PGPS S1 03

Indian Political Thought

SEMESTER - I

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The third course of the First Semester of MA Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU is titled as “Indian Political Thought”. It is designed to help the learners to have a deep understanding of the various dimensions of the 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 is known as the father of Indian Political Thought and also known by the name ‘Chanakya’. 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 and fifth 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 fourth unit. Similarly, Nehru’s views on Nationalism, Democracy, Modernism and Internationalism are analysed in the fifth unit. The sixth unit deals with the political ideas of Madan Mohan Malaviya. This unit is related with the contributions of Malaviya as an educationist and social reformer, his views and role in freedom struggle and his views as a liberal Hindu nationalist. 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 Ambikagiri Raicoudhury’s ideas of humanism, freedom and state, Assamese nationalism, etc. along with his contributions to the freedom struggle of India. Subsequently, the ideas of Jyotiba Phule and B. R. Ambedkar are discussed in the ninth and tenth units respectively. Phule was a social reformer who contributed a lot towards the development of the Indian political thought. Phule’s views on religion, Indian economy, varna and caste system and solution to the Agrarian problem are analysed in unit nine. The views of another social reformer and the father of the Indian Constitution, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar are discussed in the tenth unit. 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 eleventh

unit deals with 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 twelve, 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 thirteenth 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 fourteenth 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 fifteenth unit deals with the concepts of Development as Freedom and Missing Women put forward by Amartya Sen.

The course "Indian Political Thought" is divided into two blocks- Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains seven units (Unit 1 - 7) and Block 2 contains eight units (Unit 8 - 15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK- 1

This is the first block of the third course of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's M. A. First Semester Programme in Political Science.The third course of the MA First Semester Programme in Political Science is titled as "Indian Political Thought". The first block of this course contains seven units- (Units 1-7).

The first unit introduces the learners with the political ideas of Manu and his contributions towards the development of political ideas in ancient India. The second unit of the course highlights the political ideas of Kautilya. In the third unit, the political ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy are explained including his views on BrahmoSamaj. Gandhi's views on Satya and Ahimsa, State, Satyagraha and perspective on Peace are discussed in the fourth unit. Similarly, Nehru's views on Nationalism, Democracy, Modernism and Internationalism are analysed in the fifth unit. The sixth unit deals with the political ideas and contributions of Madan Mohan Malaviya. 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.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that the units are further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW"after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You may then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. The section "FURTHER READING" in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are interested in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called "POSSIBLE QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

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 it 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. It is 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 deals. 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 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. Infact 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. Infact 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, Vaya (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 known as the father of Indian political thought, also known by the name Chanakya (350 – 275 BC) 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

d) Kosha-the treasury

e) Durga-the fort

f) Bala-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 (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-

h) 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.

i) 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, 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 Benaras. 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 1816, 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. 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 1816, 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

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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.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4 : M. K. GANDHI

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Satya and Ahimsa

4.4 Satyagraha- Scope and Significance.

4.5 Gandhian Perspective on Peace

4.6 Gandhian Perspective of the Nature of the State

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 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

4.2 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.

4.3 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).

……

4.4 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 equivalent 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.

...……..……

4.5 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.

4.6 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 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.



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.



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?

.....

.....

.....



4.7 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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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.

****

UNIT 5 : JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Nehru : A Brief Profile

5.4 The Ideas of Nehru

- 5.4.1 Nehru's Views on Nationalism
- 5.4.2 Nehru on Democracy
- 5.4.3 Nehru's Views on Modernism
- 5.4.4 Nehru's Views on Internationalism

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Reading

5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.8 Possible Questions

5.1 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

5.2 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.

5.3 NEHRU : A BRIEF PROFILE

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14th, 1889 in Allahabad 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. 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.

5.4 IDEAS OF NEHRU

5.4.1 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.

5.4.2 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).

……

……

……

……

5.4.3 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.

5.4.4 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 Pancha sila or the international amity and concord. In June 1, 1954, the fundamental concepts of Pancha sila were laid down in the course of join declaration by Nehru and Chou-En-Lai. They are:

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 Pancha sila 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.

.....……..…….....

.....…….....…….....



5.5 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.



5.6 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.

5.7 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 : Pancha sila

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.

5.8 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 6 : MADAN MOHAN MALLAVIYA

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Mallaviya as an educationist and social reformer

6.4 Political Views and Role in Freedom Struggle

6.5 Mallaviya as a Liberal-Hindu Nationalist

6.6 Critical Appreciation

6.7 Let Us Sum Up

6.8 Further Reading

6.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.10 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- understand Mallaviya's contribution to education, social reform as well as freedom struggle
- understand Mallaviya's views on politics
- comprehend Mallaviya as a Hindu nationalist
- critically evaluate Mallaviya's thoughts and ideas.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Indian freedom struggle, like many others across the world, have produced leaders of immense repute, caliber, and strength. From leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak who held the commands of the freedom movement in the initial phase, to Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru who commanded later on, each one of them and several other leaders have

contributed in their own unique style to India's independence. While the contribution of such leaders are well documented and is popular among the masses, few leaders who had also played their part in the freedom struggle in various capacities, remain ignored in history. One such leader of outstanding qualities is Pandit Madan Mohan Mallaviya, lovingly called 'Mahamana' by Gandhi. A multi-faceted and multi-talented leader, who combined in himself an educator, a social reformer, a lawyer, an exceptionally skilled orator, a writer and an editor of several newspapers, Mallaviya remains largely overlooked and neglected due to his Hindu nationalist tilt. The present unit is an attempt towards learning the various facets of Mallaviya, especially his political views, his work on social reform, contribution to freedom struggle and education, as well as his views as a Hindu nationalist.

Born in 1861 in Prayag (Allahabad) in an orthodox Hindu Brahmin family, Mallaviya was raised in a very traditional environment.The family had six children and was not very financially well off. His father, Pandit Brijnath Singh was a scholar of ancient Sanskrit texts who recited the 'Bhagavat Katha' for his living. Mallaviya initially joined a Mahajani school at the age of 5, after which he was shifted to a religious school, Dharma Gyanopadesh Pathsala, under Pandit Haradeva. This institution largely shaped his outlook on Hindu culture and religion. He later on went to Allahabad District School, where he wrote poems under the pen name 'Makarand'. Being from a poor family Mallaviya had to take up the job of a teacher after completion of his BA from Calcutta University. However, he later on pursued further studies in Law. The young Mallaviya portrayed his talent early in life in playing sitar and as a 'forceful speaker with excellent pronunciation'. (Tanwar, 2015)

He played an important role in the freedom struggle and also served as the President of Indian National Congress for four times between 1909-1933. In 1930, he participated in Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience and was even imprisoned for it. A believer in morality and ethics in public life, he had popularized *'Satyameva Jayate'* which implies into 'Truth only triumphs'. Mallaviya was awarded the Bharat Ratna, the highest awarded for civilians in India, by the government of India on 30 March 2015.

6.3 AS AN EDUCATIONIST AND SOCIAL REFORMER

Mallaviya is best known as an educationist who played a very important role in foundation of Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in Uttar Pradesh.The motivation behind establishing this university was 'essentially nationalist' as he believed that the other universities in the country, were producing intellectuals to help and perpetuate the British colonial rule.

In 1911, Mallaviya and Dr Annie Besant decided to work together towards building this university. Thus, the Hindu University Society was established with Maharaja Rameshwar Singh Bahadur as the president. The vision of the university was clear as the founders knew what they exactly wanted from this University. As opined by S.K. Maini, Vishwanath Pandey and K. Chandramouli in their book on Mallaviya : *Most of the leaders and nationalists had no specific ideas for the building up of a modern India. It was only leaders like [Gopal Krishna] Gokhale and Mallaviyaji who thought of education as the basic foundation for this huge task. The finest example of his vision can be seen in the wonderful clarity of the prospectus of the Banaras Hindu University. The true result of his [Mallaviya's] action can be seen in the products of the university, who championed the cause of progress all over the country in many fields immediately before and after Independence(S K Maini et al, 2015).*The BHU sought to 'to preserve and popularise all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India and, at the same time, to impart instructions along lines of the best of Modern Universities' (*Tiwari, 2015).* The idea was towards imparting education which would combine knowledge of science and technology with religious teachings that would help towards economic development of the country.

Towards this end, Mallaviya along with Annie Besant worked very hard for almost eleven years. Initially, on 10th December 1908, Mallaviya had proposed to the Government of the United Province about establishing three colleges: a Vaidik College, which would train teachers of religion; an Ayurvaidik College for training Vidayas (ayurvedic medical practitioners); and a technical institute for teaching those sciences which would promote

industries. Along with this scheme, there was two other proposals submitted by Besant and Maharaja Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga for establishing a University in Benaras. The government, however, rejected all the three schemes as impracticable. Mallaviya, in the mean time toured the country and started his campaign for enlisting support of the population towards this noble goal. Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner, extended his support, on the condition that there should be only one scheme (and not three as it existed), for the establishment of this university. He felt that having three distinct schemes for the same university rendered the situation complex and unlikely to be accepted by the government. Most of the Indian states such as Mysore, Gwalior, and Bikaner agreed with Mallaviya's proposals and the British government finally assented to it.

By the year 1911, Mallaviya had collected huge amount of funds,even as the government softened its stance, putting down certain conditions for the establishment of the University. The next year, 1912 saw the formation of the management committee of the Hindu University Society which included Rameshwar Singh (President), Madan Mohan Mallaviya, Annie Besant, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sunder Lal, Ras Behari Bose and Gurudas Banerjee. This committee drafted the bill and submitted it to the government, which finally was approved on 1st October 1915. (Tiwari, 2015)

Mallaviya promoted education with a vision for a developed India, which would have a strong industrial and agricultural set up. He realised two basic flaws which marred India: one, the prevalent social evils; and second, economic backwardness. To address the first problem, he sought the way of legislations in the Assembly as well as appealed to the masses to adopt rational practices. On 20 March 1916, he gave a remarkable speech at the Imperial Council meeting for the abolition of indentured labour. Indentured labour was just another form of slavery which entailed the labourers (who were mostly illiterate) to sign a contract to work in the British colonies. The work conditions faced by these labourers were very harsh and were treated just like slaves. Mallaviya, in his speech, highlighted these realities and appealed for its complete abolition. To quote him, 'My Lord, no reforms will prove sufficient; tinkering will not do; the system must be

abolished root and branch. During the last three-quarters of a century a policy of tinkering has been tried and has failed.' (Malaviya, p. 345)

Mallaviya also worked towards uplift of women. He established a women's college in BHU for their education. He appealed to women to be fearless and daring, by evoking the characters from mythology, viz., Sita, Draupadi, Maitreyi, Gargi and Savitri. He also emphasized on social equality between different castes and appealed to different Hindu caste organisations to grant children from lower castes access to schools, to provide dalits' access to temples and public wells.

The problem of economic backwardness, Mallaviya believed, could be addressed by encouraging more industries and a state policy which supported such an enterprise. He held industrial conferences and meetings at several places, viz., Industrial conference at Banaras in 1905, Uttar Pradesh Industrial conference in 1907, meeting of U.P. Industrial Association of Allahabad in 1907. He encouraged the establishment of Prayag Sugar Company and worked hard towards initiating the sugar researchstation at Coimbatore. Committed to Swadesh Movement, Mallaviya wanted to revive industries in India. It is to be noted here that his support for swadeshi was not based on hatred towards anyone, and had no narrow political goal; rather he considered it to be the responsibility of every Indian to end poverty and provide employment to the countrymen.

So deeply moved was Mallaviya by the social evils of the country that he left politics in 1937 to devote himself completely to social causes. He also stopped his practice as a lawyer in order to carry out social service and devote time towards the cause of education.

6.4 POLITICAL VIEWS AND ROLE IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Jawaharlal Nehru once remarked : 'Mallaviyaji was a giant among men, one of those who laid the foundation of Modern Indian Nationalism and year by year built up brick by brick and stone by stone, the noble edifice

of Indian freedom.' (Tiwari, 2015). Indeed, Mallaviya's role in India's freedom struggle is remarkable.

Mallaviya was one of the early and active members of the Congress party and participated in its work since its formation. He attended the second session of the Congress in Calcutta in 1886 and spoke on the matter of representation of Indians in the Councils. Dadabhai Naoroji, the chairman of this session was highly impressed with Mallaviya's speech, so was the ruler of Kalakankar estate in UP, Raja Rampal Singh. The latter thereby offered Mallaviya the post of editor of the weekly 'Hindustan'. He worked there as an editor for two and half years before going ahead to pursue his Bachelor of Law degree. This speech helped Mallaviya get recognition in the political arena. Further, he also opposed the Press Bill and justified his stance with very strong arguments, speaking in the Council on April 4, 1910. In a similar vein he also opposed the Seditious Meeting Act by arguing that such a law could be easily misused by the government. He supported the motion on education put forward by Gopal Krishna Gokhale's, portraying his resolve towards supporting education. To ensure the entry of Indians in the Civil Service, Mallaviya appealed for simultaneous conduct of Civil Service examination in India as well as England. During this period, Indians who wanted to enter this service had to travel all the way to England to appear in the civil services exam, which many of them could not afford.

Mallaviya did not always approve of the Congress party's policies or of Gandhian programmes. The instances which substantiated his views were the Lucknow Pact, 1916 which sought to grant separate electorate to the Muslims; the Khilafat Movement of 1919-1922, and the Communal Award, 1932. Mallaviya did not agree completely with the Non-cooperation movement, 1919, although he half-heartedly participated in it. He left Congress in 1934 protesting against separate electorates. He opposed these policies on the ground that they were divisive and would create rift between the religious communities. Mallaviya had even warned Gandhi about its repercussions.

Yet both the Congress and Mallaviya respected each other. Mallaviya's suggestions were taken into consideration by the party. He was

also held in high regard by Gandhi who referred to him as 'Mahamana' (one with a noble mind) and as Bharat Ratan (Jewel of India).He was the only member who held the post of President of Congress for four times-1909, 1918, 1932, 1933. He also actively took part in the protest against Simon Commission in 1930 and represented India at the First Round Table Conference in 1931. Although he stopped practising law in the year 1911, yet he successfully represented those freedom fighters who were sentenced to death in the Chauri Chaura case, getting 156 of them acquitted.

Mallaviya was not a supporter of extreme views. He was neither completely liberal nor an extreme nationalist. He was somewhere in between the Extremists and the Moderates. He preferred the path of compromise and restraint wherever necessary. He did not budge from openly criticising what he felt was wrong; justifying his arguments with the help of facts. He realised the multi-dimensional character of the nationalist struggle, which had to take into consideration various aspects, viz., education, economic development, self-respect, social equality and unity. For instance, long back in 1893, Mallaviya talked about how the British rule had led to the ruin of local Indian trade and business, and how Indians had to eke out their living through unprofitable agriculture and small trade. To quote an address he made at a Congress session, he said : 'Everyone sitting here is clothed in cloth of British-make, almost everyone, and wherever you go you find British manufactures and British goods staring you in the face. All that is left to the people [of India] is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make infinitesimal profit out of the little trade left to them'(Mallaviya, p.7). Mallaviya was one of the earliest leaders to emphasize on the need to adopt Hindi as the official language of the country. He was basically opposed to the idea of popularizing English as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, which was foreign to India and which he felt would distance an Indian from his own culture. In 1909, in an article which got published in 'Leader', Mallaviya argued that, 'In the first place it is impossible that a person pursues most of his studies in a foreign language. Moreover, to compel a person to give up his own language… cuts off a

person from his national and cultural traditions. An attempt is made to turn him into an Englishman.' (Tanwar, 2015)

6.5 AS A LIBERAL HINDU NATIONALIST

Mallaviya is also branded as a Hindu nationalist by various scholars. This is because he was one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha. However, it has to be noted that he was not anti-Muslim or any other religious belief. His nationalism called for unity across all religion and castes. He argued against domination of one group or community against another. He thus argued that, 'No Indian is entitled to the honour of being called a patriot, be he a Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian or Parsi who desires for a moment that any fellow-countrymen of his, whatever his race or creed may be, should be placed under the domination of the men of his own particular persuasion or community, or that any one section should gain an undue advantage over any other section … Patriotism demands that we should desire equally the good of all our countrymen alike.' (Mallaviya, p.114)

He also did not favour giving undue advantage to any community or religion and was completely against appeasement of any religious community. He predicted that appeasement and granting special advantages to the minorities would lead to division of the country in the future. As opposed to the divisive policies of various parties, Mallaviya called for unity and reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims. In 1909, during his presidential address at the Indian National Congress, he criticised all those who instigated division between various religious communities and called for unity amongst all, irrespective of religious beliefs. For him, 'Days of Hindu Raj and Muslim Raj are long past. We shall have Hindustani Raj in Hindustan…' (Aaj, October 10, 1941, cited in Tanwar, 2015). He did not shy away from publicly criticising the Hindu Mahasabha, when it resolved to create a 'Hindu Nation', minus the Muslims and Christians. (Aaj, November 15, 1941, cited in Tanwar, 2015)

Although he was a devout Hindu, he did not consider other religions in bad faith. Quoting Veda Vyasa, he wished, 'May all enjoy happiness; may

all be the source of happiness to others; may all see auspicious days; may none suffer any injury.' He believed that,

> *'That is the ideal which the Congress has placed before us all since the moment of its birth. I am a Hindu by faith, and I mean no disrespect to any other religion when I say that I will not change my faith for all the possessions of this world or of any other. But I shall be a false Hindu, and I shall deserve less to be called a Brahmin, if I desired that Hindus or Brahmins should have any advantage as such over Mohammedans, Christians, or any other community in India. ...How ennobling it is even to think of that high ideal of patriotism where Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees and Christians stand shoulder to shoulder as brothers and work for the common good of all. ...we cannot build up in separation a national life such as would be worth living; we must rise and fall together (Nandi, 1999,p.144)*

Mallaviya realised that the country can progress only when it people lived in harmony with each other. Unity provided strength while discord and division weakened the country. A proud Hindu, he did not consider it to be antagonistic to his nationalistic zeal. He believed in equal treatment of all people irrespective of one's faith and that even minorities should feel proud of India's ancient culture and heritage.

Two incidents largely impacted Mallaviya's thoughts: the Moplah riots in 1921 and the Multan riots in 1922. These riots were communal in nature and was directed against the Hindus. Apart from the violence and killings of the Hindus in both the cases, the Moplah riots was also characterised by forced conversion of the Hindus. Mallaviya visited Multan and was highly disturbed by the amount of killings and destruction there. Dr. Rajendra Kumar persuaded him to chair a special session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Gaya in 1922, which was organised so that it coincided with the Annual Session of the Congress(Dr Rajendra Prasad, Autobiography, 1959, p.180, cited in Tanwar, 2015). The riots made Mallaviya believe that unity would be possible only when both the Hindus and the Muslims sensed that the other was very strong and would strike back with ease in case of any unjust attack(New India, January 1, 1923, cited in Tanwar, 2015).Writing

a new constitution for the Hindu Mahasabha, he helped reorganise it. However, he did not want the Hindu Mahasabha to be involved in politics as it would then come into conflict with the Congress.These changes in Mallaviya's thoughts did not mean that he had turned communal, because he still believed in working in harmony with other communities. The first resolution passed by the Hindu Mahasabha in 1924 under his presidentship reflected this idea'to work … in friendliness and harmony with other communities in all matters of national interest…'(New India, December 29, 1924, cited in Tanwar).

Mallaviya is also considered to be a liberal Hindu who believed in equality of all castes. He was completely against the practice of untouchability and did not believe in maltreatment of the Harijans (those castes which are considered to be outside the formal *Varna* system and thus untouchable). He initiated the 'Shuddhi Movement'(*purification*) through 'Mantra Diksha'(chanting of *mantras*), so that the untouchables could be brought within the fold of Hinduism.He also organised an event with 200 dalits including their leader P N Rajbhoj to chant Hindu mantras and bathe in the Godavari river so that they are allowed to enter the Kalaram temple.

Mallaviya believed in the omnipresence of God and therefore supported inculcation of religious spirit of duty and dedication towards achievement of nationalistic goals. He also wanted that religious instruction should be imparted in schools and colleges so that this spirit can be created amongst the youth. In his words, he argued that:

> *'I believe that instructions in the truth of religion whether it be Hindu or Musalman, whether it be students of Banaras Hindu University or Aligarh Muslim University will tend to produce men and women who if they are true to their religion will be true to their God and their country… I look forward to the time when students who pass out of such Universities will meet each other in closer embrace… as citizens of the same motherland…'.*(Mallaviya, p. 29)

6.6 CRITICAL APPRECIATION

Having co-founded the Hindu Mahasabha in 1915, Mallaviya is often dubbed a hero of Hindu nationalism. His difference with the Congress party is often considered to be due to his inclination towards the Hindu nationalism. He parted ways with Congress twice, once in 1926 and then again after the Communal Award was announced in 1932. In 1926, along with Lala Lajpat Rai, he found the Independent Congress Party as a protest against the policy of non-cooperation in the Legislature, which both felt was against the interests of the Hindus. They, however returned to the Congress, after they won a considerable number of seats in the 1926 elections and justifying their stance. Differences of opinion regarding the Communal Award of 1932 made Malaviya leave Congress once again as he demanded that the Hindu members should be permitted to vote on the issue separately. Thereby, he formed the Congress Nationalist Party in 1934 along with Madhav Shrihari Aney. These incidences are attributed to Mallaviya's Hindu nationalist stance (Nair, 2015).

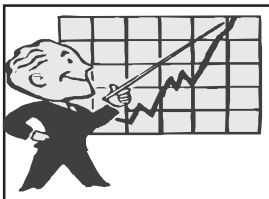
It is argued that Mallaviya played a very crucial role in 'construction of a politicized Hindu identity'. Marzia Casolari's work shows Mallaviya's role in this process. Mallaviya was associated with Hindu organisations such as the Prayag Hindu Samaj established in 1880 and 'Bharat Dharm Mahamandal',established in 1887 since their inception. Mallaviya held the position of 'mahopadeshak' (chief preceptor) in the latter organisation, Mahamandal.

Casolari attributes even the foundation of BHU to Mallaviya's Hindu outlook to 'strengthen the Hindu sense of identity and cohesiveness.' Through the platform of BHU, he could propagate his ideas at the national level. His support for Hindu primary schools, grass root Hindu organisations, and conduct of 'shuddi' movement to bring the lower caste within its fold, indicates his Hindu nationalist stance (Noorani, 2015).

According to Walter K. Anderson and Shridhar K. Damle, in the Benaras Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1923, Mallaviya specified the

need to 'devise means to arrest the deterioration and decline of Hindus and to effect the improvement of the Hindus as a community'. He further stated that, 'If the Hindus made themselves strong and the rowdy section among the Mahomedans were convinced they could not safely rob and dishonour Hindus, unity would be established on a stable basis.' Therefore, it is important that the untouchables be included and accepted by the caste Hindus as 'true Hindus', abolishing untouchability and providing them access to public places such as schools, public wells and temples. He further provided that those Hindus who had been converted, either forcibly or willingly, should be brought back within the Hindu fold through 'Shuddhi'(*The Brotherhood in Saffron*, 1987, pages 28-29, cited in Noorani, 2015).

However, all these are not to deny Mallaviya's contribution to the freedom struggle. He vehemently opposed the colonial rule and fought against it. Addressing the government, he wrote a pamphlet in 1919, 'Searching Questions upon Martial Law in the Panjab', in which he asked the government to provide details regarding people who were detained, imprisoned, and executed during the prevalence of martial law in Punjab (Nair, 2015).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write a short note on Mallaviya's efforts in the field of uplift of women and social equality.

.....

Q 2: Mallaviya appealed for simultaneous conduct of Civil Service examination in India as well as England. (True/False)

.....

Q 3: Mallaviya called for unity and reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims.(True/False)

.....



6.7 LET US SUM UP

- It is clear from the above discussion that Madan Mohan Malaviya emerges from history as a multifaceted personality who has contributed to our freedom struggle by raising stringent questions against the government on issues like Martial Law in Punjab, The Seditious Activities Bill, and demanded the conduct of simultaneous Civil Services Examination both in England and India.
- Mallaviya also participated in Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement in 1919 and opposed the Simon Commission in 1928. His contribution at social reform and education is also remarkable.Mallaviya always talked about religious tolerance and harmony. Appreciating his service towards the nation, Gandhi compared himto the pure and sacred 'flow of Ganga'.While Malaviya is renowned for his role as a social reformer, his role in legislative matter is often ignored. His association with the Congress party for more than 50 years, and that he held the position of the President four times is usually forgotten.



6.8 FURTHER READING

1) Tanwar, Raghuvendra (2015) 'Multifaceted Madan Mohan Malaviya', *The Tribune*, August 15, available at http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/comment/multifaceted-madan-mohan-malaviya/60997.html, accessed 21th July 2017.

2) *Mallaviya, Madan Mohan, 1861-1946, Speeches and writings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,* G A Ganesan & Co.: Madras, available https://archive.org/details/speecheswritings00malaiala., accessed 23 July 2017.

3) Tiwari, Manoj Kumar (2015), 'Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Great Nation Builder', *The Opinion,* Vol.4, No.8, July-December.

4) Narasiah, K.R.A, (2015) 'The many facets of Malaviya', *The Hindu,* March 22, available at http://www.thehindu.com/books/books-reviews/the-many-facets-of-malaviya/article7019023.ece., accessed 21st July 2017.

5) Nandi, Proshanta (1999) 'Visions of Nationhood and Religiosity Among Early Freedom Fighters in India', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 48, No. 1/2, MARCH – SEPTEMBER, pp. 135-149 available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/23619933, (accessed: 26-07-2017)

6.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No.1 : Mallaviya also worked towards upliftment of women. He established a women's college in BHU for their education. He appealed to women to be fearless and daring, by evoking the characters from mythology, viz., Sita, Draupadi, Maitreyi, Gargi and Savitri. He also emphasized on social equality between different castes and appealed to different Hindu caste organisations to grant children from lower castes access to schools, to provide dalits' access to temples and public wells.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

6.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss the contributions of Malaviya as an educationist and social reformer of India.

Q 2 : Analyse the political views and ideas of Malaviya.

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

Q 4 : Evaluate the thoughts and ideas of Malaviya towards the development of Indian political thought.

Q 5 : Critically examine the role of Malaviya in the freedom struggle of India.

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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.



7.12 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.



7.13 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.*

7.14 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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