problems. Following from this, he felt that the economic system helped in breeding and sustaining inequality and injustice and that is why it had to be re-oriented and re-structured.[7]

He therefore strongly favoured the end of the Cold War and had declared that peaceful coexistence could never come if the two camps of the two super powers were not dismantled. Lohia rejected the idea of the nonexistence of a political process at international level which was and still is vital in order to address the global problems. He had asserted that some political processes should be initiated at the global level and that this initiative should be taken by both the developed countries of the West and the developing countries of the Third World. Lohia had suggested these ideas so as to create a global society for mankind.[8]

We can assess from the ideas and principles stated above that Ram Manohar Lohia was not only a great leader, politician, intellectual and an activist, but he was a visionary. He was a man who saw much ahead of his times. He did not only highlight problems and provide solutions, but he

tried to address the problems at their roots and undo them. His ideas for India and its development still hold ground and are still instrumental in taking ahead on the path of development. The incorporation of the themes of equality, development, socialism and world society, were and are still vital to make India a greater nation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Mention two major works of Ram Manohar Lohia.

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Q 2 : Write a note on Lohia's views on socialism.

.....

Q 3 : What do you mean by Lohia's views on SaptaKranti?

.....

Q 4 : What are the two parts of International Society as stated by Lohia?

.....



12.5 LET US SUM UP

- Ram Manohar Lohia has been one of the most original and ingenious modern Indian thinkers. He can be described as an intellectual, an activist as well as a prominent figure in the politics of his times. He played instrumental roles in the politics of the country both before and after independence.
- Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was born at Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh on the 23rd of March, 1910 and he passed away on the 12th of October, 1967.
- He was strongly influenced by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx. Lohia was not only an intellectual but he was a very proactive political activist as well. He had formed the Association of European Indians.

- He had joined the Indian National Congress and had established the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. He was also elected as the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in 1936.
- He was highly involved in the Indian national freedom struggle and had been imprisoned about twenty times, for his various efforts and initiatives.
- His major works include, *India,China, and Northern Frontiers, The Caste System : Hyderabad, Guilty Men of India's Partition, Foreign Policy, Marx, Gandhi and Socialism, Fragments of a World Mind.*
- Lohia was a staunch advocate of decentralized socialism also known as 'New Socialism'. 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 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.
- Lohia believed that, socialism was a newer doctrine than capitalism or communism. He is also credited with the evolution of the concept of *SaptaKranti* or seven revolutions.Lohia had repeatedly asserted the importance of these seven revolutions in order to achieve what he had termed as 'New Socialism'.
- He has also differentiated socialism from the concept of Sarvodaya. He had rejected the idea of Sarvodaya because it did not accommodate the idea of social change.
- Lohia was against communism and regarded it as a perverse ideology based on centralization, violence and restriction of human freedom. Though he favoured Marxism, but he felt that communism would not be conducive to the Indian situation. He did not approve of the idea of socialism as propagated by Nehru.

- Lohia was an idealist and a humanist. His ideas on socialism were like already stated, a combination of spiritualism and materialism.
- Lohia stated that, the international society is essentially composed of two parts or segments, these are- (a) the nation states and (b) mankind. Thus, he envisions that in the future, all the nation-states would come together and form one federal state and entire mankind would eventually become one political group.
- He strongly favoured the end of the Cold War and had declared that peaceful coexistence could never come if the two camps of the two super powers were not dismantled.
- Lohia rejected the idea of the nonexistence of a political process at international level which was and still is vital in order to address the global problems. He had asserted that some political processes should be initiated at the global level and that this initiative should be taken by both the developed countries of the West and the developing countries of the Third World. Lohia had suggested these ideas so as to create a global society for mankind.
- Ram Manohar Lohia was not only a great leader, politician, intellectual and an activist, but he was a visionary. The incorporation of the themes of equality, development, socialism and world society, were and are still vital to make India a greater nation.



12.6 FURTHER READING

1) Johari, J.C. - The Great Radical Humanist

2) Pantham, ed. Indian Political Thought.

3) Mehta, V. R., Foundations of Indian Political Thought, Manohar Publications, New Delhi,1986.

4) Varma,V.P., Modern Indian Political Thought, Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra, 2013

5) Gupta, R.C., Great Political Thinkers, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra, 2009-10.

12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Two major works of Lohia were: a) India,China, and Northern Frontiers, b)Marx, Gandhi and Socialism.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : 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. 3 : Dr.Lohia is credited with the evolution of the concept of SaptaKranti or seven revolutions. To him it is the combination of seven revolutions which include:

(i) Civil disobedience against violent revolutions

(ii) Economic equality

(iii) Abolition of castes

(iv) Emancipation of women

(v) National independence

(vi) An end to colour discrimination

(vii) The individual's freedom of thought which is free from coercion from collectives of any kind

Lohia had repeatedly asserted the importance of these seven revolutions in order to achieve what he had termed as 'New Socialism'. For him, individual and social ends were not part or distinct. Therefore, he had combined in his theory of SaptaKranti, not only the idea of emancipation of the country but also the idea of the emancipation of the individual.

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.



12. 8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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.

End Notes

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3. Jain, A. K. Gupta P., Economic Ideas of Lohia, Some Aspects, Mainstream Weekly Mainstream, VOL L, No. 14, march 24, 2012
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5. Ibid
6. Ibid
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UNIT - 13 AMARTYA SEN

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Development as Freedom

13.4 Missing Women

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.8 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to:

- explain the idea of development as freedom
- discuss the idea of 'missing women'
- analyse the short comings of the conventional ideas of development
- critically analyse women's lives and survival issues across different cultures.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

A celebrated academician, Amartya Sen has made immensely significant contributions to the discourses of the social sciences and economics. Born on the 3rd of November, 1933, in Manikganj, (presently in Bangladesh) of undivided India, Sen went on to become one of the most prominent economists and philosophers of international repute. He has written extensively on issues like welfare economics, social choice theory, economic and social justice, economic theories of famines, and indexes of the measure of well-being of citizens of developing countries. It

is also worth mentioning here that Sen is the first Asian to be awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998.

Sen has been a recipient of national and international awards for his works. He was presented the Bharat Ratna in 1999 for his work in welfare economics. He was also awarded the inaugural Charleston-EFG John Maynard Keynes Prize for his work on welfare economics in February 2015 in a reception at the Royal Academy in the UK. He was also the first non-American in history to be awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Barack Obama in 2012.

Though Sen's contribution to the academics has been immense, we are however going to deal with two of his core ideas – (a) Development as Freedom and. (b) Missing Women.

We intend to understand, how Sen has interwoven the understandings of society and politics through two of these core concepts.

13.3 DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

Amartya Sen's talk on freedom, is a very viable one. He approaches freedom from a humanistic dimension, divorcing it form a rigid materialistic paradigm. He places and argues of development as the expansion of the other freedoms that people enjoy. According to Sen, the conventional paradigms of development understand the idea in terms of notions of gross national product, rise in personal income or industrialization, with technological progress or social modernization; but he adds that though these dimensions are parts of freedom, freedom simultaneously is also dependent on a plethora of other significant dimensions. These dimensions supersede the conventional models of development, and include the concepts like –social and economic arrangements, civil and political rights, which have a great role to play in development of the individual as well as of the society.

For Sen, development is actually freedom, which is envisaged as emancipation from all kinds and dimensions of 'unfreedoms'. He talks about, freeing people and society from 'unfreedoms' like poverty, tyranny, poor

economic opportunities, systematic economic deprivations, neglect of public facilities, and even of the notions like intolerance and or the overarching influence of repressive states. Sen basically comes up with such an understanding of freedom, because he states that, even in this apparent stage of development, masses of people are denied or refused their basic elementary freedoms or liberties; and when people do not have access to their basic freedoms or liberties, what is the entire point of development?

Sen, explains 'unfreedom' would mean different deprivations for different people – for some it would mean deprivation from basic economic needs, for some the deprivation of the food, for others the deprivation from basic medical facilities and to some others again, to be properly clothed or to have access to sanitation and basic hygiene. In other variations it could mean denial or political and civil liberties, imposed restrictions and repressive state influences.

The entire idea that Sen tries to bring to the forefront is that – development as a process should supplement freedom, not restrict it. And that is why he phrases his idea quite aptly as — Development as freedom.

Sen further elucidates his idea by highlighting that, freedom is indispensable and central to development because of two primary reasons:

(i) The Evaluative Reason

(ii) The Effectiveness Reason

The **Evaluative Reason** suggests that progress has to be brought forth in such a way that the existing freedoms of people are enhanced. This means that development as a phenomenon has to be assessed on its evaluative capacity. The **Effectiveness Reason** again suggests that, the achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the agency of the people. Sen states that there is an interconnection between these two aspects which together establish the idea of development as freedom. He goes on to say that 'free agency' is a constitutive part of development, and that it contributes to the strengthening of other agencies, because there is a vital connection between individual freedom and the achievement of social development.

Sen's core of focus is basically on the substantive dimension of freedom. He goes beyond the aspects like GNP and income and concentrates on social and political freedoms like, liberty of political participation and dissent, opportunities to receive basic education etc. because, there are among the "constituent components" of development. The main reason being that, these substantive aspects are inevitable in bringing about and enhancing economic development, which in most cases qualifies as the mainstream understanding of the same.

Sen illustrates his ideas by examples. One example that he uses is that, the African Americans in the United States are relatively poorer than the American whites, though at the same time, they are much richer than the people in the Third World. However, Sen asserts and highlights that these African-Americans have an absolutely lower chance of attaining mature ages than people in most of the Third World countries like, India or Sri-Lanka. This example is used by Sen to critique the development analysis or perspective, which does not paint the real picture due to the existence of such 'inter-group contrasts' in the richer countries, which again is a very important dimension of understanding development and underdevelopment.

Sen also talks about economic 'unfreedom'. Sen begins by explaining that markets have been a crucial part of the development process; but it would be a mistake to assess the market in derivative terms only, as he states that, as highlighted by Adam Smith, the freedom to indulge in exchange, transaction or business for that matter is a significant constituent of the basic liberties of the individual.

So basically and essentially Sen's idea of development as freedom is to envisage development as an inclusive concept, that incorporates and integrates social, economic and political considerations. Such an approach to development is a broad one that interlinks many different institutions like markets, market-related organizations, government, local authorities, political parties, civic organizations, educational institutions and ways and means of open expression and debate as well as discussion for the people. Such an integrated model of development will help the people and society to concede social values and norms that impact the freedoms that people

enjoy and cherish. Sen emphasises can be vital in influencing gender equity, child care, family size, fertility patterns, treatment of the environment, corruption, and even the ideas of trust in economic, social and political relationships.

To further expand the understanding of his idea, Sen introduces the idea of institutional and instrumental freedoms. For him, five freedoms are instrumental, particularly from the perspective of empirical studies and these are:

(a) Political freedoms

(b) Economic facilities

(c) Social opportunities

(d) Transparency guarantees

(e) Protective security

According to Sen, each of these aspects of freedom help in enhancing the general ability of a person and that these aspects often complement each other. Sen talks of these aspects in terms of institutions because they are related or expressed by means of certain institutions in the society.

The idea of development as freedom is vital especially in the contemporary world, because, freedoms as Sen states are not only the primary ends of development, but they are also its principal means. Sen tries to reconcile the empirical connections and valuational priorities for constructing a holistic and sustainable idea of development, that is development as freedom.

13.4 MISSING WOMEN

In December, 1990 Amartya Sen, wrote an article in the *New York Review of Books*, entitled *"More than 100 Million Women are Missing*" which raised an extremely significant issue of women missing, especially from the Asian countries. The idea of this article was to highlight the worsening sex ratio of the women especially in the developing countries. The idea as Sen talks about, to be put simply was rooted in the gross neglect and

negligence towards the women. He had estimated that about a hundred million women were missing primarily due to gender discrimination.

Sen had assessed that cultural differences are primary for such a phenomenon. The preference for boys over girls, and other traditions which establish the apparent superiority of boys are responsible for this.

Some investigative and subsequent data work undertaken by Anderson and Ray revealed that excessive female mortality is established as a more universal phenomenon which is true for all age groups in the countries like India and China. They provided comprehensive breakdown of the missing women by their ages and cause of death and a predominantly ominous analysis was that the fraction of excess female deaths from "intentional injuries" or reported violence was distressingly high in India.

Sen also compares this disparity in the number of women in this part of the world with the European countries. He states that —

"Women outnumber men substantially in Europe, the US, and Japan, where, despite the persistence of various types of bias against women (men having distinct advantages in higher education, job specialization, and promotion to senior executive positions, for example), women suffer little discrimination in basic nutrition and health care. The greater number of women in these countries is partly the result of social and environmental differences that increase mortality among men, such as a higher likelihood that men will die from violence, for example, and from diseases related to smoking. But even after these are taken into account, the longer lifetimes enjoyed by women given similar care appear torelate to the biological advantages that women have over men in resisting disease. Whether the higher frequency of male births over female births has evolutionary links to this potentially greater survival rate among women is a question of some interest in itself.Women seem to have lower death rates than men at most ages whenever they get roughly similar treatment in matters of life and death." (Sen, 1990)

The idea was to make a comparison of situations of the women in the European countries and the developing world. The above paragraph describing the women in the European countries tells us that, the situation

there is quite different from the situation of the women in Asia and North Africa. Here women become victims to lack of proper health care and medical facilities, lack of food and nutritional values and the like, thus, taking their death rates higher than the men of these regions.

This problem was thus identified as one of the most serious issues of the developing world in the contemporary times. The idea was to motivate initiatives to resolve or at least to attempt to resolve this problem by means of public policy and political action.

In the case of India, it was identified that the primary reason for female mortality was female infanticide, which again led to gross imbalance in the juvenile sex ratios. The alarming part is that, though it is generally assumed that female infanticide is a local practice which is on a declining trend, studies however suggest otherwise. It was been found by researchers that the practice has been on an increase in the northern and the western provinces, in the clustered populations of the southern provinces, and further into new geographic regions and has proliferated from among the Brahmins to the Rajputs.

Sen's idea of the missing women is to basically capture the cumulative impact of the multiple layers of deprivation that women face during the lifetimes, which diminishes them in person and also physically diminishes their numbers.

Thus, very significantly, he refutes the much popular and often proclaimed belief that – women constitute half the world's population – is a myth and that in reality the number of women is actually much lesser than the men. Sen indulges in a critical analysis of the problem at hand and reveals that the status of the women, is not always dependent on economic reasons or economic prosperity of the countries in which they are located. Rather he states that social structures are more imperative in this regard. As it is the social circumstances that shape and perpetuate gender discrimination in society.

Sen does take help of statistics to establish his facts and arguments. This has to be done in order to assess the real magnitude and dimension of the problem.

In 1990, Sen estimated there were as many as 100 million missing women. A quarter century later, the 2014 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) findings were close to Sen's: over 90 million women were found to be missing around the world. About 80% of these missing women were from India and China (OECD Development Centre, 2014). Other assessments by the UNFPA (2012) based on 2010 demographic surveys had found that the number of missing women had crossed 117 million.

In India, the recently conducted 2011 Census revealed a worrying trend in the child sex ratios with only 914 females for 1,000 males, a drop from 927 in 2001. The number of sex-selective abortions of girls had increased from 3.1 to 6 million in the 2000s

Again, in a survey conducted in rural China, 36% of married women revealed that they had undergone sex-selective abortions. In 2007, China had approximately 42.6 million missing women (SIGI website). While remaining extremely high, numbers of missing women seem to have fallen in China and more generally in the East Asia and Pacific region since 2012 (OECD Development Centre, 2014).

(http://www.wikigender.org/wiki/missing-women/ retrieved 10.5.17)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1 : Describe the concept of Evaluative and Effective reason given by Sen.

.....

Q 2 : Mention the five freedoms that are necessary for enhancing general ability of a person.

.....

Q 3 : Mention a few works of Sen.

.....



13.5 LET US SUM UP

- A celebrated academician, Amartya Sen has made immensely significant contributions to the discourses of the social sciences and economics.
- He has written extensively on issues like welfare economics, social choice theory, economic and social justice, economic theories of famines, and indexes of the measure of well-being of citizens of developing countries.
- Sen is the first Asian to be awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998. Sen has been a recipient of national and international awards for his works.
- He was presented the Bharat Ratna in 1999 for his work in welfare economics. He was also awarded the inaugural Charleston-EFG John Maynard Keynes Prize for his work on welfare economics in February 2015 in a reception at the Royal Academy in the UK. He was also the first non-American in history to be awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Barack Obama in 2012.
- For Sen, development is actually freedom, which is envisaged as emancipation from all kinds and dimensions of 'unfreedoms'. He talks about, freeing people and society from 'unfreedoms' like poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systematic economic deprivations, neglect of public facilities etc.
- Amartya Sen's ideas thus, as we understand reveal a deeply entrenched humanistic basis. Both of his ideas that we studied here shows us how he has tried to highlight and deal with some core social and economic issues of the contemporary times. Sen has rightly highlighted the coherent and comprehensive meaning of development in his idea of development as freedom. Similarly, he has also once again raised an extremely significant issue in his thesis of the missing women.

- As an economist, he has tried to understand the problem in its social and economic perspectives and has highlighted in both stances that, economy does not function in isolation and that society and the social structure are equally significant determinants of social as well as economic phenomenon. Thus, to deal with such contemporary problems, changes need to come at the institutional level, in terms of measures like policy changes and political action to usher in a more egalitarian and humanistic basis to our societies.



13.6 FURTHER READING

1) Sen, Amartya, The Idea of Justice, (2009), Harvard University Press.
2) Sen and Dreze, Hunger and Public Action, 1989, Oxford University Press.



13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No.1 : The **Evaluative Reason** suggests that progress has to be brought forth in such a way that the existing freedoms of people are enhanced. This means that development as a phenomenon has to be assessed on its evaluative capacity. The **Effectiveness Reason** again suggests that, the achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the agency of the people. Sen states that there is an interconnection between these two aspects which together establish the idea of development as freedom. He goes on to say that 'free agency' is a constitutive part of development, and that it contributes to the strengthening of other agencies, because there is a vital connection between individual freedom and the achievement of social development.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Amartya Sen forwarded five freedoms that are instrumental and helpful in enhancing the general ability of a person. These are :

(a) Political freedoms

(b) Economic facilities

(c) Social opportunities

(d) Transparency guarantees

(e) Protective security

According to Sen, each of these aspects of freedom help in enhancing the general ability of a person and that these aspects often complement each other.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Amartya Sen has written extensively on issues like welfare economics, social choice theory, economic and social justice, economic theories of famines, and indexes of the measure of well-being of citizens of developing countries.



13.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Critically examine Amartya Sen's concept of Development as a Freedom.

Q 2 : Discuss Sen's views on Missing Women.

Q 3 : Analyse the contributions of Amartya Sen to the development of Indian political thought.

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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 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.12 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

- present a brief profile of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's life
- analyse his contribution to the socio-cultural and political life of Assam
- discuss his views on humanism and nationalism
- describe his role in the freedom struggle of India.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury is an unmatched personality in the social life of Assam. He was addressed as "Assam Kesari" (The lion of Assam) by the people as he was a great patriot who continuously ignited the spirit of nationalism among the people of Assam. Born towards the end of 19th century, he is one of those nationalists who was ready to sacrifice in the

name of the country. There is unerasable memory of Ambikagiri as a protector of 'jati- mati aaru manuh'(nation,territorial sovereignty and indigenous people). His thought and philosophy was international with unmatchable adherence to Assamese nationalism. According to him, for ultimate development of the human personality, what is necessary is 'the feeling of nationalism (*jatiatabad*), super nationalism(*mahajatiyatabad*), and global humanism (*biswamanabatabad*). In the interest of making the world a place where all can live peacefully and harmoniously free from all clashes, he requested the '*viswakarmakar*' to act as a sweeper (jharudar). Such a contribution of him was possible only because of his unmatched love for and trust in the people. (Baishya .T.2013)

14.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY'S EARLY LIFE

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was an eminent writer, poet, humanist,social activist , nationalist and many more. He was born on 18 December, 1885, in the district of Barpeta (Assam). He was the second son of Krishnaram Raichoudhury and Daiboki Devi.Girish Chandra, one of the active members in India's freedom struggle was his elder brother followed by sisters (Rohini and Laskmi). He lost his father in 1892 only to leave his mother alone with the only alternative to move to her maternal home with her children in Sundardiya (Barpeta).Their maternal uncle Damodar Dev Adhikari took the responsibility of the family after Krishna Ram Choudhury. Under his guidance only Ambikagiri started his primary education and crossed his primary schooling with merit scholarship. For his high school education, he moved to Guwahati in 1899. Here he was fortunate to meet Kamalakanta Bhattacharjee and Haribilash Agarwal. He studied in Sonaram High School along with his cousin Harmohan Choudhury. He received education from Goalpara and Sivasagar also. However, most of the time he was in Guwahati. He was a full grown matured individual and was interested in keeping himself physically fit. He had the practice of regular exercise and he even went to 'Bibhovananda Byayamsala' in Panbazar.

From his childhood onwards, he was trained in music by his mother and maternal uncle. In later years he started professional training in music under Hindustani classical music. During his school days (Cotton Collegiate High School) only he directed dramas like 'Bandini Bharat Mata' which showed his inclination towards Assamese culture. He was a culturally rich intellectual which led to numerous literary works in the later years of his life. However, during this period only the Swadeshi Andolan broke out and his schooling was hampered. Above all, he was a great human being and that is evident from his experiences of rescuing one girl from drowning in Brahmaputra. He also treated one injured boatman found thrown in, on the bank of Brahmaputra. During that time he created a number of poetries like 'Tumi', 'Beena', 'Anubhuti'; prose collections like 'Jogotor Hex Adorkho aru Biswasanti' 'Sthapanar Upaai'. In 1908, he established 'Sanatan Sangeet Samaj' in order to minimize the influence of Bengali culture in dramas of Assam . For that reason he even directed Assamese dramas like 'Joyodrath Bodh' 'Bhokto Gourav', 'Kolyanmoyee', etc. In 1914, he was appointed as Assistant Editor of 'Axom Bandhob' in Dibrugarh. His creations of prose and poetry during house arrest was published only in 1915. In 1916 he got associated with the formation of Assam Sahitya Sabha. In 1917 he returned to Guwahati and launched an editorial venture 'Chetana'in 1918. At the same time, when Gandhiji's ideology was gaining ground in the whole of India, he became inspired by the idea of non-violent sataygraha. By 1920, when Assam Association started to work under the umbrella of Congress, Ambikagiri played a pro-active role as a member of the association. He was even jailed for being a part of the non-cooperation movement. In the jail itself he created 'jail sangeet' which he later named as 'songs of the cell'. In 1923 when he was released from jail he married Kausailya Devi ,daughter of Kalicharan Choudhury. In later years he had to his credit a number of activities which include :

- 1924 – jailed for creation of revolutionary prose 'satadhar' - , active participation in congress conferences, membership to sangeet sakha, creation of patriotic songs like ' Bande Ki Chandaere'.
- 1930 – establishment of 'Swadeshi Kinok Sangha' and Mayabini Chemicals.
- 1935 – published 'Deka Axom'.

- 1936 – transforming Axom Sangrakhini Sabha to 'Axom Jatiya Mahasabha'.
- 1939 – establishment of 'Axom Siksah Samiti'(popularizing Assamese language among non Assamese)
- 1942 – policy publication like 'Deka-Dekerir Ved' and 'Swadhin Panchayat Rastrogothonor prathomik achoni' (Primary for Scheme independent Panchayat State)
- 1946-47- Mobilising public opinion against the Grouping Plan under Cabinet Mission and establishment of 'Atmorokhya Bahini.'
- 1950 – appointed as president to Assam Sahitya Sabha (Margherita), joining 'Bharatia Sanskriti Sangam'(Delhi); establishing 'Axom Sanskriti Sangam' and pressurizing government to celebrate a 'state language day'.
- 1951 – joint director to 'Sahitya Manjari'.
- 1952 – publication of editorial in 'Chetana', 'Deka Axom', 'Ahuti', etc.
- 1954 – elected as president to Chatra Parishad in Goalpara.
- 1958 – release of the song 'Bande Ki Chandaere' and 'Sthapankar'.
- 1960 – sacrificed literary pension.
- 1964 – published 'Bedonar Ulka'(recipient of Sahitya Akademy Award)
- 1965 – publication of poetry collection ' Dekhei Bhogoban'
- On 2 January, 1967 , he breathed his last. After his death he received Sahitya Academy Award for his work 'Bedonar Ulka'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : How was Ambikagiri Raichoudhury famously known as?

.....

Q 2 : Name Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's work for which he was awarded the Sahitya Akademy Award?

.....

14.4 LITERARY CONTRIBUTION OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was a renowned lyricist, poet, author, journalist, untiring freedom fighter who contributed immensely to the literary world of Assam. Ambikagiri, through his poetry, prose, songs and dramas, tried to arouse the feelings of nationalism among the mass people and inspire them to resist injustice and imperialism. Ambikagiri divided his creations into spiritual, cultural and political types, which he has named as 'Tri-Chetana'. His creation was influenced by the idea of patriotism and nationalism. As regards to the creation of his songs he was highly influenced by the cultural environment, national history and traditions, life of the individuals in the society and the contemporary social system. His mother had a great hand in his inclination towards the creation of songs. He was a great dramatist and tried to create Assamese drama to challenge the influence of Bengali language in dramas of Assam. He created full length Assamese dramas like 'Joyodrath Bodh', 'Bhokto Gaurav', 'Kolyanmoyee', 'Biplobar Hex', 'Dhunpesh', 'Biswanatya', 'Swarga-Martya aru Dak Bibhag'.

He was also a journalist of repute and had been contributing to this field for over 40 years. In 1918, he edited and published 'Chetana', a monthly magazine in collaboration with Chandranath Sarma (Source:indianculture.govt.in). As a debutant journalist, he published 'Axom Bandhab'. All of his publications carried the message of national consciousness and humanism. It helped in accelerating the pace of freedom movement in Assam in particular and India in general.

14.5 AMABIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY AND INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

- **Ambikagiri on Spreading of National Consciousness**

Assam Kesari Ambikagiri Raichoudhury is intertwined in the social and political life of India. His contribution is on the other hand greatly influenced by his ideology. Ambikagiri was born and brought up in the back drop of India freedom struggle. As an Assamese he was deeply influenced by the

Partition of Bengal during his stay in Guwahati. He was an active participant of Bongo-Bhongo Andolan. During this period only he phrased out the famous saying 'byakti premotkoi deshprem mohiyan' i.e love for the nation is immeasurable and much more important than love for the individual. Simultaneously with Bengal Partition, India's freedom struggle entered a new phase of extremism.

During the period from 1908 to 1914, Ambikagiri evolved as a strong Assamese nationalist figure fighting the Britishers as well as asserting Assamese nationlaism through his Literary contributions. During this period he utilized his time by authoring a number of books which include 'Tumi', ''Joyodrath Bodh', Bhokto Gaurav'. He tried to develop a kind of cultural consciousness among the population. Taking that in mind he authored and directed dramas like 'Joyodrath Bodh' so as to create a kind of cultural consciousness through which the Assamese culture can be preserved. He realized that the rejuvination of Assamese culture was the urgent need of the hour in view of the fact that Bengali 'Jatra Natak' had become famous in Barpeta , the influence of which was to be curbed any how because the the people of Barpeta had started to use Bengali language not only in the dramas but also in their day-to- day lives. So, there was an urgent need to assert the distinctiveness of Assamese culture. Hence , Ambikagiri directed two dramas to restore people's admiration for Assamese plays and to ignite their passion for staging and watching Assamese plays as a counter to the growing Bengali influence. So, he very effectively inspired the people of Assam through his contribution to Assamese literature, poetry and drama. However, while asserting the spirit of Assamese nationalism, Ambigiri Raichoudhury was full of great compassion and humanism. He was always compassionate towards all human beings. His definition of national consciousness is all encompassing and it reads as :

"All forms of society carries social problems. In order to address those problems, the inhabitants create a unified whole to address and fulfill the collective interest of the society. This collective interest is considered as a general belonging or a common property of the society. It is owned in general. So the ultimate aim of that society is preservation, protection and

development of that common property. In order to do so the society stays united. This process of the unified whole for protection and preservation of the collective interest takes the form of 'concentrated national consciousness(*ghonibhuto jatio chetana*)'. This national consciousness accompanied by socio-economic factors is the creator of nationalism.

- **Ambikagiri on Nationalism**

The Swadeshi Movement and the freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi had had a great influence uopn Ambikagiri Rainchoudhury. . India passed through a series of events from 1908 – 1936 which increased the national consciousness to a different level. These evenets include the Morley–Minto Reforms, Partition of Bengal, Home Rule movement, the Lucknow Pact, implementation of the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwalabagh massacre, etc. Simulteneously, Assam also witnessed a series of events . Ambikagiri joined the crusaders to protect Assamese nationalism . He tried to uphold the interest of the Assamese populace by seeking the cooperation of the Assamese middle class. So he tired to build a strong socio-political structure for the preservation of Assamese culture and identity. He worked out this plan with the help of Assam Association. Changes to the demographic pofile of Assam due to migration and economic transformation was throwing up a big challenge. So the concern for preservation of Assamese national life was of utmost importance. So, Ambikagiri's works were dedicated to the national interest. He tried to accommodate the larger national consciousness of the people as a whole with Assamese national consciousness. Such an accommodation led to formation of association like 'Axom Hangrakhini Sabha'. During 1920-1930 due to acute demographic trasition in Assam, Assam Association undertook a number of activities to generate national consciousness among the Assamese population. Ambikagiri was one of the soldiers of this brigade and the speech he delivered during the Swadeshi and Boycott movement had a mesmerizing effect on the masses in general. During this period , the Assamese middle class played a very important role. His influential thoughts were available in the form of editorial in 'Chetona' and 'Deka Axom'. His cultural contribution carried the seeds of political thinking. While writing on the general trend and process of nation building in 'Ahuti' he defined nation as,

"A nation is where the same thought process, language, social customs and traditions, social behavior, habitual existence, food, dress connected with the same climatic conditions and natural environment and bearing the same feeling of humanism prevails".

He is of the opinion that one of the determinants of nationalism is language and not religion because national soul and national interest is intertwined within the idea of diverse language and culture of a society. In India also it is one of the key determinants of nationalism. He felt that Assam should be a part of India's great unified nationalist force aimed at producing a totality of national life. Ambikagiri was of the view that national culture is formed by harnessing the self power of the nation and nationality which provide the confidence, trust, sense of belonging and pride in being a part of a particular nationality. He also opines that the ultimate aim of culture is cultural consciousness. Diverse culture is also one of the determinants of national culture. There exist a close relationship in between national culture and language, and both act as protector of both. Consciousness for preservation of language leads to integration of culture. One of the prerequisites for that, however, is that political freedom is of utmost necessity. In relation to nationalism, he further talked about "self-protective systematized unification" (*atmorokhyamulak shringkholito honggoboddho*). The preconditions for such unification are –social policy, economy, politics, agriculture,industry, commerce, science, literature, etc. Only with the support of these ingredients the highway for nationalism can be constructed. They also bear the seeds of 'right to self –determination'. In his opinion, culture and language are the founding stone for right to self determination of the small nationalities.

In order to explain Indian Nationalism, Ambikagiri Raichoudhury used the term 'mahajatiyatabad'(grand nationalism) and 'hanmilitojatiyotabad' (confederative nationalism). He used that particular term because history of India does not hold the evidence of a one language, one nation concept. India was no way united prior to the coming of the Britishers. From ancient time onwards there exist though one religion but diverse language and nationality. Patches of regional nationalities were available. Therefore,

according to him , 'India is not a nation, it is a continent'. It is constituent of different states. Each and every state is unique in its language, culture, social structure, traditions and customs. Together they constitute 'bharat' .So India is called a 'continent of the grand Indian nationality' (bharatiamohajatir mohadekh). Whatever had been opined by Ambikagiri Raichoudhury, was relevant to the situation of Assam and India during that period. During that time national interest and conscience in general and regional interest and conscience in particular were integrated. Ambikagiri talked about a united India instead of one India. In political terms, he was referring towards a pure and total federal structure. He even said that if regional aspirations are not addressed parallel to Indian aspirations, India will toil under perpetual conflict resulting in a fragmented society. His contentions have been seen to be relevant in post Independent India. He was of the opinion that Greater Assamese nationality is a branch of Indian Nationalism. However, the full development of Assamese nationalism is equally necessary within the framework of Indian nationalism. Both types of nationalism are complementary to each other rather than being opposed to each other. If this integration can be continued then it will give birth to the concept of grand humanism (*mohamanobota*). In the next sub-section, we will be discussing on Ambika's grand humanism and its contribution to Assamese society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : In which journal did Ambikagiri Raichoudhury work as a debutant journalist?

.....

Q 4 : Explain the term 'Mohajatiyatabad'?

.....

.....

14.6 AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY AND HUMANISM

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was on the path of establishing '*mohamanobota'(*grand humanism). According to him at the confluence of grand nationalism, grand humanism takes birth. In relation to the concept

of grand humanism, he opined that one must understand oneself before understanding others. If it is not followed than mistake may happen in course of life. Therefore he suggested that at the first instance any activity should start from its own soil. If the feeling of patriotism starts from own soil enriched with life then it clears the path for realization of internationalism or world humanism(that which was talked about by people Gandhi and Tagore).

On the other hand, he was aware that every action has its equal and opposite reaction. So, the achievement of grand humanism will also have reactions. The confluence of nationalism where humanism will spring is not like Hitler's or Mussolini's aggressive nationalism. His nationalism is called' dialogue nationalism'(aloishyo jatiaotabad). Hence he talked about two types of nationalism :

1. Akramanatmok Jatiotabad (Aggressive Nationalism) .

2. Atmorokshyatmok Jatiotabad (Defensive Nationalism) .

He was of the opinion that the feeling of nationalism is temporary and suggested that aggressive nationalism should be avoided because it is devoid of humanism. It should be contained. In this connection, he talked said that India's freedom should be a humanist endeavour rather than a violent one. If freedom can be achieved in that spirit, it would lead to establishment of grand humanism accompanied by universal brotherhood and internationalism.

14.7 AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY ON FREEDOM AND STATE

Freedom to Ambikagiri Raichoudhury meant freedom from exploitation and liberty of the exploited masses. This freedom can be achieved if one follows the spiritual way of life. He envisioned an ideal state which will be known as 'Manabtantra' (Humanocracy).This state will be free from all bindings and it will make an effort to clear all obstacles in realization of humanism. In such a state that Swaraj can be best realized. For him ,like Mahatma Gandhi, freedom of India does not in any way mean the chasing away of the external forces but chasing away violence ,

selfishness, bloodshed, conflict, greediness, etc. By this way , a peaceful continent of true human beings can be established. According to him, freedom is a birth right and all of humanity is entitled to it. He was in favour of including the worker section and freedom of that section was his ultimate aim.

He was in favour of establishing a purely decentralized ,independent, federal state. He produced his ideas in 'Jogotor Hex Adorkho" 'Bhabisyat Rastra ba Manabtantra' 'Swadhin Panchayat aru Rastra Gathonir Asoni'. He named his state as 'Panchayat State' with a seven-tier system ultimately rolling down to the village level. The three main tiers of the state will be:

I. Independent Grand National Panchayat State Council-United India
II. Independent National Panchayat State Council-Regions India
III. Independent Sub Unit of Independent National Panchayat State Council

The basis of the state formation will be historical antecedents to language and culture. The grand national council will recognize and respect language, culture and traditions of the sub units. They will enjoy complete freedom of language, culture and socio-economic life. Every unit will function on the basis of their regional language. Anything outside the territorial boundary of this system will not be accepted. That is why it is opined that his philosophy of nationalism has regional sentiments and can be rightly called 'Philosophy of Regional Nationalism'. This philosophy is a combination of socialism and humanism against colonialism and imperialism.

14.8 AMBIKAGIRI VIEWS ON ASSAMESE NATIONALISM

Demographic composition of Assam, status of Assamese language, religious consciousness played a very important role in the growth of Assamese nationalism. He forwarded the definition of Assamese through the following sayings (as written in Ambikagiri Rachanaboli),

"Assamese is an important community within the greater community of Indian nationality. It has its own special characteristics, like other nationalities available in different regions in India. It is an amalgamation of Aryan, Dravidian, Mongolian civilizations and culture"

"There are numerous languages and dialects in Assam like Kachari, Khasi, Manipuri, Bodo, Naga, Garo, Mikir, Dafla etc. (spoken about undivided Assam, now Northeast India). There are small and big numerous dialects nurtured by indigenous soils together to form the greater Assamese language and culture".

According to Ambikagiri Raichoudhury, Assamese nationalism is not guided by any religious sentiments but one which is an integrated whole. "The Muslims in Assam differ in religion but not in nationality. Assamese nationality is the common possession of both Hindus and Muslims in Assam".

In achieving the goals of nationalism ,one element that plays a very proactive role is the political economy of that period of time. Ambikagiri Raichoudhury ponited out that the all round development of the Assamese populace was his ultimate aim. He laid emphasis on development of a polity and economy in Assam that would be based on the the language, culture and traditions of Assam. He was against the inflow of foreign capital and stressed on growth of national capital through banking system, farmers' associations, eradication of middle men system, co-operative and small scale industries, etc. So he wanted a self sufficient economy to grow. According to him, as per natural law, a nation is formed on the basis of language-culture-literature, thought process, behavior of the individuals, self sufficient society, ideology etc. Such a nation must be ready to face and withstand any political upheaveal. Ambikagiri Raichoudhury wanted to strengthen the foundation of Assam and Assamese nationalism. He was of the opinion that it was very essential that the Assamese national identity be preserved. A strong regional base would be possible only in a cooperative federal system where along with national unity, regional aspirations could also be addressed.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : What are the important types of nationalism that Ambikagiri Raichoudhury talked of ?

……

Q 6 : What does 'Mohamanobota' refer to?

……

……



14.9 LET US SUM UP

- Assam Kesari Ambikagiri was a multitalented personality with mastery in art ,literature, culture and Patriotism. Born in 1885, he contributed immensely towards Assamese nationalism and preservation of Assamese language and culture .
- He has to his credit literary contribution Tumi, Anubhuti, Bhokto Gourav and many more
- As an Assamese he was deeply influenced by Bengal partition during his stay in Guwahati. He was an active participant of Bongo-Bhongo Andolan. His personal life suffered to an extreme limit due to his die hard contribution to this andolan. During this period only he phrased out the famous saying 'byakti premotkoi desh prem mohiyan' i.e. love for the nation is immeasurable and much important than love for the individual.
- Ambikagiri joined the crusaders to protect Assamese nationalism . He tried to uphold the interest of the Assamese populace by securing the cooperation of the Assamese middle class.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was on the path of establishing '*mohamanobota'(*grand humanism). According to him at the confluence of grand nationalism, grand humanism takes birth.
- In the context of the concept of grand humanism, he opined that one must understand oneself before understanding others. If it is not followed than mistake may happen in course of life. Therefore

he suggested that at the first instance any activity should start from its own soil. If the feeling of patriotism starts from own soil enriched with life then it clears the path for realization of internationalism or world humanism(that which was talked about by people Gandhi and Tagore).

- He was in favour of establishing a purely decentralized ,independent, federal state. He produced his ideas in 'Jogotor Hex Adorkho" 'Bhabisyat Rastra ba Manabtantra' 'Swadhin Panchayat aru Rastra Gathonir Asoni'. He named his state as 'Panchayat State' with a seven-tier system ultimately rolling down to the village level.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury talked of Assamese nationalism as an integrated whole.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury wanted to strengthen the foundation of Assam and Assamese nationalism. He was of the opinon that it was very essential that the Assamese national identity be preserved.



14.10 FURTHER READING

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14.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK THE PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Assam Kesari.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : "Bedonar Ulka".

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Axom Bandhob.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : In order to explain Indian Nationalism, Ambikagiri Raichoudhury used the term 'mahajatiyatabad'(grand nationalism) and 'hanmilitojatiyotabad' (confederative nationalism). He used that particular term because history of India does not hold the evidence of a one language, one nation concept. India was no

way united prior to the coming of the Britishers. From ancient time onwards there exist though one religion but diverse language and nationality. Patches of regional nationalities were available. Therefore, according to him , 'India is not a nation, it is a continent'. It is constituent of different states. Each and every state is unique in its language, culture, social structure, traditions and customs. Together they constitute 'bharat' .So India is called a 'continent of the grand Indian nationality' (bharatiamohajatir mohadekh)

Ans to Q. No. 5 : (i) Akramanatmok Jatiotabad
(Aggressive Nationalism)
(ii) Atmorokyatmok Jatiotabad
(Defensive Nationalism)

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was on the path of establishing '*mohamanobota'(*grand humanism). According to him at the confluence of grand nationalism, grand humanism takes birth. In relation to the concept of grand humanism, he opined that one must understand oneself before understanding others. If it is not followed than mistake may happen in course of life. Therefore he suggested that at the first instance any activity should start from its own soil. If the feeling of patriotism starts from own soil enriched with life then it clears the path for realization of internationalism or world humanism(that which was talked about by people Gandhi and Tagore).



14.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Write a note on the literary contributions of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury.

Q 2 : Discuss Ambikagiri Raichoudhury views on Humanism and Assamese Nationalism.

Q 3 : Examine the role of Ambikagiri in the freedom struggle of India.

Q 4 : Explain Ambikagiri Raichoudhury opinion on freedom and state.

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